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COUNTER-HEGEMONIC ARCHITECTURES IDENTITIES

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COUNTER-HEGEMONIC ARCHITECTURES: IDENTITIES
ARQUITETURAS CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICAS: IDENTIDADES

V!RUS Journal is a semiannual, fully bilingual Portuguese-English or Spanish-English scientific journal, evaluated as A3 class by the Brazilian Qualis system, on a scale from A1 to B5. V!RUS aims to create a locus of reflection and dialogue about contemporary topics related to the building, the city, and the landscape.

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The expressive number of good works we 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. Released at the same time as this edition, V!RUS 24 focuses on physical and symbolic spaces in a confrontation with the dominant hegemonic logic by articulating many aspects of the expanded field of Architecture and Urbanism.

Under the subtitle "Identities", the works this twenty-fifth issue of the journal brings together propose reflections on the territories of some of the so-called social minorities, whose rights have historically been threatened for reasons of ethnicity, origin, gender, and sexuality. 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 address the production of architecture and the city from the perspective of racial, feminist, indigenous, intersectional, and decolonial theories and struggles, 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, Social Scientist *Valéria Marques Batista*, a woman from the Baniwa indigenous people, a researcher in Community Psychosociology and Social Ecology, and a professor at the Federal University of Amazonas granted Psychologist *Cláudia Regina Brandão Sampaio*, professor, and researcher at the same university and also our guest, the interview Indigenous Peoples and the Struggle to be Listened. In this conversation, both expose and debate fundamental indigenous issues of identity affirmation, visibility, and claim of social space.

Ancestral knowledge and traditional ways of life are the subjects of study in the work Impure Montages of an Architecture Called Forest, by *Ayara Mendo Perez*, in the Acrean Amazon, and by *Maria Clara Cerqueira,* in Nature and Hegemony in the Ways of Living of Sempre-Vivas Pickers, in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais. Also, on the Amazon, *Acilon Cavalcante* and *Ana Cláudia Cardoso* problematize the use of **digital media and social networks** to create counter-hegemonic narratives in the article Civic Media Networks in the Amazon and the Digital Counter-hegemony.

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By exploring **digital media and Artificial Intelligence**, the essay Proactive AI as a Way to Foster Design Justice Practices, by *Vinícius Pereira* and *Gil de Barros*, investigates possibilities of collective participation through a Proactive AI, which would carry the counter-hegemonic agenda of Design Justice in its code.

The field of **the black diaspora and Afro-Brazilian culture and architecture studies** is approached through the study of three physical spaces, two of them of great symbolic importance: a shrine, in Afro-Brazilian Architecture: The Ilê Axé Xapanã in Cachoeira, Bahia, Brazil, by *Rodrigo Costa* and *Laila Mourad*, and a memorial, in The Pedra De Xangô Park: Asserting Afro-Brazilian Architecture and Geography, by *Hélen Diogo*, *Maria Alice Silva*, *Francisco Veras Neto*, and *Fabio Velame*. The third space is a quilombo community house, whose project draws its sources on vernacular knowledge, as demonstrated by *Franciney de França* and *Octávio Sousa* in their work Project, Land, and Freedom: The Ilé Wa Quilombo Mesquita Community House.

Three works address **feminism and its urban presence**. The text Women's Territoriality: Resisting in the Favela of Rocinha, Rio de Janeiro, by *Fernanda Sobreiro e Cruz*, reflects on the social role of women in peripheral territories. The article Feminism and the Urban Practice: Three Lines of Analysis, by *Larissa Chaves, Giovanna Magalhães*, and *Soraya Nór*, proposes an approach to urban space through the idea of body-territory and cartography for the shaping of feminine territories. From a theoretical-reflective perspective, *Beatriz Simões* and *Cristina de Araujo* defend a feminist epistemology to rethink the way of writing and academic production in the article Epistemological Manifest: For a Counter-hegemonic Writing.

The place of **social minorities in the urban territory** is the subject of four works. In the Counterculture of the Florianopolis Historic Center Revitalization, by *Evandro Fiorin*, *Paula Polli*, and *Sérgio Moraes*, discusses urban revitalization processes and their impacts on the historical heritage of the city of Florianópolis, Brazil. Urban Space and Insurgent Practices in Porto Alegre, Brazil, by *Nicole de Almeida* and *Heleniza Campos*, explores insurgent practices for shaping territorialities. The World

of Streets: On Barricades, Zones, and Quebradas, by *Rafael Almeida* and *Camilo Amaral*, highlights the quebradas as subversive spatialities, comparing them to barricades.

The visual essay Urban Scratches: Everyday Architectures and Gestures in Disputes in the City, by *Matheus Tanajura* and *Flora Tavares*, also exposes **the exclusion of individuals and groups in disputed urban territories** and their practices of resistance. *Maini de Oliveira Perpétuo,* in her work Know-How Liminalities in the Daily Production of Opaque Spaces, approximates such practices to urban production by non-specialists in opaque spaces of the city through **gambiarra as a counter-hegemonic practice**.

Beyond the human, The Human-Animal Relationship in the City: For a More-than-Human Urbanism is the subject of *Carolina Ribeiro Simon*'s study, which addresses **animal participation in the production of cities** and how urban plans of a sanitary nature exclude animals from their agenda.

Finally, two works discuss the urban from the perspective of public events in the field of **intangible heritage and the arts**. Rain of Umbrellas: Towards a Non-Hegemonic Vision of Cultural Assets, by *Ana Elisabete Medeiros*, offers a reading of Galo da Madrugada in Recife, reaffirming the inseparability between intangible cultural manifestations and the spaces where they are held. *Josana Prates Dias* addresses the role of the CURA group in the production of urban art on counter-hegemonic themes in the article Art and Symbolic Inclusion in the Planned Center of Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

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.

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

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND THE STRUGGLE TO BE LISTENED
OS POVOS INDÍGENAS E A LUTA PARA SEREM ESCUTADOS
VALÉRIA MARQUES, CLÁUDIA SAMPAIO

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Marcelo Tramontano: Thank you very much, Valéria, for accepting our invitation through Professor Cláudia Sampaio, whom I also thank for her generous acceptance. For the twenty-fifth edition of the V!RUS journal, whose theme is "Counter-hegemonic architectures", it seems especially opportune to hear from you, who have been working on the indigenous issue and native peoples. Professor Cláudia, with a long and fruitful history of coordinating research in this field connected to the area of Social Psychology, kindly accepted our invitation to interview you this December afternoon.

Cláudia Regina Brandão Sampaio: I thank you, Valéria Baniwa, a woman researcher and an activist in indigenous issues and a reference in the Amazon, for accepting to take part in this moment of construction and contributing to our reflection. Valéria's life story is closely linked to the city, as she lived and still lives as an indigenous person in the urban context. Valéria is as familiar with indigenous associations as she is in the academic environment. Having you here today is a privilege because through you, we can access a memory of the first inhabitants of our land.

We thus have the opportunity to think about issues based on the tension between what is hegemonic and what is counter-hegemonic in the production of material life and symbolic life of the various indigenous groups in the multicultural territory of the city. Particularly in the Amazon region, where we are speaking from, these tensions are always present yet often not visible. They are made invisible by many hegemonic silencing movements that threaten to paralyze ways of life, ways of being, and building life according to other principles. This place, where we can discuss counter-hegemony, is a way of making visible those tensions that cross us all.

The V!RUS journal proposes to highlight the question of counter-hegemony from the scope of architecture and urbanism. I would say that the production of urban space is one of the expressions of the dimensions of life since it involves the production of social space and its instances between private, collective, and public. But there's so much more. There are many ways, including violent ones, of producing hegemonic ways of life that impose themselves on others. Thinking about indigenous peoples, referring to what we call hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, I believe it is important to situate our discussion considering the plurality of these peoples.

It is important not to slip into past misconceptions, which considered indigenous peoples homogeneously, within a single category – the "Indian" – as if they were a single group with an equally unique cultural spectrum. We reinforce the recognition of the plurality of indigenous peoples – or traditional peoples and forest peoples – when we speak of existence and resistance movements related to hegemonic modes affirming the multiethnic condition of these peoples' territory. I believe we can indeed refer to indigenous peoples because they have much in common in their ways of producing life. There are also differences since the various ethnic groups have specificities and particularities, which requires us to be attentive to their plurality.

We understand indigenous peoples as a category we situate in the counter-hegemonic, with common points that operate by articulating them. In the Amazon region, indigenous peoples call each other relatives, like brothers. There is then something we can refer to as a collective identity, which is built together with various specificities. I wanted to briefly introduce and situate the subject, and I would now ask you, Valéria, to talk about your trajectory as an indigenous woman and your Baniwa specificity.

Valéria Marques Batista: Good afternoon everyone. I am immensely grateful to Claudia and the V!RUS journal committee for the invitation. I am Valéria Marques, I worked as a teacher at the Amazonas Department of Education, in social projects in partnership with NGOs in Manaus, at the Museum of the Amazon - MUSA, and the Vitória Amazônica Foundation[1]. I also worked in a secretariat for social movements and, more recently, in housing projects in vulnerable areas. Within the ONGs projects, I worked on the issue of indigenous digital school education, seeking to develop a digital tool with indigenous teachers. I worked with a big, well-known multinational called Telefônica Vivo Foundation, in partnership with an NGO and the Manaus Department of Education, targeting riverside, rural, and indigenous teachers.

I am currently preparing a doctoral dissertation at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - UFRJ in the area of community psychosociology and social ecology after completing a specialization on coping with domestic violence and a master's degree

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in sociology, both at the Federal University of Amazonas - UFAM. Until I got my master's degree, I dealt with public policies for women in the city, but now in psychosociology, I decided to work with my people. You are probably aware that indigenous people in the Amazon are currently the object of a necrophiliac political project which aims to exterminate us. We came to think that now chaos had arrived, that it was the end of everything, but we resisted and will always resist, as Conceição Evaristo[2] says: "they agreed to kill us, but we agreed not to die". This is how we live the idea of Re-exist, or "resisting to exist", as Ailton Krenak[3] once said.

We are currently strengthening ourselves in what we call the resumption of the indigenous social movement, starting mid-March 2022 in Manaus. We are seeking to reorganize ourselves to make ourselves visible again, as our invisibility is one of the objectives of that political project that understands that our memory must be erased. By understanding this desire to exterminate us, we seek to lead white people to reforest and heal their minds in this land. Because there is still a way. We can still walk the river. We understand that we, indigenous peoples in the urban context, must reorganize ourselves. That is why we will soon hold the first National Conference of Indigenous Peoples in the Urban Context, followed by municipal conferences.

My mother's family came from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, an Amazonian municipality of Alto Uaupés, on the Içana River, where the biggest number of indigenous people in Brazil live. I am from the Baniwa people, a shaman people, of healing, of magic, but which had many people converted to the evangelical church from 1987 onwards. As you know, the evangelical influence in indigenous communities is very strong, and Christian missionaries contribute to culturally colonizing us, taking away our language. On this issue, I recently had to confront one major leader of our people, André Baniwa, during field research for my dissertation. He wrote a book[4] about the culture of Good Living and living well according to the Baniwas, and when I read it, I felt uncomfortable because I realized that the indigenous culture was quite impregnated with evangelical issues. I questioned him arguing that I learned from my grandmother in my community that our people are shamans. I was also catechized by missionaries, but my grandmother instilled in her children and grandchildren the Baniwa customs and culture – the culture of the swidden, of *ajuri*, which is collective work, of *coivara*, which is the practice of burning the swidden, of medication, and the medicine through blessing and smoking.

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My grandmother raised us according to these customs. My family came from the Içana River to São Gabriel da Cachoeira, and was soon taken to the Lower Rio Negro, where we met evangelical groups and wealthy families who used to sponsor children. Here in Amazonas, we call *compadrio* the practice of people who look for indigenous children telling their parents that they will take them to the city to study, but in fact they enslave them. That is what happened to my family, brought to the city by a white family who abused them in many ways through slave labor, including child labor and all sort of violence. Very frightened, they managed to escape by canoe across the river, but my grandmother has lived in restrictions on speaking ever since. In an erased memory, she silently instructed us to keep our belonging to the indigenous people a secret. Violence had silenced us and attempted to erase our memory.

My mother decided that we would not be given to anyone and that we would continue our studies. As a child, she had been given to a family in the city who gave her a new name and date of birth, reaffirming the attempts at cultural erasure I mentioned. Enclosed in our silence, we lived outside the community, in a city neighborhood. My mother worked in the Industrial District and did many informal jobs to ensure our livelihood, from door-to-door sales to selling popular lottery games. There wasn't always bread at home, but my mother made flour balls, manioc balls, or something she invented, because women have that inventive strength in adversity. In my research, I seek to theoretically substantiate the hypothesis that, in the Amazon, society is matriarchal. I grew up with women who rebuilt themselves every day. Even to provide food in times of difficulty, they sought knowledge in ancestral knowledge. Ancestral knowledge is not only the past, but the future, and

[2] Maria da Conceição Evaristo de Brito is a writer and holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature, author of several fiction and non-fiction books and texts, addressing issues of Afro-Brazilian peoples. Additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conceição_Evaristo.

[3] Ailton Krenak is a Brazilian writer, Journalist, Philosopher, and an indigenous movement leader of Krenak ethnicity. He is also a Doctor Honoris Causa by the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF), and is considered one of the greatest leaders of the Brazilian indigenous movement, enjoying international recognition. Additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ailton_Krenak.

[4] Baniwa, André, 2020. *Bem viver e viver bem segundo o povo Baniwa no noroeste amazônico brasileiro*. Curitiba: Ed. UFPR.

Ailton Krenak has just released a book[5] about this topic.

Our ancestry is us. As we get older, we get wiser because aging brings wisdom and experience, and it's nothing to be ashamed of. Our grandparents who passed away are also our ancestors, who taught us all affective food, ways of dealing with the house and making a home. My grandmother used to make her house out of paxiúba[6]. Maybe you don't know this plant, a very thin but very strong one. My grandmother used to make her house out of paxiúba, sometimes she used white straw, sometimes clay, but she used to do it herself. I was impressed with how easily she changed uses in her house: sometimes she brought the kitchen to the front rooms, sometimes moved the kitchen to the back and performed the rituals and prayers to Saint Anthony in a front room because she had also been catechized. The house was raised off the ground. It was a stilt even though it was built on solid soil, because Rio Negro is solid soil. There she grew many fruits with my uncle. When she passed away, my uncle stopped going fishing, didn't want to go planting anymore, asked my mother for a freezer and started buying frozen and canned food. Nothing from then on was the same as before.

My mother didn't know what the indigenous organization was, which I got to know at university. When I started my undergraduate studies in Social Sciences, an Anthropology professor encouraged me to embrace my cultural roots, which awakened me to the debate on the indigenous issue within the university. I then began to connect various aspects of my history and met other indigenous people, including those from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, who told me about the indigenous movement in that city. Slowly I understood how indigenous movements organized themselves to claim social policies aimed at achieving better education, health, housing, employment, and social security.

Today, we use the designation "indigenous" instead of "indian", which has become a pejorative term, and we also refer to different peoples: Baniwa people, Tucano people, and Baré people. These names help us not to suffer anymore with pejorative terms because among indigenous we feel part of each other, we have a pact of brotherhood between us, and that's why we are relatives. I feel good about meeting relatives in the city and feeling part of this culture. It makes me happy to meet some of our people at the university, in a mall or at some event. Because my mother didn't even call herself indigenous anymore, my uncles already called themselves riverside people for fear of suffering violence again. But when I got to university and learned about the indigenous issue, I decided I would no longer be silent. I want to openly live this culture in the urban environment. Many people do not want to recognize us, who live in the city, as indigenous. But even though we left our village or community, we remain indigenous. Even having come to the city and accessing Western and academic knowledge, we remain indigenous. Life is easier in the city, but life in the forest, in the collective, in community, fishing in the river are sorely missed. Indigenous people remake themselves in life in the city as in the villages we have our customs of planting and harvesting, of making tea, and of not buying culinary herbs. After all, it is grown at home. Life is connected to the cycles of nature, as we wake up at 5 am to go fishing, prepare lunch at 7 am to take to the fields, and have lunch at 10 am.

In the city, indigenous collectives live in communities, some having become neighborhoods. Parque das Tribos[7] is a pioneering and well-known example in Manaus, an old community transformed into a neighborhood through a hard struggle, led by my close friend Cláudia Baré[8]. She founded the Park's indigenous school, a grand achievement, and has dedicated to the causes of indigenous peoples. However, we are suffering a lot from the [drug] trade, which unfortunately does not only exist in white society, but also within communities. Those residents with greater expression in the collective, they [the people involved with trafficking] try to silence them. The Covid-19 pandemic also constituted a great aggression against our people, made worse by the absence of urban and social policies. We got united through social media to save each other, including by radiophoning with those in the forest. State aid was late, food baskets almost did not exist, and we were not even authorized to bury our dead according to our rituals. Indigenous women were once again at the front of the fight, confirming my hypothesis that we Amazonians are matriarchal.

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[5] Krenak, Ailton, 2022. *Futuro Ancestral*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

[6] Paxiúba, additional info: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socratea_exorrhiza.

[7] Parque das Tribos, additional info: https://outraspalavras.net/outrasmidias/parque-das-tribos-mulheres-indigenas-lideram-resgate-cultural/.

[8] Cláudia Baré, additional info: https://acervo.socioambiental.org/acervo/noticias/claudia-bare-professora-que-luta-pela-alfabetizacao-nas-tribos-indigenas-do.

Public infrastructure in Manaus is very poor: the city has no urban planning, and public administration is not concerned with human rights or the quality of urban life. We have almost no health posts in indigenous communities. The various governments that succeeded one another in Amazonas were and continue to be all oligarchic. There has never been a left-wing state government here that cares about minorities, even though there was a left-wing Brazilian President who worked on policies for the Environment, on the issue of housing and our cultural identity. Such issues must be prioritized.

We currently have in Manaus seventy-seven indigenous communities in the urban context and twenty-five in its surroundings and the rural area. They all live without basic sanitation and public health equipment. That's why Vanda Ortega, another great leader in Amazonas, denounced to the whole world during the pandemic that we weren't being taken care of, and at that moment, it was really because they [the public administration] didn't want to recognize us. They made us invisible. Once again, women from the communities went to the forefront of the struggle asking for health and an indigenous hospital, which resulted in an indigenous wing and later a temporary Basic Health Unit. The Parque das Tribos community itself had to take the initiative to create a campaign hospital supported by donations. They also created the slogan "Indigenous Lives Matter!" and started a campaign that received support from artists across the country and even the Pope. Some women's associations helped other women living in an emergency due to Covid-19, such as the Associação de Mulheres do Alto Rio Negro - AMARN[9], created in the 1980s to support women who come from Alto Rio Negro to work as maids .

> **CS**: Valeria, your testimony is very rich and confirms some of the issues I consider crucial for us to discuss. I want to highlight one of your statements on Good Living or what well-being is. The New Social Cartography of the Amazon Project[10], coordinated by professor Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, a researcher at UFAM and UEA, has already carried out surveys with more than four hundred groups of traditional populations in the Amazon, asking about their collective identities that reaffirm their territory, their space, and their lifestyle. As an anthropologist and researcher, Professor Alfredo listens and discusses how these peoples understand what Good Living means. He also discusses how they define their territory: what is important, what is essential to living, and affirm their identity and way of life, both in material and symbolic terms, as in the example of shamanism you brought.

> By the way, you bring magnificent examples of how to discuss the urban space according to the understanding of Good Living and report resistance movements from your personal history. For example, you mentioned that your family came to the city and remained isolated from other relatives until you entered university and had the opportunity to reflect and even recover the historical memory of your people, recognizing yourself in that identity. Another example is the joy when relatives meet in the city, whether in a mall or in more organized places, such as Parque das Tribos, and how this meeting between relatives is essential to affirm collective identity.

> It seems to me that the issue of identity recognition and the strengthening of this identity does require a meeting with relatives. I wonder if our cities can provide places for such encounters beyond the physical space of the associations which make up a resistance movement. Does the city allow encounters, or, on the contrary, does it segment, fragment, and isolate us? These issues are part of the background of the Good Living issue. Because the non-recognition of one's identity already derives a weakening of it, as you expose in your family history. And conversely, recognition brings about the strengthening and recovery of these ways of life. You also brought up a touching experience remembering that fruits and herbs were grown at home, meaning that there was no separation between the housing and food production spaces.

> It is interesting to think about this way of life, which we understand here as counter-hegemonic, compared with the violence of the hegemonic logic of the city that segments all areas of life. In our way of life, we hold religious services in a specific place, carry out our work in another place, and move from our home to yet another place where the production of material life takes place. Our children also study in another place, far from where we live. Faced with this segmentation of life, you bring some examples of resistance and memory that show that Good Living articulates many dimensions of the organization of material and everyday life, which are segmented in the hegemonic model. The indigenous ritual, healing processes, health care, education, material production seem to be gathered in a much

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[9] AMARN, additional info: https://www.artesol.org.br/associacao_das_mulheres_indigenas_do_alto_rio_negro_amarn.

[10] The New Social Cartography of the Amazon Project, additional info: http://novacartografiasocial.com.br/apresentacao/

more collective space, a territory that includes them all.

On the one hand, we have the thought of Boaventura de Souza Santos, who talks about intercultural dialogue, which is a bit of what we are doing here now in this conversation, where there is recognition of the difference in knowledge that comes from different places. But there is, on the other hand, the process of cultural violence, of which a good example is the New Tribes Mission in Brazil. It is an evangelical mission that has been working in the Amazon region for many years, and its objective is to evangelize indigenous peoples. There is a process of cultural violence in there that even leads to a transformation that you identified in André Baniwa's book, in which the description of Good Living was impregnated with evangelical meanings.

So I see two possible movements: one, which seems to me to be still very strong, of cultural violence, and another, which would be intercultural dialogue. I would like to know how you see the current scenario and if you agree that it is possible to sustain a way of life and production connected with the affirmation of indigenous identity in the urban context, given the strong power relationship guided by the hegemonic model.

VMB: It is hard to think about that at this moment, Cláudia, when the state and local governments are collaborating with the Federal Government for our extermination. It is horrifying to see that the state governor has been re-elected. At that difficult time of the pandemic, when we thought we would get a hospital the mayor gave us an indigenous cemetery. All of this revolts me because, for us, Good Living or living well means being well with nature and with each other. It means being well with the river and the human beings with whom we live. These are healthy exchanges and relationships: I shouldn't harm nature because I will extract many things from it, but I will not overdraw since I don't need to. But today, even in the surrounding communities[11] – our communities – this is not the reality.

If the community is close to an environmental protection area, all extraction is prohibited, including fish and timber for sale. With such limits to produce income and the need for financial resources, residents of surrounding communities become dependent on government aid, such as Bolsa Família and Auxílio Floresta, whose value is far too low to meet the needs of families. These people struggle for their survival day after day. We must debate this problem along with the environmental issue. Waters are polluted, and we are dealing with a serious problem with fish consumption and outbreaks of rhabdomyolysis. Relatives are dying because mercury contaminated the water, and they cannot eat fish. With regard to housing, only relatives who organize themselves get houses, and their neighborhoods are being taken over by drug trafficking, as I said before. How, then, can we experience our collective Good Life without education, health, and urban planning? They live in precarious wooden rented houses. Only a few build their houses with mud and straw, as they do in their territories, since in the city they are not granted a territory. We must educate children, just as Vanda Ortega and Cláudia Baré have done. With the support of the city hall, some communities even managed to organize the [Indigenous] Intercultural Games, with swimming, canoeing, archery and other traditional sports.

If we indigenous people want our generations to cultivate our things, we have to teach them, otherwise they will forget how to do it. If we don't cultivate neither teach them how to plant, they will eat apples and no longer plant our fruit. We have to teach them our language, or it will be erased. And then, what will our Good Living be like if we continue to be colonized, having our house the way the whites decide, our school according to the whites' rules? In our villages, our territory, our community, how can we handle the environment? We need to decide which housing and cultural identity we want. We must struggle to preserve our historical, material, and immaterial heritage, indigenous cemeteries, archeology, food, and homes.

We don't have our place in the urban space. We have to fight all the time to keep the spaces we occupy, always in confrontation with the state and municipal governments. We are still renegotiating the same things with anthropologists, who think they own the indigenous people, with the church, which has always been the owner of the indigenous people, with political parties, etc. We are autonomous, and today more than ever, we are discussing the question of our autonomy and the ethnic-racial issues, the prejudices we suffer in schools and at the university, struggling for quotas, access, and permanence.

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[11] Surrounding communities are small human settlements close to environmental protection areas, which are protected areas in the Amazon and conservation units.

We have the right to access and permanence, but this is a partial right because there is no indigenous student house and no scholarships for indigenous students to remain in the city. We know that many people are benefiting from indigenous grants, indigenous quotas and black quotas that have not gone through hetero-identification commissions. And finally, there is the issue of sexual diversity, which is never discussed as it is still a very stigmatized subject in the Amazon. But Good Living is also about gender. So it is urgent to think about these issues in the city and the academy because from the academy, we can go beyond walls, build criticism, and contribute to the struggle of the indigenous people.

CS: I want to highlight something you said regarding the absence of an urbanization project for Manaus and the state of Amazonas. The proposal for the region's development, conceived in that Brazil under the military government[12], did not contemplate the indigenous people, neither did it contemplate any of the groups that lived in the region. This proposal was structured around industrial development in Manaus, prioritizing interests that did not respect the ways of life of the different traditional populations either. Some studies on Amazonian workers in the industrial district outline lines of flight on how this work could be subverted within the imposed logic, along with the subversion of the idea that indigenous people and caboclos are lazy. This idea is often mistakenly linked to Amazonian ways of producing[13].

I agree with you about the extreme difficulty of putting cultural diversity and ways of life under the same umbrella. Because, particularly in everyday life, hegemonic forces impose themselves and tend to erase cultural diversity. Even when an intercultural dialogue takes place, it seems to me that it happens only one way. Western hegemonic modes transfer Western knowledge, and many indigenous people appropriate them by subverting them. They do it when they go to university not to accept this hegemonic way of life but to empower themselves to build a dialogue capable of recognizing equal rights of different ethnic groups.

You also mentioned the fragility caused by the pandemic, when Manaus was perceived as a territory of death, of discarding life, especially that of indigenous populations. The cultural, human catastrophe resulting from the pandemic made this profound inequality explicit, and an urban space not designed for any local groups expresses it. Among indigenous populations, where aging means accumulating knowledge, we had the death of many elderly leaders who died with their ancestral knowledge and knowledge of the language.

In indigenous groups, historically treated with the most intense and cruel mechanism of violence, the non-recognition of their humanity also destroys their knowledge. I defend the Amazon and Manaus as a multiethnic territory, where different cultures and ways of living well are in contact and producing a hybrid culture. The cultures of the various groups are not static. They move around to different places without necessarily losing their identity. They involve several collective identities, also in motion, that can exchange knowledge through a dialogue of mutual recognition, even if this practice still encounters many barriers.

Contributions of knowledge by indigenous populations to non-indigenous ways of life are still limited. Non-indigenous ways continue to prevail, and I dare say that it is not just the non-indigenous way of the white man but ways that are not culturally related to the Amazon region in general. They were imposed on us by a project disconnected from our reality. During the pandemic confinement period, we found ourselves ill but beyond physical illness because we only knew how to work in our segmented spaces for life production. Having to produce all spheres of our life in a single place was something we didn't know how to do because our urban architecture – from the perspective of social psychology – segments our way of doing things. If we don't leave home, our relationship with time changes, perhaps because, within our ancestry, we don't trust the transmission of knowledge through orality. We tend to transfer this role to the school, and the school also had to work through online classes with our children at home, simultaneously with our work produced at the home office. Many people could not produce their food because we don't use to produce our food in our backyard. This indigenous knowledge could have been extremely useful to us during the

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12 A reference to the Brazilian military dictatorship that lasted from 1964 to 1985.
13 See Moraes, R. D.; Vasconcelos, A. C. L. (Org.), 2011. *Subjetividade e trabalho com automação: estudo no Polo Industrial de Manaus*. Manaus: EDUA.

pandemic.

I would like us to close our conversation by thinking about strategies for this intercultural dialogue to have more impact on our lives, promoting changes in the relationship between the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic. I am thinking of changes capable of making the knowledge of indigenous populations more valued as part of our learning and of joint construction, perhaps, of a new sense of Good Living. I would like to hear from you about strategies to make this cultural heritage known, which indicates new ways of organizing our lives. We need a new concept of Good Living that differs from the hegemonic ways of organizing life, which, from my point of view, have led us to live unhealthy lives and deprived us of a sense of collectivity that is absent from our urban structure.

VMB: Claudia, it is crucial to emphasize that there is no such thing as a loss of indigenous identity. That is the idea I am working on in my doctoral research: it is not possible to lose indigenous identity. We are indigenous people, Manaus is ours, and we were the first to be here. They exterminated us, they committed genocide against us, they expelled us, and that's why our people went to live far away, in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Maués, Santo Antônio do Içá, in Alto Solimões. And it is also because there is no such thing as loss of indigenous identity that we are back, and we are again populating the city. Soon, Manaus will be indigenous again because we have appropriated Western academic knowledge and their weapons to learn how to fight. It's a fight, and we're reorganizing for that fight.

When we talk about reforesting the mind for the earth's healing, it is for you all to do the work you are doing, which is to listen to us. We want a space in the city. Several non-indigenous occupations were organized and managed to get housing and urban sanitation, even if precarious. These achievements were made possible through the support of the church, Pastoral da Terra, politicians, and evangelical churches. Now more than ever, we are reorganizing ourselves, especially the indigenous people who live in the cities, because we cannot have a Good Living if white people do not listen to us about our real needs.

If we have education and health within our small territory, everyone is supported. But one must realize that there are several cultural barriers to accessing these services. I studied at the university, and thus I understand how to behave in an education and health service. But my relative that didn't go to school, who has just arrived from his village, still speaks his language, and is living in the poor Tarumã neighborhood, has a different understanding and will act differently. Therefore, it is essential to offer education and health care that seeks to understand why indigenous people behave that way, why they speak that way, and why they ask for things that way. It is necessary to figure out why an indigenous student speaks in his language and try to understand what he says.

We have been fighting in colleges for the creation of indigenous entrance exams. This fight will endure because we lost our Deputy, who got a parliamentary amendment to create the Center for Indigenous Knowledge at the Federal university. They should have started this Center a long time ago. We never had this space, despite so many indigenous students who have already studied at UFAM and continue to study in various courses, and some are even PhDs. Many of these graduates are invisible because they do not attend churches and are not influential members of political parties. So this Good Living, this living well, will only really exist when our voices are listened to when we say, for example, that drug dealers and miners can no longer enter our territories and contaminate rivers.

Because residents don't have money to buy what they can no longer extract from the forest in compliance with environmental legislation. Fishing and crafts depend on our relationship with the forest, and we don't need to withdraw any surplus from it because our minds are not capitalist. We need to take care of the forest and preserve it, recalling that there is no such thing as sustainable development, that this notion is nonsense, a fallacy. There is no such thing as social responsibility because no company wants to exercise social responsibility. Thus, we are the ones who have to fight to live and save our identity and our ways of living, our rituals, and for this, we must have our space. Any planning never envisaged this space. This is why we attend Indigenous Peoples' Conferences: to be listened.

We are also afraid of interculturality today. We receive people in the communities considering what they expect to gain because, generally, only they earn without bringing any benefit to the community. This thought is quite common, especially concerning academic researchers, who always ask many questions, but do not bring anything to the community. So, I repeat that there is no such thing as a loss of indigenous identity. There are stereotypes created by white society – and even by

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some relatives – who think that if you are indigenous, you cannot live in a gated community as I do. You must live in a hut and walk with a headdress on your head. As if I don't have the dignity to study and work and live wherever I want.

But I know Marx, and he didn't say we should be poor. Marx said that as a worker, I have the same rights as other workers and employers. We are preparing the conference of indigenous peoples in the urban context to fight for equal rights, to be included and have our values considered in city planning processes, and to make it clear that, even living in the city, we do not lose our identity.

> **CS**: I thank you, Valéria, for your enormous contributions and rich reflections that are particularly interesting in Social Psychology, my field of study, and the Architecture and Urbanism area, helping us to think about places of the counter-hegemonic. I want to point out that these movements and indigenous women associations you mentioned, these resistance and existence movements, are conducted by women whose will is to keep in check three systems that feed each other, e. g., patriarchy, colonialism, and capitalism. These women have great power in handicraft production associations and ways of organizing themselves. And I, as a researcher who is also a woman, would like to highlight, in your speech, this movement of indigenous women against these three powerful forces that articulate the hegemonic modes of production of contemporary life. Thank you, Valéria, for the richness of this exchange and this moment, and thank you, Marcelo and the V!RUS committee, for making this encounter possible.

> **MT**: It is our pleasure! I thank you, Cláudia, and Valéria, for such a rich dialogue, so dense with information, reflections, and new understandings. You are right to highlight the need to reforest our understanding of the world and to include, in our references, different knowledge from the industrial modernity somehow imposed on us. I am immensely grateful to you, Valéria, for your generosity. I wish the conference to be successful, and I hope we can recover this knowledge that is not lost because you are preserving it in a very potent way. I hope we can join the fight to share it with Brazilians and the world and that it becomes a greater good in our society and our civilization.

VMB: Dear ones, I wish that the forest goddesses bless and protect you. May all that energy from the Amazon be over your heads and your minds so that you believe that the future is ancestral and that we indigenous people are here and we are part of it. We also built this Brazil, and we will not stop on our journey. Reforesting minds means doing what you are doing: listening to me, listening to the quilombo, as Antônio Bispo[14] says. And when you go to a city, don't visit the city because you already know how to build cities. Go to a village, an indigenous community, an indigenous neighborhood, a quilombo, the favelas, because that's where you have to walk to build a new Brazil, new homes, new architectures, thinking about these identities. May the forest goddesses bless you all.

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[14] Antônio Bispo dos Santos. Additional info: https://www.saberestradicionais.org/antonio-bispo-dos-santos/.

IMPURE MONTAGES OF AN ARCHITECTURE CALLED FOREST
MONTAJES IMPUROS DE UNA ARQUITECTURA CUYO NOMBRE ES FLORESTA
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Abstract

The starting point for this article was a fieldwork project carried out in the Rio Gregorio Indigenous Land, located in the Amazonian Forest in Acre State, where a series of architectural projects were developed together with a group of Yawanawá women in 2016. The objective of this visual work, which recovers some fragments, sketches and photographs of the process, is to open an investigative and experimental debate that considers the knowledge of the Yawanawá group as active and influential. The idea is to show that their geographical, constructive, biological, artistic, cultural, political and ecological knowledge is a powerful instrument in the production of ideas and thoughts in the field of counter-hegemonic architecture. Thus, we propose a methodology for thinking and practicing together, which aims to de-hierarchize the classic relations of knowledge production. Through the elaboration of impure visual montages, we seek to amplify voices and memories in layers of coexisting times. This reflection focuses on manifesting that Amazonian Forest Architecture is the product of an Amerindian agenda, designed collectively and intergenerationally. Building land, nurturing soils, generating other species, producing botanical abundance and significance implies the action and production of a counter-hegemonic project, formulating the conditions of an Architecture called Forest.

Keywords: Acrean Amazonian Forest, Rio Gregorio Indigenous Land (RGIL), Yawanawá Architecture, Ancestral Knowledge

1   Introduction: The encounter with Yawanawá Contemporary Architecture

As a doctoral student in 2016, I came into contact with the linguist Livia Camargo Souza through the National Museum professor, Bruna Franchetto[1]. Livia was planning a trip to the Rio Gregorio Indigenous Land (RGIL)[2], in the west of the North Region of Brazil, with the aim of documenting Yawanawá grammar, considered a threatened language[3]. With an interest in understanding the Amazonian processes of urban transformation, I accompanied Livia with the desire to empirically investigate the phenomena of extensive urbanization (Monte-Mór, 1989; Brenner; Schmid, 2012) that has had an impact on this Indigenous Land (RGIL) —figure 01. During the course of this field experience[4], a direct dialogue was established with Yawanawá women, who live in connection with planetary urban rhythms and wish to (re)invent architecture in their territory.

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[1] Bruna Franchetto is a Full Professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), and the Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology and Linguistics of the National Museum.

[2] The Rio Gregorio Indigenous Land was demarcated in 1983 and has an area of approximately 187,400 ha and a perimeter of approximately 239 km. According to the 2014 census (Siasi/Sesai), 813 Yawanawá live in the state of Acre (Brazil). Available at: https://terrasindigenas.org.br/pt-br/terras-indigenas/3846. Accessed 9 Nove. 2022.

[3] See list of endangered languages in Brazil. Available at: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_l%C3%ADnguas_amea%C3%A7adas_no_Brasil. Accessed 8 Jul. 2022.

[4] The field research was conducted during July and August, 2016. Arrival in Mutum village was on July 29 and departure on August 18.

MATRINXÃ – Year 2004 - Village located at the mouth of the river Matrinchã. Here lives the family of Mr. Francisco Luiz, known as Mr. Chicó, youngest son of the great Yawanawá leader, Antônio Luiz Velho and Angélica, a woman of the Katukina group. The village was founded in 1004 by Mr. Chicó, when he moved from the village Escondido with his entire family.

AMPARO – Decade of 2000 - Village constructed by the teachers Alderina Shaya and Inácio Veera, both active and important in the period when they taught in their village Nova Esperança. Together with their family, they decided to establish a new village close to Highway BR-364.

YAWARANI – Year 2012 – Village founded by the couple of teachers María de Fátima Scheki Teschki and Fernando Luiz Nani Yawanawá with their family.

SETE ESTRELAS – Decade of 1940-1950 - Old rubber plantation of chief Antônio Carioca. The arrival of the Katukina indigenous group at the Sete Estrelas Rubber Plantation starts in the 1940s. Currently it is considered a Yawanawá village.

TIBÚRCIO – Decade of 1990 - Old village of the Kutukina group, situated close to the mouth of the Tibúrcio river. It was founded by Mr. João, brother-in-law of Luiz, the leader of the Escondido Village.

ESCONDIDO – Year 1991 - Situated close to the mouth of the river of the same name. It was an old area of the rubber plantation and was reopened by Mr. Luiz Yawanawá, son of the Yawanawá leader Antônio Luiz Velho.

MUTUM – Year 1994 – Old village of the Katukina group, located at the mouth of the Mutum River, known as Tabacanãiã, and where the extensive family of Mr. Raimundo Luiz, son of the Yawanawá leader Antônio Luiz Velho settled.

NOVA ESPERANÇA – Year 1991 - The village was founded by Raimundo Luiz, son of the Yawanawá leader Antônio Luiz Velho, although today it is led by Biraci Brasil Yawanawá.

KAXINAWA – Between 1920 and 1926 - Founded by the great Yawanawá leader Antônio Luiz Velho when he decided to move his family to a region between the mouth of two rivers: Paturi and Carrapateira. It was situated in front of the `Kaxinawá Rubber Plantation´. Currently it is called "Holy Village" and is frequented by the family of the leader Biraci Brasil Yawanawá.

Old Yawanawá *shuhu*

Old Yawanawá *shuhu*, where the leader Antônio Luiz lived before contact with the chiefs and workers of the rubber plantation

Old *shuhu* of the leader, shaman and warrior Muka Nawa, of the Yawanawá group

Fig. 1: Diagram of villages in the Rio Gregorio Indigenous Land (RGIL) registered in 2016. Source: Mendo, 2018.

For several decades, the Yawanawá people have been receiving visitors interested in the medicinal and cultural knowledge in their villages, which has led to a series of spatial and architectural transformations in the GRIL. This group of women — despite living in a region immersed in the process of planetary urbanization[5] (Mendo, 2018)— maintain and defend their traditional ancestral knowledge, among which is the spatial knowledge of designing the landscape that they inhabit. Upon my arrival in Mutum, according to the cartography shown in Figure 2, the village *cacique* (leader) expressed her interest in the planning and execution of several architectural projects and expressed her desire to build spaces that would express the metamorphosis of the indigenous material culture, understanding the importance of consolidating certain native constructive know-how that would allow for the self-construction and self-management of the spaces. In her own words, it was not a question of "building a house in the shape of a hut", but of seeking the place of Yawanawá architecture in the contemporary world.

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[5] In the RGIL, a process of planetary urbanization has set in. It is not obvious at first glance and is deeply interrelated to the process of complete urbanization of society (Lefebvre, 1970; Brenner and Schmid, 2012). It is a set of economic, political and social relations established between the Yawanawá group and external urban agents that reposition forms of sociability, alliance, (re)existence and (re)invention in the indigenous territory (Mendo, 2018).

Fig. 2: Arrival by boat in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [sketches and photographs, 2016].

I shared daily life with residents in Mutum. Communication was mediated by the *cacique* and a group of women who frequented her house on a daily basis: her sister, sister-in-law and the Yawanawá teacher from the children's school. I was close with this small group and some other women close to them, as we carried out the collective activities[6] in an open space built by the *cacique*, which was an extension of her own house. Throughout the day, this space hosted groups of people of all ages, which spontaneously led to the multiplication of meetings, stories and some drawings produced by these exchanges. From this dialogue, the first sketches of the place emerged, made in my field notebook *in situ*, as well as the photographs of the indigenous spaces, which form the basic documents of this essay.

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[6] In the field of research into Yawanawá grammar, group activities were carried out during the first two weeks of the stay in Mutum. Subsequently, workshops were developed with children, young people and teachers from the school, aimed at architectural experimentation. The proposal was to elaborate small "architectural models" of future and desirable spaces in their village.

In this communal space I was able to establish a conversation with the elders of Mutum, who have preserved the structure and configuration of their traditional collective architecture, the *shuhu*[7], in their living memory. With the recovery of various cultural, artistic and ritualistic practices that began in the 1990s, the Yawanawá also subsequently considered the need to reformulate architectural spaces that would reclaim some of the symbols and/or meanings of the *shuhu*. However, there are no graphic records of this native space and the oral transmission from parent to child is the main source of the spatial and epistemological (re)construction of their traditional architecture. Spontaneously, during our meetings, several Yawanawá voices emerged and narrated their experiences and memories of the ancestral space. The sketch of the floor plan of the *shuhu*, in Figure 3, expresses the graphic reconstruction of a spoken story —sketched during the narration and simultaneously visualized by the speaker— thus allowing for the documentation of a printed orality.
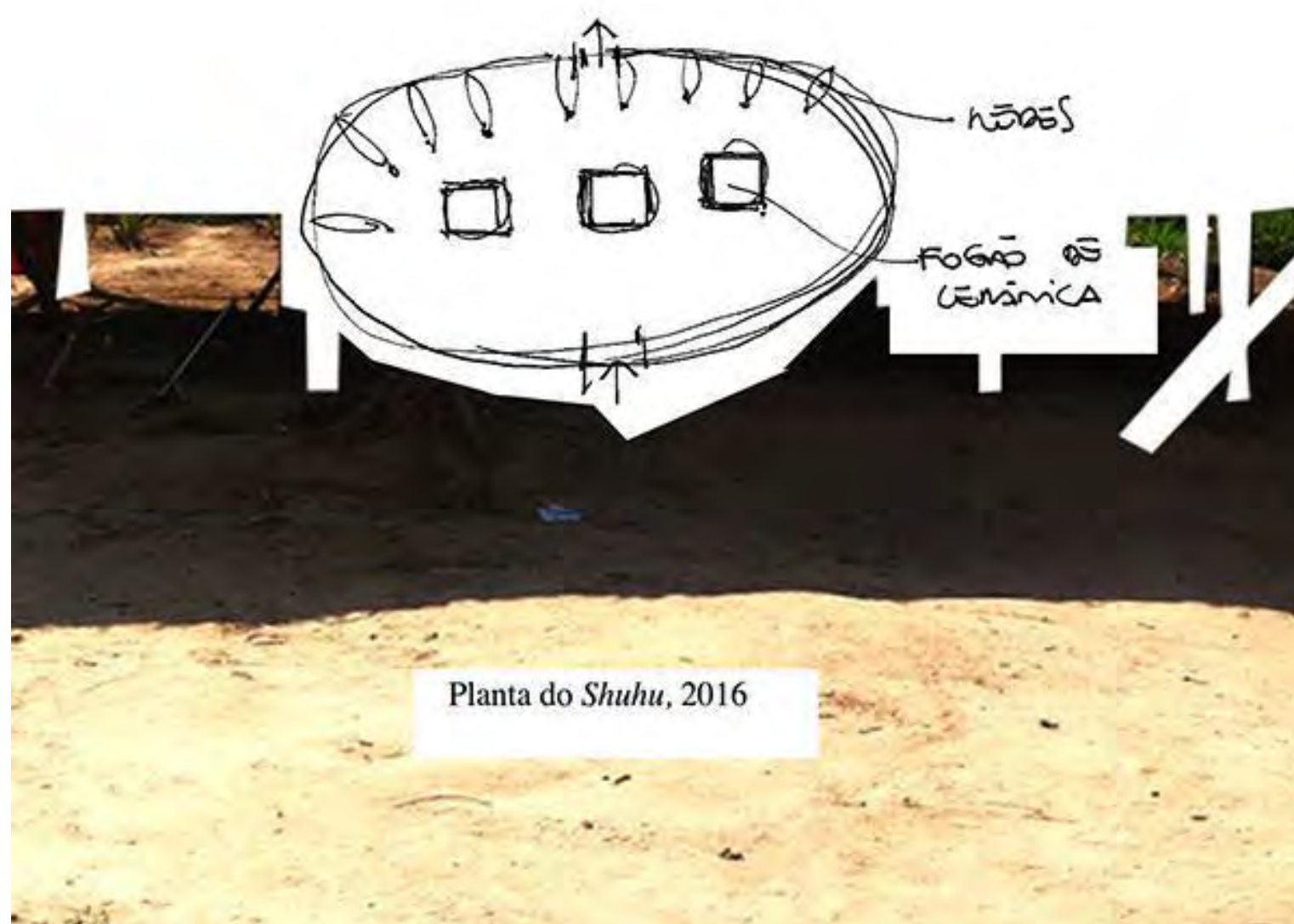
Fig. 3: *Shuhu* floor plan. Source: Mendo, 2022 [sketches and photographs, 2016].

Thus, through the spontaneous exercise of graphic (re)construction of their memories, spatial vestiges of the *shuhu* are articulated to other possible future architectures. In this sense, spatial knowledge survives "in those memories that we

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[7] For more information on the traditional architectural object, the *shuhu*, we recommend reading the article "Entre a dança e a arquitetura das mulheres Yawanawá: práticas espaciais indígenas na contemporaneidade" (Mendo, 2022). Available at: https://www.revistas.usp.br/posfau/article/view/176960. Accessed 9 August 2022.

reactivate in matrices of the past, but which are present and active, even today, being dynamic and marked by processes of resignification that will define our relationship with the memories of the body-territory in the future of those who are still to come" (Xakriabá, 2020, p. 111, our translation). The encounter with the women and the production of contemporary Yawanawá architecture marked the beginning of a line of research that, from that moment on, is considered of fundamental to establishment in academia: to think and practice methodological exercises of collective construction of knowledge in order to reconstruct a historiography of architecture and the production of Amerindian spaces[8].

2   Learning to Think Together

In order to establish a graphic exchange of knowledge with the Yawanawá women, the first experimental exercise of the architectural research activity was to express myself through a series of sketches and freehand drawings. In 2016, these sketches were not very successful as devices of interlocution and translation of knowledge with the Yawanawá. Therefore, in the second exercise the proposal was to think collectively about other architecture and to construct the imagined spaces through three-dimensional material devices, in the form of architectural models[9]. With this hands-on approach, together we managed to project some of the spaces that were later built by the group —between 2017 and 2019 (Mendo, 2022). Recently, revisiting my field notebooks, I recognised in this graphic documentation and sketches —as in the printed orality of the *shuhu*—, an essential record of the collective creative methodological process and the communicative effort experienced in the RGIL, carried out in 2016.

The montages made and exhibited in this essay in the form of collages excavate and (re)compose, through fragments of sketches and photographic cut-outs, a new account of the everyday experiences, encounters, knowledge, architectures, crossings and bifurcations that dwell in Mutum, as shown in figures 4 and 5. It is important to note that with this sequence of collages and/or impure montages (Jacques, 2021) we intend to progress towards the expansion of a diverse ontological repertoire of non-canonical stories, and this does not mean interpreting and/or describing Yawanawá architectural manifestations, on the contrary, we are affirming that Amerindian ancestral knowledge lives in their bodies and that they are active sources of their own production of knowledge. Thus, as Jacques (2021) suggests, montages can be a form of knowledge, a necessarily impure way of thinking. They are made up of scraps and/or remnants of other materials that, when associated, form other, surprising visions. Through this archaeological exercise, the excavation of memories that inhabit and coexist in different strata of time in the Amazon Forest, we search for vestiges, sediments, silenced voices and reminiscences that allow us to create another past and other possible futures.

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[8] The term Amerindian defines the indigenous peoples of the Americas, because of the similarities that unite the indigenous societies of North, Central and South America. Indigenous peoples or communities are also called Indians, but this word is the result of a historical misunderstanding, as the early colonisers thought they had arrived in India, misidentifying the natives as Indians. Available at: https://pib.socioambiental.org/pt/Quem_s%C3%A3o. Accessed 22 Nov. 2022.

[9] With this three-dimensional practical exercise, we were able to articulate shared narratives. While making the "inter-models", the intersection of Yawanawá cultural and constructive knowledge took material form, weaving delicate historical and architectural relationships between their ancestral wisdom and contemporary construction techniques (Mendo, 2018)

Fig. 4: Graphic record of the Yawanawá Study Centre in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [sketches and photographs, 2016].

Casa, Mutum, 2016
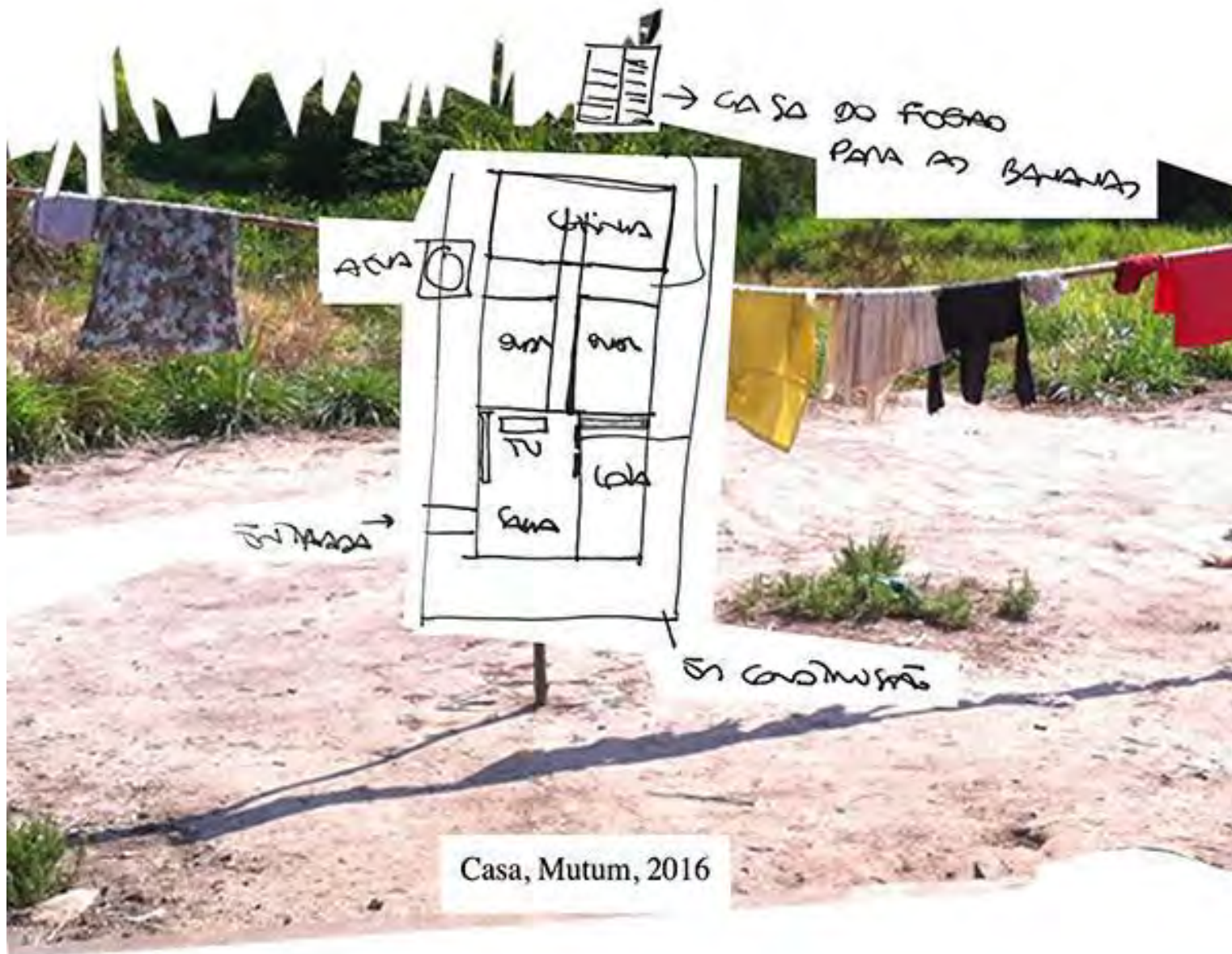
Fig. 5: Graphic records of the floor plan of a contemporary Yawanawá dwelling located in Mutum. Source: Mendo, 2022 [sketches and photographs, 2016].

Therefore, this work is an invitation to construct montages of other possible legacies that must be (re)assembled and (re)mapped together, contributing to the opening up of repertoires and cosmopolitical perspectives of learning which debate and expand what we can understand as the production of Amerindian space, as questioned in figures 6, 7 and 8. It is about claiming that indigenous geographical, spatial, artistic, political, biological and ecological knowledge (Jecupé, 1998; Kopenawa; Albert, 2015; Krenak, 2019; Xakriabá, 2020; Baniwa, 2021) is a powerful tool for the production of ideas and thoughts in the field of counter-hegemonic architectures. This visual research aims to open an academic, investigative and

experimental debate that considers Amerindian knowledge and practices as active and influential in the production of landscape and contemporary architecture.

Fig. 6: Photographic record of a house under construction in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

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Fig. 7: Photographic record of a house under construction in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

Fig. 8: Photographic record of a house built near the dam in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

As architects and urban planners we participate in the collective assembly of counter-narratives that, intertwined, formulate perspectives of reading, understanding and reinterpreting the territory. As we participate in the reconstruction and rearticulation of connections, periods and other possible constellations of suppressed or silenced historical memories, we must remain attentive to the incorporation and consideration of other voices and worldviews, including those that live outside the walls of the academy. And, in this sense, to experiment with methodologies to exercise thinking and practicing together, which implies de-hierarchising the classical relations of scientific knowledge production and broadening the paths that legitimize other kinds of knowledge (Viveiros de Castro, 2018). This implies practicing gestures and moving towards a methodological decolonising approach that (re)positions us horizontally with our interlocutors and their intellects, practicing and experimenting with other languages and means of engagement.

Thus, by proposing graphic and/or visual representations as a possible method of dialogue between different forms of knowledge, the aim is also to question some of the existing modes of academic communication that make dialogue impossible, and to experiment with other forms of language. Testing possibilities of redesigning and mapping together implies broadening the spectrum of possible configurations, with the aim of conversing with and being traversed by Amerindian oral knowledge —a knowledge in motion that inhabits the body-territories— which constitute other ways of thinking about and producing architecture. In this reflection, several questions arise *a priori*: Why do native peoples not appear in the historical narratives which shape and found cities in the architectural foundations and of Brazilian urbanism; who cuts, juxtaposes, constellates and produces these hegemonic narratives; and finally, could other impure montages of urban-territorial and architectural historiography be formulated on the basis of Amerindian fragments archaeological and counter-narrative?

3   What is Updated as a Heritage

"It is necessary to recognise that pre-colonial human occupation, in a certain way, guides some of the processes of occupation in the present", states Brazilian archaeologist Eduardo Góes Neves (2006, p. 10, our translation), pointing out that Amerindian forms of territorialization are the foundations of present-day urban and territorial occupation —although they are often not recorded in academic historiographies. There is a significant epistemic vacuum resulting from the silencing of Amerindian narratives that has hindered the production of knowledge in the field of urbanism, especially in studies that address the formation and founding of cities and urban centers. In the case of silenced Amerindian narratives, it would not be enough to promote the expansion of plural historiographies, "since it is not a question of different perspectives on history, but of historical reparation", as the architect Paulo Tavares (2020, our translation) observes.

In this discussion, it is paramount, initially, to deconstruct the recurrent narrative that pre-colonial native ways of life left no material marks on the territory, due to their constant nomadism. "It is likely that pre-colonial systems were less mobile than today's [indigenous groups]", reveals Neves (2006, p. 37, our translation). His recent research shows that there was no metal utensil manufacture in the past and, therefore, it is unlikely that the manual process of clearing the Amazonian bush was a consistent practice. Thus, Neves proposes this new hypothesis: Amerindian groups in the Amazon would not have had the degree of nomadism previously concluded by other archaeologists (Neves, 2006).

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Following this line of research, one of the contemporary material marks of Amerindian production of the Amazonian landscape is the existence of *terras pretas*— brown soils located near archaeological sites. These lands were produced by indigenous peoples who inhabited these regions for long periods of time and who modified the structure and formation of the soil, creating biodiverse and nutrient-rich soils (Neves, 2006). As a consequence of less agile and mobile agricultural systems, one can also speculate the presence of pre-colonial villages and/or even cities (Heckenberger; Petersen; Neves, 1999), leaving clearly visible marks and foundations in the landscape due to the long-lasting duration of their existence.

Therefore, the *terras pretas* show us how the production of space and environment by Amerindian peoples is the result of prolonged and cumulative periods of occupation and metamorphosis of the territory, which implies a conscious and collective process of *building Forest*. Moreover, during these processes of occupation, numerous and sophisticated methods of morphological selection of certain species[10] were carried out. As such, creating biological relationships and environmental spaces also involved domesticating wild varieties that evolved over a long period of time, that is to say, there is a project of intergenerational landscape making. Recognising that there is an architectural project to build forest —which encourages the production of other soils and the generation of abundant multi-species relations (Tsing, 2012), as shown in the Yawanawá architecture in Figure 9— may be the beginning of an urgently needed epistemic shift in our field of knowledge.

[10] These processes are nowadays identified through palaeobotanical remains found in archaeological sites.

Fig. 9: Photographic record of a dwelling among the trees in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

4   Final Considerations

The dialogue with archaeological lines of research opens up other possibilities for understanding and explaining the production of space and the Amazonian landscape in the past, present and future. And, above all, it is proving necessary to recompose geological narratives and excavate territorial memories buried and rooted in the forest that tap into the ancestral knowledge that inhabits the Amerindian body-territories. This historical reparation must be undertaken, anchored firmly in the active oral history of indigenous peoples. In the case of the Yawanawá, they also demand protagonism in the spatial production of the area of the recent Acrean Forest. From the first years of contact with non-indigenous people in the 1920s-1930s, the Yawanawá were mobilized as a labor force in the *seringais*[11]. Due to their geographical knowledge of the territory, they opened up the rubber roads, communications and the circulation of raw materials by river transport, because "only the

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[11] Rubber plantations exploited by non-indigenous groups in the Amazon region.

Indians knew how to explore the raw bush, to explore from one river to the other", according to living Yawanawá oral sources (Vinnya; Pinedo; Teixeira, 2007, p. 27, our translation).

Connected to the historical narratives of the Yawanawá, recent archaeological research confirms the existence of a materially built infrastructure in the Amazon landscape, such as the innumerable embankments, canals, roads, paths, etc., which were laid out by the Amerindian peoples, with their ancestral techniques and knowledge. In this Forest Architecture, the earth is the raw material and, recently, due to the advance of sophisticated satellite mapping techniques, it has been possible to reveal the remains and observe the ruins hidden under the Amazon Rainforest. These architectural and infrastructural formations, which for decades were considered naturally formed spaces, are the result of Amerindian construction processes and, therefore, it is necessary to claim them here as counter-hegemonic forms of architecture aimed at building the forest. These material formations also express the indigenous peoples' resistance in modern times, preserving and reinventing their environmental, ecological, energetic, social, political, etc. practices.

Fig. 10: Photographic record of a circular house in Mutum. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

Fig. 11: Photographic record of the entrance to a house in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photograph, 2016].

With this series of visual documents and/or impure montages, the aim is to show and defend that the construction of this Forest-Architecture is the product of an Amerindian agenda of coexistence with the landscape designed collectively and intergenerationally. Thus, it is visually affirmed, through the sequence of cut-out fragments, that Amerindian Amazonian architecture reveals, as a heritage, a wide range of techniques and knowledge of building land, nourishing soils, generating species, producing botanical abundance as well as their own meanings through their practices of action-production of spaces. The landscape built by the Amerindian peoples, as presented in figures 12 and 13, is being reclaimed here as a spatial projectual practice, since their constructive, technical and material knowledge was and is activated and transmitted, formulating the project conditions for a counter-hegemonic Architecture called Forest.

Fig. 12: Photographic record of the bridge built by the Yawanawá in Mutum village. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photo, 2016].

Fig. 13: Photographic record of the igarapé Mutum support structure. Source: Mendo, 2022 [photo, 2016].

Acknowledgment

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CIVIC MEDIA NETWORKS IN THE AMAZON AND THE DIGITAL COUNTER-HEGEMONY
REDES DE MÍDIA CÍVICA NA AMAZÔNIA E A CONTRA-HEGEMONIA DIGITAL
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Abstract

This article is based on the role played by media practices in constructing a stereotyped idea of low-income districts in Brazilian cities and seeks to present, as a contrast, the potential reaction of digital-based movements made up of young people who wish to break with the media framework imposed upon their communities. The project developed in the Terra Firme neighborhood in the city of Belém in the northern Brazilian state of Pará has been adopted as a case study, within the scope of the public university and in partnership with the community - represented by young university students who entered the institution based on the quota policy. The project identified, characterized and supported emerging civic media networks within these communities, particularly during the 2010s, through participatory methodologies for the co-creation of knowledge. As a result, it produced collaborative cartographies, a web series on the history of the neighborhood narrated by residents, maps updated online and technical training that enabled actions and generated new agendas for the social media. These productions forced the mainstream to accept a new media contextualization of the neighborhood, thereby breaking away from the narrative monopoly by conventional media vehicles, and promoting social innovation in public policies. The actions presented herein are a sample of some of the reactions against the hegemony of social and urban development models that result in the marginalization and even concealment of entire sectors of society.

Keywords: The Amazon, Civic Media Networks, Media Practices

1   Introduction

Globalization has leveraged changes that have turned cities into the main stage of social, political, cultural and economic transformations. In these cities, the cultural industry, through media practices, has taken part in the diffusion and dissemination of an urban and economic development paradigm, which was instilled in a hegemonic manner, bringing about impacts on stereotyped and/or invisible populations (Canclini, 2008). Such practices were operated through printed content, radio broadcasting and television, with programs that, even until the present day, portray the peripheries of large cities as being scenarios of violence and precariousness, and that depict their population in a stereotyped manner, labeling them as a social minority. Hence, even though social plurality has been recorded in cities ever since the urbanization unleashed in the 1960s, the city has been represented by the media as "a much more homogeneous space than it really is" (Canclini, 2002, p. 45). It should be emphasized that such practices are a global phenomenon, since they not only occur in Latin America, but also in North America, with Latino and Afro-descendant minorities, in Europe with gypsies and immigrants, and across different parts of the world according to the local characteristics.

The media is an important tool for disseminating conceptions of urban, economic and social development that are currently hegemonic on the urban landscapes of the planet, despite the regional differences. Thus, informal settlements that have occupied a large part of the landscape of cities in the global South have become an antithesis of the hegemonic idea of the city and, for decades, the way of dealing with the population that inhabits these spaces has been to label them as criminals or as being situated on the margins of society (Cavalcante, 2020). Even so, over the decades, the resident population on the peripheries has demonstrated actions which counteract the imposed model, and which have resulted in urban revolts, in struggles for the right to housing and in several other forms of calling for visibility and civil rights. However, through the massification of communication technology networks at the end of the 2000s, these groups have advanced in agendas of autonomy and participation regarding their living space, with the so-called Civic Media Networks.

Civic Media are technologies that enable a participatory culture in public life with the emergence of a post-citizen (Zuckerman, 2014, p. 156), characterized by a deep feeling of revolt against the political and financial systems (Castells, 2017), and "an interest—perhaps a need—for participants to see their impact on the issues they're trying to influence" (Zuckerman, 2014, p. 156). In addition, network actions, besides being political, perform activities of a cultural nature through the production of content potentialized by social media (Darchen, 2017, p. 3617; Kahne, 2014, p. 7). The first examples, that gained strength through digital media, were The Arab Spring and the Pots and Pans Revolution in 2008 (Castells, 2017) and, since then, this emerging organizational strategy of civic actions has spread across the world. In Brazil, such networks have evolved on the urban peripheries due to a number of reasons, two of which are particularly outstanding. First, with the end of the State

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Telephone Monopoly in Brazil in 1998 and the popularization of mobile devices, data packages accessible to those in the lower income strata of society promoted their insertion into digital networks (Cavalcante, 2020). The second item is related to changes in the admission system to universities in Brazil, especially through the Law of Admission by Quotas (Federal Law 12711/2012), which began to guarantee fifty percent of places for students from public schools, and for indigenous and Black people and those with disabilities, thereby bringing public universities closer to the reality of the peripheries.

Although there is literature on Civic Media, studies regarding the Brazilian peripheries are still rare, which has therefore led to a series of assumptions concerning how they function, how they appear, and mainly, the impact that these media cause, both on the community and on society as a whole. For example: the research hypothesis expected that the topology of these networks would be horizontal and distributed in a type of democratic utopia or alternative society, which was not confirmed in the research, since, despite the topological decentralization they demonstrated, in structural terms, the civic media networks present certain nodes with a higher concentration of connections than others (Cavalcante, 2020).

The main motivation for the research was to discover ways to socially innovate and provide autonomy for peripheral communities regarding issues of urban management based on the characteristics of the groups that use civic media. Thus, the project began with the aim of characterizing and developing actions to strengthen active civic media networks and to identify the mode of operating and the potential impact of these networks on the relationship of the districts with society, the media and the government. An extension and research project called Data Firme was carried out, between 2018 and 2020, with groups that, at the time, were beginning to appear both online and in face-to-face activist actions in the streets of the city, protesting against the urban violence suffered by those living on the periphery of the city. A participatory design was used and, as a fixed team, twelve student members of the community, who had been admitted to university through the quota system, were mobilized, together with other non-student members, in addition to local residents invited for specific actions.

The project used the qualitative methodology of the focus group in order to develop collective tasks (Kitizinger, 1994). These activities created situations that have been experienced in the community and were oriented towards developing products that would help the community to modify its living space, as is typical of civic media networks. The main methodological tool used in the meetings was Design Thinking, understood as an "exploratory process; [which] done right, it will invariably make unexpected discoveries along the way" (Brown, 2009, p. 15). The work of interacting with people takes place in three stages: "An inspiration space, in which insights are gathered from every possible source; an ideation space, in which those insights are translated into ideas; and an implementation space, in which the best ideas are developed into a concrete, fully conceived plan of action. (Brown, 2009, p. 63).

This experience was consolidated in a master's dissertation, which is also the basis of this article. The first objective of the present text is to describe both the Civic Media Networks in a neighborhood called Terra Firme and the project developed in partnership with the university. The text also aims to explore the relationship established between the university education of the quota students and strengthening the civic media networks within their communities. Along this route, pathways have been sought that challenge the hegemonic and prejudiced view of low-income districts in Brazilian cities.

2   Terra Firme: From Occupation to the Civic Media Networks

The urbanization of this neighborhood was undertaken in a spontaneous, unplanned manner on the periphery of the Brazilian city of Belém in the Northern state of Pará, in a wetland as presented in Figure 1. Improvised occupations in floodable areas, which were extremely high density because they were informal and populous, had received several improvements, but had remained precarious, and have been classified by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and statistics (IBGE - 2020) as subnormal settlements. Until the end of the 1960s, the population of Terra Firme was 4,250 (Penteado, 1967), which, by 1991, had reached 59,231 (Rodrigues, 1996). For comparison purposes, during the same period, the population of Belém leapt from 693,000 in 1970 to around 1.2 million in 1991. During this period, while the city presented a growth of 96 percent, the population in the neighborhood grew by an impressive 1,293 percent. Unfortunately, the 2010 census data does not provide an updated number, although the website of the municipal government of Belém estimates that the neighborhood has a current population of 60 thousand. Of the more than four hundred hectares in the neighborhood, 83.75 percent are floodable (Pegado et al., 2014) since they are located on the floodplain of the Tucunduba River. In the 1980s, a time of the greatest growth, the constructions were mainly on wooden stilts with no sewage or piped water. The population landfilled the

flooded area and consolidated the occupation with the solid waste that came from the formal city (Interview with Francisco Batista[1], 2019).
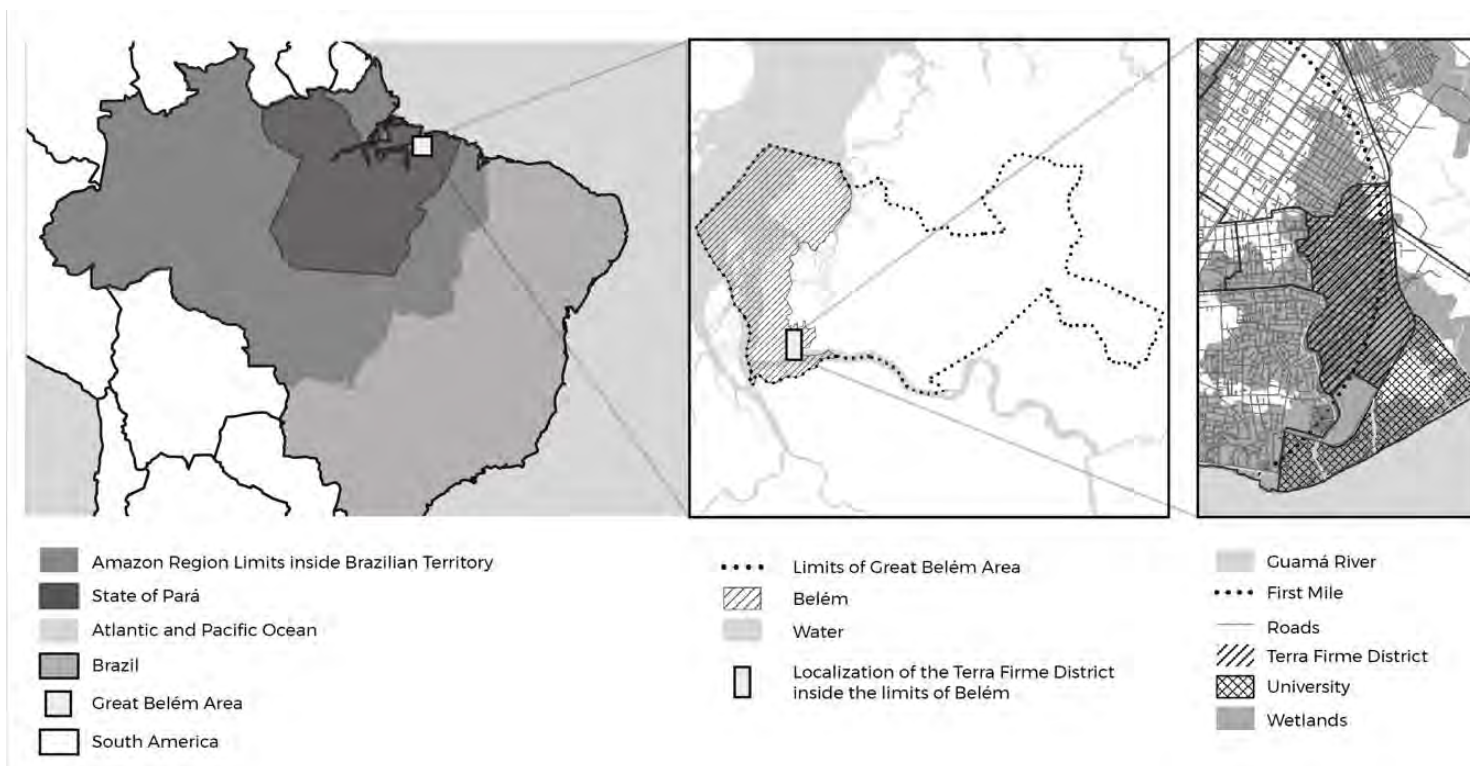
Fig.1: Location of the Terra Firme District. This image illustrates: (1) The position of Greater Belém inside Brazil (2) The limits of Terra Firme inside Greater Belém (3) The proximity of Terra Firme to the Center of Belém, and the presence of the floodable areas. Source: Own elaboration, 2022.

This type of settlement became characteristic of the lowland areas of Belém, which extended existing districts and created low-income districts which, as presented in Figure 2, are interwoven with the up standards districts. This is called the nearby periphery, inserted into the metropolitan center (Lima et al., 2015, p. 161). This explains both the proximity between formal and low-income districts and the pattern of occupation in the southern portion of Belém. From the 1970s, during the occupation of the North region, migrants arrived in cities that were unprepared to receive them. The housing programs implemented were aimed at formal workers in very remote areas, while the migrant population remained in the lowlands, given the ease of access to public services and income generation opportunities in the formal city (markets, commerce, providing services), factors that influenced an increase in the income of families living in the area (Lima, 2000, p. 193 cited in Cardoso, 2007, p. 83).

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[1] Francisco Batista is a resident of the neighborhood and one of the main exponents of the civic media movements present in the community.
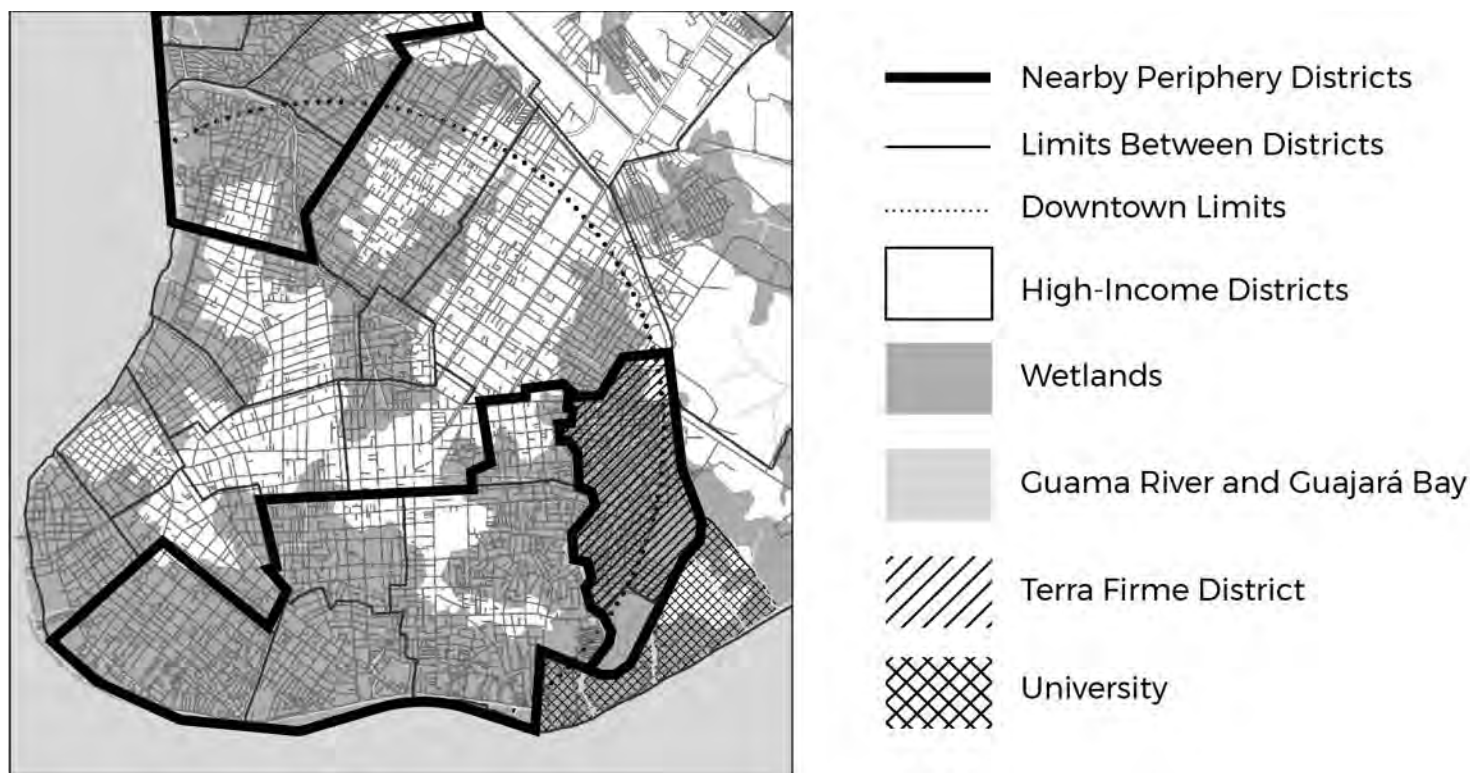
Fig. 2: Situation of the Districts in the Nearby Periphery in the Metropolitan Center. Highlighting the Terra Firme Neighborhood, and the University, where the project took place. Source. Own elaboration. 2022.

Thus, the occupation of these lands was marked by both the precarious conditions that existed there and the conflicts with the large landowners (in the particular case of Terra Firme, the land belonged to the Union). This movement occurred against the natural conditions of the floodplain and against public opinion, which called such settlements "invasions" (Cardoso, 2007). This context was accompanied by a media spectacularization that framed this type of occupation within a strictly legalistic perspective, characterizing it as an unlawful action. Canclini (2008) categorized such media practices as being part of a strategy of disinformation, stating that "policies exist to distort and conceal information as a government and media strategy in order to concentrate and to exclude large sectors of society, thereby causing them to become invisible" (Canclini, 2008, p. 17, our translation). In fact, this idea exposes that the role of the media is to homogenize the image of the city, concealing everything that is outside the ideal (modernist) parameter of what may be considered a street, house, or neighborhood.

Despite this, over time, such settlements have been consolidated as low-income districts, which have become "improved, receiving social (education and health care services) and physical (water supply, sanitation and drainage) infrastructures" (Cardoso, 2007, p. 56), although from a physical viewpoint, this consolidation process was incomplete. In addition, residents of peripheral districts, such as Terra Firme, still live with violence: the highest homicide rates occur on the peripheries, which is also where militias and drug cartels operate. Faced with this context, in the 1990s, a type of media entertainment emerged in the country that explored urban violence in the outskirts, called community journalism, but which worked mainly with police news. Until the 2010s, in Belém there were five television programs, three radio programs, and two printed supplements dedicated to this type of content (Cavalcante, 2020, p. 75).

The turning point occurred in 2014, after the so-called "Belém Massacre" in which 11 youths from the periphery were killed by militia actions, in response to the death of a militia police officer. The so-called "Responses" had been taking place ever since 1996 in Belém, as actions to control the peripheral population through fear (Cavalcante, 2020). Media practices fulfilled the function of rendering this population invisible to public opinion, since, for the rest of the city, the victims of such massacres did not seem to matter. Ultimately, the idea existed that residents of the periphery had some connection with organized crime and therefore, according to the media, "got what they deserved". However, after the 2014 massacre, changes took place in the elements of media practices and a process of transformation began to emerge regarding the image of the periphery. Media practices are composed of meaning, competence and materiality (Lunemborg; Raetzch, 2018, p. 22). These elements are interconnected and work in the way people read one another. However, once the connections between them have become broken, the practices in question also disappear, giving way to new practices that resurface from what had once existed.

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In the case in question, there were two changes that promoted transformations: the first was the presence of the young people born into the neighborhood - university students and far more aware of their role within society - who rejected the archetype of marginalized people that had been imposed upon them. The second was the end of the narrative monopoly. The expansion of telecommunication networks on the periphery occurred with access to data packages designed for consumption by the low-income population. Among the metropolitan regions of Brazil, greater Belém is particularly outstanding, with 96.4 percent of connectivity, which is mainly due to the use of smartphones. Thus, fear gave way to outrage, followed by action. Through digital media networks, the youth movement organized protests and began to produce audiovisual content that, in some way, was able to sensitize public opinion. This is the type of action that characterizes the groups formed during Data Firme as civic media networks (Zuckerman, 2014; Castells, 2017).

3 The Civic Media Networks in Terra Firme

After the Belém Massacre, young people used email groups so as to organize protests and debates. It was through this articulation that the vast majority met and formed the first civic media group, Tela Firme. (Interview with Ingrid Louzeiro[2], 2020). Tela Firme achieved some of its objectives, since a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry was set up to investigate the action of militia police, and also verified that it had reached academics and artistic producers thanks to the clear visibility that the project achieved. However, it failed to reach public opinion and the mainstream. The framework produced by the main information vehicles remained the same, but Tela Firme maintained the production of content and activism via social media. As of 2017, an approximation began between the university and the Tela Firme group, driven by the presence of some of its members on undergraduate courses, such as arts, pedagogy and multimedia production, which culminated in the proposal for Data Firme.

4 Data Firme

The project was developed between March 2018 and May 2020 as an extension action of the Digital Languages Incubator at the Faculty of Visual Arts and as a research project on the Postgraduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism (PPGAU), both at the Federal University of Pará. Several meetings were held with the collective composed of university students and non-students, organizing them into work groups with programmed actions, objectives and goals according to three themes: promoting citizenship, increasing income and constructing social capital. Table 1 presents the desired impact for each of these themes, which are then discussed as dimensions. The dimensions were defined based on participant reports and their expectations concerning how they would like to impact the community, resulting from dialogues that took place during the Design Thinking workshops.

Dimensions	Desired Impact
Promoting Citizenship	Increased visibility of low-income people and excluded groups. Physical access to the market in order to sell low-income production.
Increasing Income	Best marketing channels for small businesses.
Constructing Social Capital.	Increased sense of belonging. Increased self-esteem related to presence in the neighborhood. Construction of a social network of trust, reciprocity and cooperation with development.

Table 1: Categories and Impact desired by the civic media groups that acted at the beginning of Data Firme. These categories are grouped according to the Practical Guide for Generating Artemisia Impact (Silva, 2017). Source: Own elaboration. 2018.

[2] Ingrid Louzeiro is an educator and member of Tela Firme. At the time of the Belém Massacre, she was a teenager and was personally impacted by the actions of the militia across the neighborhood.

As the discussions progressed so the ideation and action plan unfolded for the development of products that the project needed to deliver: a web series with seven episodes recounting the history and culture of Terra Firme and the II Social Cartography of Terra Firme. Within the scope of the university, twelve undergraduate and postgraduate students were selected, all of whom lived in the neighborhood and were involved with civic media groups. In addition to the students, the project also included five audio-visual professionals, two geographers and received the collaboration of those living in the neighborhood. The participation should also be mentioning professors from the course on Technology in Multimedia Production, lecturers from the Graduate Program in Architecture for supervising the project coordinator, and another similar group based in Terra Firme, *Ame o Tucunduba* (Love the Tucunduba). This latter group was made up of eight female students from the university who worked on raising awareness on the Tucunduba River basin.

The project was executed in four stages: planning, research, production and post-production. Quantifiable goals were established at each stage, which were then assessed at the end. During planning, training activities were held for the selected team, with script workshops, planning and management of the Agile project and meetings with university students. The research phase included documentary research, and filming interviews with exponents of the neighborhood's first waves of occupation, totaling more than twenty hours of recorded interviews. There was also a Data Firme Hackathon, by *Ame o Tucunduba* with the support of Tela Firme, and the II Social Cartography of Terra Firme, commanded by Tela Firme, under the supervision of the geographer and local leader Francisco Batista. The proposal for the Social Cartography came about through the initiative of the residents themselves, since ten years before, a first social cartography had been elaborated with the help of the university. This was a process of collective construction "that brought together the researchers and mapped social agents with the same degree of importance" (Santos, 2017, p. 2, our translation) and that, therefore, enabled the residents' knowledge regarding the mapped spaces and characteristics to be incorporated.

As a result, the cartography field work mobilized the neighborhood residents, who collected information according to six categories: Religion, Community and Cooperative Entities, Education, Commerce, Services and Leisure, in addition to reviewing the databases referring to the road structure (As shown in Figure 03, Comparison between Google Maps and OpenStreetMap, 2022).
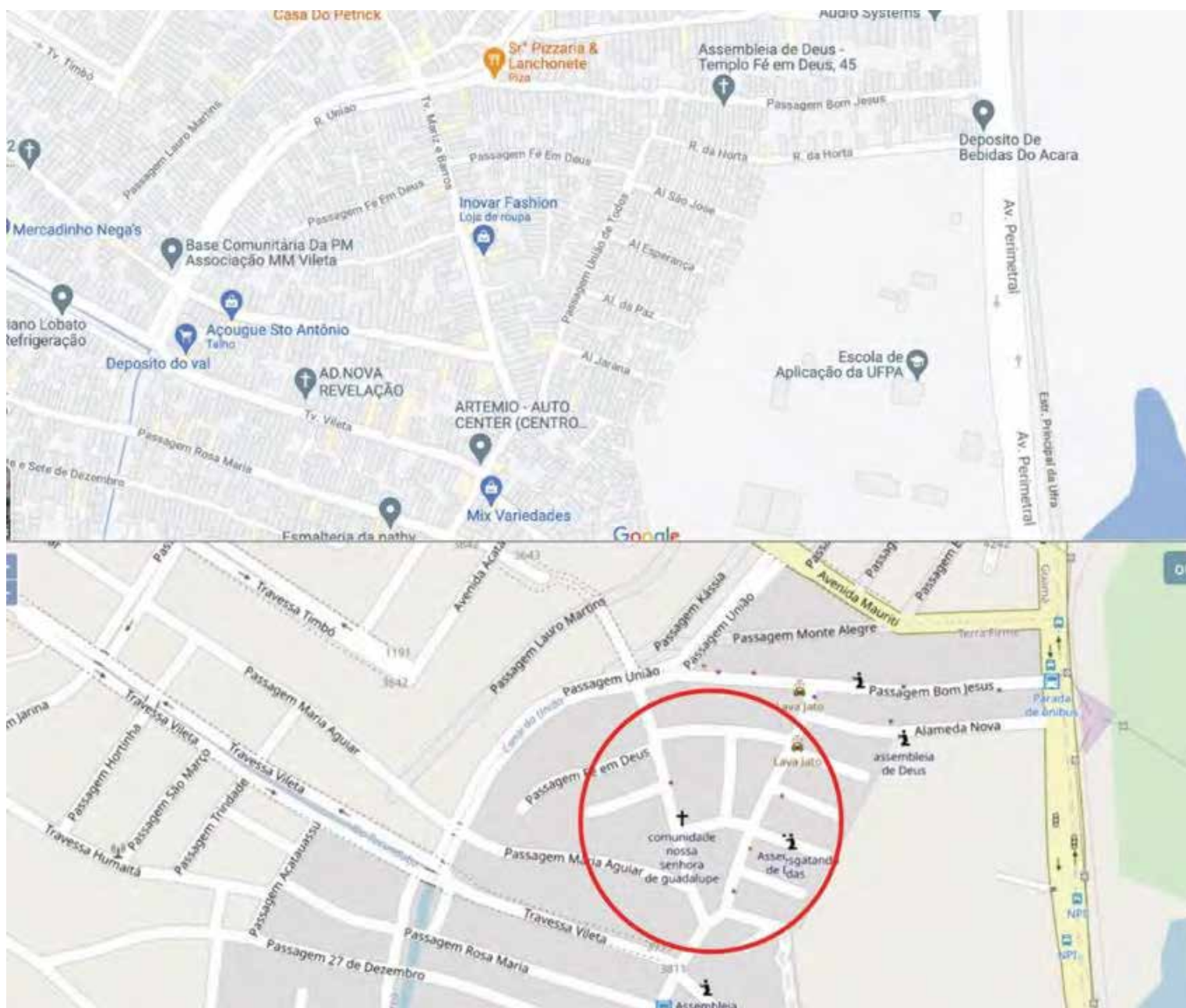
Fig. 3: Comparison between Google Maps and OpenStreetMap. In this image, a comparison is made of the differences between the neighborhood's road network according to Google Maps and to OpenStreetMap. It may be noted that the logic of streets as structures followed by sidewalks for pedestrians and vehicle traffic is not respected in the neighborhood, where the streets often run over rivers. The project included "invisible" routes. Sources: Google Maps and OpenStreetMap, 2022.

The cartography data, compiled in spreadsheets, served as material for the web series videos and were made available through digital networks by means of pen drives and printed matter[3]. At this point, the use of OpenStreetMap (OSM) is highlighted, which is basically a Wikipedia of Maps (Meier, 2015, p. 14), since there is an international community of collaborators that feed it. OpenStreetMap was chosen because it has advantages over other cartographic tools for this type of survey (such as ArcGis), since, as it is online, it allows contributions to be collaborative and shared, in addition to providing cloud storage and enabling the development of mobile applications. At the end of the project, three hundred boxes with the products were shared in schools and with social actors who replicated these data within the community. Engagement during the process was so intense that it attracted the attention of the city's main communication vehicles and contributed to achieving the impacts that were desired in the community.

5   The Impact of the Civic Media Networks

It is common for impact assessment to be based on quantitative indicators. However, during the duration of the project, it was only possible to measure the visualization and engagement data generated on Facebook, since, in order to infer an

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[3] Available at http://www.cartografiasocial.com.br/.

Increase in Income and the Construction of Social Capital, it would be desirable either to have updated census data or to conduct a survey on the associations in the neighborhood. As an indicator of increased visibility throughout the duration of the project, there is concrete data demonstrating that, in 2019, on the Tela Firme fan page there were seven thousand followers and no post content had reached more than twenty-six thousand people. By May 2020, the page had reached thirteen thousand followers, and between January and May of that year, there were twelve posts that had reached between seventeen thousand and six hundred thousand people. The post with the most views was exactly that which, on the day that the public university selection results were announced, presented a party which had been thrown for the young people of the neighborhood who had passed the university entrance test. For the purposes of comparison, the most outstanding program among the television programs of community journalism - which, until then, had only illustrated the periphery in its precarious aspects - reported peaks of fourteen audience points, which, according to the Kantar Ibope Institute, in Greater Belém, corresponded to an audience of 21,619[4] people, (Cavalcante, 2020, p. 108).

It is also possible to infer other impacts generated by the project from the empirical observation of the growth in the dissemination of content produced by the neighborhood through social media and the effective change in media practices. The first sign of change was the journalistic coverage of parties on the periphery for those had passed the university entrance test, which until then had received little visibility. The second was the inclusion of members from the civic media networks in constructing journalistic agendas for the periphery.

Three events that directly participated in the Data Firme project illustrate these new practices. The first was the production of an article on precarious settlements in Belém, for which Tela Firme appointed university professors linked to the project to talk about the subject on the main local television news program. The second was an action by *Ame o Tucunduba*, which used a digital media campaign to call for social control over the macro-drainage works in the Tucunduba Basin, which became the agenda of television news programs. The last was the launch of the results of the II Social Cartography of Terra Firme, which took place on October 16, 2020, when interviews were given to radio stations, television programs, and articles were published in the city's printed newspapers.

Another indication of the impacts caused by the Civic Media Networks is the change in the relationship between the population and the government, which established practices called Grassroots Social Innovations (García et al., 2015). Such types of innovation occur when initiatives by citizen collectives result in new agreements with the government, triggering new urban and social management practices (García et al., 2015, p. 93). For this, it is possible to highlight the new practices designed for the government program *Ter Paz* [Be in Peace] (www.terpaz.pa.gov.br) which, until 2020, was placed as the main social program of the Government of the State of Pará for peripheral areas of Greater Belém. The organizers of the program faced great difficulty in engaging the population of low-income districts, since the program had been based on top-down strategies, dependent on selected replicators in the communities for disseminating actions and on the adherence of residents to social programs. In 2020, after two years of the program, the results demonstrated the ineffectiveness of this strategy. This was when the idea emerged at the Citizenship Secretariat to promote social innovation, based on addressing and activating partnerships with civic media groups. Tela Firme was hired to promote *Ter Paz* within the communities by repeating the Social Cartography. Since August 2021, when it was contracted, the project has operated in seven districts using its collaborative networks and partnership with other civic media groups, helping to train more than fifty young people and to map out actions in four axes: Education, Culture, Associativism, and Sports and Leisure[5]. The expectation is that such results will help to engage the population and also to develop social policies that are more appropriate for each reality.

However, the most important impact of all has probably been the transformation of the people involved in the project. The partnership with the community has imposed many challenges onto the academic team. First, because there is an elitist history at the university regarding treating the external public, it is common for professors, despite being well-intentioned, to believe that they have the answers for social problems simply by being part of the academic structure. On this point, one of the main merits of the project has been to maintain the civic media groups as protagonists, thereby ensuring equality for both the university and non-university voices and, thus, having cooperated so that actions evolved as they were deemed necessary. Another challenge corresponds to the very precariousness of the situation. The work projects were carried out

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[4] Referring to one audience point according to the Kantar IBOPE.

[5] The results of this project made available at https://terpaz.cartografiasocial.com.br/ in August 2022.

professionally, but with students who, for the most part, had never had experience with multimedia projects on the job market. Therefore, the role of the professionals and professors who were involved in any of the phases of the project was also to supervise and wait for the results to reach the best possible level within the technical and operational limitations. Even so, the quality of the productions was very high, even with delays.

The high quality of the products was mainly due to the level of engagement of both the students and the Terra Firme community. Data Firme contributed to the training of students, not only in terms of using technological resources, but also in terms of how they understand their role in the world. This has consequently led to changes in the relationship between the community and the media, and also between the community and the government. Moreover, among those who participated in the project, two of them began university studies, having been inspired by civic media: Izabela Chaves, in Cinema, and Walbster Martins, in Multimedia Production. These students continued their academic activities, approaching the area of human rights and assumed a perspective of reality where they see themselves as protagonists of the ongoing changes. Another student, Ingrid Louzeiro, one of the founders of Tela Firme in 2014, obtained her master's degree during Data Firme. Not only was she one of the students most engaged with the community and with the development of work, but she also took what she had leant to the city hall, where she is currently working to develop an adult literacy program. These three students are an example of the profile of the twelve who were welcomed into the project and are indicative of the university's action in the lives of young people who enter through the special access regime.

6   Conclusion

Much is said about the negative impacts that social media algorithms have on society, such as aggravating filter bubbles and their consequent effects on the radicalization of ideological and political groups. However, it is necessary to emphasize that any technology may have either positive or negative effects, depending on the purposes of the groups that employ it. In the case of digital media, the premise is that "in the early stages of its development, any technology is messy and uncertain" (Duarte; Alvarez, 2021, x) and this makes it possible to experiment them and take advantage of the power of the so-called big techs, bringing them to the base, where innovations emerge from the real needs of society. It is based on these assumptions that the actions of the Civic Media Networks stand as a counter-hegemonic pathway for the paradigm that has been maintained for decades and that has generated such harmful effects for marginalized communities. As seen in the results of Data Firme, breaking the narrative monopoly may result in practices of grassroot social innovation which thereby enables both market products and public policies to place citizens, even those hitherto invisible, at the center of their actions.

The research results have demonstrated the importance of inclusive education policies, both in constructing a counter-hegemonic narrative, and in strengthening networks and using the media. On this point, Data Firme would not have managed to achieve the desired approximation if the university students themselves had not been part of these networks. Thus, it should be emphasized that all project participants entered the university via the quota system and, with that, were able to contribute toward the knowledge through exchanges between technical and academic knowledge and their own experiences and daily practices. Lastly, the transformations perceived in the relations between the community, the media and the State are also the result of actions by the public university, committed to creating a more inclusive and socially just Amazon and to expanding the opportunities offered to groups that have historically been made invisible by the lack of public policies and exclusionary media practices.

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AFRO-BRAZILIAN ARCHITECTURE: THE ILÊ AXÉ XAPANÃ IN CACHOEIRA, BAHIA, BRAZIL
ARQUITETURA AFRO-BRASILEIRA: O ILÊ AXÉ XAPANÃ EM CACHOEIRA, BAHIA

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Abstract

This article deals with the recognition of Afro-Brazilian architectures present in Quilombola territories, taking Ilê Axé Xapanã as a reference, a Candomblé temple located in the community of Santiago do Iguape, municipality of Cachoeira, state of Bahia, Brazil. In the Quilombola territory, the existence of an Afro-centered and Afro-referenced cosmovision is affirmed, where anticolonial movements that build counter-hegemonic architectures are articulated, such as those that constitute the Candomblé Terreiros, essential for the permanence and resistance of these communities. The qualitative methodology was based on social interaction with the Ilê Axé Xapanã community and its rituals, on interviews, oral and photographic records, and on the descriptive and detailed form of Afro-Brazilian architecture and ritual elements. As a result, the relevance of affirming a black / African ancestry is highlighted, expressed in the materiality and immateriality of the Candomblé Terreiro, built from the various existing cultural and religious manifestations. These architectures are composed of material and immaterial heritage simultaneously, driven by the flow of vital Axé that gives is a unique and singular meaning to the architecture of Terreiros in Quilombos.

Keywords: Afro-Brazilian architecture, Terreiro Ilê Axé Xapanã, Quilombola Territory.

1   Introduction

Since the first years of African peoples presence in Brazil, resistance strategies to slavery were constituted in different ways. The colonial period was marked by acts of dehumanization of these peoples, but they were characterized, above all, by constant movements of struggle and resistance, through the exchange of knowledge, goods, movements and transits of different orders, as well as transmigrations of people, objects and religiosity. Slave ships transported, across the Atlantic, for more than 350 years, not only an enormous contingent of black men and women captives destined for various jobs in the Americas, but also their personalities, ways of being and behaving, and their beliefs (Verger, 2018). According to Macedo (2013, p. 100),

> [...] by causing massive displacement of African populations, slavery and the slave trade gave rise to a new phenomenon: the transposition of African cultures and the consequent interaction between African sociocultural experiences and the existing sociocultural experiences in the places where Africans and Afro-descendants were taken, in a phenomenon known as African diaspora.

Enslaved blacks were dehumanized and had lives marked by violence, domination and oppression of their bodies, a fact that was perpetuated in years of slavery, post-abolition and post-colonialism. In diaspora, enslaved people brought and resignified, in Brazilian territory, rich cultural expressions: festivities, beliefs, aesthetics, handicrafts, cuisines, economic and political organizations. Coming from different places and different nations in Africa, they arrived in the colonies in America.

In Brazil, African populations organized themselves into communities that, currently and legally, constitute traditional communities and form the Quilombola territories. According to Beatriz Nascimento (2018a), a Quilombo is a social condition. It is a type of alternative social system formed by blacks, which is constituted, according to Nascimento (2018a, p. 70), "more in the human need to organize themselves in a specific way than that arbitrarily established by the colonizer". The author rescues the concept of "Kilombo" from Angola,

> The official order, repression, is what called it Quilombo, which is a black name and means union. So, the moment the black unites, joins forces, he is always forming a Quilombo, he is eternally forming a Quilombo, the African name for union (Nascimento, 2018b, p. 126).

Abdias do Nascimento (1980, p. 263) points out that a "Quilombo does not mean 'escaped slave'. Quilombo means 'fraternal and free gathering, [of] solidarity, coexistence, existential communion'". The author analyzes this inherited collectivity as a memory to be practiced in favor of valuing affective ties and perpetuating Afro-Brazilian culture.

Macedo (2013), in turn, understands that the Quilombos were like "little Africas", nailed on American soil, which "reproduced traditional community forms, but were open to the incorporation of non-enslaved social groups and to negotiation with social members of the environment in which they were created" (Macedo, 2013, p. 119). The elements and meanings of the different African ethnic groups converged, and each Quilombo developed its culture based on the tradition of the groups that formed it, added to the practices of other cultures, such as the native peoples' and the Portuguese.

Concerning architecture, Pereira (2011, p. 3) comments that,

> [...] in black Africa, around a thousand different languages are spoken. This means that there must be a similar number of different architectural cultures, each of which is diversified into numerous programs (temples, palaces, administrative and communal buildings, squares, urban and rural roads, defense buildings, etc.). These issues directly reflect on the diversity of cultural, architectural and urban formation existing in the [Quilombola] community.

This architecture was produced using traditional African construction techniques, using local materials and adapting to the new environment. In the Quilombola communities of Vale do Iguape, municipality of Cachoeira, Bahia state's Recôncavo region, the presence of black culture is recalled in the different ways in which the remaining Quilombola communities relate to the territory. Such modes, transmitted orally through generations, are expressed in relation to nature and in their cultural and religious practices, in addition to materializing in the Afro-Brazilian architecture of Candomblé Terreiros.

The architecture of the Terreiro is built from the symbiosis between matter (body) and the relationship with nature (spirit). The rituals evoke and materialize the built space from the divine nature present in the territory and, through the rites, the landscape sacralizes the multiple symbologies designed in the architecture. The architectural body is structured by the dynamic flow of Axé[1], which is driven by the African gods evoked in their rituals. Axé is the fundamental, central and dynamic element of Candomblé, "it is the immaterial element that permeates all beings and things in the world" (Velame, 2012, p. 53).

This article discusses the different forms of expression of the Afro-Brazilian architecture of the Candomblé Terreiro Ilê Axé[2] Xapanã[3] and its sacred territory, located in the Quilombola community of Santiago do Iguape, in the Iguape Valley. Its main objective is the recognition and appreciation of Afro-Brazilian architectures, understanding them as counter-hegemonic architectures that reveal themselves as an important heritage of the resistance of black African culture in Quilombola territory.

In this sense, the qualitative method was used and some techniques for gathering information were employed, such as field visits, recording of the Ilê Axé Xapanã space, photographic records, interviews / listening to accounts, interaction with the community and its rituals. This approach allowed understanding the different perceptions, worldviews and knowledge observed during the research. This conviviality contributed to accessing a particular knowledge of each architectural element, sacred symbol, ritual and meaning of Quilombola territoriality, which led to the adoption of a descriptive and detailed form of architecture and Afro-Brazilian ritual elements.

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[1] [*Asé*] "The term Axé is, for the Yoruba people, an invisible power that transmits a divine and untouchable energy that people can only sense. Called hamba or nguzu by the Bantu nation, and exá, by the Fon people, the word Axé became generalized, popularized and came to be accepted and used by the other sister nations as well. Axé is the force that produces growth. When Olorum created the four basic principles of nature: fire, water, air and earth and breathed into them his ofurufu – the sacred breath – he was distributing his power in the Universe. This power is Axé, which moves in all directions! It is this mobility that allows Axé to be distributed primarily among people, making them able to transform themselves into a sacred altar, where divine forces are more felt and seen. It is also distributed in objects, food, animals, leaves, etc. When Axé is fragmented and divided into small portions, it is called ixé. Without Axé, nothing exists, nothing harmonizes or interconnects, because it is what makes things happen. For this to occur, it is necessary to unite the human being with rituals, with songs and also with the use of incantation words. The spoken Axé, exploding in the air, is redistributed into particles in the elements that form the atmosphere, creating and forming new conditions to bring harmony to the aiê" (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 42).

[2] [*Ilê Asé*] "It is the architectural and sacred abode of the deities, a set where natural energies act, which makes the physical connection between them and human beings. A public place, open to all who seek it and which receives various names, such as "house of the sacred forces", the "house of the powerful elements of nature", "house-of-saint", "Axé", "yard" or "territory". In the Yoruba nation, Candomblé houses are called Ilê Axé; the Fon call them Kwe, Abassá or Humpame; in the Bantu nation, Mbazi or Canzuá" (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 43).

[3] [*Sánpónná*] Another name for Obaluaiê (Prandi, 2001, p. 570).

Furthermore, the article unfolds into the following sections: the first deals with the understanding of Candomblé Terreiros based on the concepts of territory and territoriality; the second section addresses Afro-Brazilian architecture; and the last one analyzes the sacred architecture of Ilê Axé Xapanã, the House of Obaluaiê[4], for a detailed understanding of the symbology present in each environment, intertwined by the material and immaterial dimensions.

2   The Candomblé Terreiro, a Sacred Territory in the Quilombo

The Terreiros have the role of territorializing the gods that, in Africa, are worshiped by different nations but are connected in the same space. According to Risério (2016, p. 159),

> Geographically, the term Terreiro refers both to a flat and wide strip of land, which can be understood as a ranch, plantation, and farm, and to the land where rituals of Afro-Brazilian cults take place. Spiritually, the Terreiro is the place where "the representations of the spaces in which existence is based are present: the Orum (the invisible, the beyond) and the Aiyê (the visible world)".

In turn, Rêgo (2006) points out that the defining moment of that territory as a sacred space of the Terreiro occurs when the Axé community performs the rite of consecration. According to Matos (2017, p. 54), this is known as "planting the Axé" and it

> [...] consists of placing material elements impregnated with the Axé of the deity to which the Terreiro floor is being consecrated. The term "planting" is used because the Axé, magical-sacred power magnetized in the material elements, is buried in the ground, which enhances the sacred, making it extended to everything and everyone.

From the construction of Candomblé Terreiros, the Quilombola communities have formed a new territory in which they revive, in their daily practices, the beliefs in the cult of African deities. They have added the customs, religiosity and cult of entities from other peoples, from European Catholicism to First Nations religions. All sharing the same territory: the Candomblé Terreiro. For Haesbaert (2012, p. 34), "Axé is the existence of a multiterritoriality, which implies transiting and, above all, experiencing this multiplicity of territories / territorialities that are constructed". Thus, in the Terreiros, new speeches have emerged, miscegenation, fusion of beliefs and styles that would project from the enslaved environment to the whole of society (Macedo, 2013).

The Terreiros emerged in Santiago do Iguape from multiple religious manifestations of different African nations present in the Quilombo. The Terreiros Egbé Onile Iku and Ilê Axé Obitku Obá Inã, from the Nagô-Vodum nation[5] are the children and roots of Candomblé Lobanekun Filho de Cachoeira. The Ilê Axé Xapanã Terreiro, case study of this article, was founded on

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[4] [*Obalúayé*] Obaluaiê is a powerful deity associated with land, health and wealth for the Yoruba people and has his name translated as "king lord of the land" or "lord of all earth spirits". His most powerful name is Xapanã (*Ṣànpònmá*), which should be used more strictly, with due care. To avoid speaking his name, many call him Ainon ("owner / lord of the land"), others prefer the term of endearment of "Old Man", "Uncle" or even "Amolu". He is intrinsically and concretely linked to the hot earth, to the hardened and dry terrestrial crust, having as his counterpoint Nanã, his mother, who is more directed to the earth's core, to the lower and humid part of the planet. It is also responsible for the moisture that emanates from the earth and that favors plant gestation, thus helping to maintain life. Through this connection, Obaluaiê is considered to belong to the group of onilés, the "owners of the land", having complete dominion over both its external, physical and living part, as well as its cosmic, sacred part. Through this connection with the land, he is called "lord of stones" by the Fon people. Stones are elements that vivify the divinities after receiving liturgies (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 405).

[5] Also called Jeje-Nagô, the most propagated by books and traditions in Brazil. This junction was born from the need for survival of some ethnic groups that, feeling difficulties in giving continuity to their cults, needed to seek and unite their knowledge with that of other nations. From the expansion of the religious world unveiled by both, they became stronger and more united, conquering and helping in the freedom that we perceive today. Through the union of the Orixás with the Voduns, some deities were hidden behind others. This, however, was a necessary evil and, on the other hand, it enhanced the pantheons. The exchange of information was greater and the Candomblé authorities needed to unite even more, thus seeking better knowledge. All gained initiates and deities (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 39).

April 22, 2014, by Mameto[6] (Ialorixá[7]) Zélia de Obaluaiê, and brings in its rituals the influences of the religious traditions of the Congo and Angola nations, peoples of Bantu origin. Although this Axé community recognizes itself as a Candomblé Terreiro of the Bantu-Angola nation[8], at Ilê Axé Xapanã, a strong influence of hybridization is added to the cults, present in the syncretization and worshiping of deities from other nations that exist in the Quilombo, which can be defined as Bantu-Nagô-Vodum. Umbanda[9] is also present in the community with the Temple of Umbanda Caboclo Gentileiro das Sete Cachoeiras.

From this perspective, the *povo de santo* [lit. 'people of saint', i.e., worshippers] are collectively aware of their various ritual manifestations, which involve the worldviews of each nation from Africa. Black people have brought specificities of cults existing in each individual through memory, sometimes worshiping Orixás[10], Inquices[11] or Voduns[12]. These, added to the Native Brazilians, gave rise to the existing Afro-Brazilian religiosities, recreated on the aggregation of the varied cultural and religious manifestations built in the Brazilian territory.

According to Corrêa (2006), from the construction of Candomblé Terreiros, the Quilombos constitute the 'Terreiro-Territory', through the geosymbolic action and the conniving landscape, in which the semiography of reterritorialization revives the lost Africa that, in Brazil, gains materialization and resignification in time and space as Afro-Brazilian.

3   Afro-Brazilian Architecture of the Terreiro

Relative to Afro-Brazilian architectures, Velame (2020, n. p) argues that these

[6] [*mametu dya nkisi*] The woman who is responsible for the house of the Bantu nation is called mameto ria nkise or Mameto-de-Inquice and the man is called tateto ria nkise or Tata-de-Inquice. The words Mameto and Tateto come from the Kimbundu *mam'etu* and *tat'etu*, respectively, 'our mother and father' (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 282).

[7] [*Babalorixá* and *Iyalorixá*] *Babalòrìṣà* and *iyálòrìṣà*, in Yoruba, are the central figures of a Candomblé house and their names identify them as the "father/mother who takes care of the Orixá", being the heads of an Axé. They are people specially chosen by Olorum to help organize the lives of many people in the aiê! They are also called Babalaxé or Iyalaxé, those who concentrate and distribute the most powerful Axé in the house! With so many attributes, they need balance, availability, dedication and, above all, kindness of heart, to provide well-being to those who seek them. These priests are initiated people who assume this position through their individual Odu. To exercise it, they need to have their liturgical obligations complete and have received from their priest the evidence of their position, called Decá, Cuia, Ibaxé, etc., according to each Axé (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 282).

[8] From the Bantu nation, called the "mother nation", one of the first to arrive, came the Inquices, Calundus, Bacurus. From the Congo, the Cabindas were brought; from Angola, the Benguelas; from Mozambique, the Macua and Angicos. From the Guinea coast came the Minas (from the São Jorge da Mina Fort). They brought with them several dialects and many languages, including Bantu, Kicongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kioco, etc. From these languages originated several terms that ended up being incorporated into the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil. They also left their incentive to popular festivities, with their dances and rhythms (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 282).

[9] The Indigenous peoples soon identified with the Bantu nation and allied with its members who were brought to Brazil as slaves. This partnership was an attempt by both sides to guard against their oppressors and to protect their social interests and religious needs. In this union, they were merging, acquiring and exchanging customs, beliefs, and knowledge about nature. It was from this junction that the beginnings of Umbanda emerged, which has in its Caboclos the figure of their indigenous ancestors, and in Pretos Velhos [Old Black Men], the synthesis of their slave ancestors. Umbanda is Axé, the religion that was created in Brazil, amalgamating African and indigenous knowledge with European knowledge, through syncretism with the Catholic religion. (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 30)

[10] [*òrìṣà*] For the Yoruba people, the Orixá (*òrìṣà*) is "the lord of our head", a powerful force of nature that gives physical and spiritual support. In the Fon nation, the deities are called Voduns and, in the Bantu nation, they are called Inquices. It is through these divinities that the world is revitalized and regenerates its balance and harmony. Divine creation of Olorum, our supreme God, the Orixás are the intermediaries between this divine and omnipotent being and men. The Orixá can also be called Oluware (lord of the world), because he is precisely that for the one who owns him – the "lord of his world, of his life" (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 91).

[11] [*nkisi*] The deities of the Bantu nation are called Inquices, a word derived from *nkisi*, which can be translated as "supernatural being" or as "a helping spirit". Whatever the translation, the Inquice is the one who is among us to help us (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 280).

[12] [*Voduns*] The divinities of the Jeje nation are called Voduns and are divided into families, according to their specificity and also because of their connection with the elements of nature. Voduns are worshiped at the feet of large and ancient trees, some even centuries old. This natural Igbá is called Atinsá and keeps the foundations of these deities hidden. These trees receive special care and are permanently decorated with Ojás and bows, making them unique (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 290).

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[...] are understood as being the architectures built by blacks in Brazil, by Africans and their descendants through the diasporic processes imposed by slavery, as a form of social, cultural and political survival, constituting places of resistance, existence, preservation, resignification and creation of black culture in Brazil, being composed in their spatialities and temporalities by cosmo perceptions, principles, processes, values and Afro-centered aesthetics, Afro-referenced, and Afro-diasporic.

This Quilombo architecture highlights the use of traditional construction techniques and the intense use of local materials, mainly from the handling of clay, palm straw (*piaçava*) and bamboo. Materiality for the people of saint does not only represent the appropriation of applied techniques, but above all defines the relationship between humans and the divine nature of the gods based on the use of these materials. According to Oliver (2007), there is the process of transmitting know-how, as the person learns something when building and, with that, technology is improved. Such an understanding can be applied to the experiences of the resident / Quilombola and, therefore, such practice is a form of black resistance to the processes of annihilation of their culture. A form of affirmation of this Afro-Brazilian heritage and an ancestral black identity that is expressed through demonstrations, exchanges of knowledge and technologies.

In the Terreiros of Santiago do Iguape, symbols of different dimensions are materialized in an Afro-Brazilian architecture, which takes on physical form and delimitations of its spaces based on the designs of immaterial beings. The Orixás, Voduns, Inquices and Brazilian spiritualities are consulted to design this architecture with its own specificities and dynamics, either by reading the space, done through the incorporation of mediums initiated in the cult, or by consulting Ifá[13], the oracle for religions of African origin. Thus, when it comes to Terreiro architecture, the entire process is guided by these beings, often by indigenous Caboclos, who will give this hybrid space its own meanings and specific division of places that will determine the different rituals. In addition, the construction takes place collectively, in a system of cooperation and mutual help of the children of saint (Velame, 2019). Their contact with Aiyê (Earth), Orum (Heaven) and their relationship with African deities is directly manifested through certain organic materialities incorporated into the architecture, sacralized by the Axé that gives meaning to matter.

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It is from this perspective that Terreiro architecture is constituted, completely dissociated from the forms and content of hegemonic western architecture. Grounded by another cosmovision, not Eurocentric, but Afro-referenced, in which the ways of being/existing of the black population are included, as well as the collective spaces of conviviality and the different ways of living. For Velame (2019), the Afro-Brazilian architecture of a specific society that worships its illustrious ancestors constitutes a unique, singular, particular architecture, without any parallel and similarity in Africa.

The relationship between architecture and Quilombo is expressed in several aspects: in the relations of the remnants with their ways of life, with the environment and in their various cultural and religious manifestations. The communities share the space of the yard with housing and / or support areas for agricultural and fishing production. In Santiago do Iguape, the architecture of the temple is intertwined with social actions aimed at the community, such as the sacred architecture of the Umbanda Caboclo Gentileiro temple, which shares space with Mãe Lalu Institute.

4   The Sacred Architecture of Obaluaiê's House

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[13] [*Ifá*] The guardian and patron of the oracle, the "spokesman of Orunmila", who administers and governs the divinatory systems of Yoruba culture. He is not an Orixá, but an intermediary between humans and deities, having, however, a very important position in the supreme court of the Orum. It is he who shows the determinations, but only reveals what we are allowed to know. In this way, he can guide and lead us. However, no decision is made solely through Ifá, because he works under the supreme orders of Olorum and Orunmila. Responsible for any type of oracular query, he responds through various elements, such as cowries, Iquins, Obis, Orobôs, onion (àZubasà), okra, pear, apple and several others. The oracle should only be consulted for very serious and just reasons, not serving for jokes or immoral and vulgar situations (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 493).

The Ilê Axé Xapanã is inserted in the rural area of the Quilombola community of Santiago do Iguape, in the Iguape Valley, around Todos os Santos bay and the Iguape bay extractive marine reserve (RESEX, from its name in Portuguese) (figure 1). The access road to the Quilombo is established by the BA 800 highway and its terrain includes important areas of agricultural production, rivers and a diversity of plants used in the rituals, as shown in figure 2.
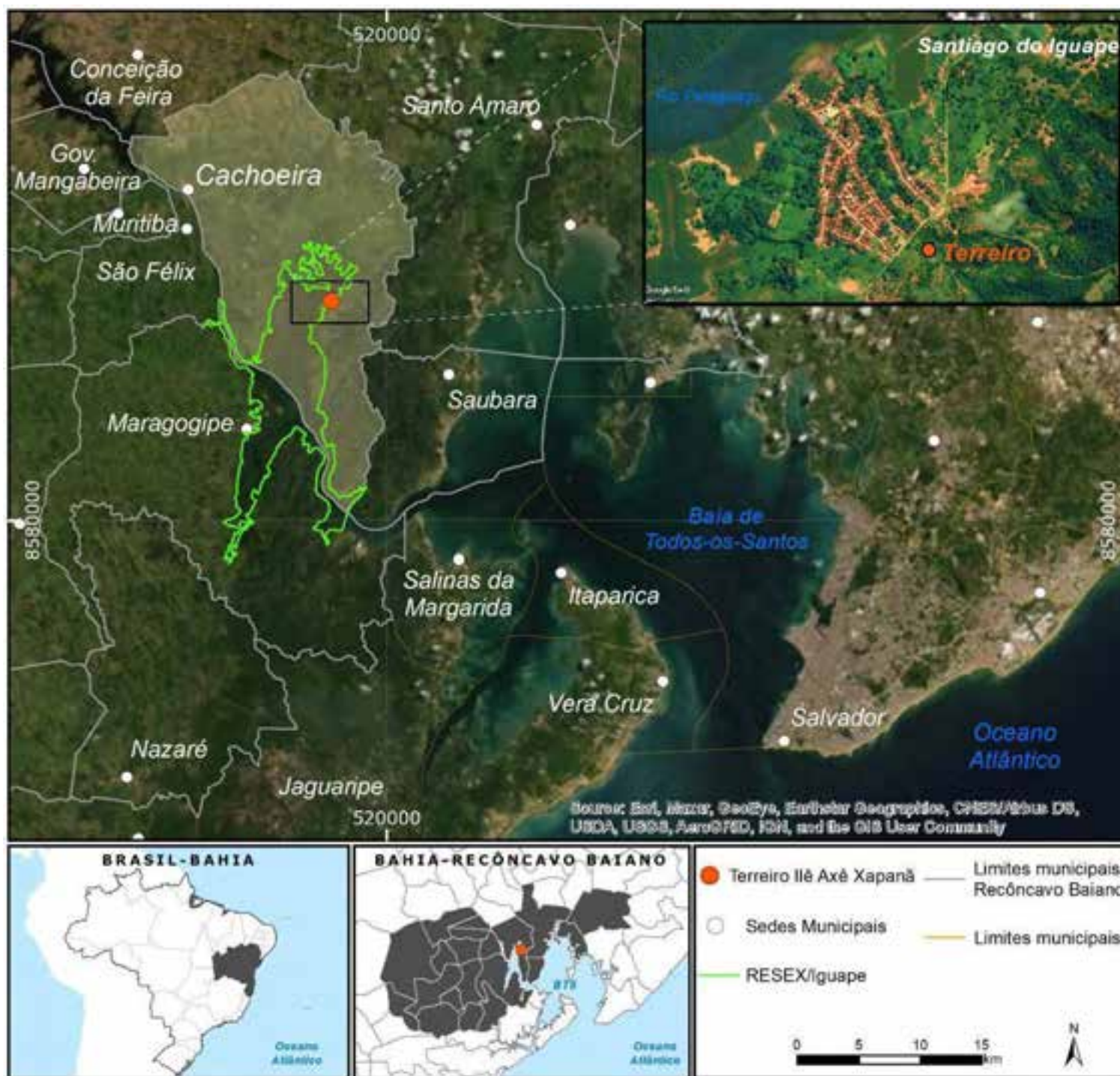
Fig. 1: Location map of the Ilê Axé Xapanã Terreiro. Source: Inema 1999; ICMBio, 2000; Sei/Bahia, 2017; IBGE, 2021. Notations: Moura; Mourad; Costa, 2022.

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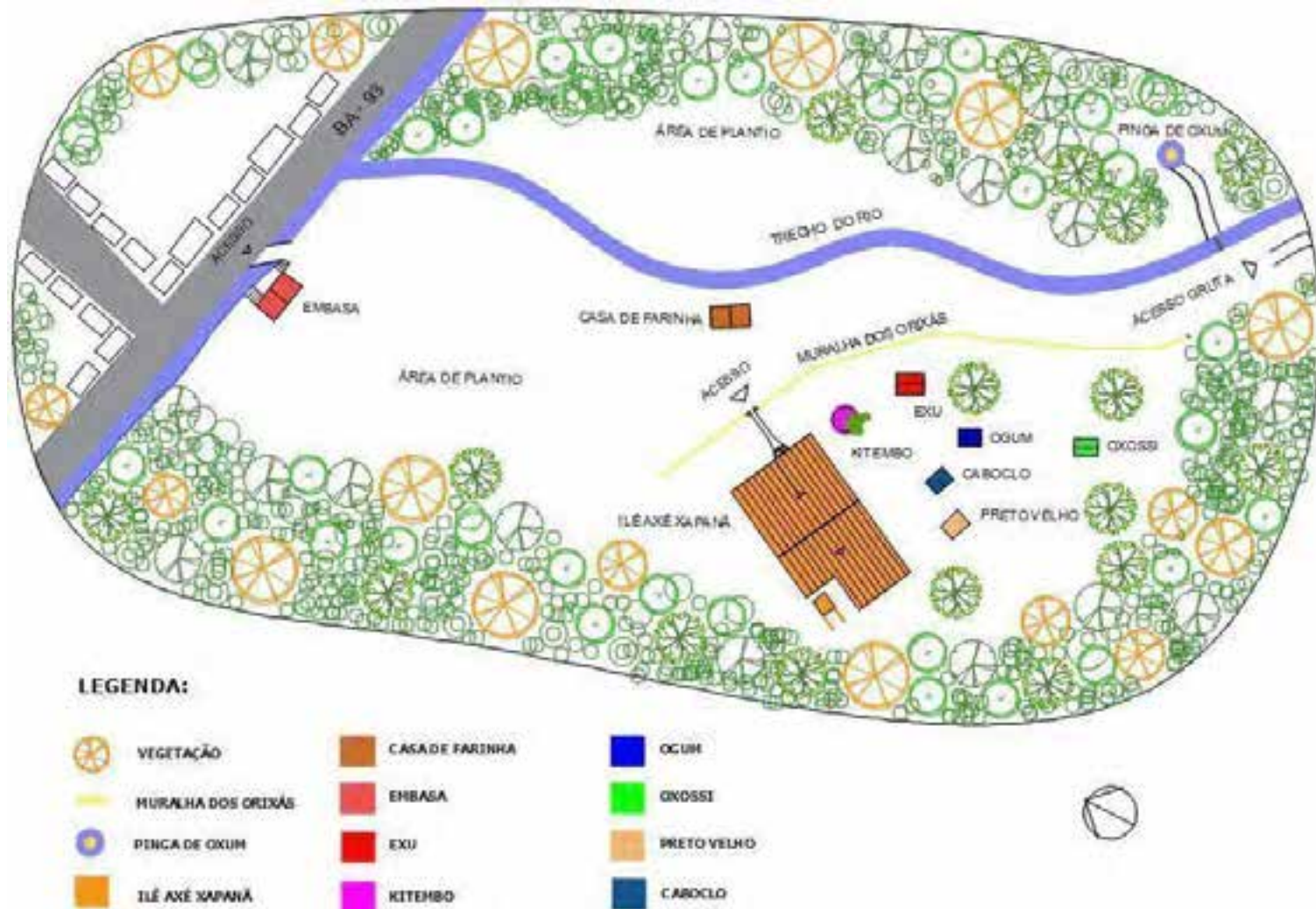
Fig. 2: Floor plan of Ilê Axé Xapanã grounds. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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The Terreiro had its Axé planted and all the trees and herbs consecrated by the guidance of Obaluaiê and under the intercession of Ialorixá Mother Zélia. A unique and essential moment, which gives meaning to the architecture implanted there – its true base, its sustenance – it is from there that the Axé emerges that roots each wall raised in the yard.

When opening the gate of the Terreiro, the straws of the Old One (Obaluaiê) stand up to show all the grandeur in its construction, authentic aesthetics and immaterial power. Such power is given by the Axé of the rites and provides meaning to the materiality present in the building of King Xapanã's house. Upon entering this sacred ground, the Orixá Exu[14] mediates these two cosmic universes, granting permission to enter this sacred land. Exu is the caretaker who protects paths, streets and crossroads. The Orixá is responsible for communication between the two worlds, material and immaterial. He governs everything that passes from the gate in and out.

The Afro-Brazilian architecture that makes up this territory – Terreiro and Quilombo – is connected to the material and immaterial goods correlated there, represented in the flour mill, in the Terreiro and in the Ilês Orixás[15] and settlements located around. They are raised by the immaterial power that brings the flow of Axé from the rites and also from the different cultural and religious manifestations existing in the community, giving unique and singular meaning to the present materiality.

[14] [*Èsù*] Messenger Orixá, owner of the crossroads and guardian of the front door of the house; always the first to be honored (Prandi, 2001, p. 565).
[15] [*Ilês órísás*] Small individual rooms to house the Orixás (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 44).

In the flour mill (figures 3 and 4), the places for preparation stand out, mostly built of ceramics and adobe – mainly the wood ovens –, traditionally built in the backyards of many families in the community. Ilê Axé Xapanã shares its territory with several cassava and other fruits and vegetables plantations intended for collective consumption by the community. Traditionally considered agricultural and fishing, the remnants of the Quilombo of Santiago do Iguape develop, through family farming, the production of artisanal cassava flour.

Fig. 3: Flour mill. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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Fig. 4: Flour mill. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

It can be seen that several economic survival activities are carried out on the site. There, the remaining ones share the spaces for work and rural activities with the spaces of the Terreiro, making their relationship direct with the ways of life of the community of Santiago do Iguape, that is, their cultural and economic practices, their territorialities, ways of knowing and doing converge into the same territory. This Terreiro-Territory now has its religious field expanded and reaches the dimension of income generator in which a solidarity network enables the continuity of traditional practices and knowledge that are preserved.

Ilê Axé Xapanã is located in a place guided by Mother Zélia's Caboclo, which stays at a higher level, displaying his grandeur, favoring the contemplation and respect of all who go to the area or pass by it. The Afro-Brazilian architecture of this Terreiro, mediated by the immaterial and material link, is expressed in its spatial organization, with the houses of the Orixás, and the settlements located around it (figure 5)

Fig. 5: Floor plan of the Ilê Axé Xapanã Terreiro. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

Legend: 1. Shed, 2. Settlement of Oxumarê (Angorô), 3. Sabaji, 4. Roncó, 5. Orixás Room (Inquices), 6. Anteroom, 7. Mameto's Room, 8. Bathrooms, 9. Social kitchen, 10. Ritual kitchen, 11. Children's bedroom, 12. Living area.

This culture, translated into architecture, is composed of this link that makes up the main body of the Terreiro: the shed, the Orixás' room, the *roncó*[16], the lalorixá's room, the ritual and social kitchens, three bathrooms and, at the back of the temple, a convivial area where lunches are held. There is also a bathroom for the public and a place for bathing with an uncovered shower and drain, used separately for bathing leaves, flushing and sacred rituals. The frames are painted in blue and white referring to the Orixá that is the top of the house, Ogum [17], the Orixá responsible for the initiation of Mother Zélia, and who is revered in his colors in different parts of the Terreiro.

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[16] Called *rondêmi* or *roncó*, it is the restricted place, away from the public movement, completely clean, where peace and silence reign. When in this room, the iaô detaches himself from all his problems and from anything that concerns external relations. His head needs to be directed only to the spiritual connections that will help bring about a transformation in his life (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 81).

[17] [*Ógó*] Orixá of the metallurgy, agriculture, and war (Prandi, 2001, p. 568).

Another important architectural element on the main façade is the mural of the Orixás made by local artists (figures 6 and 7), designed by the worshippers of the house to honor Mother Zélia and her Orixá, the great father of the initiates in the Terreiro. On the wall, on one side, it was written "Terreiro Ilê Axé Xapanã homenagem em memória a Mãe Zélia de Obaluaiê" ['Terreiro Ilê Axé Xapanã homage in memory to mother Zélia of Obaluaiê', our translation]. On the other side, to reaffirm the interweaving between the Orixás brought by the blacks and the Brazilian entities, figures of African gods can be seen alongside the figure of the Caboclo.

Fig. 6: Mural of Orixás. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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Fig. 7: Mural of Orixás. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

The portico (figure 8), with two large cattle horns at the entrance to the Terreiro, announces the presence of Caboclos who inhabit this space and the protection that these beings bring to the cults of this Axé. When crossing this reverent element, we come across Pepelê[18], the settlement of Tempo, Kitembo[19] Inquice. Built in a circular shape, it symbolizes the constant cycle of time and the chronology of our lives: the past, the present and the future. In the settlement of the Angola nation Inquice, considered king of that community, there is a white flag hoisted by a long wooden pole, marking the territorialization of the cults of this deity (figures 9, 10 and 11). This settlement, in most Angola Terreiros, is located in front of the shed. However, in Ilê Axé Xapanã, there is a parallel to the House of Exu and Pombuilas[20], revealing the importance of this holiness and its reverence.

Fig. 9: Tempo's Pepelê. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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[18] Place where the Orixás remain protected and seated on a bench specially designed and built for their perfect fit, called Pepelê (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 321).

[19] The settlement of Tempo Inquice (Kitembo), or Catendê, is also made at the foot of a tree, preferably mango or ficus. But Tempo is not treated as a tree-deity and does not use exclusively identify with the color white, as Iroco does. Tempo is considered "the lord of days", as time belongs to Tempo [lit. 'Time']. Tempo is also the lord of reason, cure and solution! Only its precepts and its praises are performed at the foot of the sacred tree that serves as a shelter for its settlement. In front of this tree-house, a white flag made of cheesecloth, exchanged annually at the festivals, is attached to the very top of a pole. This is a symbol and an identifying mark of a house of the Bantu nation (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 427).

[20] [Pambu-a-njila] In the Bantu nation, the Inquices who most resemble Exu are Aluvaiá and Bombogira (from the Kimbundu Pambu-a-njila), male and female, respectively. Both have the same prerogatives and domains as the Yoruba Exu (The term Bombogira gave rise to the name Pomba-gira, a female Umbanda entity that has control over crossroads and paths) (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 43).

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Fig. 10: Tempo's Pepelê. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

Fig. 11: Tempo's Pepelê. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

After honoring Kitembo, we find the main architecture of the temple, the Abassá[21] (figures 12 and 13). The openings in the facades are intended to allow the public, when there is no more space inside the shed, to contemplate the Xirê[22] of Gods from the outside, leaning against the sill. This fact reveals the importance of this architecture to privilege the observation of the internal space, so that everyone can watch the ritual and receive the Axé of the gods who dance in this sacred hall. All façades are protected with an important natural element, palm straw, known as *mariow*[23], whose primary function is to protect the space from undesirable spirits. This element is identified in most of the Terreiros in the region, being common throughout

Fig.12: Entrance to the Shed. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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[21] In the Yoruba nation, Candomblé houses are called Ilê Axé; in the Fon nation, Kwe, Abassá or Humpame; and Nzo, Mbazi or Canzuá, in the Bantu nation (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 294).

[22] The word Xirê, a contraction of the Yoruba terms ṣẹ̀, to make, and *ire*, to play, to have fun, can be translated as "to party, to play". A gathering, a meeting, the Xirê is the circle where the Orixás meet to dance and play! It is the occasion when the drumming and the singing of people call and invite the Orixás to come to the party that their people offer them! The Xirê has a sequential order of arrival of the Orixás, according to each house. It is also called Odorozan Adorozan (Odohozan) by the Fon people, or Jamberessu, by the Bantu people (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 330).

[23] Màriwò or Mònrìwò, for the Yorubas, and Azan, for the Fons, are the tender leaves of the shredded palm oil tree (*igí-òpẹ̀*). Its use is essential in Candomblé houses, having as one of its premises being known as the "clothes that Ogum wears". In its vestments, rituals and settlements it has an obligatory presence. In some Candomblé houses, it is under the canopy of this tree that Ebóra is settled. Oiá is another deity that also uses its leaves. Dusting them in the air is like pushing away or expelling undesirable beings, or even taking their Eguns to the Orum (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 224).

Fig. 13: The Shed. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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Thus, an aesthetic value is created by behaving as an identifying element of this religious matrix in the middle of the city crushed by exclusionary urbanism that limits the constructive and aesthetic possibilities of Afro-Brazilian communities. In addition to this element, there is the Carranca, a sculpture carved in wood and known to be used, at first, on the bow of riverside community boats. Carrancas came to mean, for the local population, an object of protection for their bearers, by associating characteristics of expelling evil spirits out of this sacred space.

The Axé of the Orixá Obaluaiê was planted on the floor of the shed. On top of the settlement, ceramics in the shape of five-pointed stars were placed (figures 14 and 15). It was from the settlement that the architecture of the following rooms in the yard was born and unfolded, which turn to the central space in this architecture. The stars also appear at the *roncó*, the *sabaji*, and the room of the Terreiro's saint, places restricted to initiates and regulars of this Axé. In this very important element, due reverence is made to the deity. The children of saint, during the Xirê, salute the house and bend down, touching the star with their heads, thus taking their Oris (heads) to the sacred stars. A relationship between the deity and the initiate is established, since the Axé of the Orixá is shared and enjoyed by his children, who respect and revere him (Velame, 2019).

Fig. 14: View of the Shed. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

Fig. 15: Five-pointed star. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

The central point of the shed's energy is the ridge, which is the base, structure and core of a Candomblé house. In the Afro-Brazilian architecture of the Candomblé Terreiro, it is consecrated to the creator Orixá, the father who initiated it, the Babá or Ialorixá of the house, protecting the highest place in the shed. Small vases of ceramic, clay and other elements are placed at the top of the Terreiro in consecration to the regent Orixá. In turn, the Axé is planted in the house at the meeting point of the vertical axis of the ridge, that is, at the meeting point between the Orum and the Aiyê. At Ilê Axé Xapanã, the vertical relationship is established between the seat of the patron deity, Ogum, and the star of the Orixá ruling the house, Obaluaiê. As Velame (2019) explains, this axis enables the realization of the dance of the gods, the Xirê of the Orixás, which revolves around the connection between the two plans of existence.

The shed is adorned with pennants, changed according to the festive dates, an important element that adorns the entire roof of the Candomblé and Umbanda Terreiros of Iguape Valley and Cachoeira Quilombos. In the shed, it is also very common to have paintings with images and symbols of the Orixás and / or Caboclos worshiped in the houses (figure 16). They also have photographs that recall the ancestry of the Terreiro, such as photos of the house's eldest, those who have already passed from the Aiyê to the Orum and will always represent great importance for the Axé community. These portraits make up a kind of family tree, which spreads its sacred branches on the walls of the yard (figure 17).

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Fig. 16: Pennants and photographs. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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Fig. 17: Entity panel. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

At festivals, it is the sound of the atabaques played by the Ogãs in the shed that drives the movements of the dancing gods, showing with dances and gestures their energetic forces reverberating in the bodies of all who appreciate the Xirês. The floors of Candomblé Terreiros are normally built with beaten clay, with the aim that the sons and daughters of saints, when stepping and dancing in the hall, connect with this organic matter in its most natural state. In the architecture of Ilê Axé Xapanã, this clay floor became even more essential as it directly revered the main element of the house's Orixá, Obaluaiê, the lord and owner of the land, the sacred soil.

At the entrance to the shed there is another settlement, a Peji, governed by the Inquice Angorô-Angoromeia[24] or the Orixá Oxumarê[25], as he is popularly known (figure 18). The space was built in the shape of an arrow to represent the direction,

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[24] In the Bantu nation, there is the Inquice Hongolô, which has characteristics similar to those of Oxumarê. This deity in its feminine part is called Angoroméa and, in its masculine part, Angorô. Its main function is also to bring movement, transformation, giving continuity to the existence of humans and the world (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 413).

[25] Oxumarê is a deity inserted in the pantheon of the deities of heaven and earth, which was adopted by the Yoruba people. This Vodum receives, in the Fon nation, the name of Dan or Bessém, and it originates from the region of the Mahis, present-day Benin. He is part of the Dambirá Family and, in the Jeje-Mina (Ewe) nation, he is called Dambalá Aidô Huedô or Dambelá / Dambará, which is reduced to Dan or Dá, the snake, his mythical representation (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 413).

the constant movement and the impermanence of the serpent that swallows its own head, and it is through this movement that it makes the path that fulfills the rainbow.

Fig. 18: Oxumarê's Peji. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021.

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In the architecture of the Terreiros, it is very common to note the existence of two kitchens, the social and the ritual, or kitchen of the saint. The latter has a sacred character and it is there that food is prepared for the offerings, Ebós[26] and all foods offered to the Orixás in rituals. The ritual kitchen is the responsibility of the Iyá Bassé[27] of the house, who prepares the dishes for the Orixás and for people with a spiritual function, and the food is made to meet a wide range of energetic and spiritual functions.

On the lower level of the land, the Ilês Orixás of the Terreiro were built. These are architectural structures formed by houses, built apart from the main architecture of the Terreiro, the shed, and normally distributed in areas of sacred forest, designated by the Orixás and / or by the father / mother of the house. They have the function of a temple. In this place, sacrifices are made to the Orixá and their offerings are placed.

[26] The word Ebó (*èbó*), for the Yoruba, and Adrá (*adhá*), for the Fon people, has the meaning of "gift", "sacrifice", thus designating all the ways people devote themselves. The Ebó is premised on being the "principle of Axé", because it is through it that Axé is strengthened and distributed. The meaning of "making an Ebó" has a wide range, because it is part of rituals that allow the strengthening of spiritual life, as well as part of rituals that help to ward off negative forces, which bring instability. These are elements that can be offered to Exu, Eguns and Odus and also to the Orixás and other deities, always with various mythical purposes (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 413).

[27] [*yabassé*] A person is trained by the priest for a long time to prepare food for the Orixás. This person will dedicate only to this within the Candomblé house. A woman who is initiated to a female deity (Iyabá) is usually designated, then called an Iyabassé (Kileuy; Oxaguiã, 2009, p. 196).

At Ilê Axé Xapanã, the Ilês Orixás of Exu, Ogum and Oxóssi[28] (figure 19) were the last spaces built under the guidance of Mother Zélia. The first to be built was Exu's Ilê Orixá, where the Pombojiras (female Exus) and the traditional Exus, represented by the street entities Maria Padilha, Pomba Gira, Tranca Rua, Zé Pelintra and many others worshiped in the Terreiro. The Ilê Exu always appears at the entrances to the Candomblé Terreiros, materializing the role of Exu, of protecting the entrance to the house. It is for this reason that his house is built in front of the other Ilês Orixás and closer to the entrance to the Terreiro.

Fig. 19: Ilê Orixás. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021

The ancestors of the Brazilian territory receive in this Terreiro the same level of relevance as the African gods, also obtaining their own homes, altars and settlements. The architecture of the Caboclos' house differs from that of the Orixás in its typology and proportion. The Caboclo's house (figure 20) is smaller, but also built using conventional masonry, covered in ceramic tiles. The house does not have a door and its façade has an opening protected by a curtain that contains the settlement of Capangueiro, Mother Zélia's Caboclo and also the main spiritual mentor of this Terreiro. The space allows only the placement of the main elements and the sacred offerings intended for this deity.

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[28] [*Ósóósì*] Orixá of hunting (Prandi, 2001, p. 569).

Fig. 20: Caboclo Capangueiro's House. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021

Right after the Caboclos house, we see the house of Pretos and Pretas Velhas ['Old Black Men and Women'] (figures 21 and 22), called House of the Souls. This architecture is an iconic element within this Terreiro, as the traditional and popular technique was used, the wattle and daub, also known as hand rammed earth, *sopapo* rammed earth or hedge rammed earth. It consists of the intertwining of vertical wood fixed to the ground, with horizontal beams tied together by vines, giving rise to a large perforated panel, filled with clay removed on site. This constructive technique, applied in House of the Souls architecture, was worked by Mother Zélia as a way of remembering the old houses that hosted the black elderly who lived in slave quarters and Quilombos. The use of materiality and the specific ways of building the community are fundamental for the permanence and memory of ancestral cultural practices that bring organic matter closer to spirituality in sacralization rituals.

Fig. 21: House of Souls. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021

Fig. 22: House of Souls. Source: Rodrigo Costa, 2021

The variety of spaces and architectural concepts in this Candomblé temple demonstrates the complexity of its knowledge and construction techniques. Thus, the potentialities and multiplicities of architectural programs that will design the different Terreiro architectures are evident. These Afro-Brazilian architectures give meaning and belonging to dwellings, cassava flour and palm oil mills, among all other architectures that are built in the Quilombola territory, based on their own conceptions, identities, territories and territorialities. Thus, connected to the conniving landscape, to the geo symbolic action, they prepare, according to Corrêa (2006, p. 1, our translation), "the scenario for the Orixás to visit their children in a foreign land and strengthen them in the construction of their political, social and religious identity as Afro-Brazilian".

5   Final Considerations

The Afro-Brazilian architecture of Ilê Axé Xapanã, as well as the architecture of the Terreiros of Santiago do Iguape, are buildings that are often disregarded in the academic and scientific universe. The persistent narratives based on western standards erase from the studies these heritage sites built in Quilombos and, frequently, do not open space for the discussion and expansion of this theme.

From the direct contact with the communities, it was possible to observe the confluences of symbols represented in the architecture belonging to different Candomblé nations that exist there. There is a mutual exchange between the Bantu-Nagô-Vodum nations, where different cosmovisions and practices are mobilized in specific rituals, marking the ethnic and cultural plurality of customs, musicalities, languages, symbologies, etc. By merging in their cults in the territory, they exchange ties and bonds, reconstructing unique and singular characteristics of Afro-Brazilian architecture and the religiosity of African matrix of each Terreiro built in this Quilombola community.

Recognizing Afro-Brazilian architectures, understanding them as counter-hegemonic architectures, in a territory constituted by Candomblé Terreiros as in the community of Santiago do Iguape, means showing the resistance of African ancestry. This resistance is reaffirmed daily by the people of saint in their various religious manifestations in Quilombola territory.

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THE PEDRA DE XANGÔ PARK: ASSERTING AFRO-BRAZILIAN ARCHITECTURE AND GEOGRAPHY
O PARQUE PEDRA DE XANGÔ: AFIRMAÇÃO DA ARQUITETURA E DA GEOGRAFIA NEGRAS

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present the counter-colonial narrative interwoven in the architecture of the Pedra de Xangô Park from a theoretical perspective. It is a result from fieldwork based on results of the Master Thesis "Pedra de Xangô: a sacred Afro-Brazilian place in the city of Salvador" and on preliminary data and impressions of the ongoing Ph.D. Dissertation research "Spiritual Governance: the Afro-Brazilian sacred present in the construction of the Pedra de Xangô Park memorial". To discuss the subject, three paradigmatic experiences will be introduced, hopefully contributing to the understanding of the utmost expression of symbology, representation, and ancestral power concentrated in the Afrodiasporic territory. *Stuart Hall's* text, "Thinking the diaspora", the testimonies from Sangodele Ibuowo and Oyeniyi Oyedemi, members of *Aláàfin*[1] Òyó[2]'s entourage, and from a candomblé adept will be analyzed. The research method used is a Afrodescendant method, so that the research transgresses the rules compulsorily prescribed by hegemonic knowledge/practices. The norms here are dictated by Xangô, the King, the Orixá of ethics, truth, and justice, to bring into view Afrodiasporic photography, being a product of black, political, and religious geography present in the territory of the cities.

Keywords: Counter-Colonial Architecture, Afrodiasporic Photography, Pedra de Xangô Park, Border Thinking.

1   Introduction

This paper presents the narrative interwoven in the architecture of the Pedra de Xangô[3] Park, which not only remembers, but nurtures and preserves the history and legacy of the African diaspora. The contributions presented here are the results of the Master Thesis entitled "Pedra de Xangô: a sacred Afro-Brazilian place in the city of Salvador" (Silva, 2017). In addition to these data, there are preliminary impressions stemming from the Ph.D. Dissertation research "Spiritual Governance: the Afro-Brazilian sacred present in the construction of the Pedra de Xangô Park memorial"[4]. It indicates, in loco, the counter-colonial assertion and the importance of networking for the preservation of the history, as well as Afro-religious historical and cultural heritage. It is well known that the city of Oyó - Nigeria, a reference of Yoruba culture, has very strong ties with the state of Bahia, especially the city of Salvador (BA), in Northeast Brazil. On July 31, 2014, the high priest of Sángò[5] made its first visit to the land of the Stone of Xangô, abode of Afro-Brazilian deities. The purpose of his visit was to get to know the sacred territory and, perhaps, gather experiences, which could subsidize the request for recognition of Òyó as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO (Silva, 2019). Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III[6], during his stay, requested the public authorities to preserve the Pedra de Xangô which was attended by the Municipality of Salvador, approving the process of registering the sacred monument as a cultural heritage site (Silva, 2019).

The Afrodescendant research method, whose paradigms are developed from the scientist's experiences, intellectual background, and empirical knowledge, are employed, as it breaks with the Western scientific tradition and the Eurocentric epistemology still in force in the academic world. Distancing itself from scientific impartiality, the research moves towards theoretical and conceptual development, seeking to highlight spiritual governance in the implementation of the park's street furniture. It transgresses the rules compulsorily prescribed by hegemonic knowledge/practice: the rules here are dictated by Xangô, the King, the Orixá of ethics, truth, and justice. Therefore, the article presents itself as a window of resistance to a culture viscerally tied to hegemonic and elitist thought and architecture, which silences the voices and the protagonism of

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[1]*Aláàfin*: "*O-ni-áàfin*: he who is, who owns the palace. Title of the king of Òyó" (Santos and Santos, 2016, p. 45, our translation)

[2]*Òyó*: "capital of the vast empire expanded by Sàngó" (Santos and Santos, 2016, p.53, our translation).

[3]Throughout the text we will find the words Aláàfin, Sángò, Òyó, Kosso, Elégùn written in Yorùbá and/or Portuguese. Considering that the article brings contributions from other authors, we have opted to use the Yorùbá spelling, keeping the Portuguese spelling when strictly necessary so as not to compromise the fidelity of the text.

[4]Theme of Maria Alice Silva's PhD project, developed at the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at UFBA – PPGAU, UFBA. Advisor Prof. Dr. Fábio Macedo Velame, Co-Advisor Prof. Dr. Henrique Cunha Júnior.

[5]*Sàngó and/or Xangô: - mythical and dynastic hero - who participated in the creation of the world at Olorun's request by creating lightning and thunder. Son of Oranyan and Torosi (daughter of Elempê - King of Tapás).*

[6] *Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III* – King of the city of Òyó (15/10/1938 – 22/04/2022).

the subaltern class. Thus, it goes beyond the matrices of Gramsci's cultural hegemonic thought by putting in evidence Afro-Diasporic history, culture, and architecture to counter a system of coloniality(ies) that does not give vent and space to black history.

1.1   Paradigmatic Experiences

To discuss the affirmation of the Afrodiasporic network architecture in the Pedra de Xangô Park, we bring to reflection three paradigmatic experiences that contributed to the elaboration of this paper: the first example is Stuart Hall's text, Thinking the Diaspora; the second example are the testimonies from Sangodele Ibuowo, the elégùn[7] of Sàngó and Chief Oyeniyi Oyedemi, Mògbà Sàngó, members of the entourage of the Aláàfin Òyó - Nigeria - who visited the Pedra de Xangô; the third example are the impressions of a candomblé adept from Salvador who accompanied the king's stay in the city, the honorable professor Arany Santana, current secretary of culture for the state of Bahia. It should be noted that the universe of Afro-Brazilian religions comprises an infinity of nations (Jeje, Angola, Ijexá and others). We chose to highlight the visit of Aláàfin, as it is a recent example of contemporaneity and because the ebb and flow of Afro-diasporic photography, black, political, and religious geography and border thinking is well outlined within it. Before we go into the subject itself, we will discuss who the Orixá Xangô is.

1.2   But who is Xangô? Introducing the King

Xangô is an Orixá[8] - mythical and dynastic hero - who participated in the creation of the world at Olorun's[9] request by creating lightning and thunder. Son of Oranyan and Torosi (daughter of Elempê - king of the Tapás), during his childhood and adolescence, Xangô lived in the country of his biological mother. As an adult, he settled in the city of Kosso, but was not immediately accepted by the inhabitants, given his violent and imperious attitude. He then imposed himself by force and, accompanied by his people, headed for the city of Òyó, where he founded a district with his name: Kosso. (Verger, 2002). As the fourth Aláàfin - (king) of the city of Òyó, Xangô conquered many cities, expanding his empire. The worship of this deity expanded to such an extent that at one time it was regarded as the national religion in Nigeria and a dynastic and mythical entity - a divinized king. The cult of Xangô was established and disseminated by "his devotees spread all over West and Central Africa and, transatlantically, across Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in Brazil — Bahia, where he is considered ojísé, protector or minister representing Olórun (Supreme God)" (Silva, 2019, p. 47, our translation).

The attacks of the Fulani[10], coming from the North, forced the people of Òyó to permanently abandon the capital of the ancient city of Sabé and move to the South, thus founding a new city, a new Òyó, where its territorial, political, and cultural headquarters are located (Santos; Santos, 2016). Xangô played an important and strategic role in bringing his people together in defense of tradition. The archetypes of justice, courage, strength and royalty are attributed to the orixá and it was the initiative and charisma of many enslaved Africans, priests of Xangô in Brazil, that contributed to the formation of candomblé and the preservation of the ancestral legacy (Silva, 2019).

Stuart Hall (1999), when addressing the lives of Caribbean people in Great Britain, reveals to us that black identity has suffered and still suffers from identity crossings, including even gender identity and sexual orientation. For the author, the experiences of colonialism and eurocentrism are still alive, pulsating in our society, and can destroy subjectivities. Therefore, to think about the diaspora is to rebel against this cultural hegemony, but to offer cultural political options that promote difference.

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[7]*Elégùn: Elégùn: an initiated person who channels the orixá.*

[8] "Orixá - a divinized ancestor who, during his lifetime, established bonds that granted him control over certain forces of nature, such as thunder, wind, fresh or salt water, or else, assured him of the possibility of performing certain activities such as hunting, metalworking, or even acquiring knowledge of the properties of plants and their use. The power, àse, of the ancestral orixá would have, after his death, the faculty of momentarily incarnating itself in one of his descendants during a phenomenon of possession provoked by him" (Verger, 2002, p.18, our translation).

[9] Olórun: the Supreme God.

[10] *Fulani*: ethnic group found in West Africa, Central Africa and Sudanese North Africa.

The author asks: How can Caribbean people imagine their relationship to territory, their origin, and the nature of their belonging in light of diasporic experiences? Hall (1999) stresses the umbilical force of this network and adds:

> The black settlements in Britain are not totally separated from their roots in the Caribbean. Mary Chamberlain's Narratives of Exile and Return, with its life histories of Barbadian migrants to the UK, emphasizes how strong the links remain. As is common to most transnational communities, the extended family—as network and site of memory—is the critical conduit between the two locations. (Hall, 1999, p. 2).

The umbilical force that Hall (1999) tells us about was also observed on July 31, 2014, at the Pedra de Xangô in Salvador, during the visit of Aláàfin (king) of Òyó — Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi III (Silva, 2019).

Sangodele Ibuowo, the Elégùn de Sàngó, member of the entourage of Aláàfin Òyó, reported his diasporic experience as a priest:

> In Oyo there is a place where Oowe River and Ogun River meet together, in this location Sango performed a miracle by breaking down a big rock and turning it into "edun ara". So, I was impressed to see a rock in Bahia similar to the one in Oyo. I was even shocked. So, this made me to feel at home, as well the food, the way of dressing, the Orisa worshipping, but specially the day of Sango's offering in Brazil, the rain started to fall down exactly like in Oyo. (Ibuowo, S., 2019).

Oyeniyi Oyedemi, Mogba Koso Aláàfin Òyó, the guardian of the main sacred temple of Shango in Kosso - Òyó - when interviewed, shared something similar:

> My name is Oyeniyi Oyedemi, Mogba Koso Alaafin Oyo and I would like to talk about Sango during the journey that Alaafin took me to Brazil. The food, I ate in Brazil, is equal to Oyo, the dressing is also similar, but I saw something in Brazil identical to an "Edun Ara" in a stone. In Oyo we have something similar, called "Ile Isan", no one can get the *Edun Ara*[11] out of this place. The culture of Brazil is the same as in Oyo, all together we are happy."(Oyedemi, O., 2019).

In official historiography, coloniality has always reserved the place of the subaltern, the inferior, the human being of less value to Africans in diaspora. The transcribed testimony presented below reinforces Sangodele Ibuowo's and Oyeniyi Oyedemi's statements and allows us to observe the importance of the notion of belonging from a diasporic perspective. Arany Santana, a candomblé adept, in an interview granted to Silva (2019) reports her impression of the visit of Aláàfin de Òyó to the city of Salvador-Bahia:

> A city, a country that treats Afro-Brazilian issues with indifference has to gather efforts to repair its omission. Throughout our lives, we have only had news of white, blue-eyed, straight-haired kings. Today we have the immense joy of the presence of an African king made of flesh and bone. It is the response we give to society that we are of noble lineage. Orixás, nkisi and voduns made us endure. It is with great joy that I am here. The Alaafin understood the diaspora; they made their way back and from here they will take the model so that the government of Nigeria will be sensitized, list and register the cultural heritage of Oyó. (Silva, 2019, p. 133, our translation).

A sacred Afro-Brazilian natural site, home to the Tupinambás, Quilombolas, Bantus, Nagôs Jejes, and others, the Pedra de Xangô is a cultural, environmental, and geological heritage of the city of Salvador which shelters multiple geographies, and which maintains inseparable networks. Cibele Barbosa (2021), Pierre Verger (2002), Joaze Bernardino-Costa and Ramón Grosfoguel (2016), Luiz Antonio Simas and Luiz Rufino (2018), Maria Alice Silva (2019), Santos and Santos (2016), Stuart Hall (2003), Fábio Velame (2022), Júlio Braga (1992) and Goli Guerreiro (2010) are some of the authors who help us reflect on the role of coloniality and the importance of the African diaspora on the other side of the Atlantic. We continue the crossing,

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[11]*Edun Ara*: thunder stones.

with counter-narratives that mirror the power of black history translated into a stone, which deals with ancestry, Afro-diasporic history, movement, network, territory, and *terreiro*[12].

1.3   Afrodiasporic Photography and the Need of Border Thinking

Photography is a document of record and of collection that lays in the picture memory, history, and identity. Therefore, the images that compose this article are Afrodiasporic photographs, since they portray this perspective of reviving the connection of the Pedra de Xangô Park with the root, the territory, Africa, and specifically with the city of Xangô - Òyó.[13] Furthermore, Afrodiasporic photography affirms the conservation of a black, political and religious geography, to the detriment of a geography that has always had Western hegemonic history as its scope - as the history of the victors - translated into the colonial heritage of domination and expression of universal identity.

Cibele Barbosa (2021), in the article entitled "Afro-Atlantic images: transnational uses and circuits of photographs of Black people in colonialist times", highlights how the gaze was directed at black bodies, as well as at black culture. For the author, the images that circulated always held power relations that emphasized colonialist power and rationality left marks that were diluted in the Atlantic. Such a perspective affected, and annihilated, the hetero-representation and self-representation of African and Afro-descendant populations. "These canons, which spread on a global scale, led their bodies to be gazed at and judged, thickening the contours of racism and the commerce of gazes in the Atlantic" (Barbosa, 2021, p. 557, our translation).

Aníbal Quijano (2009), when discussing Eurocentric coloniality/modernity, portrays,that he has elaborated, illustrate a logic of humanity in which the global population is delineated dichotomously, labeling groups as inferior and superior, rational and irrational, primitive and civilized, as well as traditional and modern. The black population has been deprived of cultural, political, and religious representation. The history presented, for the most part, if not always, emphasizes the white universalist hegemony marked by the significance and contemplation of a historical, cultural, and religious heritage linked to Western canons.

The Afrodiasporic photographs, that lead us to resignify black history and culture, condense the border theory, which is very well described by Joaze Bernardino-Costa and Ramón Grosfoguel (2016). Theory is not a fundamentalist or essentialist thinking of those on the margins or borders of modernity. By being on the border, this thinking is in dialogue with modernity, but from subaltern perspectives. The author asserts that border thinking is nothing more than a thinking that develops an epistemic response of the subalterns to the Eurocentric discourse and praxis of modernity. This spiritual force that modulates the Afrodiasporic culture is essential to identify central aspects that act through the force of ancestry and the permanent construction of memory and of the Afrodiasporic culture itself. The African diaspora functions as a poetic grammar of the crossroads. The invocation of ancestry as a principal sign of presence, knowledge and communications (Simas; Rufino, 2018) can create processes of change outside the contexts of hegemonic domination including material, cultural and symbolic issues.

2   The Temple of Xangô in Kosso

Kosso is a suburb of the city of Òyó. In this place there is a temple dedicated to Xangô, where all the Aláàfins, king of the Nagôs[14], are enshrined, with a seat in the capital of the vast empire, strategically conquered by Xangô (Gomes, 2017). Being the city's main sacred space, it is here that Xangô deposited his power, his Axé, before giving up earthly life and disappearing

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[12] The term "terreiro", which comes from the Latin "terrarium", in Afro-Brazilian cults, is the place where ceremonial cults take place and offerings are made to the orixás. (Wikipedia, our translation)

[13] *Òyó is the mythical city of the orixá Xangô. It was once considered the largest empire in West Africa. Today, Oyo is the main reference of Yoruba culture in the world. The cultural legacy of the people of Oyó and the traditions of Xangô were established in Bahia, starting in the 19th century, giving origin to the Candomblés of the Ketu and Nagô traditions, also called Yorubá.*

[14] Nagôs*:* "name given by the Fons to the Yoruba-speaking peoples, still in Africa. In Brazil, the term indicates Yoruba heritage, and is used to define a nation (v.) of candomblé"" (Lody, 2010, p. 129, our translation).

like lightning, like thunder (Santos; Santos, 2016). "An *odu*[15] tells that Xangô was standing by an *àyán*[16] and, enraged, destroyed the *àyán*, his palace, his lands, his subjects and then the news began to spread that he had hanged himself — *oba so*[17]". (Santos; Santos, 2016, p. 53, our translation). Xangô's subordinates refuted the version with the phrase "Oba kosso", which means that the king did not hang himself, but disappeared like thunder, throwing lightning stones at his palace (Santos; Santos, 2016). The crowning ceremony of Aláàfin (king) took place in the premises of the temple dedicated to Xangô in Kosso. After the act of enthronement, the Aláàfin can no longer enter the district until his death, as it is prohibited. However, as heir to the crown, he must perform rituals for his direct ancestor, Xangô. (Gomes, 2017).

Gbongan[18] *Kosso*[19] is the architectural site of Xangô (figure 1), whose main construction element is earth. The temple of Xangô in Kosso integrates the cultural and religious system essential for the continuity and preservation of tradition in the African diaspora.

Fig.1: Temple of Xangô, Kosso. Source: Velame, 2020.

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[15] Odu: sidereal intelligences that participated in the creation of the universe, the destiny.

[16] *Àyán*: tree species.

[17] *oba so:* hanged.

[18] *Gbongan:* temple of Xangô and/or Sàngó.

[19] *Kosso: suburban district of the city of Òyó.*

On the other side of the Atlantic, at the crossroads of the diaspora, Xangô is worshipped in his Park and also in *terreiro* communities, a "complex socio-religious organization, which has no parallel in any of the traditional African societies involved in the slave trade to Brazil". (Braga, 1992, p. 15, our translation).

3   The Pedra de Xangô Park Managing Afrodiasporic Architecture, Rites and Networks

The memorial at the Pedra de Xangô Park is the result of a partnership between public authorities, academia, and the civil society (*terreiro* communities). The authorship of the architectural project is by FFA Arquitetura e Urbanismo LTDA, under the coordination of the Mário Leal Ferreira Foundation of the City Hall of Salvador, Bahia. Muniz Sodré (1988, pp. 17-19, our translation) tells us about a political geography "that delimits sovereignties or zones of power, always configuring the world according to this representation and this reality called the State." However, he also presents us with "the geography that comes from the so-called subaltern classes", Inheritors of their own black, traditional symbologies that develop on the ground of the *terreiro*, on the streets, squares, and crossroads.

Fabio Velame (2022, p. 437, our translation) defines the itinerant architecture, in network, as that discontinuous territory, connected by itinerant bodies (povo-de-santo) that perform in a given time "an Afro-Brazilian ritual, always mobile, dynamic, nomadic". The Pedra de Xangô Park (figure 2) is this territory-*terreiro*, this poetic grammar sung at the crossroads of the diaspora, itinerant architecture - creole, black, political and religious geography. It is the "center of convergence of diverse public, semi-public and private rituals of a range of *terreiro* communities in the city that communicates and networks". (Silva, 2019, p. 143, our translation).
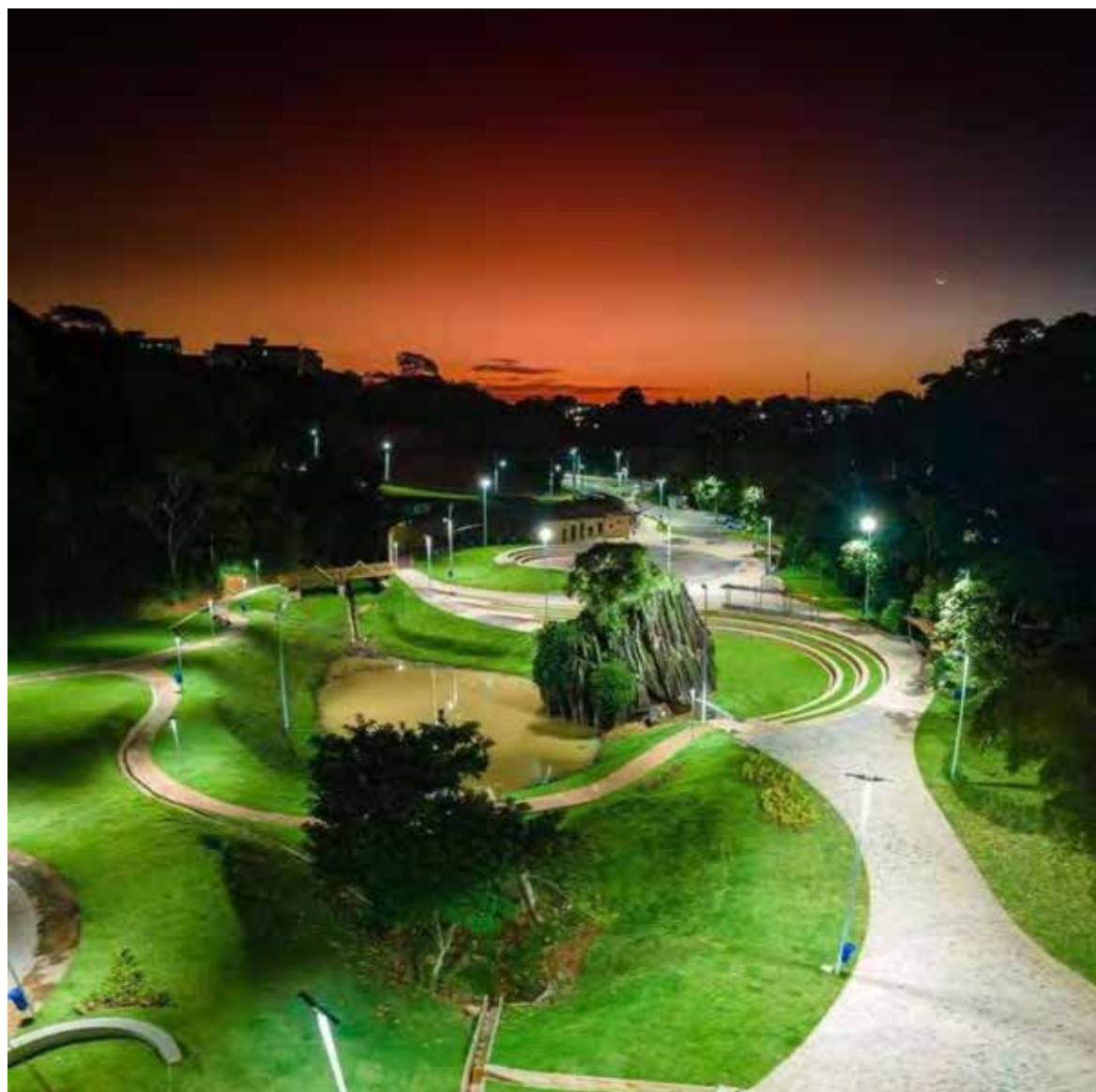

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Fig. 2: Pedra de Xangô Park. Source: Santos, I., 2022.

It is also an inseparable network, a union of beings and things that form a quadrature: the earth, the sky, the mortal and the divine (Velame, 2022), interconnected, in total synergy. "Every spring, every plant, every green space around the Pedra de Xangô is a spearhead, it is the *terreiro* itself and is so considered because it has an intimate connection with the being and the cosmos" (Silva, 2019, p. 143, our translation).

> Architecture without walls, doors, windows, roofs, without outside and inside, but the place of sheltering stories of runaway natives, home of legends, struggles and resistance of black quilombolas, caboclo huts and dwelling of Orixás, Voduns and Nkisi, the house of Xangô, - revered by the Aláàfin Òyó -, the center of a Municipal Environmental Protection Area (APA), the starting element of an Urban Park, a monument listed by the City Hall of Cajazeiras weaves the network of Candomblé *terreiros* in Cajazeiras (Velame, 2019, p. 11, our translation).

Exu, like Xangô, allows for an expanded vision and a rupture with historical linearity, through his chaotic creativity (Simas; Rufino, 2018). Black decolonial epistemologies are part of the reappropriation of this Afrodiasporic heritage historically sedimented by the sign of cultural resistance against the force of violence of the colonizer's practices of subalternisation, always meaning to extirpate the cultural self-determination. Colonialism, the remnants of slavery, the imposition of Western culture, ethnocidal and genocidal politics were not able to erase the Afro-Brazilian ancestral legacy in the Pedra de Xangô Park. The ancestral knowledge and practices and their ontological constitution through the African diaspora remained associated with spiritualized subjectivity and intersubjectivity during this long process dictated by invisibility and cultural erasure. Cultural heritage of the city of Salvador, the Pedra de Xangô Park is the living, pulsating portrait of the affirmation of this Afro-diasporic architecture. The photographs of the various cultural manifestations held in the sacred Afro-Brazilian natural site convey the exact dimension of the potential strength of the People of Axé who have always experienced and lived the city in asymmetrical conditions.

Fig. 3: *Orô* of the Pedra de Xangô, Salvador-Bahia. Source: Silveira, M., 2019.

The march, the *orô*[20] (Fig. 3), the *xirê*[21], the *ossé*[22] (Figura 4), the bonfire of Xangô, the marriage blessing, the *amalá*[23], the capoeira circle, the rituals of umbanda, the caboclos and encantados' *ingorrossi*[24], the *toré*[25], the Thunder Stone Festival, the samba of the matriarchs at the Pedra de Xangô, the caruru of the *ibejis*[26] are the "architectures in networks, itinerant, in trance" (Velame, 2022, our translation) that build resistance and the existence of the African in diaspora.

Fig. 4: *Ossé* of the Pedra de Xangô, Salvador-Bahia. Source: Silveira, M., 2019.

Photography, as a tool to portray architecture and the historical, cultural, and religious heritage allows also a permanent digital connection with the African territory and reaffirms the black fight against the coloniality of power, knowledge, and being.

It is the third diaspora present through the "displacements of signs, texts, sounds, images — caused by the black diaspora communication circuit" (Guerreiro, 2010, p. 8, our translation). Recent posts on the Instagram profile of the late (king) of Òyó

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[20] *Orô:* sacrificial ritual (offerings).
[21] *Xirê:* "It is a word of Yoruba origin that means wheel or dance. In Candomblé rituals, where the xirê is performed, the orixás dance together and counterclockwise". (Vaz and Ramos, 2021, p.20, our translation).
[22] *Ossé:* "ritual of offering food to the orixá. It is done weekly along with the cleaning of the peji (a covered room or altar where the orixá's settlements are and where the offerings are placed." (Lody, 2010, pp. 131-132, our translation).
[23] *Amalá:* It is a Yoruba word and means "a kind of food made with yam flour". Oxford: "*Yam flour turned with hot water for food"*. Amalá is a yam stew that is eaten in Nigeria, among the Yoruba, with a sauce or a thick soup of okra, which in Brazil we call caruru, and the Yoruba obé ilá, that is, okra caruru, translating obé as caruru.In Brazil, as in Nigeria, pieces of meat are also added to the caruru. In the candomblés of Bahia, the name amalá became associated with the cult of Xangô (Lima, 2010, p. 100, our translation).
[24] *Ingorrossi:* chants, caboclo prayers.
[25] *toré:* ritual dance performed by various indigenous peoples.
[26] *Caruru dos Ibejis:* food made with chopped okra, dendê oil, onions and shrimp for the "twin Yoruba gods, protectors of the family and children (Lody, 2010, p. 126, our translation).

- Alaafin Oba Adeyemi III (2022), from May 17, are evidence of these diasporic shifts. In addition to posting images referring to the Aláàafin's visit to the Pedra de Xangô, the caption of the post reads: "Alaafin in Brazil with an entourage of 25 Sango devotees 2014 Late Oba Adeyemi III, the Alaafin of Oyo, was invited by Brazilian Government to visit Salvador - Bahia for an International Seminar about Culture. Alaafin of Oyo requested the Bahia Government to preserve the Sango Stone in Brazil, which has been done as an Icon of Culture. The virtual world has connected diverse cultures, crossed territorial borders and Atlantic cities' repertoires, because it allows the sharing of information and thus raises to the power of the third African diaspora[27].

4   Final Considerations

The Pedra de Xangô Park is a black people's land, a quilombola's land, an indigenous territory, it is "a contemporary quilombo, a terreiro, a place of history and memory of the black people in the diaspora" (Silva, 2017, p. 272, our translation). The world cosmoperceptions of the adepts of Afro-Brazilian religions were determinant in the elaboration of the project concept. The technicians responsible for the architectural design delved deep to understand the socio-legal and cultural reality of the community. It was necessary to understand and heed the orders of the spirituality, to listen to the inaudible, to let oneself be guided by supernatural forces, because the conduction of the work was not in the hands of those who had technical knowledge on the earthly plane, and/or political power, but in the hands of the invisible guides of the Divine, of the Sacred, of Spiritual Governance, of Xangô, the orixá of ethics and justice.

The support equipment of the Pedra de Xangô Park, inaugurated on May 4, 2022, is the concretization of black narratives that deal with the importance of ancestry, *aquilombamento*[28], Afro-diasporic history, movement, networks, territory, and *terreiro*. It counters Eurocentric universalist thinking, practices, and architectures that often overlook the black, political, and religious geography present in the territory of cities. In this paper, we do not only endorse the power of counter-colonial architecture and Afro-diasporic photography as a legacy of black history. Here, we express the dynamizing power and agency of Xangô, in order to maintain the semantics of the African diaspora in the city of Salvador.

We must also add the urgency of a border thought that, as Ramón Grosfoguel has well emphasized (2009), deals with a thought that develops an epistemic response from the subalterns to the theoretical and practical repetitions of Eurocentric modernity. Border thinking poses itself as an African crossroads to break with a single history. But, besides that, it also involves the materialization of memory, architecture, territory, and the Black City that needs to be demarcated by new discourses and narratives, stemming from the Afrodiasporic[29] and ancestral culture. One example is the Pedra de Xangô Park, a counter-colonial statement of black as well as political and religious architecture and geography in the city of Salvador-Bahia.

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[27] Diáspora africana: African Diaspora or Black Diaspora is the phenomenon or experience lived by African descendants anywhere outside of Africa and the rich cultural heritage they have built (Silva, 2019, our translation).

[28] Quilombo: "A quilombo (Portuguese pronunciation: [kiˈlõbu]; from the Kimbundu word kilombo, lit. 'war camp') is a Brazilian hinterland settlement founded by people of African origin […]. Wikipedia.

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WOMEN'S TERRITORIALITY: RESISTING IN THE FAVELA OF ROCINHA, RIO DE JANEIRO
TERRITORIALIDADE FEMININA: RESISTÊNCIA NA FAVELA DA ROCINHA, RIO DE JANEIRO

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Abstract

This essay analyzes the everyday life of women living in Favela da Rocinha, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, discussing the possibilities of action and resistance while facing everyday processes of oppression. The subject of the study is women's territoriality, i.e., the influence of women who, despite violence and the planned absence of the State, are able to shape the stigmatized territory of the favela and to resist the oppression that the residents of the informal city face. This article analyzes women's actions that reconfigure the territory of the favela, through sociopolitical practices of resistance and community participation at Favela of Rocinha. The adopted methodology brings a perspective against the patriarchal cultural hegemony, articulating concepts of the feminist theory with participant observation in meetings of local grassroot organizations and interviews with women that are protagonists in the political community life of Rocinha. As a result, this research offers contribution from a gender perspective to the elaboration of urbanism strategies in favelas, that consider the issues of women in these territories.

Keywords: Urbanism, Gender, Feminist Theory, Community Participation, Sociopolitical Practices of Resistance

1   Introduction

Studying history and urbanism from a female perspective is gaining more importance given that the presence of women in the formation of the city determines a particular perspective in the urban space. This research came from questioning the construction of contemporary cities with their urbanism still based on patriarchal premises, and how this reveals gender inequalities. If women are systematically excluded from institutions of power, ignored in decisions that concern them, in addition to having their body-territory (Cruz Hernández, 2017) invaded, the city becomes the social setting where women publicly wage their struggle (Agrest, 1996). It is essential to think about a counter-hegemonic urbanism, criticizing the androcentric arguments that limit the city, and placing women at the center of discussions to form equal cities. The proposed issue is the study of women's territoriality: the conceptualization of this term and how it defines the influence of women's political and social participation in their surroundings. The reference case was Favela of Rocinha in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in the period during, and after the *Growth Acceleration Program – Urbanization of Precarious Settlements* (Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento PAC-UAP), from 2007 to the present day.

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When analyzing the favelas in Brazil, it is impossible to leave out the notion of race since, according to *Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute* (Intistuto Brasileiro de Geografia e EstatísitcaIBGE) data from 2010 (Agência Brasil, 2015), black people make up 76% of the poorest in the country. Still, according to the 2010 IBGE census, it becomes clear that in Rio de Janeiro women are heads of the household in more than 50% of households located in precarious settlements. In Favela da Rocinha, this number is of 46,49% and it contrasts with the average income, which presents a difference of BRL$200.00 more for men when compared to women (Coutinho; Sobreiro, 2021). It is not by chance that this favela was chosen for analysis in this research. Women played an essential role as social and political activists from the beginning of the formation of the settlement. The female struggle for the creation of kindergartens and schools stands out, as well as the leadership in the first residents' association (*Pro-Improvements Union of Rocinha Residents*- União Pró- Melhorias dos Residentes da Rocinha) leading movements for improvements in the neighborhood (Coutinho; Sobreiro, 2021).

The following methodological steps were adopted to carry out this research: first, the concepts of feminist literature were articulated with the understanding of territory and city, always focusing on the reality of the favela. Simultaneously, data were collected in the field and on the internet[1] about NGOs and grassroot organizations operating in Rocinha today, focusing on women's experiences and the role of women in local leadership positions. Then, four protagonists were selected to conduct semi-structured interviews, two of which are herein presented. This article[2] is organized into three sections, in addition to this

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[1] It is worthy to recall that the COVID-19 pandemic was a limiting factor for ethnographic research in the field. For this reason, the monitoring of discussions via social networks of NGOs and grassroot organizations, lives and interviews were carried out remotely, as well as part of the interviews with community leaders.

[2] This article presents results obtained during the research of the Master Degree's thesis entitled "Women on the Move: territoriality, community participation and resistance practices in Favela da Rocinha, in the city of Rio de Janeiro (2007-2021)".

introduction and final considerations. The first presents the approach of feminist theory, mainly based on bell hooks. The second introduces, based on the concepts of territory and territoriality, the idea of women's territoriality – this section explores how women's actions modify the territory, focusing on the importance of bringing women closer to social practices that structure the urban space. In the third section, the protagonists of this study are presented, who, by sharing their stories, demonstrate the favela women's territory-shaping power.

2 The Feminist Theory Basis

The theoretical-methodological contribution used in this research was a conjunction between black feminist thought and intersectionality, which guided the discussion of the multiple exclusions suffered by favela women. In addition, two categories of analysis guided the choice of protagonists: sociopolitical practices of resistance and community participation. Regarding the analysis of sociopolitical practices of female resistance in political processes within the favela, women stand out in leadership positions in organizations in Rocinha. Community participation processes, on the other hand, are those in which favela residents organize themselves to make up for the government's absence within the territory. They are the defense and organization mechanisms used to, despite the risks and social vulnerability to which favela bodies are subjected, create an environment in which people can live and prosper.

The first waves of the feminist movement were closely linked to a universalizing vision of women, which only gave space to white women while alienating other races. According to Sueli Carneiro (2003, p. 273, our translation), "the consequence of this was the inability to recognize the differences and inequalities present in the female universe, despite their biological identity". However, it is important to emphasize that black feminists were already part of the movement and already saw their struggle through the prism of racism since the first wave. Black feminism, a counter-hegemonic movement in its essence, emerged with American female philosophers in the context of the second wave of feminism. It was a response to a feminist practice that was focused on change only at a personal level. Black movement activists such as Audre Lorde and Angela Davis participated in the production of thought that sought to encourage women to develop a comprehensive understanding of women's political reality. Black American feminists criticized the theoretical model that ignored that patriarchy, racism, and class struggle were intertwined in the same oppressive system. From this thought, the importance of creating political paradigms that emphasized a collective transformation that was extended beyond the individual was highlighted (hooks,1984, 1989, 1995).

In addition to black feminism, the idea of intersectionality, systematized by North American author Kimberlé Crenshaw, also emerges as a methodology that discusses the causes and effects of overlapping discrimination against black women. Considering the concepts of overinclusion and under inclusion, Crenshaw shows how dangerous intersectional invisibility becomes when both the gender's lens and the perspective of race alone are not enough to discuss certain discriminatory situations (Assis, 2019). Overinclusion is framed as a situation in which the gender marker is seen as the only possible way to interpret the female condition, leaving other social markers aside. Under inclusion occurs when some women have their issues made invisible because they are not problematic compared to the hegemonic group (Crenshaw, 2002 cited in Assis, 2019, p. 21). Thus, the idea of intersectionality adds to the understanding of feminism. It is important to look not only at gender issues, but at multiple exclusion factors, such as race and social class, with the intention of building coping strategies for the ostensive discrimination in cities.

'Talking Back' is an expression coined by black feminist author bell hooks (1989). It is the title of a book that brings together a series of essays that discuss women's position within a society that insists on silencing them. The expression in Portuguese – original language of this article – fails to demonstrate the challenging aspect of the term chosen by hooks: the phrasal verb "talk back" suggests a breach of hierarchy, a provocation from someone who knows they're not allowed to demonstrate their opinion to an authority, but who does so despite any punishment. With a narrative that feels more like a conversation, hooks makes clear her intention to denaturalize power regimes and induce self-reflection in the reader, in relation to their participation in the collective struggle against the system. Although bell hooks' studies are always personal, permeated by the stories of her own trajectory, the author uses the concept of talking back as a metaphor for someone that transforms from object to subject. Our being resides in words and becomes effective in language and communication. The subject defines themselves, imposing limits to affirm their own existence through the voice (hooks, 1995). Women from Rio de Janeiro's favelas learn to communicate through the same path that bell hooks followed throughout her life: recognizing the

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power that comes from speaking, from placing yourself in society, and daring to talk back and scream for your rights. The power to discover yourself politically and actively seek justice.

Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side, a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible. (hooks, 1989, p. 9).

3   Territory, Territoriality, and Women's Territoriality

> (...) if the territory is built in the struggle, in the clash in face of a threat – which, in the extreme, is the threat of existence itself, in it is necessary to resist – it is also built in the struggle to maintain, to preserve the life you have." (Haesbaert, 2020, p. 87, our translation).

For Brazilian Geographer Rogério Haesbaert, discussing about territory is always linked to the idea of power. This idea can be given in a more explicit sense, of domination and political power, or an implicit sense, of appropriation of space. The territorial issue is closely associated with the production of space, with the nuances of a territory that is configured around these power relations. Regarding territoriality, Haesbaert (2020) points out that this concept goes beyond the symbolic-cultural dimension of a territory, beyond its physical space. The author also presents an immaterial dimension that is carried by different generations of a group of people and leaves marks on their civilization.

In Western society, the system (imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy) can repress certain bodies within the city, even more so when considering the factor of race, class, sexual orientation, and other characteristics that form political minorities. Women's resistance taken to the political level is revealed in figures who do not withdraw from the socioeconomic problems of the favela, talking back to criticize the greatest violence against the body-territory (Cruz Hernández, 2017) in the favela: the absence of the State, deliberately planned by political elites. There is an immaterial dimension of the territory that is created and modified by the network of favela women. The feeling of belonging is added to the sense of political duty towards the place to which one belongs. It is the identity united to the territory, but not limited to it; the identity that one carries with oneself – for better or for worse – and which dictates a woman's daily struggle against the system. Woman's territoriality is the layer of care, resistance and community that surrounds the territory.

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4   The Territory-shaping Power of Favela's Women

The protagonists who are part of this research, although each in their own way, carry in themselves the identity of many other women in Rocinha: women from the favela who live subordinated by a system that does not guarantee their rights. Our protagonists are political subjects, even if some do not see themselves that way. The lives of each of them are intertwined with historical struggles and a permanent desire to improve their territory, a restlessness for change that transforms the unfair reality of the favela's daily life. In this reality, thinking about a counter-hegemonic urbanism is not just a choice, but a demonstration of resistance.

4.1   Michele, the Communicator

Michele Silva arrived to Rocinha when she was only 3 years old and lived there until 2020. Since a little girl, she attended the community radio station, at first just watching the broadcasters and later advertising jobs, courses, and other opportunities that she thought were interesting for the favela residents. That's how she discovered not only her love for communication, but also the desire to tell stories that build Rocinha's identity. Together with her two brothers, she founded the Fala Roça newspaper and, based on a cash prize they received from a youth agency (Agência de Redes para Juventude), they were able to distribute the first printed edition to the residents of Rocinha. The newspaper became bimonthly and everyone who worked making the content was a volunteer, meeting on Saturdays to pick news stories and write them. Today, they are no longer a collective and have become an information association, with five salaried employees and a network of photographers, designers, and other independent professionals. The editorial line revolves around memory: the published stories are timeless. They are focused on building the identity of people living in the favela and bringing representation, so that Rocinha residents see themselves differently. The idea of Fala Roça is to tell the stories that shape people.

> We don't need to report the violence that goes on in 'Cidade Alerta'[3], because everything violent happens in there, journalists in bulletproof vests arrive to talk about it. (Silva, 2022, our translation).

Editors try not to report stories of violence, as these already fill traditional media newspapers and strengthen the stigma surrounding the favela. Michelle points out that:

> (...) the woman who raised you, the things that formed your character when you were a child, that is what will form your identity. (Silva, 2022, our translation)

The editorial line of the Fala Roça newspaper, chosen not by chance by Michele and her founding companions, exemplifies the importance of policies of recognition of cultural differences proposed by Nancy Fraser (2006). Cultural injustices – although in Rocinha it is difficult to separate what would be a sociocultural injustice from what is rooted in the economic-political structure – reinforce the poor reputation of favela residents not only in the formal city but can weaken the self-esteem of favela people themselves. The lack of representation in the mainstream media affects the image that many favela residents have of themselves and their ability to see a different future. Women in particular, under the shadow of sexism, are reduced to taking care of the family, without ever knowing its political power.

> [Often] the people around me had very low self-esteem, they didn't think they were capable of doing much more. (Silva, 2022, our translation)

The poverty maintenance policy that is often part of governmental planning reflects a society based on a capitalist system of production of the urban space. In the years 2020 and 2021, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Fala Roça newspaper worked with the organization *Rocinha Resists* (A Rocinha Resiste) in the distribution of basic food parcels, essential items, masks, and gel alcohol for families in Rocinha. According to the newspaper, 76% of people assisted by donations were women heads of households with more than one child and without income (Fala Roça, 2020). The category of domestic workers had an especially strong impact when monthly workers and hourly housekeepers were dismissed without pay. A comment by Michele to the newspaper highlights the importance of donations in the lives of these women:

> What would become of the favela if it weren't for community movements to try to reduce the damage caused? And, not only because of the pandemic, but also because of the problems that arise when public authorities fail to do their job? (Fala Roça, 2020, our translation)

With her childhood involved in community mobilization and the desire to spread news about the favela, Michele is an example of a woman who practices sociopolitical resistance. In her role as a communicator, she plays an active part in reshaping the territory when she brings the power of information to people. Information is a very important tool for change in the fight for rights. Its democratic access not only helps with the recognition of the community's problems, but also with solidifying the identity of the territory and the feeling of belonging to it.

4.2   Cecília from Bahia, Brazil

After 22 years living in Rocinha, Cecília Lagos (pseudonym) decided to move. Not because she didn't like the neighborhood, but because of a health problem with her knees that made it difficult to go up and down the hill.

> I still think there is solidarity in Rocinha, that's not what made me leave, whenever I can help, I'll be there. A new wave of women is emerging, who like to help, they help each other. (Lagos, 2022, our translation).

In 1989, she arrived in Rocinha with her husband, a daughter, and the dream of being able to buy a house. Little by little she bought and renovated her shack in Vila Verde (a neighborhood inside Rocinha), where she lived until she left Rocinha. Her life in community work began when she got to know ASPA - Ação Social Padre Anchieta (*Priest Anchieta Social Action*) and there she got not only a job as treasurer, but also school for her daughter and a community of women who wanted to help

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[3] Cidade Alerta, Portuguese for "Alert City" is a Brazilian TV show, notorious for being sensationalist and reporting news of violence.

each other. The first group she participated in was called Solidary Women Group and it started with a project that brought women together to discuss issues of their daily lives, initially about the rights of domestic workers. Many of the participants were mothers who needed to work, so they managed to get a small grant through ASPA to put someone in charge of looking after the children while the meetings took place. Talking back is an act allied with courage and often a woman plays the role of creating a comfortable space for another to find her own voice.

> There are many women's discussion groups these days, but our issues had to come from the women of the favela. We invited people to talk about the issues, we ended up getting to domestic violence and we saw that we had to bring in a specialist in this area. We once took a group to talk about sexuality, and one woman was even able to open up about her abortion experience. When we had the money, we took the women to the theater, to picnics. I miss this job. (Lagos, 2022, our translation)

She carried on with ASPA in cutting and sewing classes, which gave a new capacity to previously unemployed women. The sale of products at fairs had the profits reverted to the seamstresses themselves and thus became a source of income. A few years later, Cecília was dismissed as treasurer. She felt the need to resume her studies to get a new job.

> I felt inferior to people for not knowing things. I went back to school, finished elementary school in supplementary school, and then left for high school. I managed to graduate from college, in Social Work at PUC-Rio[4]. On the day of my graduation, a friend told me to take my CV to the PAC office, because the works were about to start. Then I took it, as I already had a No. Then I was accepted. (Lagos, 2022, our translation).

Her work at PAC – Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (*Growth Acceleration Program*) was in the role of relocating families out of the construction sites in the favelas. She says it wasn't a pretty job as seeing people having to leave their homes was tough, but she knew that if she did her best, she would be able to help many people. Her relationship with the territory of Rocinha resulted in a book discussing the participation of women in the construction of space in favelas. Together with a museologist, she presented a proposal to carry out a study on women from the favelas in Rocinha and Horto, in Rio de Janeiro. The project was awarded a grant from the Ministry of Culture, which was used in the research and production of the book. Cecília points out that, when writing about the history of Rocinha, she wanted to praise women who are not always in the media, behind-the-scenes figures who are equally as important in the formation of the territory. She sought to show that representation is extremely important in academic environment and that helping women raise their voice makes them feel part of the axis of change. Cecília's work demonstrates community participation and highlights one of the defense and organization mechanisms used by favela women to change the territory through mutual help and active work in the community.

4.3   Women from the favela, women from Rocinha

During the interviews, the intention was to obtain the personal stories of struggle through the testimony of the protagonists and although a single structured questionnaire was not carried out, the following question was asked to each of them: What does it mean to be a woman in the favela territory? Based on this question, each of the protagonists made different reflections, but per passed the idea of the female body-territory and the invasions they suffer as women from the favelas. Belonging to the favela territory is related to culture, to the way of life of women who occupy a place of segregation in the city. Michele reports that the image that others had of her could change depending on where she was:

> I went through something complex: when I was younger, I was very fond of reading, I really liked reading, studying. There [in the favela] there are many people who do not identify with this attitude.

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[4] Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro).

> I won a scholarship at a private school, and there I was the 'favelada'[5], while in the favela I was the preppy girl. (Silva, 2022, our translation).

In the case of women, the feeling of not belonging can also leave marks on the way they perceive themselves and their experience in a specific territory. The right to come and go is often repressed due to disrespect (both by the population and by the State) for favela residents. The social pressure that women suffer due to double or triple working hours is even more intense in a territory where one carries the burden of being half a citizen, like the favela. Cecília tells a story of when she felt the stigma of being a resident of the favela, added to the weight of the patriarchal society:

> I worked in an engineering company, and we were called to carry out a survey in the mountain region. The director said he would take people by car, one employee lived in Leblon, the other in Ipanema[6]. I said I lived in Rocinha. From that day on, he started treating me completely differently, giving me less work, because if I'm a woman from the favela, I'm a little less intelligent. (Lagos, 2022, our translation)

Favela residents are often unaware of their rights because they have been exposed to social exclusion factors for a long time. The denial of the right to the city and the fragility of the favela's rights place women living in favelas in situations of inequality in terms of income, housing, education, work, health, and security. Michele comments on the importance of becoming aware of her rights in her actions to change the territory:

> I guess when I was little I had the blessing of ignorance. When you don't know much about your rights... for a long time I didn't know anything about sexism. It was on social media a lot and when it got into discussions, the insults were always gender-related, like bandit's lover. When I started to have access to what was right, the questions of what it was like to live in the favela, I was already an adult. What I did before, it was much more intuitive than with the notion of rights I was losing. (Silva, 2022, our translation).

Sexist violence is nuanced, varying from different treatment in the work environment to physical violence. Since 2006, the *Public Security Institute* (ISP-Instituto de Segurança Pública) has been collecting data on violence against women in the state of Rio de Janeiro, which are made available yearly in the Women's Dossier. In this state, the number of cases of domestic violence is worrying. The most recent data from 2019 show that 75.2% of the victims had an acquaintance with their aggressor (Dossiê Mulher, 2019). More than half of the 128.322 victims in 2019 were black women between the ages of 30 and 59. For the Rocinha area, data are available since 2014, which show a number of 2647 cases of victims of violence (between 2014 and 2019), more than half of which were assaulted by acquaintances, inside their residence.

Michele comments on the violence in Rocinha, remarking that the aggression sometimes came from the police themselves.

> The police would stop me in the middle of Rocinha to search me. I thought: why can they touch my things? Questioning that caused turmoil. I started to not want to walk alone anymore, as censoring myself. I gave up things that I missed at the time because of that [violence]. (Silva, 2022, our translation).

Regarding the violence of drug trafficking, some of the interviewees expressed sadness at seeing the growing involvement of children and commented on the difficulty of raising children with high exposure to crime:

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[5] A person who comes from the favela. This word is often used dismissively by people outside the favela. Recently, there has been a movement to recover the positive meaning of the word.

[6] Leblon and Ipanema are upper class neighborhoods in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

> We were [Michele and the brothers] raised free, but always with the attentive protection of our parents. The concern with the boys was whether they would become criminals, but with the girls it was whether they would become teenage mothers. (Silva, 2022, our translation).

> Nowadays there is a change in traffic. Today it is an industry, workers are transferred from one place to another. Drug dealers no longer know all the residents [of Rocinha]. It got more dangerous. (...) When I raised my children in Rocinha, I was concerned that my girls would get involved with drug dealers. I was very strict [she laughs]! Constant surveillance. If my daughters got into trouble; I ended up finding out. One day someone said: I saw your daughter at Beco do Rato. She was supposed to be at school, so I rushed to call the school to see what was going on! (Lagos, 2022, our translation).

During the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, attention of the Government was needed to the changing dynamics of public health, but also in the social scenario. Social isolation was decreed by the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro as a preventive measure for the spread of the disease on March 13, 2020. The ISP began to monitor and analyze data on domestic and family violence against women during the isolation period, with the intention of providing information for the confrontation and prevention of this issue and for the protection of victims. According to the ISP, in the period of social isolation (March 13 to December 31, 2020), there was a decrease compared to the same period in 2019 in the records of Civil Police occurrences. The number of calls to the tips hotline (Disque Denúncia) about violence against women also decreased by 20.3%. So, what does it mean to be a woman in the favela territory? This question does not have one single answer, but several possibilities that complement each other, ensuring that the female mark in the territory is one that encompasses collectivity and resistance. Being a woman from the favela means facing violence, but also feeling safe in the place where you live. It may seem contradictory; however, these are the fibers that make up the fabric of a complex territory, systematically left aside by the rest of the city. In the favela, it is possible to belong, but fear for safety: health, hunger, sexual abuse, in short, the body territory.

According to Cecília, being a woman from the favela is like 'killing one lion a day'. The social pressure faced to work and take care of the family, along with the violence, the weight of fragile rights, and the disdain of the State become a Homeric task, but one that these women carry out with firmness. Even with a brutal and difficult daily life, they talk back to denounce the prejudices that deprive them of exercising their citizenship. To be a woman in the favela is to have a network of community action, of people willing to help change their community, without neglecting the identity of the territory. Community participation has strong support, not only from the protagonists of this work, but from many other women who tirelessly seek to know and fight for their rights, in Rocinha and in other settlements in Rio de Janeiro. Feminine territoriality is effective in the marks and change left by women in the favela.

5   Final Considerations

This article sought to answer the following questions: is the woman who lives in the favela able to reshape the territory to improve the daily life of the place where she lives and acts socially? What are the ways in which this influence takes place, and how does violence, the absence of the State, and the marks of patriarchal society delimit it? The immaterial dimension of the territory created and modified by favela women is intimately connected with the feeling of belonging and fighting for favela rights. Woman's territoriality is the identity united to the territory in a relationship of resistance and community that characterizes the daily struggle of women against the system. The work of these women in the territory of Rocinha makes even more evident the need for an urbanism that considers the specificities of gender, questioning the hegemony of patriarchal thinking that rules contemporary cities. The marks of community participation left by women make the favela a place full of collectivity, belonging, and identity. According to bell hooks, black and minority feminism is intimately associated with this collectivity, which has the power to reconfigure the territory.

> (...) insisting that feminist struggle can begin wherever an individual woman is, we create a movement that focuses on our collective experience, a movement that is continually mass-based. (hooks, 1984, p. 27).

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Women's territoriality is the feeling that the favela women imprint on the territory that the favela is a place of prosperity and knowledge, despite all the negative characteristics that are insistently conveyed in the mainstream media. Being careful not to romanticize the favela, observing women's territoriality is noticing the nuances of the presence of a woman who thrives and resists beyond, who sees herself as an axis of change in the midst of absence, sometimes weakening, but never backing down.

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FEMINISM AND THE URBAN PRACTICE: THREE LINES OF ANALYSIS
FEMINISMO E O FAZER URBANO: TRÊS EIXOS DE ANÁLISE
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Abstract

In this article the authors propose reflections regarding the power of feminism over the urban practice as an activity by counter-hegemonic architectures. Grounded on historical-dialectic materialism, our study started with reflections on the material production of concrete social relations which, as their contradictions unfold, engender the counter-hegemonic emancipatory process. For such, three lines of analysis are presented. In the first one, we discuss how the logic of accumulation and violence, intrinsic to capitalism, imposes itself over body-territories, asserting itself as the rule and belittling life and those pieces of knowledge that are not guided by profit and patriarchal domination. In the second line of analysis, by mapping the downtown area in Florianópolis, we will show how this system manifests itself both symbolically and   in terms of space. Only ten of all streets in the city center have received the name of women, showing that the patriarchal standard is settled in the territory. The third line reveals itself as a synthesis of the other two. We introduce the women in urban agriculture as individual and collective body-territories building a counter-hegemonic praxis in urban spaces and on social movements. They take political action with the construction of alternatives that foster care, reproduction of life, reconnection with nature, protection of popular traditions, as well as issues of gender and the right to the city. These women carry with them the power to bring social and urban transformation.

Keywords: Feminism, Genre, City, Body-territory

1   Introduction

Capitalism establishes itself as a mode of production that sets up systemic oppression based on violence and the exploitation of bodies, territories, and nature, often institutionalized oppression. Such a process can be analyzed from a feminist non-eurocentric perspective, highlighting structures and individuals who have been historically obliterated (Federici, 2017)

The quest for unlimited accumulation, inherent to the capitalist system, sets itself ideologically as, supposedly, the only possible alternative. This is how the views and values of dominant classes become culturally hegemonic. A lifestyle has been gestated and based on the logic of a market that, among other impacts, favors and naturalizes the privatization of common lands, of the infrastructure meant for the maintenance of life, apart from seizing all of the deviant forms and subjectivities (Federici, 2017). In this process, it seeks to eliminate opposition, and rebelliousness along with autonomy, disobedience, and the possibility of rupture (Rolnik, 2011). This historical context also reverberates to the production of architecture and urban spaces. The concept of space as something uniform that reflects the movements of society, hides the sexist (Guitart, 2007) and racist (Santos, et al., 2017) character of urban design. In this respect, hegemonic architecture as much as urban planning stands as an instrument of power for a class, through which the bourgeoisie controls the production of space (Harvey, 2014).

Feminist urbanism integrates the critique to such outlook as much as it integrates the construction of new viewpoints and perspectives that concern subjectivities, bodies, and territories (Villagrán, 2016). Thus, one of the possibilities for feminism is to get back to the movements — urban and social movements —, in other words, to collective spaces that gestate praxis that question cultural hegemony. In the analysis, we presented the notions that cover the body-territory. It is an issue of feminist epistemology, which transcends the hegemonic western reasoning and encourages the construction of a logic that overcomes its intrinsic binary aspects such as subject/object, reason/emotion, mind/body, culture/nature, production/reproduction, public/private and urban/rural.

The reflection is grounded on the historical-dialectic materialism, as well as on the theory of feminism, in other words, we looked to reveal concrete issues of the society and its contradictions, which emerge from the material production of life, relating them to the historical and emancipatory processes abided by them. For that reason, we held a theoretical discussion about patriarchal capitalism, a priori, as the means to substantiate a cartographic analysis of the downtown area in Florianópolis, and also to ground the statements and protagonism of women in urban agriculture on the production of a counter-hegemonic urban space.

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The studies presented in this paper have been carried out in the city of Florianópolis, the state of Santa Catarina, Southern Brazil. Such a choice happened because it is where the authors live, study and work, which made it possible for expressions of hegemonic values, beliefs and behaviors to be found in this territory.

The research presents the cartography of the downtown area of Florianópolis, since this area has a range of historic and symbolic layers representing the occupation of the territory over time. Thus, these consolidated areas express the power of the dominant patriarchal ideology, in what concerns the production of architecture and urbanism.

Likewise, Florianópolis has a particular feature in relation to the Urban Development Plan, following the extinction of rural zoning from 2014. It is an aspect that still provokes discussions between social movements and public authorities. This fact represents, above all, the hegemonic thought of the local elite, which defends the interests of corporate real estate groups, whose project for a city is not consistent with the morphologic, ecological and social features of the municipality, especially those of the island of Santa Catarina. Hence the relevance of the movements in favor of urban agriculture, especially by women. As a way to qualify the work and the discussions presented, the article brings statements by militant women on the tackling of motions that place profit above nature and above life with human dignity (Chaves, 2022).

Thus, this article brings reflections on the urban practice in the sphere of feminism in order to reveal its counter-hegemonic power, by presenting three lines of analysis. The first one takes into account the historical materiality of social relations within the capitalist system. On this line, we discuss how violence and epistemicide are fundamental for the capitalist process of accumulation, by subduing female bodies and territories. The second line seeks to show, through a cartographic gender analysis of the downtown area of Florianópolis, how such intermingling can be expressed in the city. The third line represents the convergence of the first two lines of reflection, which emerge as resistance as well as an alternative to a system that commodifies life and socio-environmental relations. Protagonism and the perspectives of women in urban agriculture are presented in this topic.

2   Accumulation, Violence, and the Androcentric City

In order to understand the reality one needs to necessarily go through the process of understanding the historical conditions and structures that materialized in our society. It is from such conjuncture that we establish a relationship with the world, with nature, with the territory, apart from conforming to the construction of our subjectivity.

The process described by Marx (2013) as the primitive accumulation of capital[1], in the mercantilist period, consisted of those actions that engendered capitalism. Among them were the enclosures that expropriated peasants from common lands, making it impossible for lifestyles based on the community to stand, in order to impose private property and the submission of individual waged labor. This process also includes the colonization of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, slavery, the subjugation of peoples and their cultures as well as the strengthening of the separation of humanity-nature.

Rosa Luxemburg (1970) states that this logic of violence is intrinsic to the capitalist system and that the features of primitive accumulation have unleashed a continual process that is not limited to a specific time in history or a geographic location. The capital needs to destroy what the author calls the *natural economy* — socioeconomic forms based on subsistence and the reproduction of life — to take over the production resources, especially the land and the workforce of those populations. For capitalist relationships to maintain, a State apparatus is needed, one anchored on police and military forces. With this, another kind of violence emerges, the epistemicide (Santos, 2019). Behind the idea of a pretense of civil respect, the mechanisms of oppression are hidden. The practice of civilizing is part of an ideologically fabricated process conducted in parallel with the notion of progress and development, conditional for the expansion of capitalism, founded on the rise of modern science. As the values of this western civilizing science expanded, in a hegemonic way, all over the world, the knowledge of women and oppressed peoples was ignored and repressed.

> [...] this happens because it is not possible to disqualify the forms of knowledge of dominated peoples without disqualifying the peoples themselves, both individually and collectively, as cognizing

[1] De Angelis (2001) observes two meanings for the primitive accumulation of capital, the historical meaning employed by Marx, in which "primitive" applies to the processes in the origin of the capital, and the one that regards it as an ongoing event in the capitalist mode of production. This last approach allows the connection of violence to colonialism and to the body-territory.

individuals. [...] It is a twofold way of kidnapping: by denying somebody else's rationality or by the cultural assimilation that is imposed on them in other cases [...]. [The epistemicide] is no longer meant for the individual and collective body, but for the control of minds and hearts. (Carneiro, 2005, p. 97, our translation).

This process, which reinforces the dichotomy of rural-urban, also includes other issues. The first one relates to the place where the food we consume is produced - rural or urban - and to the socio-environmental characteristics of vicinity. The second issue concerns the form and means of how agriculture is developed. In other words, regarding the use of agrochemicals, the instrumental use of nature, the artificial production of seeds and seedlings, and the acquisition process of farmed lands. The agribusiness and large farming estates undertake practices that perpetuate the logic of accumulation and of violence that affect nature, the native, *quilombola,* and traditional populations, delegitimizing them as bearers of knowledge, apart from intensifying the nutritional and dietary insecurity of these populations (Mies; Shiva, 2021).

The same logic happens and affects the urban space. The privatization of urban spaces, segregation, peripheralization, and unlimited expansion of the real estate market affecting areas of nature with rural characteristics are examples of these processes materializing in spaces. Therefore, the dawn of the modern city took place in a sphere of accumulation, violence, and exclusion of individuals, when it was possible to establish a connection with urban planning and the production of an androcentric city. In this urban practice, where man is the measure of all things, marketing spaces of goods and services are the priority, to the detriment of those that favor the reproduction of life (Valdivia, 2018).

The urban space gains pedagogical character in what concerns the ideological issue of a hegemonic patriarchal capitalist model. By means of a specific definition of uses for the urban land, there is the establishment of which movements are allowed and which are restricted, which territories are valued, and which bodies can occupy certain spaces. Our cities have been built based on this dominant logic, and the relations concerning genre, race, and class are expressed on the urban outline. In this regard, there is a range of codes that portray the relations of power (Kern, 2021).

To make these interconnections evident, we have proposed the neologism *feminage* in contrast with the word homage. The latter being, etymologically, a word derived from *man*. It used to denote a vassal as a man of arms, one owing his loyalty to his liege (Houaiss, 2001). *Feminage*, in turn, makes the contradiction evident and denounces it, the submission of meaning in paying homage to a woman.

Departing from the problematics presented, we proceeded to the cartographic analysis of downtown street names in Florianópolis, represented in Figure 1. In the comparison between the number of men to have been homaged and the number of women to have been *feminaged*, a clear unbalance reveals the ideological valuation of the genre. According to Figure 2, only ten (5%) out of 208 streets have received the name of women, and none of the main streets have a feminine name.

NAME OF THE DOWNTOWN STREETS IN FLORIANÓPOLIS

MAIN STREETS HOMAGES (masc.)

SECONDARY STREETS HOMAGES (masc.)

SECONDARY STREETS FEMINAGES (fem.)
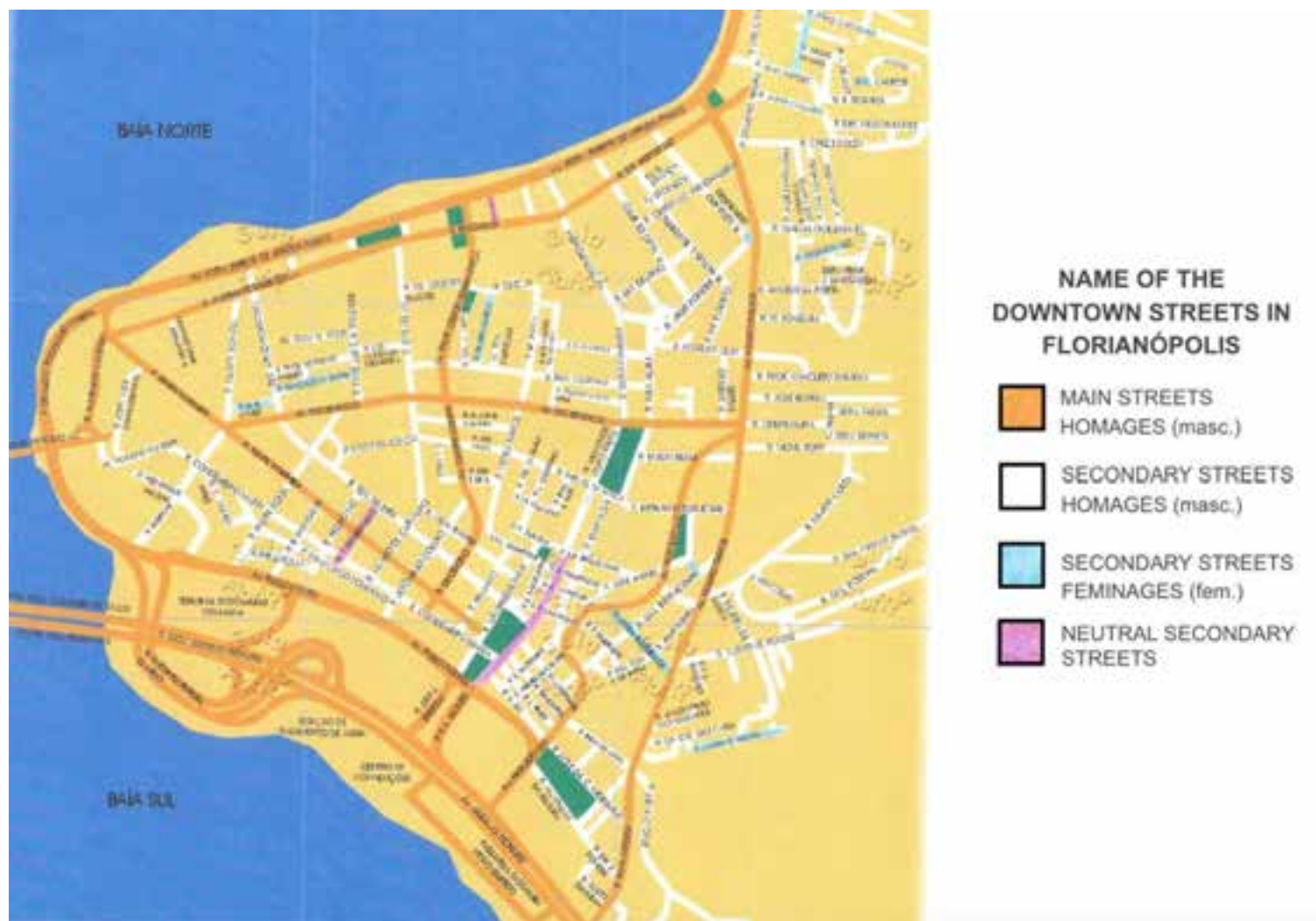
NEUTRAL SECONDARY STREETS

Fig. 1: Downtown street names in Florianópolis. Source: elaboration Nór, adapted from *Guia Floripa* (2022).

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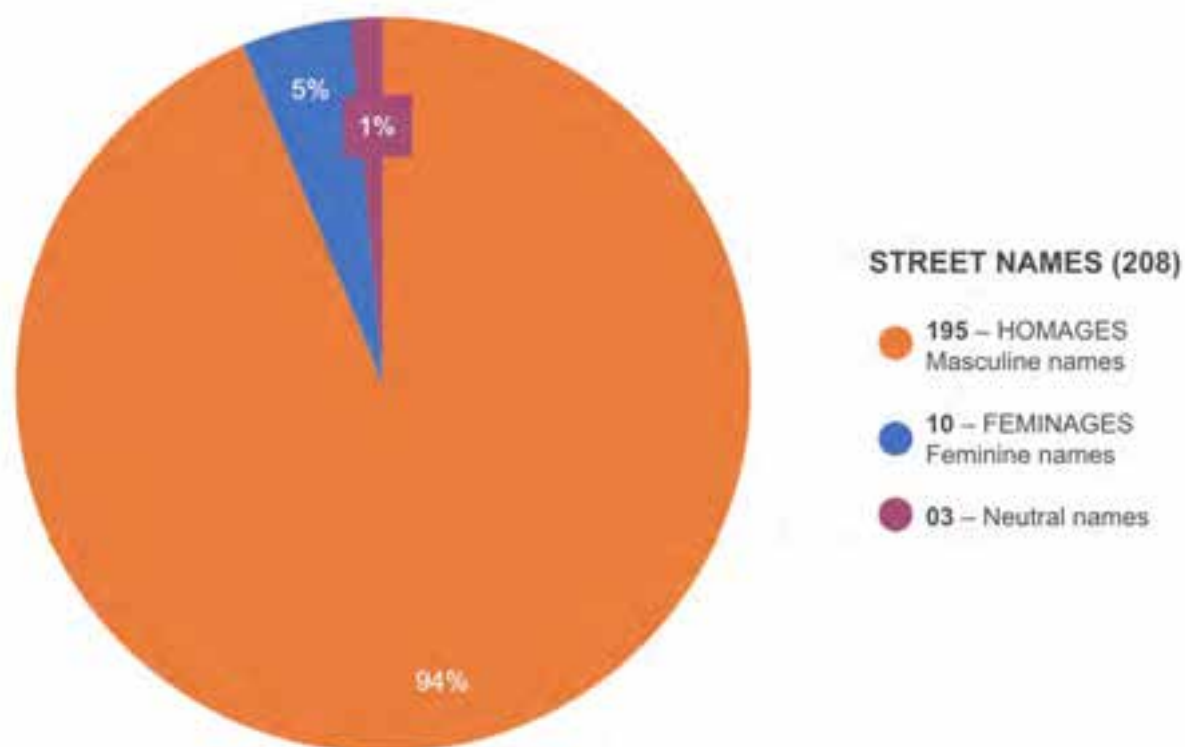**Fig. 2**: Percentage of streets referring to homages and feminages. Source: elaboration Nór.

STREET NAMES (208)

195 – HOMAGES Masculine names

10 – FEMINAGES Feminine names

03 – Neutral names

According to Table 1, it is worth highlighting that, among those ten names of women, four of them actually represent indirect homages to the husband or father, thus lessening the acknowledgment of the feminine protagonist's power in society and the city's space management. There is a clear inconsistency between what a woman needs to accomplish in order to deserve distinction and to receive acknowledgment in her public life and what a man needs to do. On the other hand, the masculine has always prevailed, by forging beliefs, values, and behaviors of supposed superiority, and, even today, names of men keep going on designating street addresses, references, memories, and urban identities.

	NAME	FEMINAGE	ACTIVITIES DEVELOPED
1	Adelaide Lane	Adelaide Pereira Oliveira	*Governor Pereira Oliveira's widow**
2	Anita Garibaldi Street	Ana de Jesus Ribeiro	Fighter in Farroupilha Revolution and fighter for the Unification of Italy
3	Benvenuta Barlet James Street	Benvenuta Monteiro James	Revolutionary, politician
4	Irmã Benvarda Street	Maria Michele	Religious
5	Corália Ferreira da Luz Street	Corália dos Reis Ferreira da Luz	*Second wife of Hercílio Luz**
6	Etelvina Luz Square (Round Bench)	Etelvina Cezarina Ferreira Luz	*First wife of Hercílio Luz**
7	Laura Caminha Meira Street	Laura Caminha Meira	Public employee, active in Philanthropy
8	Madalena Barbi Street	Madalena Destri Barbi	Orthopedist practitioner
9	Margot Ganzo Araújo Street	Margot Ganzo Araújo	*Daughter of Juan Ganzo/ director of the Telephone Company**
10	Ondina Alves Pereira Lane	Ondina Alves Pereira	Housewife

* Even though these are names of women, they represent homages to their husband or father.

Table 1: Downtown Streets in Florianópolis that received the names of women. Source: elaboration Nór, adapted from Silva (1999).

Such cartography is paradigmatic for it demonstrates how ideological constructions founded on the public-private dualism are printed onto the urban design and territory (Villagrán, 2016). Men are supposedly public figures who are free to use and get hold of public space whereas women are not. The domestic chores, caring for the home, and work related to reproduction, undervalued and invisible work, are reserved for the women. This language is written in the urban space and is experienced by generations of citizens. Such code is printed on the territory and its subjectivities, demonstrating and reinforcing the relations of power. This power is also expressed by the political representativity of those who choose the names for places in the city, most of them men, thus reflecting the patriarchal structure of the society. In a movement of resistance to this oppressive logic, counter-hegemonic practices arise such as feminism and agroecology.

When defining hegemony as the instrument used for the maintenance and internalization of dominance by those who dwell in the subaltern condition, according to Ouviña (2021), Gramsci as much as Luxemburgo maintain a crucial aspect in their horizon: the possibility of ideological rupture by means of the popular and autonomous counterculture. For the author, this practical-pedagogic view lays the foundation for the construction of a resistance that is not limited to changes in the economic sphere but finds, in the dispute of senses and behaviors, the possibility to engender, on a daily basis, movements for the expression of ideas, bodies, and affections.

When the territories and collectively established everyday policies are observed, policies that value life, eco-dependency[2], and care, women stand out as the ones who weave alternatives to the dominant logic and resist oppressive structures. These

[2] Svampa (2019) states that the term *ecodependency* marks the fact that we, the human society, are part of nature, and establish a relationship of interdependency with it. For the author, ecofeminists and women's movements are, among other social movements, leading the re-signification, or rather the re-establishment of the relationship between humanity and nature by means of caring as a collective principle.

daily arrangements have a radical power to transform how we conceive and produce urban space. This is how the women in urban agriculture are integrated, as individuals who build up transformation for the collectivity.

3   The Body-territory and the Women in Urban Agriculture

We aim to highlight the relevance of processes and experiences of the global South which, focused on the agroecological logic, build up resistance to property, to violence, and to the subjection of body-territories. This is a power-concept able to accommodate a new notion for the building of spaces and relations.

Proximity with decolonial studies gives us the necessary tools to help and understand the complex realities imposed by the hegemony of the coloniality of power[3], of genre[4], of knowledge[5], and of being[6], making it possible for the approach of references such as agroecology and body-territory, highlighted by a feminism that lays on popular and community-based grounds.

Also, with the revival and the renewed valorization of cosmovisions over originary peoples, it has been possible to confront modern precepts founded on hierarchical dichotomy and on the approach to other knowledge, based on relations of complementarity and codependence (Carvajal, 2020).

On indigenous cosmovisions, such a concept of an embodied world is nothing new. A hill, for instance, has a name and personality; mountain chains are composed of a mother, father, and son, and they talk to other families of mountains nearby (Krenak, 2019). The same happened to the voices of indigenous women who spread throughout Latin America and the Caribbean to defend their territories. Sentences such as *"my body is my territory"* and *"neither us women nor the land are territories for conquest"* (Cruz Hernández, 2016, p. 36, our translation) resounded all around the continent, becoming an inspiration for the political enunciation that permeated the feminist and other social movements.

> [...] the body perceived as a territory is in itself a space, territory-place, it too occupying a space in the world and can experience all emotions, sensations and physical reactions, to find in it [body-territory] a place of "resistance" and re-signification. (Cruz Hernández, 2016, p. 42, our translation)[7].

Cruz Hernández (2016), as much as Gago (2020), states that it is possible to understand the body-territory as an idea-force able to overflow its own origin in the fight of originary peoples onto other spaces and territories, even on the urban space. The notion of body-territory claims the right to the reproduction of life and to the communality. At the same time, it questions the grounds that sustain capitalism and the very meaning of private property linked to lack, scarcity and deprivation (Gago, 2020). In that sense, day-to-day life surpasses abstraction and reconnects to essential aspects, to social reproduction.

> This reference to life is not abstract, but linked to the spaces, to times, to the bodies and to concrete combinations in which this life develops, becomes possible, dignified, visible [...]. Life has a vital meaning: it involves the defense and care towards what is common, and the production and expansion of shared wealth. (Gago, 2020, p.109, our translation).

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[3] Coloniality refers to a new standard of power of the global capitalism, resulting from colonialism, in which the idea of "race" was established to neutralize and legitimate the colonial relations of dominance, giving rise to a new global structure of labor control which is racialized and geographically differentiated (Quijano, 2005).

[4] For Lugones (2019), apart from race, also genre is a colonial imposition that produced new classifications, introducing a modern colonial system of genre used for the control of sex, its resources and products.

[5] Coloniality of knowledge is also a fruit of the Eurocentric Western modernity which lays down the model of knowledge based on neutrality, objectivity, universality, and positivism, thus creating an allegedly universal narrative centralizing and valuing the production by the global North (Curiel, 2020).

[6] For Maldonado-Torres (2007), coloniality of the self is humanity's denial towards certain populations that are considered an obstacle to modernization.

[7] From the original in Spanish: "*[...] el cuerpo visto como territorio es en sí mismo un espacio, un territorio lugar, que ocupa, además, un espacio en el mundo y puede vivenciar todas las emociones, sensaciones y reacciones físicas, para encontrar en él, un lugar de "resistencia" y resignificación.*" (Cruz Hernandéz, 2016, p. 42).

It is in this context that women in urban agriculture can be found, their farming activities, participation in community vegetable gardens, in collective initiatives and in spaces of militancy. Thus, they make caring and social reproduction visible, countering the layout of a profit-oriented productive city. Thought the daily perspectives of these women, we consider it possible to expose the overlapping of the body-territory, as feminist epistemology, and the study of space. The potentiality to break with the patriarchal ownership logic made the emergence of a new spatiality possible, a new mode of being and acting in the world, which brings tension to hegemony and binarisms.

In this scenario, it can be taken into consideration how women in urban agriculture act politically, building alternatives. They do so by prioritizing the production of organic food, for neighbors and vicinities, in harmony with popular cultural traditions, with the preservation of local ecosystems. At the same time, issues of genre and of right to the city are stimulated (Chaves, 2022). This is a deviating feminist practice, settled on the individual-collective body, on the body as territory and on the territory as body, which subverts the binary, individualist, ownership logic, asserting itself as a utopic horizon facing the neoliberal advances of the capital (Gago, 2020).

The statements by women in urban agriculture from Florianópolis demonstrated that their daily experiences with agriculture allowed the setting of relationships of the overture. In other words, through processes of subjectivation, it has been possible to nurture possibilities of reconnection with nature. Personal motivations such as the search for wellness, a healthy diet, and therapeutic activities have favored involvement with agroecological social movements, unveiling the process for the formation of an individual and collective body-territory (Gago, 2020). With this experience, a spacial and subjective practice emerges, bringing with it the power for its expansion so that "new forms of life-in-common and a culture of sharing" (Stavrides, 2016, pp. 4-5) can be created.

> I think that agroecology, in general, is something very revolutionary and very political. So, I think that when you start entering it, you get more and more involved with the movements, and not only with one but with several. As if the whole world started opening up, this has been a very important change. It was roughly about then that I started getting involved with various movements, and it was something I had been meaning to do for quite some time already. [...] And then I think that when I started with agriculture, I started learning about it all and researching about agroecology, it was as if this a new road opened up. I started getting involved with all those movements which was something that I wanted. And one thing leads to another.[8] (Chaves, 2022, p. 104, our translation).

The territorial practices that derive from these relations, such as the joint efforts and the agroecological street markets, bring other ways of living to the city, transforming not only the spaces but the people for the practices and exchange of experience. These experiences illustrate the importance of the humanity-nature immanence over processes of daily reproduction.

> [...] practice, to put it into practice from the experiences. We cannot work in a situation where we have no understanding that everything we do is for us ourselves: we, human beings who are on the planet. I am not an environmentalist who will put the environment first, above the people. I am not one of those people. I understand that people are for the environment just as the environment is for the people. In order to think environmentally we have to think of people, so the focus of my work is the people [...]. And experience, joint efforts, friendships, all come from the people. (Chaves, 2022, p. 83, our translation).

In these events, the empowerment of women is revealed, as they constitute active social forces that guide the right to the city, to food sovereignty, and to a life worth living (Chaves, 2022).

> [...] Women are always the majority! The joint effort undertakings, the two that I have been to, were only women! When you realize that the majority are all women, I think we are much more willing to engage and change things, we are a lot more defiant, and I feel that we are a lot more radical than men. We are more willing to take action and I also think that we have a vocation towards collective

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[8] In this article we have used excerpts from interviews with women of urban agriculture movements in the macro-region of Florianópolis, as presented in Chaves (2022).

action anyway, because we have more talent for talking and solving problems, I guess [...]. (Chaves, 2022, p. 128, our translation).

In this way, life gains sensibility that goes beyond the retina-eye (Rolnik, 2011), with such complexity that surpasses the neoliberal capitalist compartmentalization and the necessary obedience for the maintenance of the hegemonic thought. The rhizomatic multiplicity is allowed and there is an opening for the unpredictability that comes along with the becoming, which is never individual, separated from the world or from the relations established with it. From the becoming a micro-political logic emerges, a cartography that holds the bordering and unstable space. It breaks free from the fixed structures of macro-politics, for macro-politics and micro-politics are codependent forces. However, because they have different natures, they also need different strategies. Whereas in macro-politics there is fighting to achieve equal rights and action within a programmatic sphere, in micro-politics "the invisible and unpredictable movements of the earth are followed — here, they are movements of willingness —, which keep transforming, imperceptibly, the current landscape" (Rolnik, 2011, p. 62, our translation).

It is in micro-politics that other forms of living can be created. When subjectivity is de-territorialized, there's the possibility of re-territorialization, moved by willingness, by the power of life to remain and take root. The forces acting over the bodies produce vibrance, and can be expressed by a new form of life, a new art, new sexuality or a new body, a new territory (Rolnik, 2011, 2018).

When the feminist key is used to understand space, it becomes possible to trace a history of anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist resistance, in articulation with these women in the cities, in the rural areas and in the forests who, since the rise of capitalism and colonial occupation, resist to the violence that go with the processes of dispossession and extermination of their beliefs, values and modes of life (Federici, 2019).

4   Final Considerations

In this article, we present three lines of analysis, for reflection about feminism as counter-hegemonic praxis. With the first line we showed the patriarchal capitalist mode of production as a system that imposes itself, through accumulations and violence against bodies and territories, capturing not only subjectivities, but also processes of resistance. With the second line, by means of a cartographic analysis of the downtown area in Florianópolis, we reveal how this system is printed on the urban space. Discrepancy was found between homages and feminages, referring to the names of downtown streets. Such analysis highlighted forms of symbolic perpetuation of structures of patriarchal power within the society and on the production of space, just as the duality of public-private printed on the territory. The third line of analysis was the one to embody the others, representing the protagonism of women as body-territories that encourage a counter-hegemonic anti-capitalist praxis, which emerge from social movements and collective spaces of fight for urban agriculture in Florianópolis. This line complies with both processes of resistance and the emergence of alternatives to the patriarchal capitalist system.

The women in urban agriculture build up alternatives aimed at breaking up with the dichotomy and the humanity-nature alienation, prioritizing care and the reproduction of life. Those alternatives harbor an epistemological turn, a counter-hegemonic praxis rising from existing experiences (Kern, 2021; Lefebvre, 2001; Solón, et al., 2019). Agroecological practices emerge as resistance to a context of established systemic violence against bodies and knowledge. They give rise to manners of thinking, feeling, existing, and being in the world that allows a glimpse of radicalism, the power of broad transformation (Gago, 2020), and even urban transformation.

In this respect, such spatiality looming from urban agroecology incorporates the unstable materiality that permeates day-to-day living where the body becomes territory and the territory becomes a body. The individual and the collective are no longer sites of dispute but start establishing a relationship of complementarity and codependency, making it evident that there are no such things as a lack of body or territory (Gago, 2020). Thus, among territories and bodies, the existence of the life pulse mentioned by Suely Rolnik (2019) as well as the transformation-willing power presented by Verónica Gago (2020) is revealed. Those perspectives allow the expansion and diffusion of insurgent practices of territory, as opposed to the hegemonic order — proprietary, individualist, and androcentric — to which we are subjected all the time, and which is supposed as the only existing logic and the only way of understanding the world.

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Studying these correlations allows us to think about counter-hegemonic architectures, as decolonial and feminist thought is brought to the field of architecture and urbanism. When we think and project our spaces from our experiences, subjectivities, and bodies, we assimilate the social and collective dimension, in a simultaneous process of deconstruction of the dominating thought and construction of a new possible reality (Ouviña, 2021).

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PROACTIVE AI AS A WAY TO FOSTER DESIGN JUSTICE PRACTICES
IA PROATIVA COMO MODO DE PROMOVER PRÁTICAS DE DESIGN JUSTICE
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Abstract

As part of a counter-hegemonic agenda, participatory theories can challenge dominant perspectives, turning a specific process into a collective endeavour. Understanding that these current participatory design frameworks seem to lack an intersectional approach for the inclusion of counter-hegemonic narratives, we aim to stimulate a speculative discussion around the possibility of using a Proactive AI approach to develop voice assistants embedded with a Design Justice bias. Relying on a literature review and the design of a storyboard, we present a fictional scenario as a result in which a proactive voice assistant nudges the architect towards social reflections during the design process. Then, we discuss the importance of context awareness and beneficial intentional bias, concluding with the outcomes and challenges for the technology, beyond the architecture design practice.

Keywords: Design justice, Proactive AI, Computer-human Interaction, Artificial Intelligence, Architecture

1   Introduction

The design and construction of human artefacts and buildings respond to the interest of socially and economically dominant groups. Considering the values accounted for in the design process belong to the already privileged ones, new designs end up reinforcing a social structure that reassures advantages for the dominant groups. As an alternative, participatory theories come up with design processes that can better incorporate the values and expectations of the people who will be affected by the design solution. Still, collective and participatory design frameworks seem to lack an intersectional approach for the inclusion of counter-hegemonic narratives (Costanza-Chock, 2020).

Here, we approach a speculative discussion about the development of a type of proactive voice assistant powered by artificial intelligence (AI). We intend to speculate about how a so-called Proactive AI could deploy the counter-hegemonic agenda of the design justice framework, in the context of an architecture office. This study intends to trigger reflections on how digital technology can help "(...) to examine and transform design values, practices, narratives, sites, and pedagogies so that they don't continue to reinforce interlocking systems of structural inequality." (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. xvii).

1.1   Design Justice

As described by Sasha Costanza-Chock, "Design Justice is a framework for analysis of how design distributes benefits and burdens between various groups of people." (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 23), challenging power dynamics within a traditional design process. The author describes the concept of Design Justice applied to digital technology, though making clear that it could (and should) be explored in other fields — like architecture and urban planning.

This approach was organised by the Design Justice Network, after the 2014 Allied Media Conference (https://designjustice.org/). It is possible to notice that the Network started from a feeling of dissatisfaction on how inclusion has been dealt by industry, along with an understanding that the existing approaches (participatory design, user-centred design, co-design, etc.) were not tackling structural inequalities effectively — but risking to reinforce them (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 6).

Based on Black feminist authors like Kimberlé Crenshaw and Patricia Hill Collins, Sasha describes two key concepts to understand Design Justice's aims: 'intersectionality' and 'matrix of domination'. The first one arranges aspects like race, class, and gender as part of an 'interlocking system' (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 17), being experienced together instead of 'independent constructs' (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 18) — e.g., trans-women and cis-women of colour may suffer specific forms of discrimination related to their gender identities besides race. The author argues that most inclusion practices have a 'single-axis' approach to design, instead of an intersectional one (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 19).

The second concept, 'matrix of domination', relates to the idea of how our intersectional aspects are part of an uneven structural distribution of "power, oppression, resistance, privilege, penalties, benefits, and harms (...) that can shape an individual's life" (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 20). Therefore, Sasha describes how we are part of a "(...) multitude of dominant groups and a multitude of subordinate groups." (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 21). Design justice would be on hand to

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investigate and challenge the ways on how inequality is produced or reinforced between individuals, based on their location in the matrix of domination.

With that goal, Sasha summarises the Design Justice principles as a way "(…) to ensure a more suitable distribution of design's benefits and burdens; meaningful participation in design decisions; and recognition of community-based, indigenous, and diasporic design traditions, knowledge, and practices." (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 23).

It is not expected that the deployment of such a framework would be held out of the blue. As design justice itself prays, pre-existent approaches for inclusion should be enhanced and supported, instead of substituted for supposed new strategies with fancy names. The exercise of recognizing intersectional aspects in existing design methods should be a daily reminder among practitioners. What follows is a speculative proposition on the possibility of using artificial intelligence (AI) to foster Design Justice reflections in architecture offices, while checking for potentially harmful biases in the design process.

1.2   Architecture and Automation

Because of its relation to the Global North's process of industrialization, the design industry has long ago started to be informatized — to the current point in which most part of the design work is primarily done through digital platforms (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 15). In architecture, for instance, both discussions on how digital computers would change the industry or even replace designers with automated systems have been in debate for almost a decade (Carpo, 2013; Lynn, 2013).

Efforts to organise Architecture, Engineering and Construction (AEC) industrial standards have paved the way to design automation, through the use of digital libraries coupled with technologies like Building Information Modelling (BIM). Parametric and generative design have also been quite popular strategies among architecture offices that are able to afford a data-driven process (Natividade, 2010). Because of that, some scholars would argue that the next step would be the incorporation of computational models of artificial intelligence (AI) to assist designers, or even to substitute them (Carpo, 2017).

Currently, AI technologies employed in architecture offices are limited to specific and constrained tasks, like genetic algorithms applied to form-finding (Burry, 2013) or automated layout generation for interior design or urban planning (Calixto, 2015). Discussions found in literature argue that an advancement of the current state of AI to a mode of General Intelligence would require human-like reasoning, producing an AI able to cope with complex and open-ended design problems. While still a fiction, it is not difficult to envision possible futures in which architects would interact with AI-powered entities during the design process (Pereira, 2020).

One of the controversial problems in the currently available AI technology is the bias, a popular aspect related to the debate. As described by Mittelstadt, Allo, Taddeo, Wachter, and Floridi, "The design and functionality of an algorithm reflects the values and intentions of its developer as a specific solution is chosen as the best and most efficient. Algorithm development is not neutral (…)." (Mittelstadt et al., 2016, p. 25) Bias would be related to the organisation of the matrix of domination (Costanza-Chock, 2020), in a sense that a set of values will always prioritise some solutions and neglect others, creating an unbalanced distribution of benefits and harms. Even though neutrality is not an option in digital technology, there are studies on trying to decrease and overcome bias — but if you are less inclined to one side, what is the new side you are leaning on?

What if, instead of a never-ending process after bias neutrality, AI developers input an intentional and somewhat benevolent bias? In the case of architecture offices, this intentional bias could be the design justice framework — in which, besides directing all conversational aspects towards intersectional awareness, the AI would be able to audit the design process in search for an unequal design benefits distribution. Going further in this vision, what if the AI could nudge architects, provoking reflections and behaviour change?

1.3   Proactive AI

The development of Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) for AI technologies has been pushed by voice interfaces, following the launching of popular 'smart assistants' like Apple's Siri in 2011 and Amazon's Alexa in 2014 (Strengers and Kennedy, 2020). Such products are based on Natural Language Processing (NLP) algorithms and have been targeted for domestic

use and household automation routine, surrounded by controversies around misogyny and surveillance (Strengers and Kennedy, 2020).

Resonating the AI technologies available in the design process, Mikšík and his co-authors observe that the current generation of voice assistants is "(...) limited in the sense that they are reactive, i.e., they 'only' respond to commands." (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 1). With this kind of technology, interaction is only started by users and the voice assistant would be restricted to single-task commands (Panarese et al., 2021, p. 1). Also, it would not be able to "(...) understand where they are, what else is in the room, how many people are around or how they interact with each other." (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 1).

In the context of an architecture office, a voice assistant would be able to perform organisational tasks, like scheduling meetings or booking appointments, and even offer assistance to the design process — as a search engine, for example. Researchers have been indicating that, to overcome existing constraints in the technology and make it more useful, it would require the voice assistant to be able to initiate interactions (Edwards et al., 2021, p. 1). The connectionist paradigm of deep learning algorithms would be able to infer users' routines and needs, providing the assistants the capacity of interrupting users to provide useful information, according to their context. This approach to the development of a 'smarter voice' assistant has been named 'Proactive AI' (Edwards et al., 2021; Mikšík et al., 2020; Panarese et al., 2021).

Considering the possibility of a proactive voice assistant to help the design process in an architecture office, we present next a speculative methodology that can test how this technology could be used to support counter-hegemonic design practices. To do so, we are interested in the possibility of deploying voice assistants with a design justice agenda, able to audit the design process, checking its positioning within the matrix of dominance.

2   Methodology

The current study is structured around user-experience design (Buxton, 2010) and design fiction (Minvielle; Wathelet, 2017) methodologies: while user-experience design presents a series of resources for modelling and prototyping interactions, design-fiction makes use of the intersection between design tools, scientific facts, and the fantasy imaginary provided by science-fiction to "(...) create prototypes of other worlds, other experiences and other contexts (...)" (Bleecker, 2009, p. 7), fostering the development of a critical eye in relation to possible futures.

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As a technique capable of stimulating discussions about futures yet to exist, a visual prototype (de la Rosa; Ruecker, 2020) was made through the use of a storyboard drawing. Because it is mainly used in cinema productions, storyboards can depict temporal transitions, creating movement in the description of a scene (Buxton, 2010). As a counter-hegemonic methodology, the speculative exploration of possible futures does not intend to exhaust a subject, but to "(...) allow us to step outside reality for a moment (...) to test ideas, refute theories, challenge limits, and explore possible implications." (Dunne; Raby, 2013, p. 80).

2.1   Scenario's Context

As a context for the storyboard, we chose to simulate the participation in a design competition for a health clinic in the Gurugi area — a *quilombola*[1] region in northeast Brazil, at Paraíba state. This competition was chosen based on the possibilities of discussion regarding the use of probabilistic numerical AI models to deal with qualitative issues — such as the preservation of habits and traditions, which is guaranteed by law in this region classified as a Traditional Peoples and Communities Zone.

3   Results: Scenario

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[1] During colonial times in Brazil, fugitive slaves would organize themselves in small communities called *quilombo*. They have survived on the basis of small farming and the occupied area usually presented difficult access, protecting it from slave-hunters (Britannica, 2016). Some of those communities have survived throughout the colonial period, and have been protected as a Brazilian cultural heritage, being named *quilombola* regions.

The scenario describes the following situation: an architect (Arthur) has just decided with his team that they will participate in a design competition. Their office is equipped with an AI system specialised in design, called Augmented Reasoning Query (ARQ):

Arthur (excited to tell some news)
– ARQ!

ARQ (showing satisfaction in a reactive mode)
– Hello, Arthur!

Arthur
– We decided to do that health clinic competition.

ARQ (Excited in a proactive mode, and making a proposition)
– Cool! Would you like me to prepare some design references?

Arthur
– Yes! Identify the top 4 most similar ones and prepare analysis models for each.

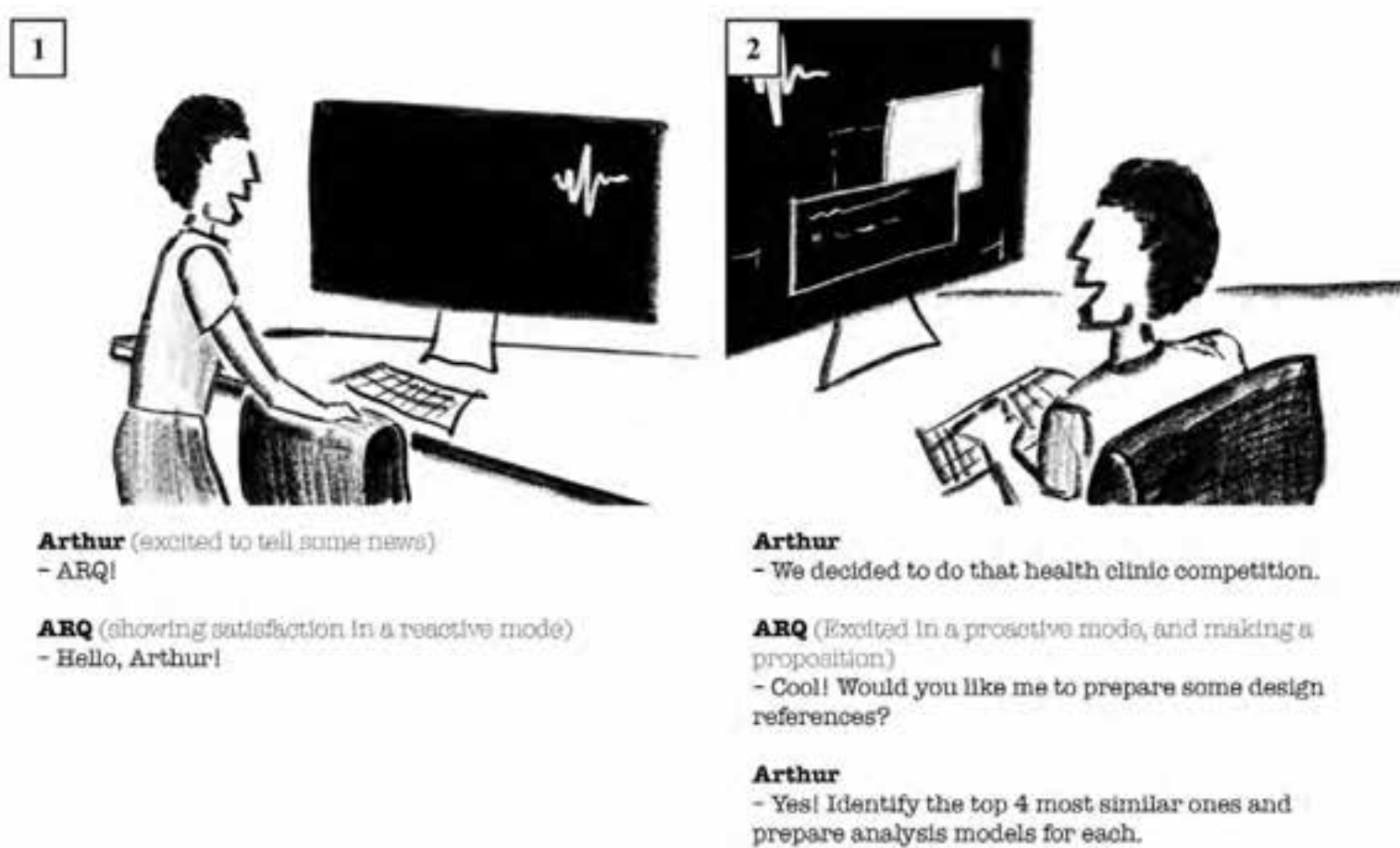**Fig. 1:** Architect Arthur wakes the ARQ system through a voice command. After receiving the information that they are going to start a new project, ARQ understands that one of the ways to start a design process is by searching for references. Therefore, instead of waiting for instructions, it suggests this activity to the architect, who confirms it and passes some general parameters. Source: Pereira. 2022.

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ARQ (now combining a Proactive AI mode of interaction with a lens of Design Justice)
- No problem! In the meantime, I think these two pieces I found might be useful for you: the first is a report on indigenous medicine and Tabajara healing techniques, organised by the Anthropos Institute. The second is an article on African medicine by Prof. Jean-Philippe Poulain.

Arthur (doubting the information)
- Interesting, but why do you think a French article on African medicine and a report on the Tabajara people would be useful for our project?

ARQ (calm)
- According to the competition database, the region of Paraíba that we will be working on is a Special Zone of Traditional Peoples and Communities, granted to the Tabajara people in 1614 ...

Fig. 2: In frame 3, ARQ makes new suggestions, but this time the architect does not understand the relevance and asks for an explanation, which ARQ presents in frames 4 and 5. Source: Pereira, 2022.

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ARQ (calm)

– ... The database also mentions that this region was shared with Black people scaping from slavery in the sugar mills of Paraíba. According to my calculations and to these articles, the enslaved population in this period was kidnapped from the French and English colonies on the coast of Guinea, West Africa. Prof. Jean-Philippe Poulain's article talks about the ancestry of popular medicine in Senegal.

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Arthur (positively surprised)

– Oh! I see. Now it makes sense!

Fig. 3: The architect understands the suggestion and then accepts it. He also leaves to do another activity (prepare some tea) while waiting for ARQ to do the search. Source: Pereira, 2022.

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ARQ

– Arthur, I noticed that this is our first health clinic project. Would you like to talk to some colleagues who have already designed something similar? I found two partners that have already worked with projects of this kind: Beam Studio and Bricks Atelier.

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Arthur (remembering uncomfortable situations)

– Oh no! Mary from the Bricks?! I don't get along with her... But maybe Ruth from Beam can help me with that. Besides being a great company, she is a great designer.

Fig. 4: In frames 7 to 9, ARQ suggests a meeting with other professionals who have more experience. Taking partners' projects as a basis, he finds two possibilities, one of them being adequate and the other being discarded by the architect. Source: Pereira, 2022.

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Arthur (changing the subject)
– Perfect. How is the search for the design reference going?

ARQ (with an air of doubt)
– Only a few more minutes to be concluded. Arthur, I'm having trouble finding data on the design competition's territory. It appears to be a non-digitized rural area. Would you like to schedule a visit in-person?

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ARQ (excited)
– I will contact Beam Studio's virtual assistant and schedule an appointment. Should I book a meeting room or your favourite café?

Arthur
– I think a café would be better! We don't want Ruth to think this is a professional consultancy, she doesn't have time for such nonsense. Let's keep it friendly.

ARQ
– Right. Café 43 booked for Wednesday at 16:30. Beam Studio's virtual assistant will confirm Ruth availability by tomorrow.

Fig. 5: ARQ finds a limitation as the data available is not in a suitable format and indicates that action by the architect will be required to account for this limitation, with an in-person site visit. Source: Pereira, 2022.

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Arthur (disappointed)
- Hm. It makes sense to go. But it will be an investment with no guaranteed return.

ARQ (sarcasm)
- I believe that all architectural design competitions are a type of investment without a guaranteed return, Arthur.

Arthur
- You're right. Remind me to talk to Carol about competitions ... But about the trip, we won't have a choice, ARQ.

ARQ
- I found these tickets at a reduced fare for this period. Should I book?

Fig. 6: Frames 11 to 12
Source: Pereira. 2022.

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Arthur (tone of organisation and responsibility)
–Yes. And also transfer the pieces on medicine of the Senegalese and Tabajara peoples to my tablet. I can read them during the flight.

ARQ (excited by the end of the task)
– Right, ticked booked and files ready to read on your tablet ... Arthur, the analysis models you requested are now available. Your meeting with the design team is in 5 minutes. The architect Vinícius has asked me to inform you that he will not be able to attend.

Arthur (incredulous)
– Ah! Vinícius again?! What happened to him?

ARQ
– Hm. It seems that the public transportation lines between Vinícius' home and our office are operating with delays. Maybe that has affected his commute.

Arthur (accepting the situation in the face of evidence)
– Right. Memorize our minutes from today so he can keep track of the project's development.

Fig. 7: In frames 11 to 13, ARQ provides support in planning the field trip and at the end of the process informs that it has received a message from one of the team members. The architect asks a question regarding the message received and, without having a precise answer, ARQ uses available data to raise a possible answer. The interaction concludes with a request from the architect. Source: Pereira, 2022.

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4   Discussion

The scenario presented in the previous section is able to trigger multiple discussions about the interactions between architects and voice assistants. Here, we are going to focus on discussions regarding the proactive behaviours that a voice assistant can perform and the possibility to use them as an intentional counter-hegemonic agenda.

4.1   Context Awareness

It is expected that a Proactive AI would be able to give useful information in the right moment, according to the context designers find themselves in. This would not be limited to simple event announcements, following the user's email or calendar, but would be extended to a social level of context awareness (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 2). A proactive behaviour, as seen with ARQ voice assistant, could rely on external sensory data collection to understand user's different emotional states or focuses (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 2).

It would be imperative for the voice assistant to acknowledge different phases of the design process, and to have timing for interruptions. The nature of a creative process implies a constant change in the levels of concentration, ranging from moments of individual/focus tasks to open collaborations or brainstorming with the team. As we can see in Figure 1, ARQ was able to identify which information would be relevant for the beginning of the design process (a search for references in other architectural projects), offering inputs for an initial ideation. Then, in Figure 2, ARQ evolves to a more sophisticated move, suggesting some texts for the architect. In this case, the suggestions made by ARQ were pertinent, a beneficial interruption aligned with the task performed at the time. As explained by Edwards, Janssen, Gould, and Cowan, small interruptions are the key to a kind of multitasking that involves switching from a main activity (e.g., design a building), to smaller activities connected to the main one (e.g., read about the local community) (2021, p. 2).

If the voice assistant fails to "read the room", it risks creating unnecessary and annoying interruption moments that can compromise the design process. As Mikšík and his co-authors indicate: "The device has to understand whether it is convenient to notify the user now as it should not disturb or overload her with too many interactions when she is cognitively engaged (i.e., having a conversation or focusing her attention on some other tasks)." (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 4).

Another aspect of context awareness would be about privacy. Imagine an omnipresent ARQ, when saying that one of the team's members is going to miss a meeting, simply disclose private details about this person's life: "My sensors indicate that he had consumed alcoholic drinks last night", or "He has received angry messages from his partner". We can see ARQ dealing with that at the end of the scenario, in Figure 7. This issue could grow from an individual's private life level to sensitive information about the office, like sharing intellectual property data or announcing in the presence of clients how much money they are making with another project. In the proposed scenario, ARQ is able to recognize these subtleties and asks the architect what to do. For example, in Figure 5, when in doubt if the meeting with another architect (Ruth) should be more or less formal, ARQ does not assume one of them and asks the architect what to do.

4.2   Intentional Bias

A proactive voice assistant would be able to tease a design team with insights not anticipated or accessed by them. It could, for example, offer counter-hegemonic perspectives, expanding the limits of a team's own position within the matrix of domination, offering reflections, or auditing the work that has been done through the lenses of Design Justice.

As discussed by philosophers of science like Winner (2020), artefacts or technical solutions have political dimensions related to its design process, integrating a group of people that will benefit from its use, and excluding the ones that would be prevented from using it. As pieces of digital technology, voice assistants would carry algorithm bias based on the dataset that has supported its deep learning process (Mittelstadt et al., 2016). Today, it is more common to find AI algorithms being called upon insidious behaviour that reinforces dynamics of privilege instead of disturbing them. What if, despite trying to remove harmful biases from algorithms, we could also "impregnate" it with an intentional agenda? In our case, a Design Justice agenda. As the voice assistant would be processing its multisensory data, interpreting conversations and physical interactions, it would be able to audit practitioners' behaviour towards each other and external agents (e.g., clients, contractors, etc.), as well as interpreting if the design decisions taken by the team would be fair and just.

One of the guiding principles of Design Justice regards the respect and support of vernacular knowledge from indigenous and original communities, repositioning design as a non-extractivist and rather as a supportive practice to empower local communities (Costanza-Chock, 2020). As we can see back in Figure 2, ARQ contributes to the information used in the design process by suggesting readings related to the origins of the territory that would be impacted by the construction of the health clinic. Of course, a more collaborative approach could be envisioned, in which the local community would be integrated as leaders and co-designers of the process. Still, having a voice assistant nudging you towards responsible decisions can foster a behaviour change among designers involved.

As instantiated by He, Jazizadeh, and Arpan (2022) during a living lab experiment, it is possible to interfere with user practices and perceptions using proactive voice assistants. In the authors' research, a nudge theory was used to explain how a provocative AI could be used "(...) as a bridge to facilitate users' efforts towards energy and sustainability goals." (2022, p. 395) It is possible to foresee then, that a Proactive AI can help in a behavioural transition that could disturb the matrix of domination, challenging structural inequalities, turning the design process more fair.

4.3   Beyond Design Practices

As a speculative technology, we could go further in the intentional Design Justice bias idea and start envisioning that, in the efforts to disturb the matrix of domination, a proactive voice assistant would be modifying the foundations of human-computer interactions: it would be challenging the current 'master-slave' condition of reactive AI systems. Instead of waiting for its 'master' to wake them up, when necessary, the Proactive AI would become an examiner of the projects being designed. It is not hard to imagine situations where it could raise meaningful questions about a project's relevancy: "Do we really need to cut this tree to open space for a balcony? Why would we even need a balcony if there is a public park in front of the building?"

There are still technical limitations that sets us apart from that scenario. The current AI development paradigm, including AI-powered voice assistants, follows a connectionist approach called machine learning — which involves coding an algorithm able to statistically infer future states of an entity according to previous data collected from the same or similar entities, mimicking a process of "learning". Let's imagine ARQ, the voice assistant specialised in the design process. It has a primary dataset related to its functions as a designer's assistant, but also the skill to collect new data and self-expand its primary functions accordingly.

What if ARQ starts presenting sexist behaviour, learned from sexist interactions dynamics inside the office? If a proactive voice assistant intends to defeat and challenge the matrix of domination, it should be inscribed in its code the ability to call out humans in the event of discrimination or any other form of abuse. The social skills used by humans to interact with AI are the same that they use to interact with other humans (Mikšík et al., 2020). Hence, what kind of behaviour voice assistant would be supporting if they passively accept abusive behaviour from humans? Or what kinds of abuse would the assistants be neglecting? We can see public opinion pushing companies like Amazon and Apple to work on making their smart assistants properly respond to sexual harassment and abusive behaviour (Fessler, 2018; Silver, 2018). Unfortunately, this kind of bias is embedded in the matrix of domination (Mullainathan, 2019), posing a challenge for the development and training of algorithmic technologies like a design justice voice assistant.

5   Final Considerations: General Challenges

This essay is a speculative work around the relationship between the bias produced or reinforced by human designers and their voice assistants. As we discussed, there is no tool or technology without bias. And if that is the case, what would be the effects of intentionally embedding a bias that aims for a more just society, such as the design justice agenda? Furthermore, we suggest an intentional bias as part of a Proactive AI approach that challenges the 'master-slave' interaction between humans and computers.

As pointed out by Mikšík and his co-authors: "Moving from reactive to proactive devices is challenging as it fundamentally changes the whole interaction process, requiring advanced cognitive capabilities of devices and to some extent also novel hardware." (Mikšík et al., 2020, p. 4). A user interaction based on a proactive paradigm must take into account how little is known about how interruptive interactions should be designed (Edwards et al., 2021, p. 1) — and if we are producing a Design Justice voice assistant for architects, the inclusion should start in the core of its development, calling architects to co-design its interactions.

Far from being a definitive solution, Design Justice is an evolving framework to foster intersectional approaches in design. The goal would be to "(...) move beyond the frames of social impact design or design for good, to challenge designers to think about how good intentions are not necessarily enough to ensure that design processes and practices become tools for liberation, (...)." (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 6).

Recognizing inequality as a complex social structure, can help in the understanding that it is not easily tackled by simplistic solutions — like a proactive and provocative technology triggering users towards more beneficial actions. There is a need for extensive and long-term social and community-level approaches, able to disturb inequalities in the matrix of domination through engagement and co-design. The scenario proposed in this paper is all but the start of a dialogue towards those approaches.

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EPISTEMOLOGICAL MANIFEST: FOR A COUNTER-HEGEMONIC WRITING
MANIFESTO EPISTEMOLÓGICO: POR UMA ESCRITA CONTRA-HEGEMÔNICA
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Abstract

The scenario of the production of scientific knowledge and research in the social sciences of yesterday and today was/is shaped by hegemonic values such as universality, impartiality and neutrality. In the opposite direction, also in the past and today, we find, among so many resistant voices, those belonging to feminist epistemologists, who have sought to denounce traditional academic work and propose, in its place, a theoretical contribution of a revolutionary nature, that raises criticism and the researcher's political and ethical position. To contribute and stimulate criticism of the hegemonic thinking that circulates in the field of architecture and urbanism, the purpose of this paper is to elaborate an analytical approach to one of the influences of counter-hegemonic research: feminist epistemology. The goal is also to collaborate in the review of some of the existing analytical categories and to rethink delimitations of methods, procedures and the role of the researcher, with a view to the possibility of a more democratic way of thinking. Therefore, the proposed methodological path was the elaboration of a survey of bibliographical references which sought to address the themes of the "decolonial turn" and feminist epistemologies. As a result, we present a manifest that propagates another project of production of scientific knowledge, constituting itself as a methodological-political-ethical project, which has methodological tools that enable the construction of situated, partial, responsible knowledge and, therefore, compromised both politically and ethically.

Keywords: Feminist Epistemologies, Production of Scientific Knowledge, Methodological-political-ethical Project, Feminist Writing

1   Introduction: Where do We Start from

Nowadays, the hegemonic values that stand out in the (de)formation of Brazilian cities have been imposed by capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy (Santos, 2018), and slavery. Faced with this complex panorama of social relations, which "continue to operate and manifest themselves in their three canonical forms: exploitation, domination and oppression" (Kergoat, 2010, p. 95), the most varied clashes arise as resistance. In this way, we are interested in contributing to the debate of discussions that seek to refute hegemonic thinking in the disciplinary field of architecture and urbanism, in which the logic determined by dominant groups has influenced the standardization and reproduction of "interests, concerns, predilections, neuroses, prejudices, social institutions, and social categories" (Oyěwùmí, 2002, p. 1).

This is, according to sociologist Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí (2002, p. 1), one of the principles of modernity, which implements the "Euro/American cultural hegemony" that contaminates the various spheres of society, exerting a greater influence "in the production of knowledge about the human behavior, history, societies and cultures" (OyěwùmÍ, 2002, p. 1). Given this context, it appears on the horizon that we intend to address in this writing, what conventionally is called counter-hegemonic architectures. They are seen as a set of contesting positions, which aim to question the naturalized and reproduced ideas, values, and beliefs and launch themselves into proposing new possible ways of producing current architecture and urbanism.

Given the above, the outline proposed here will cover decolonial feminist insurgencies, as they fall within the theme of counter-hegemonic architectures when they seek to challenge the dominant praxis both in the theoretical and empirical fields. In this, the researchers are dedicated to providing the necessary ammunition to contribute to militancy for access, to not only countless rights, but to the city for all. Whereas in the former, they help in the struggle waged in the sphere of scientific knowledge production, subject to the dominant notions of universality, neutrality, and objectivity (Sardenberg, 2001). Therefore, with a background of the flags that have been defended by decolonial feminists where academic research is concerned, this article aims to elaborate an analytical approach to one of the counter-hegemonic references: feminist epistemology.

This approximation is proposed to collaborate in the review of some of the existing analytical categories in addition to rethinking delimitations of methods, procedures, and the role of the researcher, with a view to the possibility of a more democratic, engaging, and therefore revolutionary process. In terms of a methodological path, in the first moment we will link to the movement of the "decolonial turn", which defends the resistance in the "theoretical and practical, political and epistemological instances to the logic of modernity/coloniality" (Ballestrin, 2013, p. 105, our translation). The unfolding of this

posture led to the choice of feminist epistemology as a research itinerary, since this is "one of the first forms of production of scientific knowledge that called into question the hegemonic position of knowledge produced in the bourgeois and western key" (Matos, 2008, p. 346, our translation).

Therefore, it is up to us to position our writing as a manifesto-article, because, in the topics that follow, we will seek: a) not only to denounce the structures of domination active in the production of scientific knowledge (in the first item); but, above all, b) to propose other ways of acting as researchers, sharing a methodological-political-ethical project as a product to make research possible. In the third and final topic, we intend to demonstrate how far we can go when we follow the itinerary proposed by feminist epistemologists.

2   Feminist Epistemology, a (brief) Theoretical Review

The exposed scenario portrays the reality found (mostly) in the field of knowledge production and research in the social sciences of yesterday and today. This scenario where the narrator hides behind a disembodied third person, almost as if he were not a body traversed by several social "markers of difference"[1] (Collins, 1997, p. 378), by their specific contexts, ideologies, and perspectives. Assuming himself universal in this way, he believes to be capable of dealing with questions about each individual. However, still in a not-so-distant yesterday, a possible alternative for the construction of scientific knowledge emerged and began to gain strength in the academic environment, especially in philosophy and its related areas. This other way has been developed by feminists in its most varied strands, as a strategy of resistance to the traditional way of doing science. In it, "the connections and intersections between values, politics, science, and knowledge are emphasized [...], reiterating the impossibility of neutrality and impartiality of being part of the requirements of scientific knowledge" (Neves; Nogueira, 2004, p. 126, our translation).

For sociologist Priscila Williams (2017, p. 7, our translation), feminist epistemologists have sought to develop a "more accessible science, capable of incorporating more groups, starting to consider the particularities, the paradoxes, the contingencies that are part of the large and plural group human". And she goes on to state that this elaboration goes through the proposition of criticisms of the research, its objectives and justifications, its methods and procedures (Williams, 2017), as well as the review of some key concepts, among them:

> 'knowledge', 'knowing subject', 'objectivity', 'rationality', 'justification', 'scientific methodology', 'generality', and 'universalization', as flawed and biased concepts, because of a normative, practical, and ideological that recognizes, explains and endorses the partiality and contextuality of our knowledge processes (Sattler, 2019, p. 6, our translation).

In each of their clashes and new propositions, we witness the richness of feminist epistemologies indicated by Ana Garay, Lupicinio Íñiguez, and Luz Martinez (2001 cited in Neves and Nogueira, 2004, p.127, our translation), in their "clear social critical position" and in its commitment to the transformation of social reality (Williams, 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to note that due to its feminist bias, gender plays a central role in approaching this reality, since "It identifies how dominant conceptions and practices of knowledge attribution, acquisition, and justification disadvantage women and other subordinated groups, and strives to reform them to serve the interests" (Anderson, 2020, p. 1).

At the same time, the feminist strands with which we feel identified and, therefore, defend in this manifesto-article, are in line with Linda M. Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter (1993, p. 3), when they conceive what:

> [...] cognitive authority is usually associated with a cluster of markings that involve not only gender but also race, class, sexuality, culture, and age. Moreover, developments in feminist theory have demonstrated that gender as a category of analysis cannot be abstracted from a particular context while other factors are held stable; gender can never be observed as a "pure" or solitary influence. Gender identity cannot be adequately understood—or even per- ceived—except as a component of

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[1] An expression that encompasses social categories, such as gender, social class, and race/ethnicity, among others, to assume a critical stance towards such social constructions imposed by the hegemonic patriarchal, capitalist, and racist social structure.

complex interrelationships with other systems of identification and hierarchy (Alcoff; Potter, 1993, p. 3).

With this, we understand that the epistemology that seeks to be developed by a feminist bias is committed to combating hegemonic values, as well as the dominations and exploitations of their structures. To this end, it strives to build a liberating project, which has the emancipatory objective of unmaking "the web of oppression and reweav[ing] the web of life" (Alcoff; Potter, 1993, p. 4) and expanding "democracy in the production of knowledge" (Alcoff; Potter, 1993, p. 13).

3   Feminist Epistemologies as a Methodological-political-ethical Project

By understanding where feminist epistemologies and their goals come from, we delineate that we are dealing with a self-reflective proposal of knowledge production. Being, therefore, able to "reveal their own social grounds, a revelation made all the more urgent because academic feminists are in a contradictory social position, seeking fundamental changes in the very institutions that empower us to speak and work" (Alcoff and Potter, 1993, p. 14, our translation). In this way, feminist epistemologists intend to compose something like a methodological-political-ethical project, with its new approaches, tools, and methods, as its other possibilities of propositions and positions. In this context, theorist bell hooks[2] (1994, p. 67) reaffirms that it is necessary to theorize about reality to try to "to understand both the nature of our contemporary predica ent and the means by which we might collectively engage in resistance that would transform our current reality".[3]

What other way to implement such a suggestion, if not by committing ourselves to a "critical-committed perspective" (Silva, 2018, p. 17, our translation), positioning ourselves against the "ideological doctrines of disembodied scientific objectivity" (which accentuate power hierarchies) and defending, contrary to what is standardized in the academy, "embodied objectivity" (Haraway, 1988, p. 581)? According to the author, this objectivity is characterized as feminist by establishing the real limits found and, therefore, the partiality, which holds responsible those who produce knowledge considered scientific.

In this sense, when seeking feminist writing, in relation to being politically and ethically responsible for what is produced, it is necessary to agree with Donna Haraway, when she states:

> [...] The only way to find a larger vision is to be **somewhere in particular**. The science question in feminism is about objectivity as positioned rationality. Its images are not the products of escape and transcendence of limits (the view from above) but the joining of partial views and halting voices into a collective subject position that promises a vision of the means of ongoing finite embodiment, of living within limits and contradictions-of views from **somewhere** (Haraway, 1988, p. 590, emphasis added).

In this context, feminist epistemologists defend the need for those who research to define this "somewhere" from where they are located. This is assuming that the social locus is important, as it marks an ethical position that argues that the "place we occupy socially makes us have different experiences and other perspectives" (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 69, our translation). Besides this, it consequently refutes the established universality as the only possible discursive practice (Collins, 1997; Alcoff, 2016). In addition, situated knowledge seeks to go against other hegemonic canons, imposed between the lines of the disembodied third-person narrator of traditional science: neutrality and impartiality. At these points, feminist epistemologists declare that "there is no way to completely strip ourselves of our beliefs and values, even using scientific methods" (Williams, 2017, p. 6, our translation). Therefore, what we produce necessarily passes through the filters with which we look at the worlds around us.

Concurrently, situating the social position of those who narrate research is also a political act, since:

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[2] According to Natália Silva (2018), the feminist theorist and anti-racist activist Gloria Jean Watkins is better known by her pseudonym bell hooks and chooses to write in lowercase order that her work has more evidence than her figure.

[3] In the context of the author, it is about the reality of Afro-Americans and their struggles for the liberation of black women, but it fits into the scenario outlined here.

> [...] announcing the place of speech means a lot in epistemological terms, because it **breaks** not only with that science that hides its narrator, but also **denounces** that this way of producing knowledge is geocentric, and was consolidated from the disqualification of other symbolic systems and knowledge production (Pelúcio, 2012, p. 398, our translation and emphasis added).

In this way, the methodological tool of embodied objectivity brings with it countless criticisms and new propositions. It helps in the positioning of those who elaborate on the research, demonstrating that "only partial perspective promises objective vision" (Haraway, 1988, p. 583). Thus, it contextualizes, situates, and limits, while responsibly committing itself to the construction of each moment of the research, recognizing it as an "instrument of power games", and proposing "to recreate it in a more inclusive, more plural, a more democratic way" (Williams, 2017, p. 11, our translation).

Another tool that makes up feminist epistemologies in its construction as a methodological-political-ethical project, is the "instrument of permanent inquiry into the science that is produced" (Neves; Nogueira, 2004, p. 126, our translation): reflexivity. The use of this instrument demonstrates its relevance by suggesting to understand of how relationships will be built, above all, with the field and with the protagonists of research, as it proposes an "evaluation of the effects of the social and relational dimension in the production of scientific discourses" (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 64, our translation). Therefore, reflexivity contributes to the understanding of the role of the researcher, since it is an invitation to a "process of permanent questioning and analysis, through which researchers assess the impact of their values, their ideologies and their positions on the products they produce, and on the paths they choose to follow to execute them" (Neves; Nogueira, 2004, p. 126, our translation).

In this way, the reported tool presents us with another possibility of intervention with the field and its inhabitants, which can help in the establishment of relationships between the researcher and the researched. In this regard, the method of "PesquisarCOM", by Márcia Moraes (2010), is added to what has already been discussed, which proposes that:

> [...] instead of the asymmetrical distribution that separates the researcher from the researched, another distribution of the ability to act comes into play, that is, the one who is questioned, becomes active in the sense of actively participating in the intervention device (Moraes, 2010, p. 30, our translation).

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This implies, therefore, assuming the construction of a research that dialogues with the other, and not for him/she (Alcoff, 1991). So, it implies being open to questioning and being questioned by the Other; to affect and be affected (Moraes, 2010; Silva, Gomes; Lopes, 2014); in creating an "additive relationship (...), taking into account the reference of the other" (Moraes, 2010, p. 28, our translation).

At the same time, we feel the need, once again, to place ourselves alongside those who share the argument that there is no neutrality in the academy (Mohanty, 2008; Hooks, 1997; Rodrigues, 2013; Nogueira, 2001; Moraes, 2010; Alcoff, 2016; Souza; Francisco, 2016; Torralba, 2018), since "what is considered to be material only truly becomes "data" after the theoretical decisions of the researchers" (Nogueira, 2001, p. 33, our translation). From this point of view, it is always necessary to keep in mind that:

> [...]there is no unmediated photograph or passive camera obscura in scientific accounts of bodies and machines; there are only **highly specific visual possibilities**, each with a wonderfully detailed, active, **partial way** of organizing worlds (Haraway, 1988, p. 583, emphasis added).

Finally, at least in what is intended to be covered in this manifest of approximations and revisions, there is another proposal by feminist epistemologists for the construction of a methodological-political-ethical project: methodological plurality. This is defended by feminist researchers as "a deliberate technical option, insofar as it expresses concerns in favor of the commitment that this vision of science assumes in the face of social change" (Neves; Nogueira, 2004, p. 50, our translation). This commitment to social change is expressed in the selection of multiple methodological instruments, believing that the complexity of a phenomenon (or reality) must be approached in different ways, thus expanding the understanding and credibility of what was apprehended (Rodrigues, 2013). Therefore, there are countless possibilities for data production tools,

some of which are: documentary research, urban wanderings, field diaries, semi-structured interviews, body cartography, and participant observation.

4   Final Considerations: Where Have We Arrived

In this manifest, we sought to corroborate the debate that aims to refute the hegemonic thinking in the disciplinary field of architecture and urbanism, especially in what concerns the production of scientific knowledge. To do so, we chose to position ourselves in the "feminist border thinking" proposed by the philosopher and activist Maria Lugones (2010, p. 753), the one that seeks to recognize the colonial difference and resist its own "epistemological habit of erasing it" (Lugones, 2010, p. 753). From this feminist frontier, we pursued to contribute to the discussions on counter-hegemonic architectures, bringing feminist epistemologies to the center of the argument. This movement implies a commitment to breaking traditional paradigms, which occurs when we propose to refute the notions of "objectivity, [of universality], of truth and neutrality" (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 64, our translation), in the way they are imposed by hegemonic groups rooted in the academic environment.

Besides that, feminist epistemologies call us to the struggle for social transformation, by inviting us to establish (and get involved in) a movement in favor of defending "the production of theory as a social practice" (Hooks, 1994, p. 67). In this way, feminist epistemologists not only seek to destroy what is established, in terms of hegemonic bases and values, but also present a new possible alternative in its place. In this alternative, we saw that a powerful methodological-political-ethical project is proposed, which helps us to build research based on the tools of embodied objectivity, reflexivity, and methodological plurality.

Thus, it calls us to the responsibility for what we produce; for how we approach the field and, above all, for how we understand and delimit the relationships with the other who builds the research with us. However, it must be made clear that we did not intend to exhaust this vast and complex topic. We sought only an approximation of it and the feminist epistemologists who have been building all this theoretical support, to, in this way, present another possibility of doing research and of doing it in a non-conformist way (with what is established), questioning (of what is presented as the standard) and committed (with the creation of something new, more inclusive, democratic, and revolutionary).

Finally, we believe that perhaps a brief sharing is in order here, so that we too can leave the third person behind and put ourselves in the place where we find ourselves behind this screen. We would just like to reinforce that embracing the development of research grounded in a decolonial feminist theoretical-epistemological project is challenging in multiple spheres and levels. This occurs due to the requirement of an ethical and political position throughout the process of building scientific knowledge. Because working with the presented tools, immersed in an atmosphere of reflexivity, demands a constant movement of self-questioning about our place of speech, our reality, and our privileges. Because it evokes and brings out feelings that until then are "kept out of consciousness" (Kilomba, 2012, cited in Ribeiro, 2019, p. 79, our translation).

Although demanding, the use of the shared feminist theoretical support positions our manifest ion the path of the desired revolution. In the one that does not seek to reconcile, but to break, since "we do not create a new society with comfortable discourses for those who benefit from structural privileges" (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 262, our translation). Once committed to social change, "this way of producing science [proposed here] will have an important relationship with minority groups, groups that are in a situation of social inequality, especially women" (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 64, our translation).

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ÁGORA

IN THE COUNTERCULTURE OF THE REVITALIZATION OF FLORIANOPOLIS HISTORIC CENTER
NA CONTRACULTURA DA REVITALIZAÇÃO DO CENTRO HISTÓRICO DE FLORIANÓPOLIS
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Abstract

As a new approach to the urban renewal recent practices, this article outlines some of the revitalization processes that have been applied in the historic center of Florianópolis, from a critical point of view. This study fits in a counter-hegemonic bias of the current narrative about the "urban place". Our aim here is to point out possibilities for a sensitive reading and interpretation of the eastern portion of the old historic center, which can open the way to inclusive projects with different uses and users. The methodology goes through the research modality of walking as an aesthetic practice, by the accurate perception and by the cartography method, in order to experience the urban spaces and refute a hegemonic gaze and interventions on the heritage, architecture and the city. As a result, we collected tactile images, metaphorically worked as the cards of a playing card box. Thus, we compose, in several modes photographic perspectives of a living place, which open way to imagination, for the creation of another sense of urban project as a form of resistance against the simple sanitization processes that are in play and still dominate the current discourses and strategies.

Keywords: Revitalization, Historical Center, Florianópolis, Counterculture, Project

1   The Historic Center of Florianópolis

This paper opposes to the current discourses and strategies of urban revitalization in the historic center of the city of Florianópolis, in southern Brazil. In this sense, it applies a research modality that glimpses some possibilities of reading and interpretation of its eastern portion of the historic center, seeking to demonstrate its lively aspects, instead of aligning itself to the current narrative of an empty and degraded region. A critical work, which stands out for a counter-hegemonic theme able to questioning this status quo, presenting another perception of this urban place, scrutinized here by means of walking and delineating cartographies.

The capital of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, (Figure 1) has an estimated population of 516,524 inhabitants (IBGE, 2001), with a territory of 452 km^2, comprising an island part (401 km^2) and a continental part (51 km^2) (Reis, 2013). Due to the geographical characteristics of the place and the recognition of its natural heritage which has more than 42 beaches, the city is constantly explored by the construction of the image of a Magic Island, a recurring and distinctive element of the tourist activity of the region (Kronenberger; Saboya, 2019; Cavanus; Massabki, 2020).

Fig 1: Cartography of Florianópolis. a. Florianópolis and the State of Santa Catarina; b. Insular and Continental Part of Florianópolis with emphasis on the central region of the city; c. Central Area and Historical Center featured; d. Historical Center and East Portion highlighted; e. East Part of the Historical Center. Source: Authors, 2022**.**

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Beside the notion of the "Magic Island" we can also add the recently idea of a "Silicon Island", given the great attractiveness for technology companies and digital nomads, who intend to link the world of teleworking with a so-called quality of life. This sense of image-making is modeling the Florianopolis´s island part as the emblem of the capital of Santa Catarina, whose recent restoration of the Hercílio Luz Bridge brought the spotlight to the historic center. Thus, guided by the imagetic appeal related to tourism, Florianópolis has planned several urban reforms aimed at the revitalization of its historical center, under the pretext of the need to requalify its central space and strengthen local identity and culture (Moreira; Teixeira, 2012).

Some projects, such as the requalification of Vidal Ramos Street completed in 2012 and the project of the Public Market (Figure 2), clearly expose the desire of a city for a pretense greater qualification of central areas, meeting a demand imposed by the tourist capital (Ternes, 2016). At that time also happened the Viva Cidade Project, which in fact did not come off the paper. Nevertheless, in the some cases as the Vidal Ramos Street, the requalification of urban facilities (paving, infrastructure and accessibility) resulted in a good transformation of the local landscape (Pertile; Vieira, 2015). The subtle modification of the scenario established a new social contract through a simple standardization of signs and a cultural appropriation by commercial market agents (De Castells, 2018).

A similar process took place in 2015, in the proposed reform for the Municipal Public Market. Previously the market housed a popular retail trade and has now been changed to another commercial category, more "refined", simulating a "shopping center food court" in its new covered patio and, in its two side wings, guarding the stands of gourmet products with standardized services and layout (Pertile; Vieira, 2015).

> The "old" market acted as a unifying pole of sociability. The open courtyard, in particular, delimited by the two wings of the market was a place of continuous flow of pedestrians (in addition there were the frequent uses of relaxed encounters and exchanges of the local population, vendors, street vendors and the presence of outsiders), allowing the continuity of the central urban plot. [...] after the assembly of the "new" Public Market, the treatment given to the pavement, the new shops opened in this space, the new furniture, brands, prices and the posture and clothing of its attendants - all the set brought by these new order transformed the commonly user audience of the site. The old open and public courtyard of the market became a simulacrum of shopping malls food courts with a very heterogenic public, but always monitored, imposing the private to what pretend to be public (De Castells, 2018, p. 44, our translation).

Fig. 2: Revitalizations in the western part of the Historical Center of Florianópolis (from left to right): a. New Vidal Ramos Street; b. New Largo da Alfândega; c. New marquee alluding to Renda de Bilro; d. New Public Market Roof; e. New Mural paintings in the central area. Source: Authors, 2022.

Such revitalization processes expose the most common face of partnerships between public and private authorities, where the city is managed and consumed as a commodity, pretending to reflect a positive image of supply, infrastructure and services (Da Silva, 2011). The examples presented show decisions that are made to make the city looks more functional, more attractive for tourism and more profitable for speculators, resulting in fragmented decisions and superficial interventions, which do not meet the real demands of both, material and spatial resources, aimed at the experience of everyday life (Pertile; Vieira, 2015).

Very often, these processes of urban revitalization in the historical centers of Brazilian cities, serve more to ban unwanted uses and poor populations in favor of the construction of a profitable image able to be publicized through new architectural images created as postcards. In this sense, the case of the renovation of Largo da Alfândega (2020), also in the historical center of Florianópolis, can be read as another very emblematic fact.

For this discussion, it is necessary first of all, to evaluate the revitalization actions that have already been purposely undertaken in the western portion of the historic center. Without considering any aesthetic judgment related to its great marquee, (a metal pergola that alludes to the Renda of Bilros)[1], the renovation of Largo da Alfândega mark a new forms of occupation, which pretend expel the undesirable poor population that roamed everywhere. However, the lack of resources of the public administration made difficult the maintenance of a clean image, free of homeless people, only through this renewed atmosphere with new buildings erected by the government. To achieve the aims proposed, two years after its inauguration, the municipal administration allow a wholesale company in the supermarket business to announce "adopt" the place. Thus, the way found to preserve cleanliness, protect the uses and ensure a supposed harmonious conviviality between people was, after its inauguration, put the management under the responsibility of a private entity. This urban marketing strategy, with a Public-Private partnership is not something new, but demonstrates how complex it is to maintain a fake new image for a central area of the city, through such sanitization processes.

As known, the historical centers of cities are places full of cultures, because their remaining buildings that help tell the story of a civilization, by its physical, mnemonic traits and by the people who roam around. Consequently, even though some nocturnal emptying, given the scarcity of housing in the most central areas of Brazilian cities, the attractiveness of retail

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[1] The Renda of Bilros has been brought to Brazil through Portuguese customs. The art would have appeared in Portugal in 1560 and was restricted to convents serving liturgical ornamentation and, later, the practice was expanded among the women of the region.

commerce during the day makes these regions full of meaning. Thus, the appropriations that can happen in these areas are numerous and the processes of subjectivation are always present and have, side by side, rich and poor people. In this sense, the territorialities are dilated for human freedom and should advocate for democracy, even if at the mercy of a conflict (Touraine, 2006).

So, the oldest parts of the historic center of Florianópolis, have their first occupations in the seventeenth century (Nór; Cavanus; De Souza, 2018), and still remains, to a large extent, as a *locus* of great importance. The eastern portion of the central area (Figure 1) is the object of study of this article precisely because it was marked, throughout its urban evolution, by historical processes of abandonment and decline, resulting from migratory flows of investment to other areas of the city (Chibiaqui; Nór, 2020).

> Even considered an area with great supply of urban infrastructure, since the gradual decentralization of public services[2], in the central area of Florianópolis the evasion of activities and services, the presence of buildings without any function, underutilized or careless, homeless people and the feeling of insecurity have become remarkable characteristics in the sidewalks and streets of the place (Chibiaqui; Nór, 2020, p. 7, our translation).

According to a study conducted by the Urbanism Laboratory of the Federal University of Santa Catarina LABURB/AMA (Chibiaqui, and Nór, 2020) for the 83% of respondents, the feeling of insecurity (65%) and perception of abandonment (18%) are some of the main aspects pointed out as characteristics of this part of the central area. This may be due to the low concentration of housing in this region of the city (9% in relation to other occupations). In addition, many of the uses are arranged in an ephemeral and fragmented manner, usually associated with the operation of activities during business hours. Nevertheless, the reduced flow of pedestrians, during long periods of the day, related to the existence of buildings without any use and the constant presence of people in street situation[3], characterize, inside the image common to the majority interviewed, the aspect of heterogeneity of the eastern part of the historical center of Florianópolis (figure 3).

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[2] The degradation of the Eastern part of the historic center was accelerated, especially after the deactivation of the old public transport terminal, replaced by the terminal of the Integrated Transport System, from 2003, with its new deployment in the vicinity of the Rita Maria Bus Terminal. This change in the mobility center for public transport caused simultaneous impact on the pedestrian flow and, consequently, on the valorization of the urban soil of this central area of Florianópolis (Pertile, Vieira, 2015).

[3] According to data from the city of Florianópolis, the municipality has 421 people in this situation. The 70% of them live in the city center (Nór, Cavanus, De Souza, 2018).

Fig. 3: Eastern part of the Historical Center: The reduced flow of pedestrians, the accumulation of waste and the presence of homeless people. Source: Authors 2019; 2022.

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Thus, despite the degradation of the area, the place has many potentialities related to its location, due to the presence of an existing infrastructure, built heritage and feeling of belonging and identity inherent to Florianópolis (Chibiaqui; Nór, 2020). It is also possible to highlight that in this spatial cutout we can find the counterpoints between the old buildings that remained standing and the different times of the city. There are also many other relations of use, distinct occupations and some singularities that provide to this place a strong democratic expression of the central region.

In this context, there is a large concentration of activities related to leisure and the presence of bars and nightclubs, as well as an increase in the frequency of a very heterogeneous public. Furthermore, many institutional activities that have been installed in the region. The ambience of this place is characterized by local commerce, where small cafeterias share space with users of second-hand book store, antique shops, bars and entities[4] that support the population in social vulnerability. Saturday afternoons are also vivid in this part of the city, revealed in the cultural expressiveness of "samba circles" and other artistic meetings. Thus, in the eastern part of the historic center gives us a glimpse of this very characteristic way of life (Moreira; Teixeira, 2012).

The eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis contributes to the setup of a spatial dynamics plenty of urban rituals, specific of this central area. We can say, therefore, that this place contributes to a greater possibility of social interactions and even brings a certain nostalgic atmosphere well connected to the old public square. However, in this study we are not concerned with the romanticized view, which could be a pretext to embalm the *genius loci* of the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis - otherwise, we go forward to the plural character that of the eastern of the old center still can has, in order to reveal its contrasts, the misdirections, the possible libertarians spaces and some democratic sense that might still present, even in the face of the many socio-spatial conflicts arising there. The task of recognizing these aspects as potentialities goes in the opposite direction of the current processes of urban revitalization in the historic center of Florianópolis, especially, the project built as a marketing piece called Sapiens Center, which sought to transform the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis into a creative district, as depicted below.

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[4] The area has a network of governmental and non-governmental entities giving support to residents and contributing to their concentration. Examples include The Municipal shelter, the Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS), the Arco-Iris Institute and the Human Rights Association (ADEH) (Nór, Cavanus, De Souza, 2018).

2   Sapiens Center and the Revitalization Processes

Officially launched in September 2015, the project aimed to strengthen the city's image through technological, innovative and creative potentials[5]. Inspired by international references[6], the idea was justified due to the historical context of the eastern part of the historical center of Florianópolis, read by the hegemonic discourse as: "the area is too much affected by the physical and economic degradation of decentralization in the region" (VIA, 2017, our translation). From this understanding, the idea of the Sapiens Center as a creative district arose with the pretext of creating new appropriations for the place. The proposal aimed to revitalize the eastern side of the old center through the promotion of the creative economy, in order to establish in this city region a center of innovation and entrepreneurship (Sapiens Center, 2016). This intention would be effective through a process for transforming the physical spaces and giving to it a new social, economic and cultural attributions, focusing on the creation of a friendly environment for attracting investments (VIA, 2017)[7].

The Sapiens Center's strategy would be structured through partnerships between public and private authorities. Among the several project partners were the Government of the State of Santa Catarina, the City of Florianópolis and the Chamber of Shopkeepers of Florianópolis. It is worth mentioning that the public sector provided, through a municipal bill, the creation of tax incentives aimed at attracting startups and other companies of the creative economy in this part of the city center (Floripaamanhã, 2019). In addition, the municipal authorities would also bear the costs of underground cabling and paving to assure the local urban requalification.

Even though many incentives, the idea did not come off the paper and the Sapiens Center Project was closed in 2019. Other ideas in the same direction have been considered by public administration, such as District 48, but have been also criticized for neglecting the plurality and popular and democratic character of the region and to despise housing use. In this context, is noted that these intervention models make use of incentives and ephemeral and subtle instruments which alter the pace of local activities. They attracted a new population contingent, associating an improvement in the city's quality of life by the transformation of the public domain, precisely in favor of private incorporations and real estate market coalitions (Pertile; Vieira, 2015).

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However, the proposal to make the city adequate to the demands of capital, in this neoliberal model of urban intervention, opens space for ventures, sometimes only linked to the profit of the companies (Harvey, 2015). In addition, the few unlikely improvements aligned with this revitalization process[8] are used by many as an apology to sell slogans of cities and monetize historical areas. Therefore, for the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis, the sense of revitalization could serve more as a strategy to sanitize the undesirable uses and occupations, banning the most vulnerable population that roams in the region.

Therefore, our criticism goes against the urban marketing strategy employed for transforming areas of the historic center into scenarios for spectacle with strong visual appeal, reinforcing the image of a city with quality of life and safety (Pertile; Vieira, 2015). To counteract this marketing bias, Paola Jacques (2005) proposes that interventions in the city be derived from the sense of urban vitalization. According to the same author, the interventions in these spaces should be linked to the use of local residents, through diversified activities and not restricted to the interests of speculation, businessmen, and/or rulers.

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[5] From the 1980s, with the growth in the tourism and high technology industry, Florianópolis has assumed prominent positions in the national and international context. In addition to being considered one of the smartest cities in the country, according to the Smart Cities Ranking in 2016 (Gaspar *et al*, 2017), it was also classified as a city of the future, described as Silicon Valley with prominence in international journals (Lara *et al*, 2013).

[6] Urban requalification projects in European cities are commonly cited by partners as a reference for urban intervention. The case of Urban Center Bologna (Italy), Incredible Edible Todmorden (England), Centro Barcelona (Spain) and Distrito da Baixa (Portugal) are cited.

[7] Among the main actions developed in this idea, we highlight the creation of a pre-incubator (Cocreation Lab), characterized as a collaborative workspace; the Creative Agency, which would report on the occurrences of events that would take place; the Creative Economy Map, responsible for idealizing innovative and creative businesses in the respective area; the Circuito Baixo Centro, which would include routes focused on cultural, gastro-bohemian and retro tours. In addition, some other initiatives are also mentioned, such as: the realization of the cinema club, exhibitions, Fairs, musical and cultural attractions.

[8] According to Leite (2010), the idea of revitalization can designate different forms of urban intervention, ranging from regeneration processes, rehabilitation, or an action in areas of high historical value.

Thus, the author suggests that this appropriation should be made, then, by means of three factors: participation, effective experience, and living the urban spaces.

3   The Eastern Part of the Historic Center as a Project of the Other

Experiencing urban spaces is one of the most important and positive factors to understand a specific region of the city. We strongly believe that an urban space recognition should precede any proposal project, as a form of cognition of urban forms. From a living experience, the spatial experience can unfold, as well as the approach that aims the participation of "another one" in a collective city project. It is in this sense we defend the spatial experience as a preview of the work of the urban planner. From this conceptual construction, the research methodology emphasizes three fundamental steps for reading and interpreting the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis. 1) walking as an aesthetic practice; 2) an accurate perception of reality, as a means of confronting discourses and the prevailing strategies to arise a non-hegemonic view; and, 3) the method of cartography. These are the pillars that support the construction of new urban "pathographys" (Rocha, n.d.).

Under these premises, walking as an aesthetic practice has proved to be a powerful experiential strategy (Careri, 2013), a modality to read and intervene in the city, which will be developed along the way, welcoming the incidents of an erratic path, without the intention of building a finished image of the city. The idea of *andare a zonzo*, from Italian, "wandering", is rescued by the architect Francesco Careri and relates, to some extent, to the sense of *flânerie*, in 19th century Paris. It is also associated with the concepts of drift practice used by the artists of the international situationist in the modern city. However, it gains new contours when this Italian teacher decides to leave the city of Rome, in the direction of its non-urbanized edges.

In this path, the feet found voids, blight areas and places exposed to the time. In these other forms, the practice of walking is updated by the modality of transurbation: a procedure that encourages to cross the current territories, the abandoned areas, the folds of the city, its banks, so as to know them from their fugitive and ephemeral character, to perceive them in their future, representing them without defining them; a powerful cognitive projectual instrument (Careri, 2017).

This scientific work can contribute to a more open research process. The procedural character of walking is more related to the transience present in the eastern part of the old historical center of Florianópolis, and its application demands a dive into the meanders of the city, making possible to evidence its bowels, professing an experimentation anchored in the real (Deleuze; Guattari, 1995). In other words, any research work that seeks a more accurate perception of urban issues must take place in the space to be investigated and do not impose any program. We believe that we should try to make up projects by experiencing the place: by spatial experience and experiencing the various uses and distinct occupations, and find projective alternatives together with the users. An intervention in space, which can gives up rigor in order to be re-signified and brought closer to the movements of life. Thus, the effective experience could be achieved through the so-called cartography method, in a coexistence at the place of the research (Passos; Kastrup; Escóssia, 2015).

This procedure would be able to understand the subjectivity of the emblematic spaces of the eastern part of the historical center of Florianópolis, revealing the forms of resistance, the desires and feelings from those who wander there, and then, we should inhabit it as an existential territory - a difficult task, because it would demand the immersion of the researcher's body in the researched place. This dwelling in the heart of the eastern portion of the historical center of Florianópolis could be a way to overcome its interpretation infested with preconceptions, or the one that comes tied to the marketing commitments of the intervention projects that seek its revitalization, as in the case of Centro Sapiens.

Due to this difficulty, this work was carried out only partially, since it was not possible to transfer fully, our day-to-day and night to the eastern part of the historical center. Thus, we tried to make morning and vespertine journeys (figure 4), walking and cartographing the spaces through a phenomenological experience, in order to make up some of its distinctive facets. A cognition that is always produced as an unfinished project of these areas of the city, in order to deconstruct and rebuild possibilities of seeing the existing vitality in the place, regardless of the presence of emptiness (eventually witnessed), contradictions or processes of deterioration. Thus, our search was to meet the dissuasion and new potentialities, which could awaken our imagination (Pallasma, 2018).
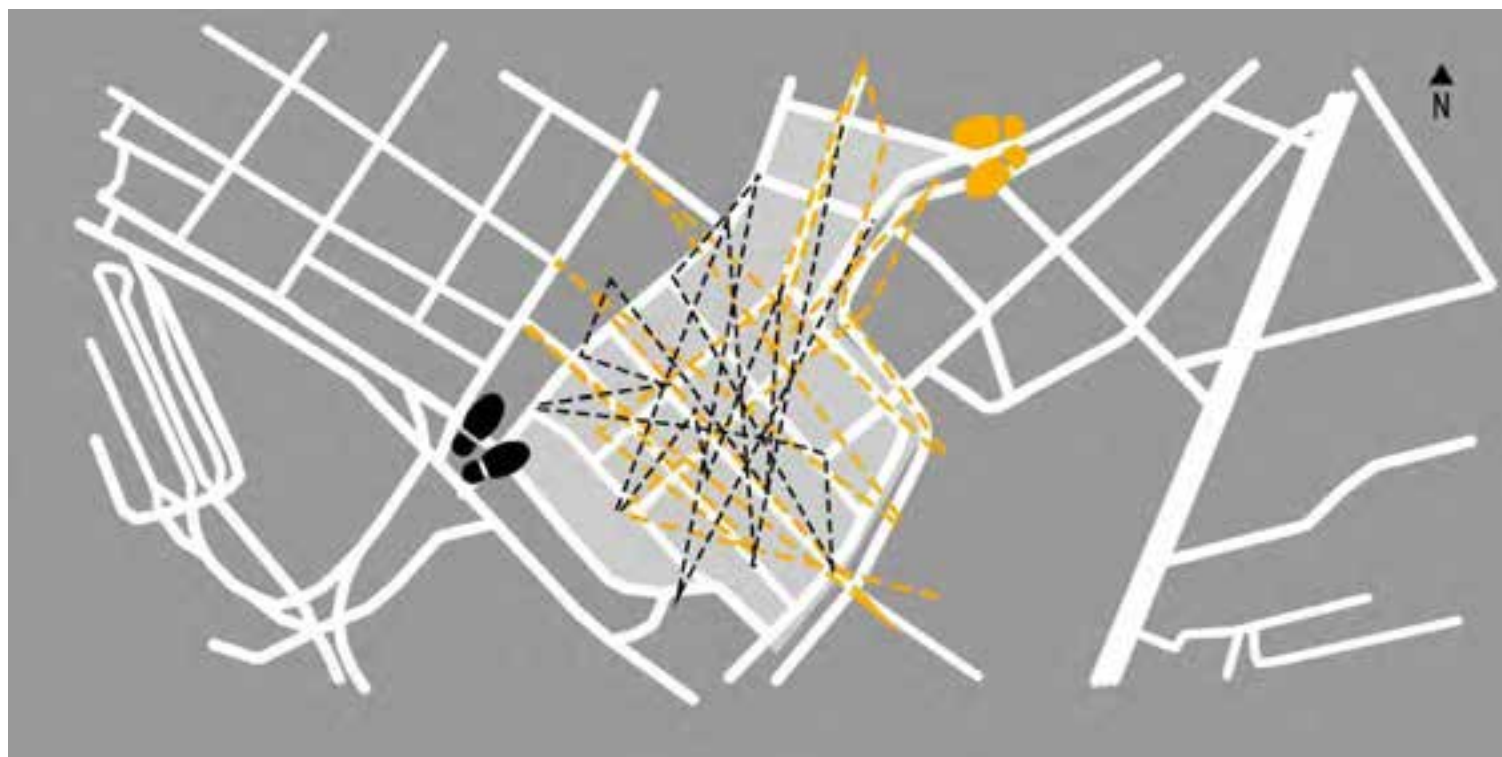
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Fig. 4: Cartography of the Routes in the Eastern Part of the Historic Center. In yellow: First Course (morning); In Black: Second Route (evening). The diagrams were extracted from the mobile phone device applications used to make photographs. Source: Authors, 2022.

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In our research- action proposal, the elaboration of any project for the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis begins to be in line with the signs that are foreign to the place. The language of this part of the city begins to inform the meaning of the project activity and its new destination, even if it is processed by the deviation of function. From within the space, the researcher can put himself in the place of the "Another One". From this exchange of roles arises a demand, the desire, the design and the designee that is bifurcated (Guattari, 1996). It is, therefore, a regular use of the space that enables us to update the architect's task, because only a singular understanding will define a proper culture to this region and that may result in a project of architecture and urbanism full of meanings, which is not a mere imposition. Therefore, in our field trips, we seek to develop a type of "itinerant projective cognition", which happens by ours steps. A drawing that is redesigned all the time, as a ludic and changing interrelationship, always halfway through, in a meeting between professional and user, space and uses (Ferrara, 2000).

This procedure holds a project without a program, whose results depend on living experience and participation, culminating in a type of intervention that is more experimental (Fiorin, 2017). However, our goal in this article is only to pinch the possibilities of reading and interpretation made through a space attendance, whether it is part of a protected historical heritage property or belonging to the most mundane or either, linked to subaltern subjectivities and marginal uses. Thus, we do not seek to romanticize, draw guidelines or map the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis; not even to forcibly extract some meanings that have already been lost, that always change, or that, throughout history, are unrecoverable.

We assume the scars that arise in the ancient historic centers as part of an endless stage of change. We welcome this condition as a characteristic that is inseparable from any new reading. Thus, in the counterculture of the current revitalization processes we have as a research modality to the eastern part of the historical center of Florianópolis the walk-cartography, in search of spatial experience, able to bring out its intrinsic culture, revealing a more sensitive view of space, so that this experience can then awaken some future questions for another city project, places outside the central areas (Fiorin, 2021).

The product of this immersion reveals the stimulus that the environment itself produces, registering with mobile devices to capture images, passages, moments and situations that take us unaware. In these erratic paths and full of surprises, we produce in a graphic mode a way of being and doing in the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis. There is no script to be followed, or something to be photographed: the experience itself is precisely what interests us. In this playful and experimental construction, we play blindman´s buff game, (Fiorin, 2020) and improve the process of walking and draw in the capital of Santa Catarina (Fiorin; March, 2022) causing the movements of all bodies in space activate the lenses of the cameras. We present here these cartography (figures 5, 6, 7 and 8), metaphorically crafted as the cards of a deck that is

played by the presence of "another one" in the city. Thus, we compose as card suits the photographic facets of a living place, full of people, between marquees, fences and alleys - a world that opens to fantasy, to the creation of a project of the Another One.

Fig. 5: First Morning Route in the Eastern Section: Local vendors lurking in the covered streets. Tables are protected by the marquees. The conversation of a neighbor who, as he passes in front of the acquaintance, greets him, laughs, goes on; the woman guarded from the sun by the awning; the informal street vendor straightens its stuffs for sale on the edge of the sidewalk protected by the building. Source: Authors, 2019.

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Fig. 6: First Morning Route in the Eastern Section: The merchant chatting in front of his establishment; two women talk protected in the garage bars; two garis of the city meet, dialogue with residents, exchange words and move on with their work; o the known man passing by, greets the other, makes a stop and talks; friends fraternize in the open-door pub. Source: Authors, 2019.

Fig. 7: Second Evening Route in the Eastern Section: A building on the corner and the street closed for vehicles, a place of cultural manifestations; the walls filled with signs of indignation, political nature, representations, accounts of affections, images that expose realities that seek space in a city so diverse; voices struggling to be heard are observed in the walls. The smell of urine, also characteristic of the place, configures a unique atmosphere. Source: Authors, 2022.

Fig. 8: Second Evening Route in the Eastern Part: In the eastern part of the historic center of Florianópolis there is space for the artist, the child accompanied by the father, the elderly couple, the wanderer, the table with chairs in the middle of the street. A city invented every moment by the passerby, which configures at every moment, a new project of the Other, in the counterculture of the revitalization processes. Source: Authors, 2022.

4   Final Considerations

The aim of this article was to point out possibilities to read and interpret the eastern portion of the old historical center of Florianópolis, which were not part of a common discourse or hegemonic renewal strategies. The methodology went through walking, accurate perception and the cartography method, in order to build some cartography that juxtaposes tactile images, metaphorically worked as the cards of a playing deck. We sought to foresee, in the surprises of each *click*, a vivid place, which could open itself to the creation of a new type of urban project, more inventive, open to experimentation and, mainly, away from the processes of sanitization that evict the less favored social layers, something so recurrent in the actions of revitalization.

In short, we point to a need for space recognition. And this reading and interpretation of the place cannot be sustained for long, depending on each context. So, this action-research is temporary, because urban conformations change constantly. This understanding is fundamental for any intervention in an urban area. This is due the dependence of the design process on a kind of knowledge that will never embrace a totality, but only a few facets of the context to be studied. Thus, it will always be a hypothesis that will allow the test. The understanding of this incompleteness is the first step towards a counter-hegemonic urban renewals processes. A second point depends on a perceptual ability that can enlighten the new forms for redesigning the former city, respecting the actions of the "Another One" in the urban space. The last issue is the ability of proposing without imposing the uses and forms of occupations in an everlasting unfinished project.

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URBAN SPACE AND INSURGENT PRACTICES IN PORTO ALEGRE, BRAZIL
ESPAÇO URBANO E PRÁTICAS INSURGENTES NO 4° DISTRITO DE PORTO ALEGRE
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Abstract

Urban spaces are built from complex layers of territory. The relationships between different social agents result in this construction and in the consolidation of spaces' territorialization. The present work follows the criticism on the hegemonic thinking in architecture and urban planning. This article aims to understand the counter-hegemonic spatial practices, developed by heterogeneous actors, as strategies of urban space territorialization. The main goal is to analyze how the articulation between different social agents appears in the territorialization and spatialization of the developed practices. Therefore, the methodological approach used is a case study about the spatial area 4th District of Porto Alegre. In addition, non-participant observation at seminars and events held by social agents was part of the method, as well as interviews with local representatives. As a result, we assess the construction of action networks of counter-hegemonic territorialization. Considering particularities, they operate in different ways on the resistance to the dominant urban planning culture, which repeatedly neglects the demands of poor and vulnerable people.

Keywords: Territory, Territorialization, Spatial Practices, Insurgent Practices

1   Introduction

Insurgent practices of urban communities need their territories, which are their speech place. The insurgence, in this article, is considered resistance to staying in the city. In the production of urban space, insurgencies of non-hegemonic social groups allow actors to remain in the dispute for urban land. The dynamics of socio-spatial networks, whether in the fight for decent housing, or in the confrontation with the valorization of urban land, or even in the often violent, legal and spatial instability of their settlements are recurrent conditions in Brazilian metropolises.

In the technical-scientific-information environment in which we live, insurgent practices are a possibility of contesting the bad conditions of habitability in Brazilian precarious settlements, building ways of organizing social actors in a network. In Brazil, many communities live in unstable and insecure situations. In this way, they are constantly exposed to the transience between the legal and the illegal. Around the world, popular settlements cannot be generalized as illegal, due to differences, irresolutions and overlaps characteristic of the formation of occupations (Rolnik, 2015). However, the formal-legal construction to which urban spaces are submitted, in accordance with the dominant precepts of their society, prevents residents of "illegal" settlements from being adequately contemplated with formal rights, such as the right of possession. These resolutions deprive them of access to the city, its equipment and basic infrastructure.

The advance of real estate and financial capital in different cities on the planet accelerates the process of deterritorialization of communities that live in areas of interest to dominant actors, mainly large construction companies. Removal actions, often violent, are justified by the need for revitalization that adequates the neoliberal consumption agendas of urban space. It is in this context that the spatial area analyzed is inserted: the 4th District of Porto Alegre/RS. In southern Brazil, it was the olden industrial district of the city, which went through a period of ascension (1892 - 1950) and obsolescence (1970 - 1990). Currently, the district is a territory of interest to the government and the real estate market. Considering its location, infrastructure and occupation potential, the restructuring discourse focuses on the 4th district.

In this article, we start from the understanding that other forms of building territories, in addition to the hegemonic practices favored by the State, are strongly present in the urban space, either in isolated ways or through integration with other territories. However, to investigate them, it is necessary to decolonize the hegemonic thinking in architecture and urbanism, reassessing ways of claiming the Right to the City in Lefebvre (2001) terms. The author, who understands the Right to the City as a Right to Urban Life, points to the need of building meeting places, prioritizing use value to the detriment of exchange value. It is in this sense that the article aims to contribute to discussions and reflections about the production and renovation of cities by the hands of transdisciplinary actors. We assume these actors seek to challenge the homogeneity of construction of urban space through counter-hegemonic spatial practices, strengthening the construction of action networks and articulation with other actors.

Thus, this article aims to analyze the insurgent spatial practices built as a support strategy for disadvantaged families and communities by the territory revitalization projects, which collaboratively create resistance tactics and confront current projects. For this purpose, specific goals were developed. In addition to assisting in reaching the overall goal, they directly reflect on the methodological approach. The first one was the identification of counter-hegemonic agents through fieldwork developed through non-participant observation and mapping, identification, location and characterization of counter-hegemonic practices. The second specific goal was the observation of conflict or collaboration relationships between these agents. For this, semi-structured interviews were used that resulted in the analysis of the reverberation of the agents' actions in the territory. In addition, the analysis of the spatialization of the practices carried out based on the theoretical framework was carried out.

The article is organized following these items: the discussion about network-territories and the actors network; a brief presentation on the 4th District in Porto Alegre; the territory through spatial and daily practices.

2   Territorialization: The Construction of Territory through Actors Spatial Practices and Actors-Network

The actions of groups and communities in spaces are important components of territory legitimation. Isolated actions or in association with other actors give identity and purpose to spaces, in addition to the ability to corroborate or refute narratives. For Raffestin (1993), a territory does not exist without a work projection and an action development. We call territorialization these works and actions developed in the spaces that make them a territory. The various combinations that can be established during the implementation of territorialization, for Haesbaert (2004), open the way for the territory to be conceived through innumerable perspectives.

Raffestin (1993) also approaches the territory as a space for organization and competition between actors in the network. When we analyze the layers included in the production of the territory, according to Raffestin (1993), we can identify the functional differentiation, that is understood by the different uses and occupations of the space. In addition, the differentiation commanded by the hierarchical principle contributes to organizing the territory, corroborating the importance given to territorialization actions by individuals and groups. Hierarchical differentiation is about the ability to legitimize certain actions based on power relations. In this sense, actions by non-hegemonic actors tend to be neglected, enhancing performances with greater commercial appeal and support from dominant actors. However, at different levels, all actors are responsible for producing the territory. Thus, we are faced with a field of power:

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> This production of territory is perfectly inscribed in the field of power of our relational problematic. We all combine energy and information, which we structure with codes according to certain objectives. We all elaborate production strategies, which collide with other strategies in various power relations. (Raffestin, 1993, p. 153, our translation).

When we talk about territory, mainly based on Raffestin (1993), we are talking about limits established through power relations and given actors or groups of actors capacity to control a portion of space. Thus, territoriality is the action that delimits and gives life to a territory, with spatial, strategic or tactical practices that configure it. The territory is, simultaneously, product and process of relations of those who configure it, as well as its interfaces with others. Likewise, territoriality is constituted not only by social groups relating to the space they occupy, but also with other actors that make up other territories.

Sack (1986), when discussing the importance of human territorialities in the city, points to the existence of control over space by certain actors. The identification of the actor(s) who exercise(s) control over the space is crucial to recognize where the spatial and social intentions that materialize in a given sector of the city come from and what objectives and social actors are involved in this process. In this way, considering these authors, the effective territorialization of space is engendered in arrangements between different social actors who work collaborating or competing with each other. Such territorialities are given from spatial practices, which can be subdivided according to the original intentions of each agent.

Corporate practices were widely developed by Corrêa (1992; 2000), who addresses the result of strategic actions by corporations in the large companies territorialization and spatialization process. Souza (2018) presents contesting and claiming insurgent spatial practices as a way to expand the possibilities of analysis about spatialization and territorialization

based on spatial practices. Souza's studies (2018) give the possibility of analyzing counter-hegemonic social actors, groups and individuals organized in favor of their rights and of their ways of life legitimization, so as not to be just subordinated to the dominant practices of hegemonic actors.

Despite the hegemonic structure favoring combinations between dominant actors, other possibilities are developed as a way of claiming spaces and appropriating territories. Hegemonic and counter-hegemonic actors structure actions that transform the urban space through spatial and daily practices, which are directly related to the domain and appropriation in the territory. According to Souza (2018), the main difference between spatial practices, which we will call here "hegemonic spatial practices" and "insurgent practices", is the collaborative and contesting purpose of the latter.

According to Souza (2018), insurgent spatial practices are potent political instruments for claiming spaces. They are the ability to build splinter territories that can exist for hours, days or that can settle down. Territories built through insurgent practices are surrounded by the constant demand for struggle and defense of their limits and delimitations. The insurgent spatial practices bring at their core the claim for a city in which "belonging" is not guided only by the ability to consume and perform, in accordance with the guidelines of large financial institutions. In the rhythm of the streets and everyday needs, insurgent practices are articulated by groups and collectives that make the city by living it.

When we look closer at the relationships constituted between the actors, we notice that the complexity is increased. Many of them have an articulation that allows the identification of the territory they occupy as a "continuous territory". This does not mean that continuous territories cannot have relations with other actors or even with other territories, conferring the constitution of a network of actors. When we refer to network, we return to the idea of "network territories", discussed by Souza (2000), so the nodes of a network can intersperse with the "nodes" of other networks. The "network territories" are called by Souza (2000) "discontinuous territories", in which it is possible to look at each point, configuring itself in a territory — or nanoterritory. For the author, the complexity of network territories requires that the idea of a single territorializing power be excluded, especially when, as is the case of the 4th District, there is an overlapping of different territories, with varied and non-coincident limits and with possible contradictions between different territories.

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3   Territorialization Construction through Counter-hegemony and Insurgents Actions

The spatial clipping used to investigate the insurgent spatial practices in Porto Alegre/RS is the 4th District. Consolidated as an old industrial district of the capital of Rio Grande do Sul, the 4th District has been transformed over the years and has gone from a territory with strong economic and commercial appeal to a territory, in some aspects, obsolete and degraded. The territory, including Farrapos, Humaitá, Navegantes, São Geraldo, and Floresta neighborhoods, was the target of a series of restructuring and revitalization attempts, as shown in Figure 1. Currently, such attempts continue ostensibly and put pressure on the poor and vulnerable communities settled in the region. Efforts for the preparation of this article are concentrated on the analysis of insurgent spatial practices carried out by non-hegemonic actors, mostly gathered in the northern region, but with associations and networks that transit throughout the entire territory.
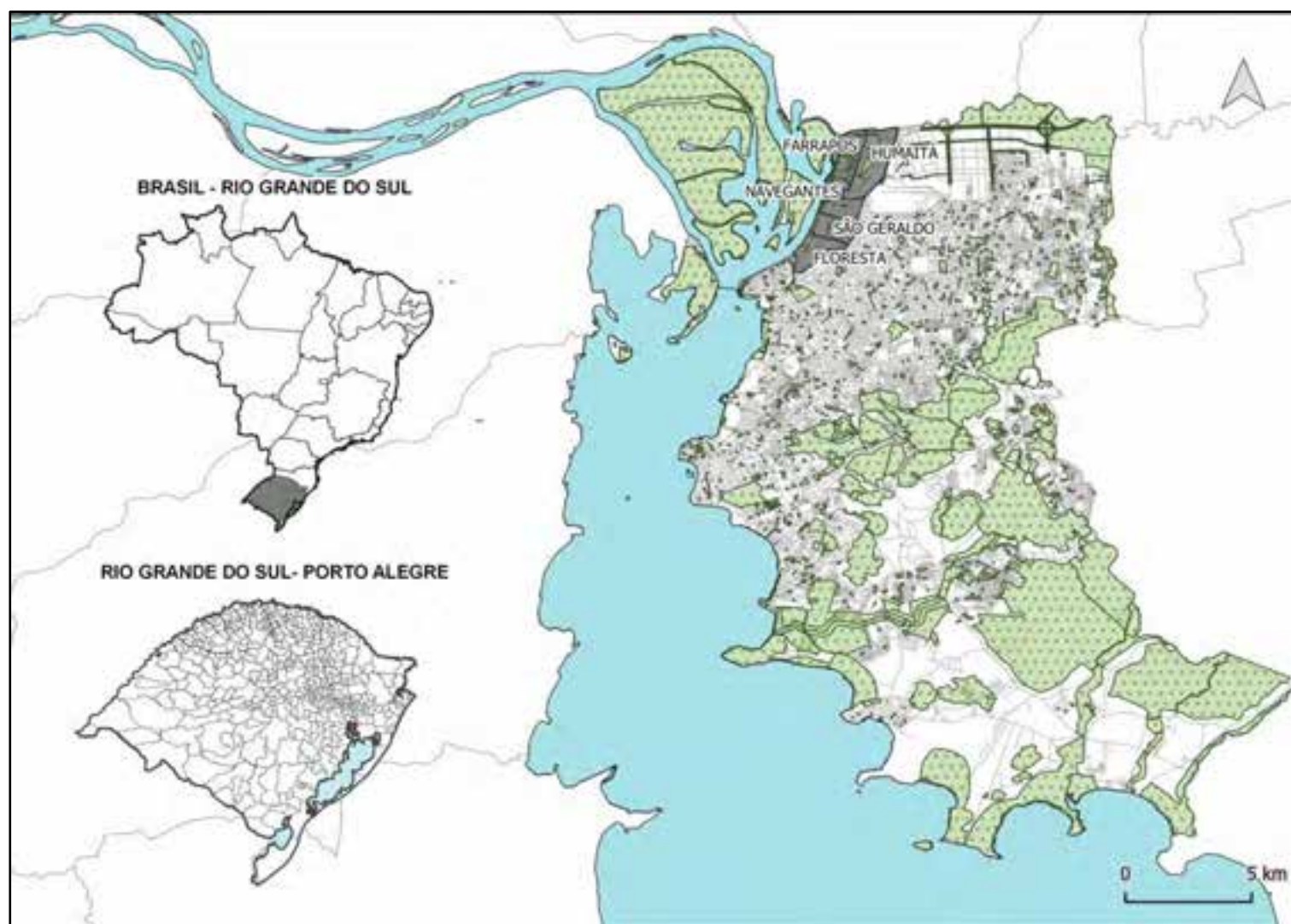
Fig. 1: Location map of the 4th District in the city of Porto Alegre. Source: Almeida; Campos, 2022.

In analyzing the spatial area studied, it was possible to identify some actions that are aligned with the construction of reality transformation practices by non-hegemonic actors. Rolnik (2019) suggests that contesting practices, such as the practices presented below, require attention, pointing to the need to decolonize the imaginary and overcome an ideal of modernization. The author's proposal is daring but fundamental, at a time when homogeneity has become part of the guidelines for restructuring and revitalizing spaces of different scales. Wherever you look, it is possible to identify a new building with large mirrored facades, floors and excessively polished stones. It's not by chance. The choice of these elements reflects — literally and figuratively — the quest to demonstrate power, prosperity and wealth.

Analyzing some relationships and networks in the territory of the 4th District, it was possible to identify examples related to insurgent practices. Training the eye to recognize other urban planning languages, in addition to urban plans and projects, is necessary to avoid social exclusion and dispossession of urban spaces that conform neocolonial domination. As examples of insurgent practices, we will analyze the work of *Ksa Rosa* (2017), which aims to reduce damage to the environment and human beings by welcoming waste pickers and people in vulnerable situations. We will also analyze the Forum of the 4th District, a project conceived from a public hearing carried out in a movement of denunciation by the State Council of Human Rights of Rio Grande do Sul (CEDH-RS) of the conditions in which about nineteen communities located in the North end of the 4th District live.

The 4th District Forum, amid the advances of the Covid 19 Pandemic, focused on organizing campaigns to donate food, masks and distribute booklets with information on how to protect yourself against the virus and register to receive help from the government. In May 2020, the project was selected by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation's emergency support notice. Designed around three axes — food security, sustainability and communication — the project proposed to help vulnerable

families in the region with information and subsistence items. The project was developed through two structures: the Sepé Tiarajú Environmental and Recycling Cooperative and the Vinte de Novembro Work and Housing Cooperative. Within them, actions that served the families linked to cooperatives and the population in general were carried out. Thus, the territory of direct advocacy consisted of the communities visited through the mission carried out by the Permanent Commission for the Defense of Human Rights of Rio Grande do Sul (CDH-RS), shown in Figure 2 (CEDH-RS, 2020).

For one of the organizers of the Forum, the presence of the Sepé Tiarajú and Vinte de Novembro cooperatives gave strength to the project. Unlike the communities that participated voluntarily, the cooperatives already carried out support work for families linked to their spaces, as they were structured and recognized in the territory. While Sepé Tiarajú conducted a food collection campaign for families linked to the recycling shed, Vinte de Novembro had equipment and labor to make masks, soap and, later, T-shirts that were sold. Cooperative Vinte de Novembro is one of the actors-network identified in the research but, unlike the other actors and actors-network that make up the Forum of the 4th District, it is located in the Floresta neighborhood. The cooperative plays an important role in articulating with the communities located at the northern end of the territory, as it is a node, which, under the light of another scale, presents its own complexity and internal organization. The cooperative occupies an unfinished state building, which had been abandoned for over fifty years and is currently occupied by forty families who have transformed it into social housing.

In a context of intense dispossession and real estate speculation, the occupation of the building can be classified as "bottom-up revitalization" (Souza, 2018), representing a tension against conventional and colonizing urban planning. In the territorial and socio-spatial perspective, the articulation between a continuous territory, generated by the surface where the communities are located, and a point (Twentieth of November cooperative) with a strong internal and external structure represents the possibility of forming a network.

Although there is no direct connection between the communities linked to the Forum of the 4th District, its structuring actor-networks and Ksa Rosa, the latter represents another structuring element located in the Floresta neighborhood, because it promotes insurgent spatial practices through processes and social relations developed in their daily lives. Maristone Moura, coordinator and creator of Ksa Rosa, highlights the need to welcome and build a bond through the responsibility and autonomy of each individual. Therefore, it is necessary to establish awareness of a work done in a network, prioritizing access to culture, and social and environmental responsibility. The main activity developed at Ksa is linked to recycling. This and other income-generating activities, such as making soap, make it possible to continue the hosting work.

The formation of a spatial network of actors in collaboration was formed as Ksa develops partnerships with Vila Flores, based on the collection of waste produced at the Cultural Association, and with the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). The collaboration with UFRGS has been taking place since 2017, through the discipline of Architectural Design II at the Faculty of Architecture and an extension project by the Art Institute since 2019. In actions linked to UFRGS, Ksa Rosa represents an element of intervention and study through practical and theoretical classes about constructive techniques and construction from the sensible, which consider the functional need and also the meaning of each element already built. For Prof. Fernando Fuão, one of the architects, professor of the subject and coordinator of the extension project, the goal of the classes is to relate theory, practice and execution, culminating in a process that involves learning the project, the construction of the object, the execution and all the practice relationship with the Ksa Rosa collective (AESCOA, 2021).

The socio-spatial relations and insurgent practices of the non-hegemonic actors of the 4th District can be seen as a path yet to be paved. The current model of urban planning, strongly supported by neoliberal principles, increasingly pushes the population into spaces without living conditions, especially in peripheral countries. It is necessary to think about ways of planning cities that are not subordinated to hegemonic practices. In Figure 2, we mapped: (i)the visited communities that joined the 4D Forum, (ii)those that did not and (iii)the network actors that act as structuring in the Forum, but not only in it. In addition, there are network-actors who work in isolation, but who sometimes connect and approach, articulating in the territory.
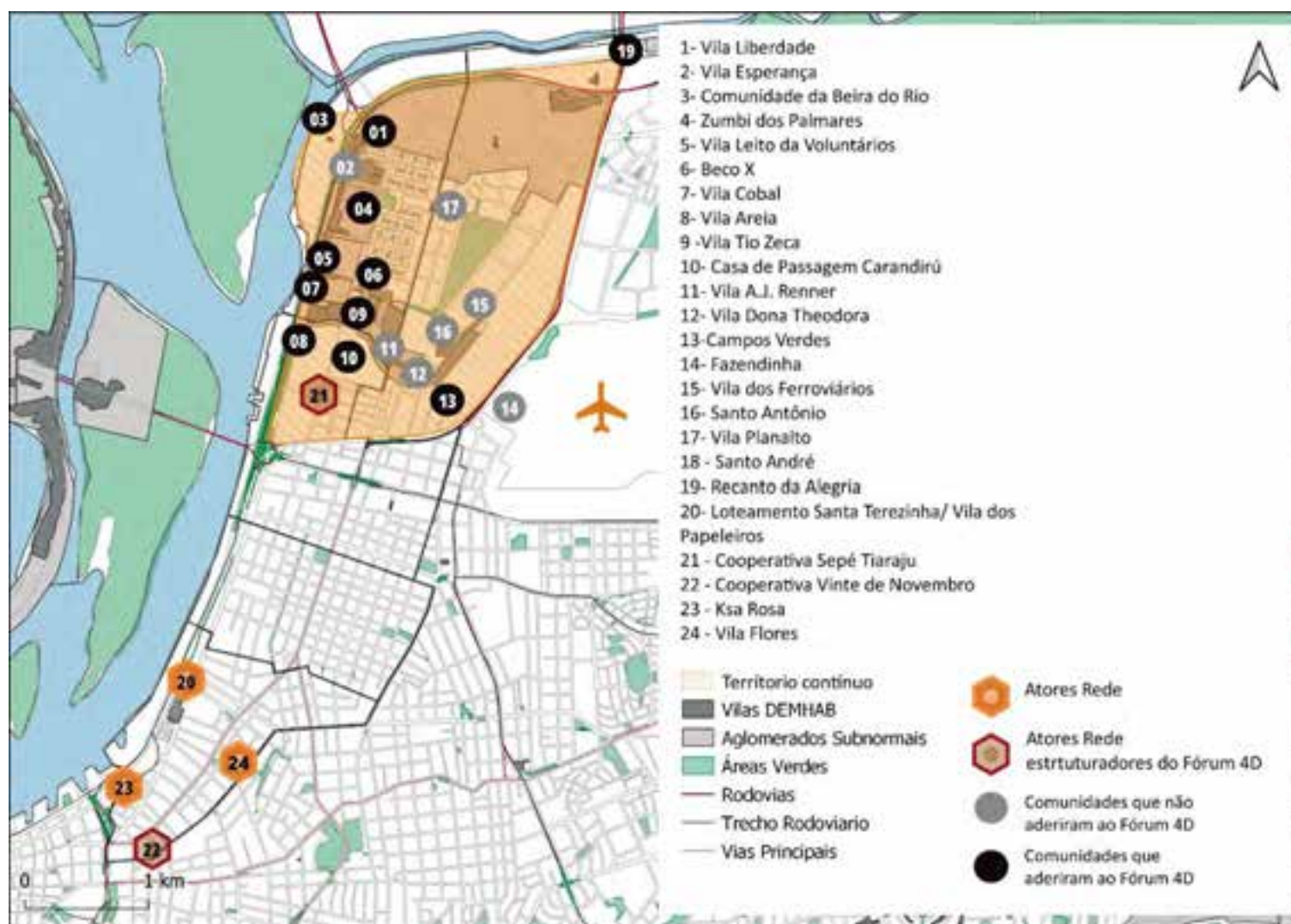
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It is noticed that the network between Vinte de Novembro cooperative (22) and the continuous territory (network of actors) — located at opposite ends — configures a tensioning from the margins to the center, in Rosa (2018) terms. It also brings together, even if in a latent way, the continuous terrioty communities of the actor-network located nearby. In addition to the close relationship with the continuous territory, the Vinte de Novembro cooperative maintains a close relationship with Associação Cultural Vila Flores, with whom dialogue began through the architecture office AH! Human Architecture. The office occupies one of the commercial rooms at Vila Flores and is responsible for the cooperative project, which was awaiting release by the Minha Casa Minha Vida — Entidades Program (MCMV-E). This approximation is due to the link between the Cooperative and the National Movement for the Fight for Housing and attention to the need to build relationships with different actors in the territory. The distance between other actors-network and actors located further north of the 4th District occurs spontaneously. According to the representative, there is an understanding that the Cultural Association is a vector of the process of creative economies that has been rising in recent years in the 4th District and does not dialogue with the demands of the communities. However, for the interviewee, there is a movement for this approximation and dialogue to happen, even if gradually.

Regarding the articulation between the Vila Flores Cultural Association and the communities of the 4th District, the community that is most connected to Vila Flores is Vila Santa Terezinha, an actor-network that provides the construction of joint projects between the actors-network. According to a representative of the Cultural Association, the approximation took place through identification with the work already developed by the Marista Social Center with the residents of the community aimed at culture and education through music and theater. The initial intention was to create a route from Vila Santa Terezinha to Vila Flores, marked by the interaction between the actors in the vicinity. Another point brought up by the interviewee is the relationship between Vila Flores and the Vinte de Novembro cooperative, which serves as an inspiration for the development

of projects. Considering this approach, the intention is to build a network of knowledge about the construction and operation of a cooperative that allows Vila Santa Terezinha to create its own cooperative. The network-territory in the 4th District, as shown in Figure 03, is composed of these relationships between actors (conforming network-actors) and social territories. The Vinte de Novembro occupation appears, in this context, as a protagonist in the articulation between communities. The Vila Flores Cultural Center, on the other hand, dialogues and acts both with communities and in actions with new actors stimulated by the process of transformation of the area, such as brewers, for example. External actors also participate in this territory-network, as is the case of UFRGS.
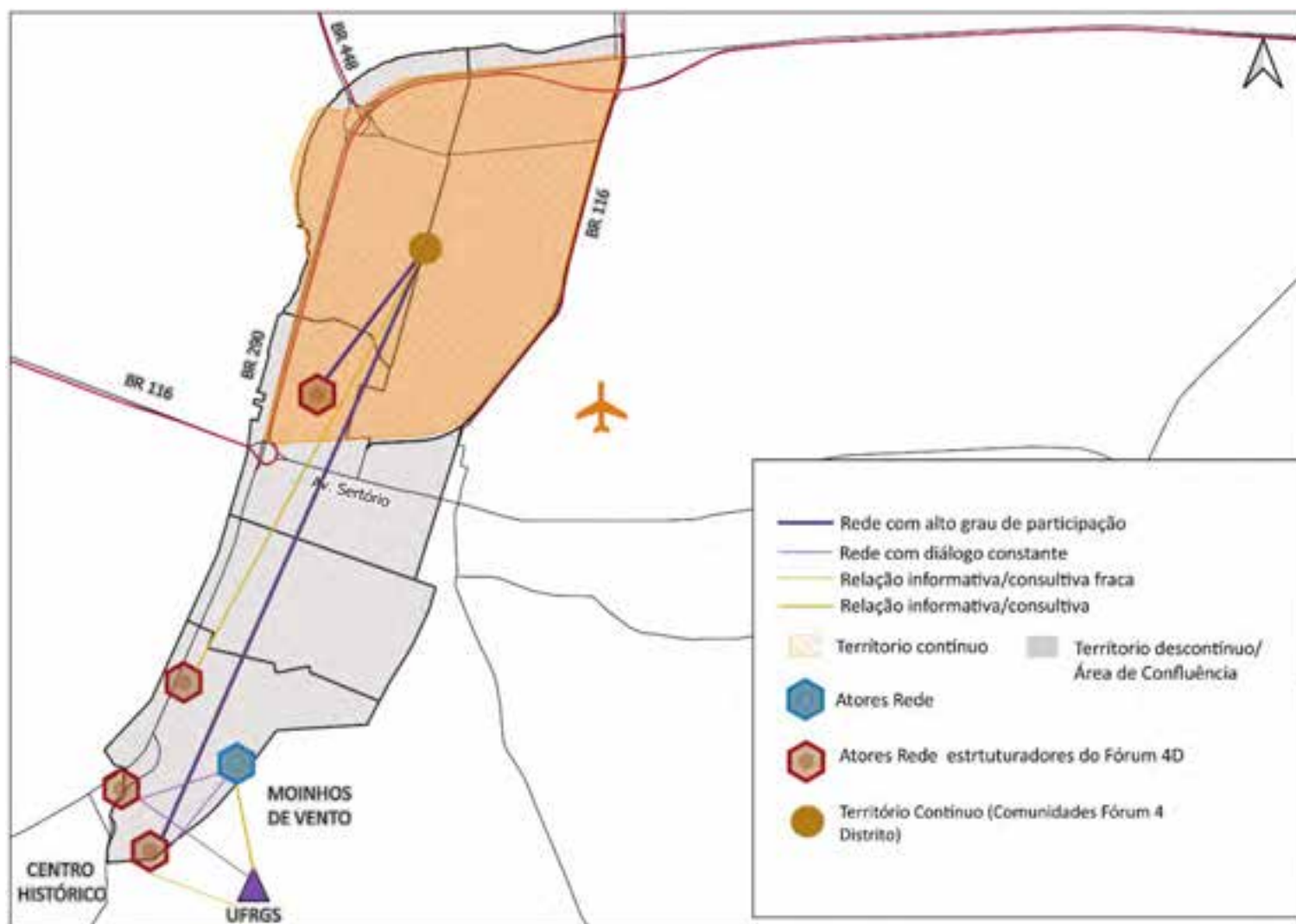
Fig. 3: Comparative diagram between actors- networks and territory- network of 4th District. Source: Prepared by Nicole Leal de Almeida, in 2022. From data provided by IBGE (2010), Datapoa (n/d), DNIT (n/d), Observapoa (n/d).

The diagram reveals important aspects of the relationships that define the actors-network in the 4th District, among which we highlight some below. Sepé Tiaraju cooperative appears as a fundamental actor-network in defining the continuous territory to the north, and Vila Flores occupies an important position in the articulation of communities to the south, which, however, does not seem to constitute a continuous territory. This occurs mainly because the urban fabric and land use in its vicinity are more diversified, involving actors who do not yet participate in integration strategies between new ventures (such as breweries, for example) and low-income communities. Vila Flores responds as the main representative of the creative industry in the sector, appears as a non-insurgent actor-network, acting as an intermediary and articulator between various low-income communities. Also, Vila Flores establishes important dialogues with the local government and collaborating actors from other parts of the territory of the 4th District, and external to the area, as is the case of UFRGS. This articulating role can be justified by the historical relationships between Vila Flores and the sector.

Another important aspect to highlight is that the physical proximity between the actors does not imply a direct relationship between them (either informative or participatory). This happens mainly between the continuous territories of low-income communities with insurgent spatial practices, as is the case of Ksa Rosa, Vinte de Novembro Occupation, Santa Terezinha

and Sepé Tiaraju Cooperatives (there is even a weak articulation between them). Among such communities, two structuring actor-networks stand out: one to the north of the area (Sepé Tiaraju Cooperative) and another to the south on the boundary between the 4th District and the central area (Vinte de Novembro), constituting strategic forces in the area.

Relationships with a high degree of participation and dialogue between actors are important and present components among strategic actors within the sector. On the other hand, consultative and informative relationships occur, but in a less intense way. The tensions of creative insurgencies of social groups seem to start from their territories and actors towards the construction of new networks of actors, shaping new territories. Despite their particularities, they are part of counter-hegemonic territorialization actions. The observed insurgent practices dispute the territory, they are not only passive to the events of productive restructuring of the space, but they ascend through gaps of capitalism in the urban space, from their own terms.

4   Final Considerations

The complexity of the territory layers that make up the urban space represents a challenge to the analysis of the dynamics of social actors in the process of territorialization. Bearing in mind the multiplicity of possible developments, attention was needed so as not to lose sight of the central goal: to analyze the insurgent spatial practices, constructed as counter-hegemonic actions, which collaboratively create resistance and confrontation tactics against hegemonic projects and criticism on the way of producing and thinking about cities. Such referral is justified insofar cities are being built from a neoliberal way, which overvalues self-identification through consumption, to the detriment of the construction of urban spaces that encourage encounter, contemplation and interactivity among all.

The article discussed insurgent practices of counter-hegemonic groups that inhabit and operate in the 4th District of Porto Alegre, an old industrial area close to the Historic Center, which has stood out as an area of interest for the real estate market of large construction companies in Porto Alegre and on which, currently, processes are being processed with a view to approving the Revitalization project of the Municipality of Porto Alegre. Throughout the research, it was possible to verify, as assumed in the introduction, that, in a strategic way, actors and actors-network are articulated in favor of contesting the dominant model of construction of cities and continue in the search for guaranteeing access to housing, infrastructure and sanitation, and also to urban life in the city. According to Lefebvre (2001), these actors work in defense of autonomy and the common.

In order to reach the initial objectives, it was necessary to build a theoretical framework, presented in the second item, to guide and contextualize the reader, in addition to allowing the understanding and identification of the analyzed actors' actions. Next, the spatial outline for conducting the field work and non-participant observation was presented, which allowed the identification of the actors movements that resist the onslaughts of the dominant ones. The practices organized by counter-hegemonic actors are opposed to the dominant ones, since they build tools to tension the subordination to which they are submitted. Thus, there was the construction of collaboration networks between different actors who act on different fronts, and who seek the legitimacy of their spatial and everyday practices.

The insurgent practices identified in the territory seek decent living conditions based on alternative work circuits, income generation and the development of culture and autonomy, in addition to the guarantee of stability through ownership. In the 4th District, the role of resistance of the network organization of actors is highlighted. In this way, Vinte de Novembro turned out to be an important link between the communities in the area. The Vila Flores cultural center is an example of solidarity economy, which seems to transit, directly or indirectly, between several actors: the Twenty of November, the new economic actors, in addition to the connection with universities. However, such a claim would require further investigation into the nature of their practices. It is understood that a deeper reflection on the (re)construction of an urban planning culture that recognizes insurgent practices and their territoriality is urgent and necessary, considering that the network territories, of a more political nature. These are important forms of resistance and struggle for the right to belong and occupy urban spaces.

During the research, some limitations were found. The context of the Covid-19 pandemic restricted fieldwork and the in-depth analysis of insurgent actions. In addition, the impracticability of the continuity of the work of some groups limited the work, as is the case of the Forum of the 4th District, which during the pandemic concentrated its efforts on emergency health demands and hunger mitigation. However, in more recent activities, the Forum continues to work in conjunction with

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communities and actors at regional and national levels. In April 2022, in partnership with the National Forum for Urban Reform and other movements and entities, the Mission-Denunciation of evictions in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre was carried out. The delegation that carried out the mission held listening assemblies with each of the communities visited, with the aim of preparing a report of complaints to demand measures from the public authorities regarding violations of human and housing rights, as well as to make visible urgent demands from residents.

Finally, the research does not end here. The continuity in monitoring insurgent dynamics should be seen as a way of valuing non-dominant spatial practices, validating them as possibilities of real territorialization. However, it is important to highlight the need for the continuity of public policies to mitigate poverty and hunger. With the recent dismantling of such initiatives, social actors, actor-networks, social movements, among others, are forced to meet alternative ways to their demands of human ordinary life.

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STREET WORLDS: ON BARRICADES, ZONES, AND *QUEBRADAS*

MUNDOS DA RUA: SOBRE BARRICADAS, ZONAS E QUEBRADAS

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Abstract

The current study aims to use the listening-*flânerie* to investigate spaces named by homeless populations as *quebradas*. This methodology lies on listening to different stories, through wanderings around the city, in order to investigate the blind fields of both their narratives and spatialities. The study sought to identify representations, openings, limits and potentialities of *quebradas*, in order to analyze the extent to which they manage counter-hegemonic spatialities. On the one hand, barricades were used as a historical paradigm for the comparative analysis of the process focused on subverting hierarchical power and on replacing winners' discourse order by that of losers. On the other hand, the spatiality of homeless people and the way they take ownership of the city — totally silenced by urban theory — enabled analyzing the likely reconstitution of the hegemonic discourse through erratic street discourses. Thus, we herein confront *quebradas* with concepts, such as Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ), heterotopias and barricades, as starting points to investigate their potential as a differential form of urban struggle. Consequently, bringing *quebradas* to the core of discourse opens room to address the extreme struggle for everyday survival as a peculiar voice in a multitude of struggles against the city's colonizing machines.

Keywords: Barricades, Heterotopia, *Quebrada*, Taz, Zone

1   Introduction

According to Fábio Zuker (2020), fear of emptiness, from the Latin *Horror Vacui*, is an intrinsic feature of Baroque and Rococo styles. No space remains empty; it must always be filled with some element. In these styles, spaces must be occupied in a massive, crowded and even oppressive manner. This is the reason why the fear of emptiness was even more incisive during the European expansion carried out through the Portuguese and Spanish maritime expeditions. Maps of unknown places were filled with imaginary places and monstrous creatures, such as mermaids, sea monsters, exotic animals and legendary civilizations. In essence, fear of emptiness was an aesthetic principle of rejecting an approaching new world. Thus, the new world was born, already conquered and dominated, even before it was known. In this way, any void could be filled with images of the self, which was a form of power based on totalizing assimilation (Zuker, 2020).

Furthermore, Baroque and its fear of emptiness have emerged as counter-reformation instrument. Baroque rebuilt a systemic and totalitarian discourse by ruling out Mannerism's doubts and torments, by restoring the Catholic Church's perspective on the center of power, and by eliminating everything that did not meet to this perspective. The current study presents a simple proposal, namely: inverting the fear of empty space to investigate the empty space of fear, in other words, inverting the fear of emptiness to investigate the emptiness of fear. Thus, we focus on repositioning the excluded and silenced spatialities to reveal their (counter-hegemonic) discourse, as well as the (hegemonic) discourses silencing them.

Accordingly, it is necessary to find structure-related clues and guides of these obscured and silenced spatialities in order to approach them. Moreover, it is necessary to rebuild these spatialities based on the interpersonal relationships, silences and dormant temporalities capable of forming negative spaces in contemporary cities. These spaces — which are popularly known as *quebradas*[1] — are much more than just hiding places for delinquent actions. They are often installed in the ruins of modern civilization, where they subvert its foundations — by opposing pain and enjoyment, desire and insubordination, assimilation and insurgency — based on a logic that is much more one of rebellion, intensification and annulment than of alternative, inversion or difference. We further analyze the features of these spaces — where anything can be more intensely nothing and where anybody can be more fully nobody — in order to investigate both the similarities and the differences between counter-hegemonic aspects of these contemporary *quebradas* and those barricades from the time of Georges-Eugène Haussmann. We will need to take a small detour to approach this comparison.

The movie *Stalker* (1979), by Soviet filmmaker Andrei Tarkovsky, tells the story of a parallel reality of our planet - in a non-defined timeline - that, for some unknown reason, was used as a landing field for extraterrestrial spaceships. These landing

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[1] Colloquial expression used to refer to occupied and decaying city zones or buildings.

areas produced a place with strange events that do not follow the laws of physics and logic. These places are called zones. The stalker — Alexander Kaidanovsky — is a kind of collector of objects that were abandoned by visitors; he leads people around the zone. Both the writer (Anatoly Solonitsyn) and the professor (Nikolai Grinko), who are escorted by the stalker, travel towards the room: a room that would fulfill any desire of those who entered it. However, in one of the main scenes, after an incomprehensible incident, the stalker explains to his companions that the zone has a complex operation since it is full of traps that always change. Sometimes, going to this room is easy, whereas at other times it can be a hard task to be accomplished. He believes that the zone only lets in those who have lost hope, i.e., the unfortunate ones. Thus, the room only fulfills the desires of those who no longer have them, in a condition that is very similar to that of contemporary *quebradas*.

The uniqueness of *Stalker*'s science fiction does not lie on the planet's territory invasion by aliens, as seen in so many other science fiction works, but on the fact that this visit did not even generate a first contact event. As a stopping point for another destination, our unimportant planet turns into a void, an area already mapped and dominated, a void where everything comes true for those who want nothing. However, the great conflict of *Stalker*'s characters is the torment of realizing the existential void of what they desire rather than the quest to actually fulfill their desires.

When one watches *Stalker*, it is inevitable to compare the zones to the concept of Temporary Autonomy Zone (TAZ) created by Peter Lamborn Wilson, also known by the alias Hakim Bey (1985). This concept emerged after the author identified and analyzed — in the stories of pirate utopias, creeds of medieval assassins and in the literature — strategic temporary spaces that would be used to organize lootings and information networks. These utopias were "intentional communities, whole mini-societies living consciously outside the law and determined to keep it up, even if only for a short but merry life" (Bey, 1985, p. 77). On the one hand, although the zone reveals the insignificance of hegemonic desires bursting into the void, at the same time, this void is pure power. On the other hand, TAZ is the pure subverted (inverted) hegemonic desire consciously living out there, in a parallel world. The specificity of *quebrada* lies on exploring the pure power of subversion by unconsciously living within an insignificant void. *Quebrada* is neither zone nor TAZ; it still requires a theoretical formulation so that its power can be explored as a counter-hegemonic force.

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Based on these assumptions, the "floating observation", described by Colette Pétonnet (2008), was the method adopted to select the individuals to be heard. This methodology lies on making oneself available while walking uncompromisingly, and on letting the events taking place by chance to provide encounters through the crossings of happenings. The proposed encounters are supposed to happen between individuals who have never interacted with each other, rather than between individuals who previously knew each other; thus, the expected encounters "consist of addressing a word to someone of whom one does not know where he comes from or what he does, of whom one knows nothing. At the same time, the dimension of anonymity would be evacuated, as if it was negative or harmful." (Pétonnet, 2008, p. 101, our translation). Therefore, mediation is promoted by the city, by removing the institutions and creating a first anonymous encounter. According to Pétonnet, in a context of "perfect anonymity, the speech is as free as the air; it does not have ties or guardians. [...] It is the reason why whatever part individuals choose to reveal of themselves, be it real or fanciful, is true" (Pétonnet, 2006, p. 257, our translation).

The "floating observation" took place simultaneously to the listening-*flânerie*, since the encounter demands individuals' availability to start a disinterested journey. This is a "quite particular journey into the meaning given by others to what they are doing there" (Simões, 2008, p. 195, our translation). However, this disinterested stroll is not a purposeless action. By inviting individuals to go on a stroll, we can get to know their stories about relationships and meanings extracted from their own life factors, namely: mourning, traumas, ancestry, conflicts, remembrances and philosophy of life, among others (Pétonnet, 2006). Thus, the intention of getting lost to discover obscure and silenced urban ways of life must start from a disinterested walk and gradually reveal ways for individuals to find themselves once and again. Therefore, listening-*flânerie* was featured by conducting several free-association interviews with seven homeless individuals; these interviews were followed by on-the-spot observations conducted over twelve months, when the reported themes and spatialities were investigated, both concomitantly and in separate. The focus lied on observing the counter-hegemonic potential of their ways of inhabiting the street; consequently, we will initially establish the historical scenario of the counter-hegemonic potential of taking ownership of streets based on the paradigmatic example of Parisian barricades and of their counterpart, i.e., Haussmann's counter-reformation.

2   When the Streets Reinvent the Way, or Barricades Against Colonial Machines

Insurgencies, insurrections, rebellions and uprisings are words often used by historians and social scientists "to label *failed* revolutions — movements which do not match the expected curve, the consensus-approved trajectory: revolution, reaction, betrayal, the founding of a stronger and even more oppressive state — the turning of the wheel, the return of history again and again to its highest form: jackboot on the face of humanity forever" (Bey, 1985, p. 79). However, according to Rita Velloso (2017), insurgency plays a special role in transforming the power installed in the space: "[...] each insurgency is an experience of transitory rupture with the place; each insurgency destabilizes the spatial hieroglyphs, monuments, streets and buildings around which it takes place. Each and every insurgency explodes the logic underlying the designed and planned urban space" (p. 45, our translation). Thus, insurgencies, even the occasional ones, could be understood as practical transformations of the path traced by streets.

Besides being pragmatic, barricades have a ready-made nature; they are built based on any material available in the surroundings that can be quickly stacked, depending on factors such as street size, and the association with both the buildings and their height (Löwy, 2019, p. 90). They refer to the transformation of dominant spaces by those who have nothing, based on using the remains of what — for a bit — no longer belongs to anyone. Thus, barricades depict how uprisings carried out by the oppressed subvert urban geography in its complexity. These uprisings are inscribed in people's subjectivities since, although they are often defeated, they change the historical flow through the brief ownership of streets, avenues and squares. This is how Walter Benjamin pictures barricades as places of utopia, when he mentions that Fourier considers their construction as "an unsalaried, but passionate, work" (Benjamin, 2002, p. 256, our translation).

The rupture in the structure from salaried to passionate work creates an affinity relationship model, which Hakim Bey (1985) called band. Members of the band have a social contract with a generosity bond; they are not part of a larger hierarchy, but rather part of a horizontal pattern of habit linked to the expansion of spiritual alliances, kinship, specific mutual interests, among other linking networks. Walter Benjamin (2002), in his book titled *The Arcades Project*, emphasizes that the barricades of Paris turn the urban space into a strategic field for the agency of desires, angers and of what is common between classes — the handling of feelings takes place through the blockade of streets and urban geography. According to Velloso (2017), the barricades in Paris involved this process of desire delimitation and geographic blockade. They were first erected in 1827 and, again, in 1830 to block the path from *Hotel de Ville* [City Hall] to *Place de la Bastille* [Bastille Square]. This method was adopted again in 1832, when an area comprising almost a third of the entire City was bordered by barricades that were almost exclusively erected by workers in order to block an external zone and to defend an internal one.

Furthermore, the French Revolution of February 1848 has introduced a greater complexity, namely: the socialist ideology was widespread among proletarians and, at the same time, it hardened the nationalist sentiment. Agendas claiming for better democracy and more demonstrations against corruption, as well as the Catholic population discontentment with a Protestant prime minister, were part of that scenario. Therefore, a provisional government was established, but it failed to respond to the public outcry. Thus, in June of that very same year, approximately 400 barricades, which transformed both the internal and external parts of the city, were built. This movement became a paradigm to all European countries and it influenced subsequent struggles around the world (Benjamin, 2002; Pinheiro, 2011). However, after the 1848 revolution, a major intervention, headed by Georges-Eugène Haussmann, was carried out in Paris, from 1853 to 1870. Although these reforms have used a beautification speech, they can be featured as counter-reforms. They were a creative city space-destruction process, which comprised changing local dwellers' habits and customs, expanding capital reproduction through investments in infrastructure and luxurious dwellings, as well as expanding the roads to enable the circulation of goods and, most of all, of barricade-repression troops. Thus, this urban counter-reform was used to establish a new order and to neutralize popular uprisings (Pinheiro, 2011; Velloso, 2017).

In addition, these counter-reforms implemented in Paris were a class dispute that manifested themselves as a struggle to produce different voids. On the one hand, a quite specific fear of emptiness has destroyed the blind fields impregnated in the old tissue of the city, those where the spots power could not reach. On the other hand, it produced new voids dominated by the hegemonic power: the large boulevards.

Having, as they do, the appearance of walling-in a massive eternity, Haussmann's urban works are a wholly appropriate representation of the absolute governing principles of the Empire: repression of every individual formation, every organic self-development, 'fundamental hatred of all individuality'. (Benjamin, 2002, p. 122)

It is possible saying that Haussmann was one of the forerunners of a mechanic form of metropolitan colonization that, according to Habitantes da ZAD (2021), is a contemporary phenomenon of exploration and agency of territories and bodies, worldwide. This colonization is an attempt to erase heterotopies (other territories) in order to transform the metropolitan space into homotopy (equal territories). Thus, it forces the integration of all social dynamics to the market, by depreciating other forms of life on behalf of commodity fetishism.

[...] To admit once and for all, without flinching at the consequences, that the decisive actors here are the adventurer and the pirate, the wholesale grocer and the ship owner, the gold digger and the merchant, appetite and force, and behind them, the baleful projected shadow of a form of civilization which, at a certain point in its history, finds itself obliged, for internal reasons, to extend to a world scale the competition of its antagonistic economies (Césaire, 2000, p. 33).

Paradoxically, even if it enlightens obscure areas or fills the void with new symbols, the fear of emptiness always creates fictional zones where other heterotopias can emerge. According to Foucault ([1984] 2013), in a lecture given to the Paris Architectural Studies Circle, in 1967, the lights of new utopias always create shadows that are the seeds of other heterotopias founded in practical and everyday life:

There are countries without places and histories without chronologies. [...] Certainly, these cities, continents and planets were born, as they say, in the minds of men, or, actually, in the interstice of their words, in the thickness of their narratives, or even in the placeless place of their dreams; in the emptiness of their hearts; in one word, it is the sweet taste of utopias. However, i believe that there are – in every society – utopias that have a precise and real place, a place that we can find on the map; utopias that have a determined time, a time we can fix and measure based on the every-day calendar (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 19, our translation).

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Thus, heterotopies are located utopias, against spaces: "places opposed to all others, meant — in a certain way — to erase, neutralize or purify them" (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 21, our translation). "overall, as a rule, heterotopia overlaps, in a real place, several spaces that would often be, or should be, incompatible" (Foucault, [1984] 2013, p. 24, our translation). Therefore, the Haussmannian urban project was incapable of avoiding the blind fields and obscure areas taken again by precarious classes. Despite all the light and splendor, it only took a few gaps for the crowds to enact new tactics and practices for subverting this state power and scope. In 1871, once again, the crowds organized themselves, took over the alleys and built barricades using the new boulevards paving stones; this process has resurrected old autonomy zones, since these new streets were once again transformed into (self)construction sites.

Again, these barricades were erected by free labor and turned into a common territory, a defense zone for the poor that was also an open-air dwelling (Velloso, 2017). Overall, the rite of building these barricades resembles a party. According to Hakim Bey (1985), party can be defined as a group of individuals who combine efforts to fulfill and manage mutual desires (whether for excitement, conversation, endorphins, or food), to create a communal work of art or, maybe, even for the erotic pleasure of social organization, for the life drive that emanates from the ecstasy of being together.

The spatial void created by barricades is a potency emerging from the element of spontaneity and temporariness featured in that communion of forces. [...] The streets' appropriation happens as a creation mostly materialized in political desire rather than in political need (Velloso, 2017, p. 55, our translation).

Could these barricades be expressed in the 21st century not only through the material condition of a popular uprising taking ownership of the urban fabric, but also through the immaterially claiming of what escapes planning, as repressed desires for acknowledgement and through a dispute for appropriating the cities' everyday life?

3 *Quebradas*: Spatialities of a Different Barricade

On the one hand, how would it be possible approaching contemporary colonization machines and their control structures? Since their scope is unimaginable due to technological advancements, their structures are both corporate and military, their surveillance, tracking and control projects are increasingly efficient and hidden behind the everyday life in cities. According to Stephen Graham (2016), it is important emphasizing that the function of this metropolis colonization process lies on dominating complex social issues, by concentrating political violence in public spaces and in social life, by using fear as a driving force to besiege cities based on technology and state belligerence. On the other hand, how is it possible for absolutely excluded populations to escape these control structures? Those who no longer fear danger survive in the (under)world of the streets; they mainly survive due to boldness rather than to courage, by dwelling in their own fears. Thus, the proposal to address this dilemma lies on investigating invisibility as tactic, as well as how it clandestinely occupies areas in order to suspend a visibility regime, even if only for a short period-of-time, and by creating ways of organization, even if only at the minimum amount to survive.

3.1 For a Listening-*Flânerie* and a Floating Observation of *Quebradas*

According to Benjamin (2018), storytellers relied on the oral transmission of their experiences, through popular sayings, fairy tales or simple knowledge transmission invested on the authority of being an old person. Based on the aforementioned author, the art of storytelling is close to an arts and crafts communication form. The important thing is not fact itself, as in documented bureaucracy or pure information. It is a matter of carrying about the experiences of storytellers themselves, as if life could engrave a mark in history, "just like the potter's mark on the clay vessel" (Benjamin, 2018, p. 149, our translation). Storytellers were divided into two groups, namely: travelers and those who worked the land with their hands. Both groups shared experiences; however, there were differences in the ways they experienced them (Benjamin, 2018). In addition to this, a new aspect of the modern city was the emergence of the *flâneur* character, whose core is a floating observation mode going against the grain of society rhythms, since it allows pauses in, and re-elaborations of, the way of thinking, and enables us to develop other ways of experiencing things.

By exploring these contemporary aspects, by revealing speeches and developing re-elaboration against the grain, Rio de Janeiro-born journalist João Paulo Emílio Cristóvão dos Santos Coelho Barreto, popularly known as João do Rio, describes an urban ethnography process, according to which, it is not enough just using the street to understand the city. "It is necessary having a wandering spirit", full of curiosity and an incomprehensible desire to experience the city. Thus, we must do the art of wandering (Rio, 2016, p. 12, our translation). Therefore, in its simultaneously obscure, muted and fleeting dynamics, the *quebrada* demands a new way of listening as the researcher digresses and wanders. It demands a flâneur approach, not only as a way of ethnographing an uncommitted walking, but also as a way of being the one who is available to investigate other territorialities. These territorialities should be experienced through the obscure other, including its other discourses and stories. Thus, the listening process must be linked to the experience of places in the city. It is done based on the understanding that the narrative itself constitutes a territoriality that, in its turn, is a living experience. This sensitive listening to both the voice and the territoriality of the obscure other is what we call listening-*flânerie*.

According to Tânia Ferreira (2018), listening is based on the assumption that there is knowledge in any individual who talks to us. This knowledge is based on the reality stated by these individuals' experiences and in the act of stating. They take ownership of what they say and, in doing so, they make a move towards renewing and recreating themselves. Thus, the *flâneur* character merges with the archaeological metaphor. Acting in a pace different from the one proposed by metropolitan colonization machines would enable excavating the city by listening to obscured territorialities — in order to reveal the marks registered in statements from individuals who wander and dwell in the city's own wandering — to the same extent as one seeks to both observe and hear how these territorialities simultaneously become body, house and city. This listening model not only enables researchers to receive information, but also to territorialize the meanings of the exposed symbols. Next, we present what we were able to identify in the street population, so far. First, we outlined three different types of *quebradas* (i.e., direct ways of living in the city), namely: *mocó* [hiding place], *favela* [slum-like] space and house with open doors. More than the partial picture represented by these typological images, we herein intend to establish the field of a new way of mapping these obscure and empty city spaces.

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3.2   *Mocó*

Based on the example shown in Figure 1, *mocó* is the *quebrada* with the most dystopian aspect. This pejorative, dehumanizing and dangerous heterotopia is the space associated with times of despair and endless escape; it is a zone for full isolation, detachment and (self)deconstruction. "Rat hole, it is a rat hole!"', was the answer to the question about what a *mocó* would be. This questioning came from an imaginary construct, according to which, *mocós*, in an informal language, would be places used to hide something, like purses and objects, as well as abandoned spaces used as shelter and/or hiding place by the homeless population.

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Fig. 1: House in Goiânia City (GO) used as *mocó*. Source: The authors, 2022.

The origin of the term *mocó*, associated with the idea of hiding place, was not found in the literature. However, the statement made by the street population appears to be the most accurate description of it, since *mocó — Kerodon rupestris —* is a rodent mammal belonging to family *Cavidae*, who lives exclusively in the Brazilian semi-arid and *Caatinga* regions, a fact that makes it highly adaptable to scarcity conditions. *Mocós* live in cracks in rocks and stone slabs, which provide them with shade and high humidity levels, as well as protect them from both the weather and predators. Faced with these conditions, these rodents have developed adaptive features that play a key role in their survival (Sousa, 2006). Another situation pointed out by the street population lies on the fact that calling these places *mocós* makes the State feel free to use excessive force, since the name is associated with a pejorative context that links it to places for drug use, as well as for hiding weapons and stolen objects. According to Dias (2007), this double association discredits human life, since it animalizes individuals who take shelter in these spaces and depicts them as plagues. This idea that there is a life that really matters triggers the discourse against the lives of these individuals.

3.3 *Favela* Space

Favela spaces refer to disused buildings occupied by the street population; they are often not linked to occupation movements. However, although these occupations are not associated with housing movements, according to Urpi (2019, p. 391, our translation), they share a "temporary-permanent paradox", since these dwellers can be removed from the occupied buildings, at any time, due to lack of legal security. Thus, these individuals suffer from constant insecurity, which leads to contingent improvements, partial appropriations, temporary rooting, solutions featured by ephemeral, temporary, improvised measures, as observed in Figure 2, which shows the occupation of the ruins of Brazil's Institute of Architects headquarters, in Goiás State.

People have nowhere to go; homeless people have occupied that space. Therefore, it is a *favela* space, a space without basic sanitation, electric power. [...] there is not even a bathroom there, but it is a space that keeps them away from dew; they are protected by walls and things like that (Interviewee).

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Fig. 2: Ruins of Brazil's Institute of Architects headquarters – Goiás State. Source: The authors, 2022.

The street population, as well as society popular layers, want to live in a good location due to several reasons. These reasons can encompass proximity to work, which is often associated with collecting recyclable materials and begging for money, or the construction of a protective network comprising family, friendship and neighborhood bonds. Thus, oftentimes, slum-like spaces are preferably formed within centralities.

[...] For the guys to work at the traffic light, too. So, it is like that. Most of the guys who live there, in that area, they work there by washing cars. [...] they do something, they sell candy, water, so they also beg for money, right? To keep up with themselves. So, for me, man, it is a quite strategic space [...] (Interviewee).

3.4   The Doors of the House Are Open

Once, when we asked a homeless person to give an interview, he replied, "I live over there, in that mattress; the doors of the house are open." This speech shows the homeless population's relationship with the territory: a space where intimacy and spatiality are mediated by temporality since, given the lack of physical enclosure, territory ownership is featured by individuals' presence. This territory is featured by the occupation of a given space and by relationships built from these temporalities and from their elements, be them a sidewalk, a body on the floor, a cardboard forage and a blanket, a camping tent, a sofa, or a chair (as shown in Figure 3). All these elements feature territories of struggle and life in the city.

Fig. 3: Street ownership as home in Goiânia City (GO). Source: The authors, 2022.

These elements disturb the "show" by bringing out an often-numb reality. These small eschatological territory concessions can, oftentimes, have the size of a body (distant, contrasting, disgusting). This body may be either moving or resting, and its territory, which lacks meaning or stability, moves as it establishes new displacement and permanence relationships. Moreover, this body is only featured by its ability to affect, and to be affected by, other bodies. The barricade is herein featured by its minimum element – i.e., it is a barricade of bodies. Furthermore, territoriality itself is formed by these bodies; its determining factors comprise the way the elements of each territory, the distance between bodies, as well as the seizure and body composition forms taking place through established distances – be them head-to-head or lateral distances - are managed. These bodies are always featured by relationships with nearby materials; thus, they are always and simultaneously multiple. Barricades are not a defensive architectural structure in this context; they are overlapped to create other ways of dwelling (Cervantes, 2021).

4   Final Remarks

According to Hakim Bey (1985), since 1899, when the last land space was claimed by a nation-state, there is no land actually outside the known borders[2]. Even the solar system is allegedly delimited. However, vast territories hide within the complex dimensional meshes of geography that escape Cartesian measurements. As we have seen, *quebrada*'s territoriality has an obscure, traumatic, opaque, excluded and silenced dimension. Moreover, it recreates limits, as well as releases voids,

[2] *Terra nullius*, such as Bir Tawil (Africa) and Marie Byrd Land (Antarctica), are, consequently, conflicts of claims (i.e., two countries claim a given land at the same time) or a space not claimed by any sovereign nation.

imagination and new ownerships. Understanding these spaces as contemporary barricades against metropolitan colonization processes requires much more than a new method and much more than an excavation carried out against the grain. It is necessary overcoming the hegemonic maps, as well as understanding how they are used as devices to explore deviations, at the time to approach *quebradas* as barricades. It is necessary to perform an act of listening that simultaneously rambles and imagines, since its speech has never been formulated. It is necessary floating among other knowledge types while one observes, since their utopias and dreams have never existed, because the emptiness of these spaces is actually featured by the sublimation of desires.

As previously mentioned, maps not simply have invisible spaces inside cartographies of power (Bey, 1985), but maps also produce new invisible spaces inhabited by strange and excluded beings. However, although our maps have never reproduced the world's totality, it is possible to investigate the power operations and potentials hidden behind their creation. The movie *Stalker* depicts an operation that creates voids and releases desires; it is similar to that of TAZ, which shows an operation that detaches a given zone from hegemonic structures. More than counter-hegemonic formulations, the listening-*flâneurie* of *quebradas* enabled perceiving the installation of non-hegemonic spatialities. The question that remains lies on how *quebradas* can set free an imagination zone capable of de-territorializing and re-territorializing other temporalities, by clandestinely occupying and speaking about these places. Future studies to be conducted should focus on the creativity factor: how can these voids intentionally guide the production of other territorialities?

Finally, an approach focused on moving forward and building this floating tour through *quebradas*, and focused on wandering territorialities that emerge from sensitive listening, can enable us to approach the gaps of the hegemonic world and to observe the obscure void found even in the most enlightened and controlled territories of contemporary cities. Thus, more than finding answers about *quebradas*, this journey has enabled us to overcome the *horror vacui* syndrome and to observe the limits of the hegemonic city by looking with the *horror vacui* as a lens in itself.

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URBAN SCRATCHES: EVERYDAY ARCHITECTURES AND GESTURES IN DISPUTES IN THE CITY
RANHURAS URBANAS: ARQUITETURAS E GESTOS COTIDIANOS NAS DISPUTAS DA CIDADE

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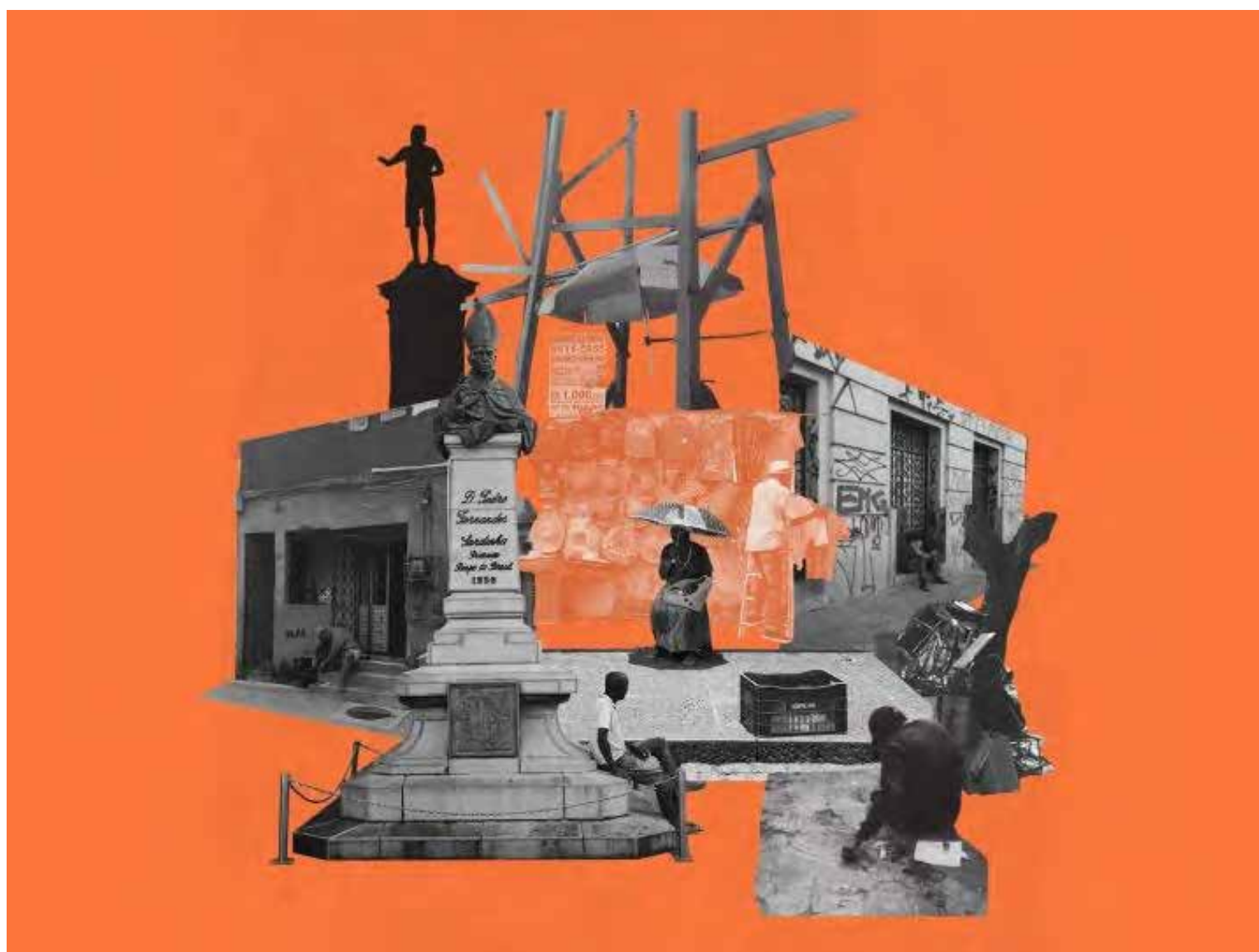http://lattes.cnpq.br/3654197016800093

Abstract

This work is a visual essay that articulates photographs, text and collages, from a critical, aesthetical, political and collective perspective. Seeking to express the complex ways of thinking and narrating the city and the Urbanism, "Urban Scratches" focuses on the city in dispute, pervaded by insurgencies, creative tactics and resistance. Also focuses on gestures of subjects and collectivities that (re)create structures, suggesting other possible spatialities in everyday life. From the gesture of wandering around the city, cell phone photographs were taken, creating a collection of "urban scratches" that makes visible subversive ways of space appropriation. Using this image collection, collages were mobilized as a creative resource, but above all, as a tool capable of provoking reflections on the counter-hegemonic ways of city production. "Urban scratches" align with the idea of science production in everyday life, with a methodological opening for creative elaborations that instigate us to (re)imagine cities.

Keywords: Architectures, Everyday Gestures, City

ABSTRACT

This work is a visual essay that articulates photographs, text and collages, from a critical, aesthetical, political and collective perspective. Seeking to express the complex ways of thinking and narrating the city and the Urbanism, "Urban Scratches" focuses on the city in dispute, pervaded by insurgencies, creative tactics and resistance. Also focuses on gestures of subjects and collectivities that (re)create structures, suggesting other possible spatialities in everyday life.

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URBAN SCRATCHES
EVERYDAY ARCHITECTURES AND GESTURES IN DISPUTES IN THE CITY

This visual essay intends to discuss the urban complexity of the city of Salvador, in northeast Brazil, from the point of view of "armengues", "gambiarras" and "bricolages" (1). From improvised architectures that transform public space into a political space of use, occupation and resistance. From the gestures of subjects and collectivities that make the city with their implicated bodies and (re)create structures (2), suggesting other possible spatialities in everyday life. From counter-hegemonic constructions that subvert and "scratch" the normalizing apparatus of official urbanism, and evoke the city as a place of diversity, difference, dispute and conflict.

Source: Google StreetView (2018)

(1)　　　In this text we use the terms "*armengues*" and "*gambiarras*" to describe improvised architectures of daylife. These words, in brazilian portuguese, caracterize situations that escape from what is "planned", from a technical-scientific knowledge, and evoke an approximation to popular knowledge, based in experience and experimentations. We perceive these practices as heterogeneous expressions of the city, that show creative gestures and a multiplicity of ways of space appropriation.

armengue
roughness
gambiarra
guerrila
gaps
marginal
disobedience
insurgency
clandestinity
improvise
indiscipline
ocupation
deviation
resistence
disorder
fissures
transgression
anonymity
subversion
experimentation

(2)　　　The prefix "re" used in the terms (re)create, (re)think or (re)imagine are mobilized in this text with the intention of thinking in a procedural dimension, based on multiple possibilities of undoing and redoing. A dynamic movement, sometimes ephemeral, which reveals the complexity and multiplicity of the urban structure and social arrangements.

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Urban life takes place through the various actions of subjects who, articulated in a social set where different forces act, create spaces through encounters and disagreements, tensions and accordances, order and disobedience. On a daily basis, the city is stitched together by different actions, experiences and powers, revealing itself as a place of heterogeneity.

The space, as a result of an intrinsic relationship between a system of actions and a system of objects, effectively is made not only of material links, but also immaterial, symbolic, subjective ones (Santos, 1994).
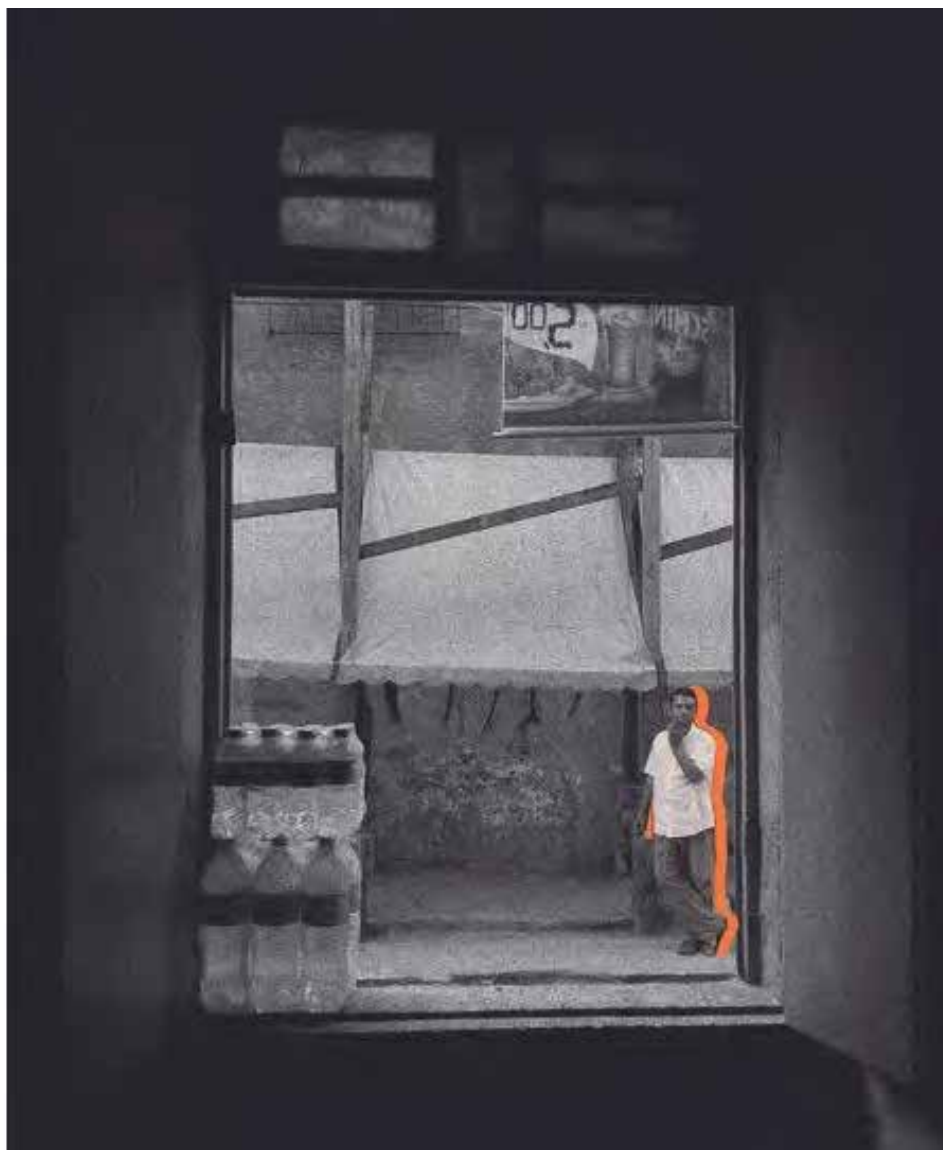
What we call here URBAN SCRATCHES can be understood as creative tactics and gestures of resistance in the city, carried out through a form of appropriation of the urban space that incorporates elements of the city as part of its own way of existing. These pratics, however ephemeral they may be, create roughness (Ribeiro, 2012) in smooth spaces, ordered and standardized by the technical-scientific knowledge that plans the city, causing deviations, gaps and fissures in the 'formal', 'clean', 'sanitized' aesthetics. Such propositions, therefore, end up denouncing the excluding way in which cities are produced, exposing the State's responsibility in the process of making life vulnerable and precarious for social groups crossed by the intersectionality of social markers, such as class, race/ethnicity, gender, among others.

Methodologically, the work embraced different forms and techniques of material production, in two stages. First, the wanderings, a kind of urban drift, consisted in walks that were guided by the traces left by architecture of everyday gestures, that we call "armengues" or "urban scratches". Accumulating images taken by cell phone, a collection of visual fragments was created. At this stage, an attempt was made to approach and register subversive ways of appropriating space, documenting practices and structures that are the target of actions by the State agents linked to urban planning or public security.

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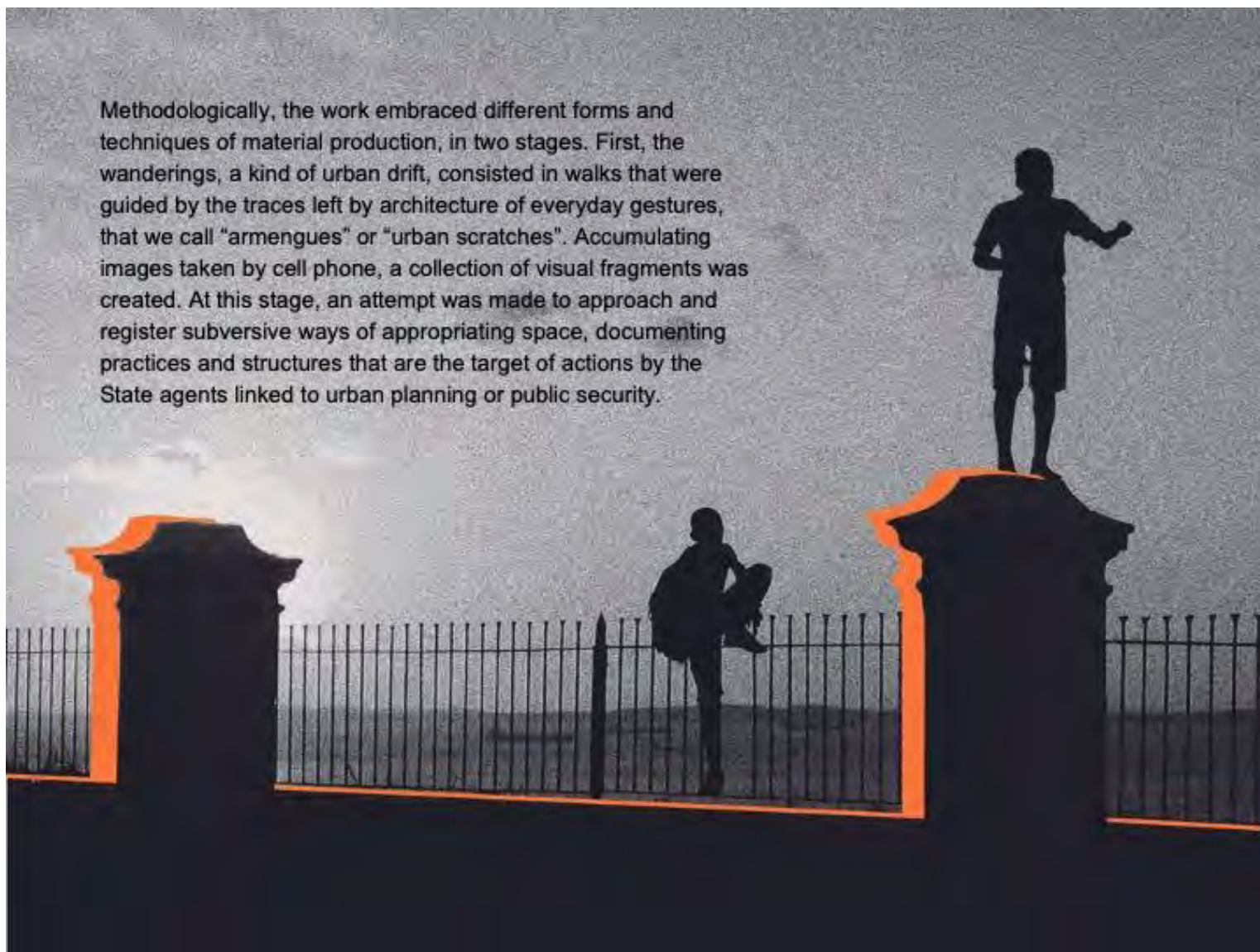
In the second moment, collages were made from the combination and/or superposition of the collected visual elements, with the intention of creating graphic narratives that, through a critical, aesthetic, political and collective perspective, sought to express the complexity of the ways of thinking, discussing and narrating the city and Urbanism. Collage, in addition to being used as a support for narration, is also mobilized here as a tool that provokes reflections on counter-hegemonic modes of city production.

Source: Authors archives (2019)

More than an artistic technique, collage takes place here as an aesthetic orientation and a possibility of building knowledge. We are often faced with the challenge of imagining and visually recreating the city(s). And cities, as we here understand them, are plural, heterogeneous places, with a diverse urban life, in which multiple identities and cultures interact. There is an overlapping of times, of practices of space, and of disputes. Cities are noisy, fragmented, and discontinuous. Just how collages can be. In order to embrace the complexity of the territories, we chose not to appeal to a single image, but instead, we sought to compose a mosaic of visualities, scenes, textures.

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The discontinuity of the collage is also related to the constitution of memories, which are (dis)organized in fragments, never being completely pure or clear. The Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe (2019) argues that this fragmentation is a consequence of people's experience of colonization, making their memories violated, impossible to be reconstituted in their original unity (Alves Cordeiro et al., 2021).

Besides being a tool applied to portray what already exists and contemplate urban diversity, collage is also a creative resource to create new realities. Used to retell history, collage can (re)create and subvert archives. Thus, this concept is an invitation to (re)thinking and (re)imagining cities, through (im)possible fables.

In opposition to the western cartesian order, "messing up" the linearity, in the terms of Luiz Rufino (2019), making a collage opens up possibilities to experiment with the creation of something, without knowing a priori where it will end.

Realizing that the development of collage opens up possibilities for flexible methodological experimentation was essential to this work. The process of collage gradually reveals its own ending, which is often uncertain, due to the constant feeling of incompleteness of the work; without planning or rigidity, something intuitive and intimate leads to the combination of fragments and the composition of layers of the image that is being created. Once again, the idea that there is a correct procedure to follow is rejected.

In this sense, we align ourselves with proposals that, through "a transgressive political positioning based on involvement" (Roy and Rolnik, 2017, pp. 18, our translation) and the idea of "implication as epistemological competence and investigative quality" (Macedo and Macedo de Sá , 2018, pp. 332, our translation), seek other forms of scientific production. A production that opens up itself and is filled with creative elaborations, strategies and social technologies, arising from people who, historically and daily, transform, remake and recreate the urban space, claiming more egalitarian cities. Methodological experiments that seek to articulate theory and empiricism, seeing the production of science in everyday life, provide such initiatives. Therefore, "implicated research is not only a theoretical-methodological option, but also an ethical and political foundation" (Alves Cordeiro et al., 2021, pp. 6, our translation).
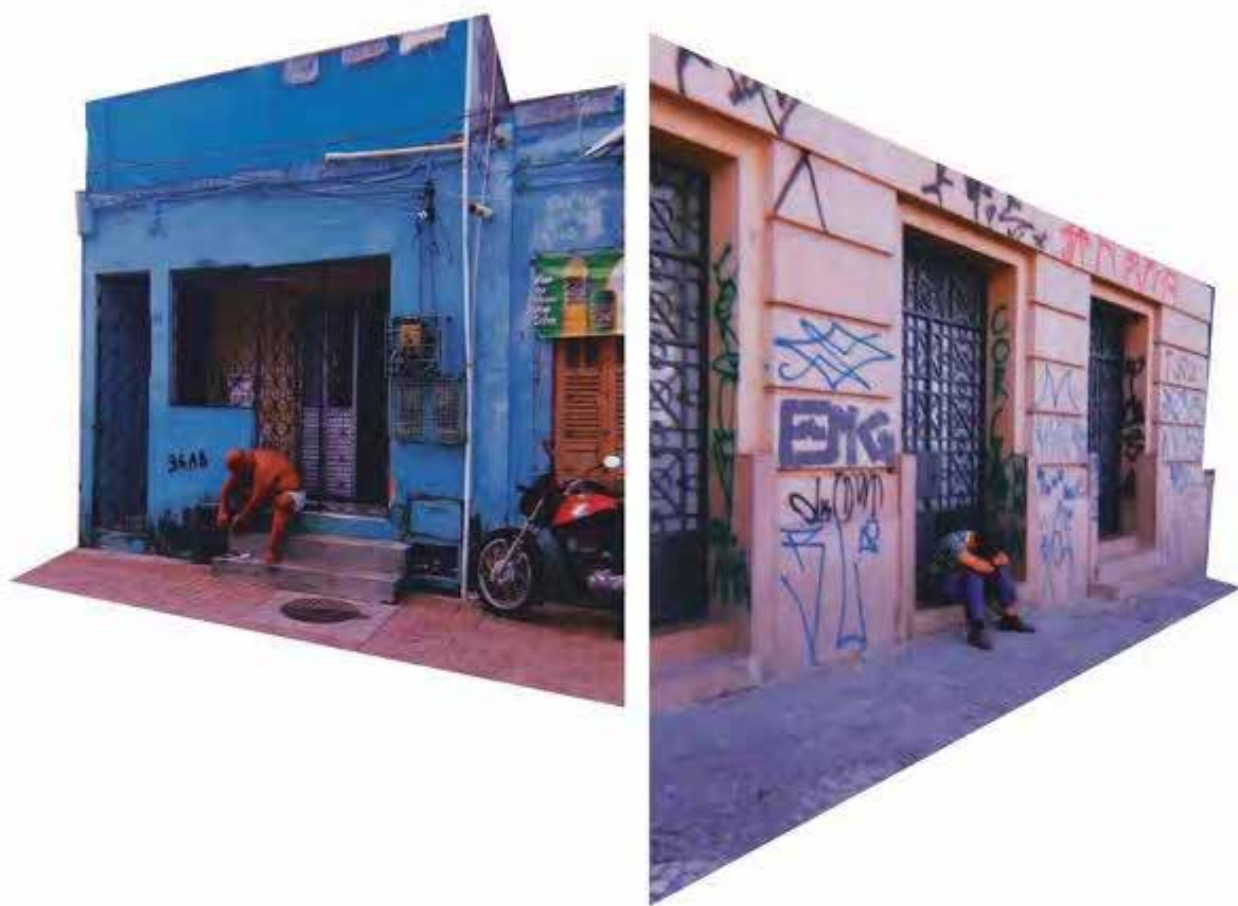
collection
of tracks

/// junction of fragments
that show the visual
universe of the work

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THE HUMAN-ANIMAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE CITY: FOR A MORE-THAN-HUMAN URBANISM
A RELAÇÃO HUMANO-ANIMAL NA CIDADE: POR UM URBANISMO MAIS-QUE-HUMANO
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Abstract

From the analysis of the treatment given to animals in the context of urban transformations in the city of São Paulo, with special attention to the practices linked to the control of zoonoses, this essay reflects on the process of exclusion suffered by animals, seeking to detect practices based on hegemonic discourses. The animals played a significant role in the development of the city. However, in addition to not being recognized as agents that actively participate in the construction of cities, they also underwent persecution. As part of the urban environment, animals did not escape from the field of territorial disputes and had their presence denied by postures that restricted their circulation in the streets, with some of them even being condemned to extermination. From a historical and theoretical survey related to human-animal interaction in the urban environment, the intent of this study is to identify hegemonic practices associated with the animal presence, which were disseminated in the social imaginary, influencing the way of planning and inhabiting cities. By examining postures related to the fight against zoonoses in the urban space of São Paulo, the article seeks to open a field for the reflection about the human-animal relationship in Brazilian cities to foster a critical practice against hegemonic interests, in the light of the concepts of postcolonial studies and glimpsing possibilities of decolonizing the future, as proposed by Faranak Miraftab (2016).

Keywords: Decoloniality, Urbanism, Human-animal Relationship, Insurgent Planning

1   Introduction

Faced with the need to question the hegemonic thought in the field of architecture and urbanism, especially regarding the denial reality of the animal presence in cities, we sought to understand on what basis the human-animal relationship was shaped in cities through a historical survey. In view of a historical perspective that contributes to the identification of such relationships, we were able to elaborate an analysis of the ways in which the points raised affect the urban environment. The present theoretical essay results is part of a master's research currently in development, which deals with the impact of the fight against zoonoses in the urban imaginary of the city of São Paulo and its spatial rebounds. As highlighted by Adorno (1984), "In the essay discreetly separated elements enter into a readable context (...)" and "it erects no scaffolding, no edifice" (Adorno, 1984, p. 161). Focusing on bibliographic survey and documentary research, the reflection presented here seeks to undertake and stimulate an opening and a critical review on the subject of human-animal relationship in the field of urbanism.

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As agents that build worlds together and share the urban space, animals should have their existence properly recognized and valued, and for that, it is necessary to understand the roots that shaped such relationships. Thus, the search for new forms of planning the urban space, essentially in a counter-hegemonic way, could enable a harmonious coexistence between the multispecies companions inhabiting it. The importance of animals in the process of development of cities can be observed in the course of the history of urbanization. Regarding the city of São Paulo, animals, especially mules, played a key role in the transportation of people and cargo. In the reports of travelers who traveled through the provinces of Brazil in the early nineteenth century, the difficulties and advantages related to the main means of transport based on animal traction at the time stand out. With a strong presence in the city streets, bullock carts carried firewood for stoves, vegetables for grocery stores, construction materials for new buildings in the growing neighborhoods. Regarding the beast troops, Caio Prado Júnior states that: "[...] for more than a century, they will constitute the main means of locomotion and transport of the colony and still in the independent Empire" and that, without them, "Brazil would have walked even slower than it walked." (Prado Júnior., 2000, p. 266, our translation).

2   The Insertion of Animals in Urban Life and the Influence of the Hygienist Discourse

Faced with the spread of epidemics in the urban environment, largely inexplicable and credited to divine punishments until, at least, the Renaissance, the concern with hygiene in houses and public open spaces, and strategies to combat pests became recurrent in modern cities, a theme which dominates much of the international urban debate of the late nineteenth century. Due to the lack of knowledge about the etiology of infectious diseases and, above all, to the precariousness in the

sanitary conditions of the cities, "great epidemics plagued nations in the past, decimating their populations, limiting population growth, and often changing the course of events" (Rezende, 2009, p. 73, our translation). Among the great epidemics written in history, much of them related to zoonoses[1], the Black Plague[2], which decimated a third of the population of Europe in the late Middle Age, stands out. Currently, we have experienced the coronavirus pandemic, which has a zoonotic origin. Quammen (2012), among many other scientists and researchers, states that pandemics originating from zoonoses are a clear reflection of man's interventions on the environment[3].

The concern with environmental constraints and their relation to the life quality in cities can be identified in the theories developed by Hippocrates in the fifth century BC, mainly from his work "From the air, water and places"[4]. The studies that searched for the diagnosis and cure of cities[5], and which were important tools to analyze the relationship of environmental factors and diseases in space, were already present even before Ildefons Cerdà first coined the terms urbanism and urbanist, in 1859. The prescriptions resulting from such studies had repercussions on the organization of the space of the cities and led, in the course of time, to the hygienist discourse, already in the late eighteenth century, and to the sanitary urbanism that marked the thought over the city in the nineteenth century and whose influences can be detected even today. Discussing the history of the city as a political, economic and social organism, Benevolo (1999) includes aspects of its transformations related to the impacts of diseases and consequent epidemics that affected urban life, and highlights the implementation of public and private hygiene services and their influence on the development of cities.

Attempts to control and dominate nature, especially in cities within industrial contexts, are not restricted to the vegetable kingdom, but extend widely and clearly to the animal kingdom, and especially to the relationships and experiences with animals in the context of urban life. Dealing with the influences of medical discourse and hygienism in urban environments, Costa (2013) highlights the importance of analyzing the perceptions and conceptions of health and disease of the nineteenth century and its influence on the emergence of a new medical rationality and on how that process echoed in a change of mentality, interfering in the space and way of life of societies. The author reinforces the importance of seeking an understanding of the way through which such conceptions "interfered with urban space organization techniques, in nature, drafted rules for the location and construction of cities, cemeteries, hospitals, slaughterhouses, factories, houses and other urban equipment." (Costa, 2013, p. 66, our translation).

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Similar situations regarding the human-animal relationship, with its representations, superstitions, and progressive attempts of control, can be seen in the specific context of Brazilian cities. When it comes to the process of urban reform experienced in Rio de Janeiro, which was welcomed by the conservative press of the time as a process of regeneration, Sevcenko (2018) points out the impacts of the government actions in its reform gesture, highlighting the persecution of cows, beggars and dogs, which would reveal "a horror of giving authority to what is not stable, fixed, immediately controllable." (Sevcenko, 2018, p. 82, our translation). Regarding the existing animals in São Paulo, between the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, Aprobato Filho (2006, p. 78) highlights the deep, complex, and intricate process of recolonization they underwent, analyzing how the "innumerable quantity and variety of animals that were intrinsic, explicit

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[1] According to Instituto Pasteur (2000), zoonoses are diseases that are naturally transmissible between animals and humans.

[2] The Black Plague, a zoonosis whose virus was introduced to Europe in 1348 spread rapidly. The spread of the virus was facilitated by a number of factors, including the inadequacy of the urban structure to the demographic concentration (ARRUDA, 1993).

[3] In the work "Spillover - Animal Infections and the Next Human Pandemic", published in 2012, David Quammen (2012) talks about the form of contagion made through zoonoses, with the transmissions of viruses and bacteria that migrate from wild or domestic animals to the human species, causing disease and death. The term "Spillover" is used in ecology to designate a virus or microbe that has adapted and migrated from one host species to another, as in the case of the infectious agent of Covid-19.

[4] The ideas and doctrines contained in the treatise "Ares, water and places" were used by travelers and epidemiologists of the 17th century. Emphasizing such influences, Cairus and Ribeiro (2005) indicate the publication of the treatise "De Indiae ultrisque re naturali et medica" of 1658, in which the Dutch explorer Guilherme Piso entitled the first chapter, where he deals with the diseases of Brazil, inspired by the work: Ares, waters and places.

[5] Highlighting the Medical Geographies and Topographies.

and understandable part of the city in the nineteenth century" acquired, on the threshold of the new century, "new roles, new functions and new meanings" (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 78, our translation).

The author claims there was an attempt to break the continuity of everyday practices and "to place animals solely and exclusively within a broader context of attempting to control and organize all spheres of urban life, with those being passive beings to particular interests or to what was understood to be the public good" (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 81). Attempts to dominate nature at its limit do not seem at all alien to the will to power inherent in the human condition and to the manifestations of that will with regard to the relations of control and coercion that power imposes on life in society. According to Foucault (1995), the disciplinary power in Western society is achieved through the ordering and manipulation of the activities of bodies in time and space. The disciplinary devices that sought to organize, discipline, and give order to the bodies guided the urban dynamics and morphology of the time, that is, the cities in the late nineteenth century, incisively. The author also reinforces that "the terror of plague, riots, crimes, vagrancy (...) would be behind such devices", sustaining them. In that sense, the author defined that relationship very well by stating: "The plague as a form, at once real and imaginary, of disorder had as its medical and political correlative discipline." (Foucault, 1995, p. 198).

If the desire to discipline and control the way of life, in general, can be recognized as a preponderant feature of modernity - but not restricted to it, the manifest interest in modern scientific visions in scrutinizing, dissecting, and, to a large extent, repress nature, aiming to avoid "disorder" in its "real or imaginary" forms, in turn, would significantly impact the relationship between human and natural, especially in the urban environment. In the context of the modernization of cities and the search for progress, Aprobato Filho (2006) highlights how animals, when put under the focus of the modern, the hygiene, and civilization, were "gaining other degrees of importance and value, becoming the object of new forms of control, use, sensitivity and attitude, and acquiring other meanings and representations" (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 84, our translation). Thus, from the point of view adopted in this paper, the process of objectifying nature assisted from modernity is understood to have repercussions not only in the relations between city and nature, but also in the specific ways by which the natural and animals, in particular, are admitted or not in the contemporary urban environment.

When dealing with the control devices of space, Foucault (1995) shows the way those were applied at urban level, as it can be observed in some measures established by a regulation of the seventeenth century, when the plague was declared in a city and a strict spatial policing was established, including: "(...) a strict spatial partitioning: the closing of the town and its outlying districts, a prohibition to leave the town on pain o f death, the killing of all stray animals; the division of the town into distinct quarters, each governed by an intendant" (Foucault, 1995. p. 195). Therefore, it is possible to observe the extent to which technical knowledge was encompassed by the pragmatic intentions of planning and control of the urban environment and the natural elements that permeate it, with special emphasis on "the wandering of animals".

Many health policies initially related to climate theory and contagionism - based on hippocratic treaties relating diseases to atmospheric influence and miasmatic emanations - sought control over the environment with a policy that aimed to implement a disciplinary architecture at urban level through the organization of a water and sewerage system, for example. When addressing the relationship between the urban and the natural from the historical point of view and from the specific perspective of contamination, Sennet (2018) points out that the first urban planners who decisively tried to face the problems the modern city went through due to the intense proliferation of diseases were rather engineers than doctors.

3   Attempts to Control Animals in the Urban Space of São Paulo

Several aspects may point to the hegemony of a hygienic urbanism in the historical process of formation and development of the city of São Paulo. Regarding the "medicalization of the city", Mantovani (2017) estimates it was established in the city between 1819 and 1822, according to what he was able to verify in his research. Through an analysis of the documentation of policies at the municipal level, it is possible to note that the first concerns with public health in the urban space already had a relationship with animals. In the postures related to animal control of 1820, there was a prevalence of treatment on ferocious animals, which brought inconvenience to public spaces, and as Mantovani analyzes, the practices related to the

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killing of dogs were already present at this time[6]. The laws of 1830 can be understood both as public health measures, and measures taken to prevent animals from causing damage to the property of others.

By tracing an investigation on the concern regarding the presence of animals in the context of urban planning in the early twentieth century, Aprobato Filho (2006) shows, from his analysis of the municipal legislation of São Paulo, the ways through which animals are transformed in constant targets of persecution, mentioning laws that demonstrate the intention to remove, to camouflage their existence in the city, through an intense control (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 117). In relation to those confrontations, the author complements: "(...) more than representations, the animals are living presences, which manifest themselves in the most diverse ways, constantly interposing themselves in the paths of the much desired and exclusive modernization" (Aprobato, 2006, p. 114, our translation). The presence of dogs in the streets and the image of the dogcatchers as part of the daily life of immigrants is portrayed with a tone of testimony in the novel "Anarchist, Thank God" [Anarquistas Graças a Deus, in Portuguese] by Zélia Gattai (1998). The author brings in her narrative details of the routine of the dogcatchers through the streets, demonstrating the confrontation by the residents to save the animals from the loops of zoonosis agents. In the face of several postures that sought to control the dog population in urban spaces, especially in São Paulo, in the context of the modernization of the city, there were some resistance and actions by some residents to "protect" such animals. Despite all the efforts of the Law, dogs continued to frequent the public spaces of the city.

> I hated the "dogcatchers" even more than Vicenza. When I saw them cornering a dog - two and three men, armed with ties, against a poor and helpless animal - I felt hatred towards the cowards. I often clung to the pet, without ever having seen it before, to prevent it from being released. (Gattai, 1998, p. 71, our translation).

The dogs released through the streets of the cities became to represent the "rural" and "colonial" past of the city for many, which should be fought and erased since it corresponded to the antithesis of the desired progress. However, some layers of the population were more sensitive to care and respect for animals, creating a kind of resistance to those modernizing and authoritarian projects as the news, reports, chronicles, and other documentation related to the period demonstrate. The way to deal with dogs and the use of dogcatchers is present in the current discussion for its representativeness in the urban imaginary, especially in the city of São Paulo, in view of the appeal to fight a well-known zoonosis: rabies. Although dogs already used to be "exterminated" long before that, when there was an attempt to control the dog population in the streets with the use of poisoned balls for the killing of those animals, the danger of rabies was used as a shield to justify the capture and extermination of those dogs, even without any proof of them being contaminated by the disease.

In that context, from 1875, a differentiation of dogs by category of economic importance begins. Such measure presented a clear distinction, with regard to the rules of the law, about which types of dogs deserved to remain in the urban environment. The modification in the Code of Postures of the City of São Paulo added the question of the ownership of animals and also the breed. Art. 53 indicated only "the dogs of breed and those which were meek, whose owners have paid license to the Council" were allowed to be released in the streets of the city, and those should have a collar to prove their "license". The issue of hygiene and health was on another level with regard to some practices of the time, as indicated by Aprobato Filho (2006): "Only control was not enough for a city that sought to modernize itself, since demonstrating grace, beauty, and refinement was also very important" (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 128, our translation). Regarding such relationships, it is worth to recover the chronicler Jorge Americano's look on the dogs in the streets of the city of São Paulo in 1962, in which he ironically writes and emphasizes an urban legend also widespread at the time of the dogcatchers (that dogs would turn into soap after dead)[7]:

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[6] Mantovani (2017) locates the expenditure of "10$120rs" made in May 1831 by the Chamber for the "slaughter of Caens, which the Chamber does not judge excessive", according to the 1936 general record (p. 188), but it is worth reinforcing that such practices were already present in the previous decade.

[7] In the manuals that indicate the procedures adopted at the time (Brasil..., 1989), related to the fight against zoonoses, and include the aspects of the destiny of animals, there is no indication consistent with the type of practice that would use the fat of dogs to manufacture soap. The practice was common with oxen and pigs, and perhaps was associated with the dogcatchers by the similarity of the vehicle that moved those

I thought there was no more, but I saw one a long time ago. Dogs of execrable behavior, which usually bark and attack for no reason, turned the corner where the danger came from and intended to make last-minute friends with the people who passed by. The explanation I had in the corner. Men persecuted them with great ties, but they were deliberately hindered by the street kids. (...) They, who have always lived useless, looking for a bone in the garbage cans, with nowhere to fall dead, despaired at the honorable prospect of dignified death, which would turn them into laundry soap! (Americano, 1963, p. 141).

It is possible to observe a certain paradoxical antagonism embedded in the imaginary dimension of the technique, from the idea that there was a dissolution of the theriomorphic element (the rabid dog) in soap (related to the image of cleaning), thus anchoring hygienist ideals and elements for the affirmation of a healthy city. Brazilian cinema also represented the idea of that relationship, especially the film "A Carrocinha" ("The Dogcatcher", in free translation), 1955, which, as the name suggests, treats the theme more directly. The beginning of the film could not be more significant: it shows the arrival of the dogcatcher in the city as a symbol of progress. Throughout the narrative, the resistance to apprehend dogs by the designated agent is very striking (in several scenes of the movie the agent of the dogcatcher is confronted and pressured by the mayor of the city for not "properly fulfilling" his role by failing to capture the animals or release them after the capture), which portrays a little of the hygienic speech used at the time, in which the extermination of animals was put as necessary, in defense of a "greater good", hygiene and urban health.

While tracing an analysis of the changes in attitudes towards animals, Thomas (2010) identifies the substantial presence of animals in the cities of the early modern period and the efforts of the municipal authorities over time to contain their circulation (whether those were pigs, cows, horses or dogs) - and which were largely ineffective (Thomas , 2010, p. 133). As Castro-Gomez points out, the imaginary of progress appears as an "ideological product" elaborated by the "modern/colonial power device" (Castro-Gomes, 2005, p. 91, our translation), and the social sciences would act structurally as an "ideological apparatus" that legitimized the exclusion and disciplining of those who did not fit the "subjectivity profiles" that the State needed to implement its modernization policies. Although the legal framework related to the practices of combating zoonoses has been revised, with practices considered violent and cruel being excluded from its guidelines, many aspects related to that past exclusion are consolidated in the imaginary of Brazilian cities, human-animal relationship and also the way of thinking and building urban life.

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4   Another Constant Target: Ants

When dealing with the persecution suffered by animals in the context of urban planning of the city of São Paulo, through, mainly, the municipal legislation, Aprobato Filho(2006) highlights the species that were more controlled by the municipal government: dogs and ants. The famous phrase of the French naturalist Saint-Hilaire: 'Either Brazil ends with the saúva or the saúva ends with Brazil' (Saint-Hilaire, 1851) demonstrates this recurring concern with the presence of ants. Between 1788 and 1797, the inhabitants of the city of São Paulo were "coerced to immediately extinguish all anthills that appeared within their walls and ditches" (Aprobato Filho, 2006, p. 178). The modernized city opened a great battle against ants and their anthills, which intensified through the postures and laws that decreed the "necessary" fight against such insects. With the imbalance and destruction of natural vegetation and insects, birds and animals - such as armadillos and anteaters (which feed on ants) - the São Paulo from the 1920's saw a progressive increase of so undesirable ants.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the presence of those insects and the "destruction" they caused to plantations and gardens were added to the load of meanings associated with them: "representation of the indigenous, rural and colonial past of the city", which for some "ideal of modernity that wanted to impress the city" (Aprobato, 2006, p. 200, our translation). When referring to ants, it is worth remembering the phrase of Macunaíma, character of Mário de Andrade, which in the fictitious history had been written in the visiting book of the Butantã Institute of São Paulo: "POUCA SAÚDE E MUITA SAÚVA, /OS MALES DO BRASIL SÃO" (LITTLE HEALTH AND A LOT OF SAÚVA/BRAZIL'S EVIL ARE) (Andrade, 1988, p. 82, our

other animals for the purpose of soap production. Some veterinarians even claim that the removal of fat from those dogs would be insignificant compared to other animals, and that the practice would not be sustained in this sense.

translation) appropriating an expression that met the medical-sanitary discourse of the time, which greatly influenced the changes in perception and treatment in relation to animals.

With a brief example of this relationship with ants, traced throughout the development of the city of São Paulo, and which has several reflections on the image we make about the insertion of those insects in urban life, we can have evidence of how this "distancing" can create roots in the dynamics of urban life to highlight a barrier between the experience of animal life and human life, especially in the face of the notion of modernization. In order to propose counter-hegemonic practices, it is necessary to recognize the practices that were employed throughout the process of development of cities. In this sense, the historical perspective presented, regarding the human-animal relationship in the context of urban life, gives us a basis to propose a reflection that stimulates other relationships with animals that inhabit the urban space, which allows us to question the hegemonic thinking in architecture and urbanism.

5   Glimpsing Insurgent Practices and the Possibility of Decolonizing the Future

To address what he calls "the invention of the other", Castro-Gomez (2005) evokes Beatriz González Stephan, who studied the disciplinary devices of power in the Latin American context of the nineteenth century. The author identifies three disciplinary practices that would have contributed to "forging" 19th-century Latin American citizens: [1] constitutions, [2] urbanity manuals and [3] language grammars. Within its logic, the functional project of the nation would be consolidated through the implementation of institutions legitimized by the letter (schools, hospitals, workshops, prisons) and hegemonic discourses (maps, grammars, constitutions, manuals, hygiene treaties). Therefore, Castro-Gomez (2005) highlights the idea that the constitution of the modern subject would meet the demand for self-control and repression of instincts, seeking to make the "social difference" more visible, stating that urbanity and civic education "thus, played the role of pedagogical taxonomy that separated the fringe from the riff, the cleanliness from the dirt, the capital from the provinces, the republic from the colony, the civilization from barbarism" (Castro-Gomez, 2005, p. 89, our translation).

If progressive planning needs, as Miraftab (2016) affirms, an ontological shift in the theorization of planning practices, what could we call insurgent planning? What other spheres do we need to insert to rethink human-animal relations in the context of urban life? The author understands that to achieve such an ontological rupture in the theorization of the proposed planning practices it is necessary to understand the schizophrenia of planning, and to recognize the range of insurgent practices, to finally decolonize imagination and possibilities for the future (Miraftab, 2016). For Escobar (2019), the current crisis of habitability and urbanism is directly related to the capitalist patriarchal Western model that has eroded the systemic way of dwelling in the radical interdependence of the existing whole. In his vision, we must review the ethics and respect that involves the coexistence of a pluriversal world through a process of construction of healing spaces, re-communization and reconnection with the Earth, where some kind of biophysical equilibrium based on a different urban metabolism is introduced. Escobar understands that a possible path can be found through the spirit of experimental urbanism and the reformulation of visions of the city as open, permeable[8] (Sennett, 2018) that can heal us from our "fragmented culture" (Escobar, 2019, p. 140, our translation).

In a key that questions the Western conception of science that establishes an opposition between nature and culture, Decola (2006) reflects on the development of the sciences and techniques that established an unbridled exploration of a nature that becomes composed of objects without connection with humans: plants, animals, land, waters and rocks that have been converted into mere resources to be used and exploited in our favor. At that moment, nature would have lost its soul and "nothing else prevented us from seeing it solely as a source of wealth" (Descola, 2006, p. 23). In view of this, Decola understands that it is necessary to recognize the way in which the civilizations we usually designate as "primitive" establish

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[8] In "Building and Inhabiting: ethics for an open city", Sennett (2018) understands that the "open city" would be the one with the capacity to provide a permeable space of encounters, and in short, that would include and welcome difference and diversity. For him, the ethical connection between urbanist and urbanist would be in the practice of "a certain kind of humility: living as one among many, mobilized by a world that does not mirror us" (Sennet, 2018, p. 334, our translation).

other relations of complicity and interdependence with non-human inhabitants in the world, to reflect on how we can address issues to "invent original ways of inhabiting the earth", "invent new ways (...) of living together" (Decola, 2006, p. 27).

In "The Granite Garden: Nature in the Design of the City", Spirn (1995) deals with the issue of animals, using the word game "pets and pests" to refer to urban domestic animals, of close conviviality to us, and to those who become "undesirable" in the context of urban life. About the difficult cohabitation of humans with other animals, Spirn reinforces the impact caused by the development of cities that significantly change the living conditions of wild animals and their habitats. The fragmentation of wildlife habitats created from our actions and interventions as urban planners and changes in the environment, in general, cause, to a large extent, imbalances in environmental logic. The pests and diseases that emerge in cities, especially by zoonoses, would be the reflection of a way of operating in the urban environment that disregards the existence of animal life and its role in the broader context. " The shape of the city limits not only the abundance, but also the diversity of such wildlife, which could be an amenity. At the same time, most of the wildlife that resists in the city turns into pests" (Spirn, 1995, p. 231, our translation).

In addition to their ecological function, or those that humans attributed to them (often in an exploratory and cruel way), animals are shown as significant agents in the construction of cities, either in number, by their presence or by their active collaboration in urban dynamics. Recognizing part of the historical process related to its existence in the urban environment, through a critique of dominant urban thought and policies, can contribute to discussing the need to rethink the relationships we maintain with other beings. It also stimulates a reflection on how we can build new worlds that are harmonious for the multispecies companions who inhabit and share the same space. It is understood here that the complexity and relevance of the subject deserve special attention, with a critical reflection that takes into account the discussions provided by post-colonial studies, with special interest in the concepts of coloniality of power provided by Quijano (2005), of relationality, radical interdependence, and the pluriverse by Escobar (2019), and that seeks a progressive planning that addresses spatial injustices daring to "imagine a radically different future that is more righteous and which embodies a human urbanism" according to Miraftab (2016), and here it would still be appropriate to use the term "more-than-human"[9] urbanism, including the debate about urban animals and all animal life that permeates urban life.

6   Final Considerations

Assuming that the processes that involve dealing with animals in cities were fundamental to shape the human-animal relationship in the context of urban life and the ways of thinking and living cities, this brief reflection proposes to broaden the debate about those relationships and the role of those living animals in the context of contemporary cities.There is a rooting of the old practices in relation to the presence and role of the animal in the urban environment. Therefore, the recognition of such process is fundamental, so that it can be resignified in practice in order to contribute in a relevant way to public health[10] and to a more harmonious coexistence between humans and animals in cities. These first reflections reinforce the idea that it is only possible to build a critical thinking about the human-animal relationship and the fight against zoonoses in cities from a reading on the Brazilian reality. By doing so, it becomes possible to foster discussions in the field of architecture and urbanism and face all the existing challenges, while also seeking to imagine other futures that open possibilities for a more-than-human urbanism, which includes and values our coexistence with companion species in the way proposed by Donna Haraway (2021).

As previously emphasized, it is not only about recognizing the ecological role related to animal life in the urban environment, but the existence of those animals and their right to live together in the space of cities in a healthy way for all species involved. If the animals remain unfeasible in relation to their experience in the cities, and remain to some extent excluded or rejected in the context of sharing the urban space, it will not be possible to move forward in order to effect the construction of a future

[9] The use of the term "more-than-human" is employed here as an attempt to make the relationship between animals and human animals less dichotomous, along the lines of authors such as Donna Haraway (2016) and Marisol La Cadena (2018). The term is also used by Escobar (2019), based on the concepts of Franklin (2017).

[10] A report published by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) indicated that more than 75% of emerging human diseases of the last century are of animal origin (zoonoses).

which considers and values the relationship between multispecies companions, as part of a city that is made together, fighting the thought that persists in the field of architecture and urbanism.

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KNOW-HOW LIMINALITIES IN THE DAILY PRODUCTION OF OPAQUE SPACES
LIMINARIDADES DO SABER-FAZER NA PRODUÇÃO COTIDIANA DOS ESPAÇOS OPACOS
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Abstract

By casting light on the hegemonic forms of space production and obscuring the opaque spatial tactics generated in the urban peripheries, urbanistic discourses and practices reinforce the symbolic and material privilege conferred on modern techno-scientific rationality. From this perspective, practices originated outside this domain are considered precarious, and non-specialists are seen as laymen, holders of knowledge considered hierarchically inferior. This work aims, based on a liminal perspective, to dialectically tense the different ways of know-how of the specialists - who know the urbanistic norms and conventional design methods - and also of the non-experts, who daily build their living spaces, gradually and with their own resources. This reflection materializes in an exploratory investigation about the gambiarra's potential as a tactical action, capable of destabilizing the separation between the act of designing and the act of building, indicating more horizontal connections between knowing and doing, and acting as a horizontal insubordination to the rationality of the hegemonic urban project. As a result, it seeks to glimpse in everyday subordinated tactics possibilities of dissolving the epistemic boundaries imposed by the dominant theory and praxis in the field of architecture and urbanism, challenging the understanding of the project as something finished and imposed from top to bottom.

Keywords: Gambiarra, Spatial Tactics, Everyday Production of Space, Opaque Spaces, Urban Design

1 Introduction: for a Decolonization of the Urban Imaginary

> Listen to good advice, which I give you for free
> It's useless to sleep that the pain won't go away
> Wait sitting down, or you'll get tired
> It's been proven, he who waits never achieves
> Do as I say, do as I do
> Act twice before you think
> I'm chasing time, I came from I don't know where
> Slowly you can't go far.
> (Buarque, 1972, our translation)

In the song Bom Conselho (Good Advice), Chico Buarque (1972) appropriates traditional proverbs and sayings of Brazilian culture, subverting them in order to provoke displacements in the conceptions considered as univocal in popular utterance. What if a similar exercise is done for some of the postulates of urban design know-how? After all, one of the fundamental roles of the urban researcher is precisely "to be **subversive**, that is, to revolve, disturb, disorder the state of things and ideas, transforming the consecrated interpretation, the action taken as correct or effective, the hierarchy of values and the dominant rationality". (Kowarick, 2000, p. 132, emphasis added, our translation).

In a subversive investigation, what is the body of knowledge relegated and subordinated by the field of urbanism? Which are the dominant ways of doing urban design and which are the silenced ones?

Decolonial theory shows that the myth of Eurocentric modernity has been designed and constructed - materially and symbolically - for the maintenance of the dominance of the colonizer (the reference, the center) over the colonized (the other, the periphery). In this framework, coloniality (Quijano, 1992), in addition to perpetuating ideas, values, and beliefs, also materializes in the production of space, establishing a conception of territory over others, which become inferiorized (Farrés Delgado, 2014). In its spatial dimension, coloniality can be perceived in the teaching and professional practice of architecture and urbanism, when only Western hegemonic knowledge and ways of doing are considered valid, and determine the ways considered correct to design, build and inhabit (Farrés Delgado, 2014).

In this sense, Boaventura de Souza Santos (2013, p. 47, our translation) observes a waste of the social experience of the knowledges considered as the disqualified parts of the hegemonic totality. Even so, these knowledges resist and continue to manifest themselves in peripheral territories, "where non-scientific and non-Western knowledges prevail in the everyday

practices of populations." Similarly, Milton Santos (2006, p. 210, our translation) identifies, in these territories, the presence of "counterrationalities," which are located "in the less modern and more 'opaque' areas, rendered irrational for hegemonic uses." The opaque spaces, in contrast to the luminous spaces, are endowed with great flexibility and adaptability, due to the immanent condition of precariousness and impermanence, in which the experience of scarcity becomes "the basis of a creative adaptation to existing reality." (Santos, 2006, p. 210, our translation).

In this situation, the opaque spaces are produced by unique organizational logics, guided by more flexible rules and adapted to the most diverse conditions of informality (Lobosco, 2011; 2022). In these contexts, the tactical action presents itself as a survival mechanism of the urban poor and expresses "ways of doing" and operating in the cracks of the system, in order to reappropriate the space organized by techniques and take advantage of it (Certeau, 1998). Based on these notes, this paper sheds light on the tactics of production of everyday space, in order to glimpse other ways of thinking about the project in opaque contexts, which are conceived in a less hierarchical and more horizontal way between knowing and doing.

Methodologically, this is a qualitative essay, which starts from the conception of the urban landscape project as a transversal field of knowledge convergences, which is located between threshold zones of different fields of knowledge (Pereira; Jacques, 2018). Other epistemologies are sought that are reflected not only in abstract knowledge, but also in social practices, especially those not legitimized by the dominant scientific rationality. In this perspective, liminal thinking (Mignolo, 2003) is assumed as a critical reflection on the production of knowledge, both from the internal margins of the colonial/modern system, and from its external margins - thinking from the margin and thinking about the margin.

The article is organized into four sections: the first section presents a debate about urban plans and projects in Brazil in its schizophrenic relationship with the informal production of the city; the second and third sections seek to dialectically friction the different ways of know-how of specialists (especially the role of design as an instrument of domination and disciplinary control), of the non-specialists, who build their spaces on a daily basis with their resources and means. The fourth section presents an exploratory investigation about the potential of the gambiarra[1] as a tactical action capable of destabilizing the separation between the act of designing and the act of building. The reflection intends to contribute to the decolonization and expansion of the urban imaginary, acting in its gaps, in order to glimpse the dissolution of epistemic boundaries in the field of urban landscape design.

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2   The Schizophrenia of Urban Space

Important scholars of the production of Brazilian urban space (among them, Ermínia Maricato (1982), Raquel Rolnik (2015) and Milton Santos (2006) demonstrate that Brazilian cities are marked by a schizophrenia, in which a detailed urban legislation coexists with a total laissez-faire in peripheral settlements. This indicates a discriminatory application of urbanistic plans and projects, according to the convenience and interests of the ruling classes. Given this mismatch, most of the urban poor in Brazil "live in settlements that are neither planned nor previously urbanized, where the residents themselves produce their houses gradually, mobilizing their own material and financial resources" (Rolnik, 2015, p. 127, our translation).

In this scenario, and according to the interests of capital and real estate speculation, a large part of the urban projects usually dialogues with an exclusive part of the city and condemns the other territories, considered chaotic, which reinforces the rhetoric that the problems of the peripheries are caused by the lack of planning. Thus, we see that "selective non-planning" is an intrinsic part of urban planning itself, which acts as a reinforcement of exclusionary urbanization, in order to only manage the deep socio-spatial inequalities in countries on the periphery of capitalism (Yiftachel; Avni, 2014).

Under this logic, urban transformations and investments occur in an extremely asymmetric relationship, in which a center determines the pace and direction of changes in the periphery. Thus, the urbanistic legislation consecrates the morphologies dictated by the real estate sector, such as the vertical condominium typology, which imposes itself in the urban landscape of

[1] Note of Translator: In Brazilian Portuguese slang, "gambiarra" is an improvised solution to solve a problem or a need. It usually works temporarily.

the peripheral areas of the cities, reinforcing the symbolic charge of this housing pattern. The consolidation of these patterns substantially modifies the forms of family organization typical of popular settlements, characterized by the multifunctionality

of the dwellings, by the maximum use of the land for several dwelling units, by the junction of housing and home business, or by the rental of rooms of the house (Rolnik, 2015).

By stigmatizing the spatial and sociocultural practices of these settlements, urban planning and design act as powerful instruments of territorial, ethnic and cultural discrimination. However, these territories are neither integrated nor eliminated by urban policies, being sometimes discreetly tolerated, sometimes vehemently repressed, making the boundaries between legality and illegality, and between formality and informality blurred and shifting (Yiftachel; Avni, 2014). Recognizing this ambiguity of urban policies demonstrates the fragility of thinking according to these supposed dichotomies (legal/illegal, formal/informal, hillside/asphalt, etc.), and provides a more appropriate lens to investigate the production of peripheral urban space in Brazil and in the broader context of the global south.

For Souza Santos (2013), every dichotomy hides, in its apparent relation of horizontality between the parts, an underlying vertical relation - which has nothing symmetrical about it. In this vertical relationship, the whole becomes only one of the parts that becomes the term of reference for the others. Thus, the dichotomy always expresses a hierarchy, considering that none of its parts can be thought of outside the relationship with the totality. In this way, thinking of relations in purely dichotomous terms means reinforcing the myth of coloniality and accepting the extremely unequal domination between knowledges that has relegated the countries of the global south to a position of subalternity: "inferior knowledges proper of inferior beings." (Souza Santos; Menezes, 2013, p. 17, our translation). At this juncture, hegemonic architectural and urbanistic discourses and practices continue to shape perceptions about the production of urban space by shedding light on certain ways of knowing how to make cities and obscuring social-spatial practices considered deviant and subordinated.

However, the excess of light produced by the supremacy of technique and reason often leads to blindness, and prevents the perception of alternative rationalities and non-scientific knowledge, especially to those knowledges linked to the social appropriation of available resources, present in opaque spaces as forms of existence and resistance of the popular layers: "they are spaces with less technique and more inventiveness, with less domination and more domination" (Ribeiro, 2012, p. 68, our translation).

3   The Know-How of the Experts

By the technical-scientific rationality, the hegemonic process of project is usually characterized by a linear sequence of tasks, in a vertical division of labor, which clearly differentiates the stages of conception, execution and use (Baltazar; Kapp, 2006). By this view, the projective practice presupposes the intellectual anticipation of practical doings, using methods of representation of a yet non-existent object, graphically expressed through technical drawing. In this vertical structure, the project not only reproduces the social division of labor, but also prevents the self-determination of the production of space by the residents (Baltazar; Kapp, 2006). Sérgio Ferro (2006) and Paulo Bicca (1984) show that the project formatted by modernity arises, and develops, from the moment in which the construction starts to have as its main purpose the reproduction and accumulation of capital, aiming at the extraction of surplus value. In this logic, the function of the project becomes to "enable the merchandise form of the architectural object, which, without it, would not be achieved (in non marginal conditions)" (Ferro, 2006, p. 106-107, our translation).

In the rational productivist vision, therefore, the design acts as the part that imposes and transmits orders from top to bottom. Coming from outside, it arrives ready-made, as the only immediate bond of unification among the dispersed tasks of the construction site: "The role of these roles is clear: they gather work to work, work to instrument, activity done without regard to functional purpose" (Ferro, 2006, p. 108, our translation). However, just as the dichotomy hides an underlying vertical relationship, the hegemonic project hides a segregation that appears to unify. Its primary function would be precisely to unite "the great mass of dispersed labor" in the construction process "into a single object-merchandise" (Ferro, 2006, p. 110, our translation).

Thus, in architectural and urbanistic interventions under the rational-productivist logic of capital, nothing in the work should remember or express the personal contribution of the workers who were part of it, "that is, **their action as individuals who**

transfer to the matter part of their subjectivity and knowledge" (Bicca, 1984, p. 48, our emphasis and translation). Or, in the words of Ferro (2006, p. 6, our emphasis) the "worker is forced to transform himself into an abstract labor force, without a drop of blood, to realize that precise application of **his own disappearance in the work of the other**." The figure of the project as the previous design of a finished product has repercussions not only in the way space is built, but also in the way people inhabit it. Under this logic, the architecture and urbanism project results both in the subordination of the know-how of individuals who execute the work and in the curtailment of the freedom to modify the work by those who will inhabit it (Baltazar; Kapp, 2006).

Historically, in pre-capitalist societies, the act of designing and the act of building had not yet been strictly separated from the point of view of the social division of labor, and "the **act of designing by drawing was part of the same work that involved designing by doing**, in which, in turn, participated not only the master, but all the other workers of the corporation" (Bicca, 1984, p. 107, our emphasis and translation). In this sense, the ability to design **was not an exclusive privilege of architects**, because it made each participant of the work a designer and an executor simultaneously. The rigid separation between the work of conception and the work of execution began in the Renaissance, when the act of making architecture came to mean the act of designing in the form of technical drawing (Bicca, 1984). We must recognize, therefore, that the separation between conceiving and executing is not the work of chance, but clearly the result of historically determined constructions.

In the search for other keys to understand the different ways of know-how and the very understanding of design, we find contemporary authors who seek to reposition the place of design from a critical perspective, and which aims at socio-spatial transformation. In the field of Latin American decolonial studies, the contributions of Arturo Escobar and designer Alfredo Gutiérrez Borrero stand out.

Escobar (2016) presents a fertile debate about the subjects authorized to design and demonstrates that design has been used as a central political technology of modernity. However, he refutes the assumption that **only experts possess the domain of design** and starts from the premise that every community designs its environment, its organizations, its social relations, and its daily practices according to its unique realities. Gutiérrez Borrero (2015) proposes the extension of the notion of project to the "drawings of the south" or "other drawings" and demonstrates that, although all human groups possess the natural ability to design, only the technical project, designed by means of a graphic and industrial language, is usually considered valid and universal. In this discriminatory logic, he points out that "**the production of objects by the poor** and the peasant, by the mestizo and the indigenous, or by the black is relegated to the backwardness - **it is presented as handicraft when it is at the margin of the industrial impulse or as a gambiarra** or recursion when it resists it" (Gutiérrez Borrero et al., 2020, p. 65, our emphasis and translation).

In the Brazilian context, Freire-Medeiros and Name (2019), in a similar direction, present the proposition of the "Slab Epistemology", in which they question the fact that slum architecture produced by non-specialists is usually disregarded as a project. From this perspective, they defend the slab as a project "that resists the imposition of modern-colonial technical-scientific rationalities that operate in the key of universality and that, consequently, claim to be producers and holders of all possible knowledge." (p. 166, our translation). In dialogue with these propositions and in order to extend the notion of project as a field of convergence of knowledges, some peculiarities of the know-how of non-specialists in the contexts of urban peripheries are investigated below.

4   The Know-How of the Non-Experts

While in the conventional know-how of the experts, the project dictates the starting point and the conclusion point of the work - defining the "right" moment to stop, in the know-how of the self-buildings of the urban peripheries, there is no preliminary design to be followed, and therefore there is no final result to be achieved. This distinction is explained by Jacques (2001, p. 13, our translation), who identifies that the architectural and urbanistic devices in the slums are formed by unique processes, and are invested "with their own aesthetics, with peculiar characteristics, completely different from the aesthetics of the so-called formal city".

Because of this unique process, the opaque spaces are marked by transformations that occur in their daily lives, in a continuous state of incompleteness, considering that there will always be improvements and expansions to be made. Facing

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the scarcity of resources, the continuous production of the houses makes possible the flexibility of costs and a constant opening for new possibilities - either because the family grows, or because some extra income arises, as can be observed in the following statement:

> I bought this land, I had a little house, one of these that the government built, but I tore it down to enlarge it **because these government little houses can't be enlarged, you have to redo everything**, but I took advantage of a lot of things, I took off the roof, I laid the slab and built on top. [...] I am **going to take the roof off the bar, lay the slab, and make another room on top. Because the bar is rented, so I will rent one more room and this will help me finish the house later**. Even in the bottom part that was supposed to be my house, a part I separated and rented, after all, a room here is worth one hundred reais (Gilberto, resident of Novos Alagados-Araçás apud Lobosco, 2011, p. 263, our emphasis and translation).

From the above, one can see that continuous and successive construction occurs according to the means and time availability of the inhabitant, "who, from the beginning, must prove to have a great capacity for adaptation and constructive imagination: the "jeitinho"[2] is the sine qua non condition for building a shack in a favela" (Jacques, 2001, p. 23, our translation). Frequently, construction is initiated by the builder himself gathering heterogeneous materials, whether they are collected from construction sites around the city or purchased as refuse from construction materials. In this procedure, "the collected and regrouped materials are the starting point of the construction, which will depend directly on the chance of the finds, on the discovery of interesting leftovers" (Jacques, 2001, p. 23, our translation).

Due to these characteristics, the urban peripheries and slums develop specific patterns of space production, which respond to immediate needs and to a particular way of occupying and inhabiting the space. In this sense, Lobosco (2022) highlights that the spatial configuration of peripheral settlements has an internal logic guided by the maximum use of the land and the resources employed, and that produces a great spatial flexibility in its internal structure.

It is important to note that the way of producing and inhabiting the opaque spaces is not a "**second-rate reproduction of the city**," since the practices and patterns of occupation that occur there are coated with other values than the formal city: "the ugly and **the unfinished are transformed into utilitarian and in process, and the construction, even if precarious, crystallizes the effort of resistance and constant evolution in the production of housing**, awakening the appreciation and pride of its inhabitants" (Lobosco, 2011, p. 42, our emphasis and translation).

If the unfinished construction brings, in each improvement or expansion, the marks and the effort of the work employed there for its confection, it is not possible to say the same of the hegemonically produced architecture. In architects' works, once the construction is finished, all its traces are erased, making "forget everything that is objectified in it under the form of alienated labor" (Bicca, 1984, p. 219, our translation). In its inauguration, everything that refers to its construction is removed, while in the self-construction, there is no moment of inauguration, and the marks of the work crystallized there are present in the hopes of a future.

5   The Know-How of Gambiarra Tactics in Opaque Spaces

In the absence of adequate mechanisms for access to land, housing and quality urban infrastructure, the urban poor resort to a variety of tactics to overcome the enormous shortages in their territories. In this scenario, tactical action presents itself as a defense mechanism to deal with the conditions of urban, economic and social precariousness (Lobosco, 2011; 2022), without necessarily confronting the system, but finding some gaps in it as forms of survival (Certeau, 1998).

In the scope of peripheral settlements, **the gambiarra tactic** is quite frequent, and relates to the way residents "use the 'jeitinho' to participate, even if precariously, of the benefits arising from modernity, enjoying part of the infrastructure of large Brazilian cities" (Boufleur, 2013, p. 21, our translation). The term "gambiarra", in a very comprehensive way, involves everything that is done in an improvised and unprepared way, with the skills and resources of the moment and with the

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[2] Note of Translator: The Brazilian way, "jeitinho brasileiro" refers to a way that people in Brazil use to solve a problem when they don't have enough resources, using whatever is at hand.

materials at hand. In opaque spaces, gambiarra's motivation is based on the absence of alternatives for some practical constraint, "being rather a response to a situation of lack than a choice made with free will" (Dos Anjos, 2007, p. 34, our translation).

In these contexts, everyday tactics are "at the same time, products and producers of the very space that houses them," and, "by continuously reproducing themselves, they have structured themselves as the local pattern of action" (Lobosco, 2022, p.36.076, our translation). Therefore, the gambiarra tactic acts as a way of know-how that enables the flexibility of "the temporal relationship project-construction-housing" (Lobosco, 2022, p. 36.076, our translation) and allows the functional and immediate meeting of spatial demands in a dynamic way and not linked to a project conceived a priori.

From this perspective, and in the terms proposed by Escobar (2016) and Gutiérrez Borrero (2015), the tactic of gambiarra in opaque spaces - as a systematic practice of transformation and adaptation of objects and spaces - can be understood as a project, to the extent that it starts from practical everyday knowledge shared and developed within the community. Thus, although the hegemonic urban discourse systematically seeks to exclude the ordinary practices of everyday life, they survive and proliferate, unaware of the system that intends to manage or suppress them, "combined according to illegible but stable tactics to such an extent that they constitute everyday regulations and surreptitious creativities" (Certeau, 1998, p.175, our translation).

Although Certeau (1998) has attributed the status of the theoretical object to the ordinary practices of everyday life, in the field of Brazilian urban studies very few allusions to the gambiarra tactic are found, usually linked to a negative connotation, associated with improvisation in construction processes and lack of planning in our cities. The most recurrent and abundant manifestation of the gambiarra occurs ironically in the various memes that satirize the improvised form of the Brazilian jeitinho (way of doing things) to solve, even temporarily, the most distinct adversities imposed by socioeconomic limitations, as shown in figures 1 and 2.

Fig. 1: Meme about the gambiarras of the urban poor, 2021. Source: iFunny, 2021. Available at: https://br.ifunny.co/picture/fazer-gato-na-net-e-na-luz-e-coisa-de-4ijidu759. Accessed: 09 Aug. 2022.

Minha casa minha vida agora com espaço gourmet.

These examples show that the tactic of gambiarra in opaque spaces is presented almost entirely in a pejorative way, satirizing the precariousness of the means and the creativity of the Brazilian people in improvising the most diverse solutions to overcome adversity. Thus, by not considering the subordinated spatial practices as legitimate or worthy of attention, the "specialists" reinforce the symbolic and material privilege of the hegemonic forms of spatial production. In this reading, the practices generated outside this domain are considered precarious and the "non-specialists" are considered laymen, holders of hierarchically inferior knowledge.

However, in contemporary times, some approaches linked to the fields of visual arts, design, and technology have been emerging, which glimpse, in the practice of gambiarra, a set of manifestations that represents a form of innovation, with its aesthetic and inventive specificities (Dos Anjos, 2007; Rosas, 2008; OBICI, 2014; CORRÊA; MAASS, 2021). Without intending to fall into a romantic view of the phenomenon or in a certain aestheticization of the precarious, we present below some of these propositions that seem forceful to reflect on the liminality between project and gambiarra, in the scope of the daily production of opaque spaces.

Rennó (2016) states that the gambiarra can be apprehended as a **contestatory act**, as "a constant **disobedience to the clean planning** that hides its constituent processes and that **imposes only one use to objects**, previously determined from top to bottom" (p. 132, our emphasis and translation). In a similar direction, Obici (2014) points out that the gambiarra "institutes, even if temporarily, the inversion of the designs embedded in technology, **revealing the reverse of the order that it establishes**" (p. 44, our emphasis, our translation). Its practitioner assumes, even if temporarily, "the role of engineer and/or designer and/or inventor capable of creating other functions to objects, leaving the place of passive consumer to that

of the active proposer, inverting hierarchies" (p. 42) Boufleur (2013) also argues that, by performing a gambiarra, ordinary citizens demonstrate, in concrete terms, that they have **"autonomy to 'resignify' the objects around them, reversing the order of domination 'established' by those who designed it**" (p. 237, our emphasis and translation).

From the above, one can deduce that the gambiarra process breaks with the erasure of the individual and with the disappearance of his personal contribution transferred to matter. In the gambiarra practice all its connections are exposed, contradicting the logic of products as closed units and with uses predetermined by who designed them, demonstrating "a growing disrespect for an object's identity and for the truth and authority it embodies" (Rognoli; Oroza, 2015, p. 4). In a similar way to objects, gambiarra adaptations are also verified in the urban landscape of opaque spaces, in a continuous process not linked to a "final" project, which allows flexibility and openness to changes over time in function of the ever-changing circumstances (figures 3 and 4). In this aspect, the practice of gambiarra updates and subverts objects and spaces, acting as a horizontal insubordination to the rationality of the hegemonic urban project.

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Fig. 3: Water connections exposed on a house facade at Pedreira Prado Lopes, in Belo Horizonte, a city located in the southeast of Brazil. Source: Author. 2022.

Fig. 4: Veja São Paulo Magazine cover about the multiplication of slabs in the peripheries of urban centers. Source: Veja São Paulo, 2019. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/vejasp/posts/10157417831858258. Accessed: 10 Nov. 2022.

Thus, in the gambiarra's way of know-how, the individual is simultaneously the designer and the executor of the work, in a process that unites the act of conceiving to the act of executing, configuring itself in an immediate projective reasoning. The gambiarra designates both the act of building something due to scarcity, and the apparatus built, both the operation and its result, both the product and its means (Dos Anjos, 2007). To the extent that conception, project and execution occur almost concomitantly, the gambiarra denies the dualistic logic between knowing and doing, and also breaks with the compartmentalization imposed by the vertical division of labor. From this perspective, the gambiarra's way of doing is configured as an action that knows itself to be a thought: it is simultaneously a doing-thinking and a thinking-doing.

6   Conclusion: for Other Ways of Know-How

The tactical performance in the Brazilian peripheries is established as a device to supply the needs of the moment with the available resources, and it configures itself as a response to the slow process of construction of the conventional city, considering that it starts from the urgency of the real. In these contexts, the gambiarra tactic presents itself both as a characteristic feature and as a necessity. As demonstrated, these practices do not occur, therefore, due to disorganization, spontaneity, or lack of control - but, notably, due to the discriminatory application of urban plans and projects as mechanisms to reinforce inequalities.

In this framework, the daily production of opaque spaces occurs in a complex dialectical relationship between formality and informality, and between accommodation and resistance to dominant structures. In this perspective, the tactics survive and

proliferate, unaware of the system that intends to manage or suppress them (Certeau, 1998). As exposed, the gambiarra tactic in the peripheries allows residents to "perform small 'route deviations' in the established order" (Lobosco, 2011, p. 44, our translation) - deviations that produce micro-resistances to hegemonic urbanistic practices, by challenging, even if instinctively, a certain conception of city and the understanding of the very notion of the project as something finished and imposed from top to bottom.

Although tactical interventions cannot by themselves resolve conflicts arising from systematic urban policies of exclusion, they can challenge a certain rigid conception about the project in the everyday production of space and indicate the broadening of the disciplinary horizon of urbanism as a transversal field of knowledge convergence (Pereira; Jacques, 2018).

This essay invites us to take a closer look at the opaque spatial tactics that have been systematically neglected by hegemonic knowledge. In doing so, it reveals nuances that go unnoticed by the spotlight cast on the hegemonic production of urban space. Thus, between the excess of light and total darkness, various spectrums can be distinguished that show other ways of knowing how to make cities, or, as Ana Clara Torres Ribeiro (2012, p. 67, our translation) provokes: "To see what I couldn't see, I needed to stop seeing what I always saw. I needed to change my blindness".

Acknowledgment

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RAIN OF UMBRELLAS: TOWARDS A NON-HEGEMONIC VISION OF CULTURAL ASSETS
CHUVA DE SOMBRINHAS: POR UMA VISÃO NÃO-HEGEMÔNICA DE BENS CULTURAIS
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Abstract

The carnival block Galo da Madrugada, whose name translates to "Dawn Rooster", is recognized as an Intangible Heritage of the state of Pernambuco in Northeast Brazil. It is materialized in an area of Recife, the state's capital, which is recognized as a tangible heritage. In a posture against the dissociation between the (in)tangible dimensions of the Galo and the city as cultural goods, the present article makes the carnival block and the Guararapes and Dantas Barreto avenues in which it expresses itself objects of a narrative based on photos and the recollection of the ecstatic, moving, dancing body. Thus, it defends counter-hegemonic values in the face of a cultural policy that still separates the tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage. The conclusion points to the inseparability of various aspects in the post-Covid-19 scenario.

Keywords: Galo da Madrugada, Recife, Tangible and Tntangible Cultural Heritage, Counter-hegemony

1   Introduction

In the draft project of what would become the SPHAN, the predecessor to Brazil's current Heritage agency IPHAN, Mário de Andrade shows awareness of Brazilian cultural diversity, recognizing its expression through (in)tangible forms. Years later, Aloísio Magalhães's CNRC, which precedes IPHAN's intangible heritage policy, privileged the treatment of living culture. But it is the 1988 Constitution that defines Brazilian cultural heritage as a set of goods of (in)tangible nature. In 1997, the Charter of Fortaleza attests intangible goods should be subject to specific protection, which led, three years later, to the institutionalization of the Registry of Intangible Goods (Brasil, 2000).

Despite the progress that the Registry represents in the process of the social construction of cultural heritage, and even though the inseparability between tangible and intangible heritage dimensions discussed over the last two decades, we can still say that, in most cases, tangible goods continue registered without considering their intangible dimension, and intangible goods are still registered without taking the material culture that supports them into account. Despite efforts to change the situation, this persistence in the dissociation between the dimensions of heritage, a tenet of hegemonic preservationist thought and practice, leads to the rise of a counter-hegemonic posture. So much so that Meneses (2017, p. 39) refers to the unjustifiable polarity between tangible and intangible heritage. Schlee (2022) proposes to end the administrative separation between the tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural heritage, to work on it in its complete constitutional sense, from an integrated point of view.

In line with this counter-hegemonic stance, this article aims to contribute to greater integration between the (in)tangibilities of cultural goods. It also proposes a counter-hegemonic approach to the theme by making the Galo da Madrugada (loosely translated as "Dawn Rooster"), the biggest carnival block in Recife, the object of a narrative, one among many possible narratives. This narrative sprouts from the space in which it takes place - the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues. It is not only about Galo's valuation as intangible heritage but also about the contradiction of the hegemonic vision of cultural policy that recognizes it in its intangibility but dissociates it from the materiality in which it is realized. The text is a manifesto of struggle, questioning, and opposition to a dichotomous understanding of cultural heritage as tangible vs intangible. It is a narrative of the body - physical, architectural, social, and cultural - that resists.

Recognized by the government of the northeastern state of Pernambuco (Pernambuco, 2009) as an intangible heritage good, the Galo has been calling the people of Recife, the state capital, to take to the streets on Carnival Saturdays since 1978. The intangible expressions that were the basis of the block's registry are materialized and spatialized in the city, in a path that experienced transformations throughout its history of over forty years. Tearing through the urban fabric of Pernambuco's capital between the 1930s and 1970s, the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, tangible objects of architectural studies (Pontual, Cavalcante, 2003), represent modernity neighbored by heritage-listed buildings, survivors of the urban interventions of the early 1900s. They also became an integral part of an area for the preservation of the historical heritage of Recife (PCR, 2008). The Galo, currently considered intangible heritage, materializes in the tangibility of an urban heritage site. However, if Galo's dossiers' registration as an intangible heritage good of Pernambuco and the listing of the perimeter where the Guararapes and Dantas Barreto avenues are located recognizes the first from an ethnographic and

anthropological point of view and the avenues from the perspective of the architect and urban planner, in this article I am interested exploring in an integrative approach created through narrative.

In my perspective, the realization of the city space is not objectively defined in the materially constituted place but also in the narration-action of the subjects that historically conformed and confirm it. I understand narrating as an action as well. If for Motta (2013, p. 17) "our lives are narrative events" are carried out through orality or image, I propose a narrative whose action aims to find a link between the present and past. It would contribute to integration between the (in)tangibilities of the Galo and the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues.

The narrative is partially constructed from photography. After all, as Sontag (2004, p. 170) states, the photo "(...) is a window to something that existed at some time and space", a window I choose to open to reveal traces of a Recife as seen in the Neighborhood of Santo Antônio between the late 1920s and the second decade of the 2000s. The neighborhood that the photographic window reveals is sometimes the scenario of urban rapture, sometimes the stage for frevo music and dancing.[1]

I assume, in this narrative, the perspective of what Barthes (1984, p. 22) calls the subject who looks[2]. This position is justified, on the one hand, by the character of photography as an element of duration (Didi-Huberman, 2015, p. 16), that is, an image that can last beyond the demise of all subjects who practice it[3], allowing me to narrate times and spaces that are contemporary to me – or that have always been past to me, even if captured by operators who have experienced them – bequeathing to future subjects the possibility of seeing, through my eyes, the photographs that will also live beyond me. On the other hand, the narrative is built on the experience of the body in the time and space of the Galo between the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, from the perspective of the subject who narrates. Architects and urban planners go to the field to survey a physically determined space with actions that measure and record it, with measuring tape, sketches, and photographs. This is not the space I'm interested in narrating. The body that, entwined by the block along the streets, moves according to an unknown law, was only allowed to live, feel, remember and narrate.

It is important to remember Ricoeur (1998), for whom the narrative is a configuring operation for a time. That is, the narration takes place in time in a movement of prefiguration, configuration, and reconfiguration, which always occurs in the present, in the now, the moment in which I write. It can be said that every narrative act is fictional. For Kossoy (2014, p. 132), regardless of the object represented – architectural, urban, anthropological, or ethnographic – photographs contain the (un)conscious aspect of the illusory capture of a time from which they preserve memory. Although also understood and recognized as historical evidence, photography only acquires meaning when borrowed from subjects who look at it. Faced with a photograph, old or recent, present and past never cease to be reconfigured from the point of view of the subject, who varies and is referenced in their field of knowledge and life story. Therefore, as Le Goff (1990) points out, the narrative that is born of what the body has seen, felt, and witnessed transcends lived moments. After all, the act of narrating what was lived is a configuring action that is reconfigured from a critical selection – also (un)conscious – of facts, premises, promises, (re)discoveries, and forgetfulness. Memory, therefore, assumes a declarative character by the subject it recalls, since, according to Meneses "the elaboration of memory occurs in the present and to respond to requests of the present" (1992, p. 11) or, as Benjamin states (apud Gagnebin, 2006, p. 40, our translation) "we articulate the past [...] we do not describe it".

That said, the lines that follow break with the hegemonic way of structuring articles and are instead built on a narrative that makes photographs its main foundation – though not the only ones, since it also uses theoretical foundations – and resorts to the memory of my body – a body that is female, native of Pernambuco, a *foliã*[4], an architect, an urban planner - in search of a dilution between the (in)tangibilities of the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues and the Galo.

2   From the gathering place to the apotheosis

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[1] T.N.: Frevo is a style of music and dance originating and associated with Recife and its carnival. The word frevo derives from the Portuguese *ferver*, to boil, an association that becomes clear once one experiences the hectic acrobatics of the players and dancers.

[2] In contrast to the subject looked at (photographed) or the subject operator (photographer).

[3] What looks, what is looked at, and what accomplishes it.

[4] T.N.: *Folião* is a term for a reveler stemming from *folia*, the ecstatic, merry street parties characteristic of the Brazilian Street Carnival.

From the present where I am, at this very moment in which I write, the narrative of the Galo at Santo Antonio makes itself plural. By articulating the past in the process of recalling it, there is no way to ensure that memories do not mix in overlaps of times now revisited. I turn to readings about Santo Antônio and its relationship with a carnival, photographs, and music[5], sure about the power that ends in awakening memories capable of feeding the narrative of my body in the Galo.

Although the roots of frevo hark back to the nineteenth century, it is in this Recife that frevo quickly became urbanized (IPHAN, 2007). If the city's public space has always been intensely used by the "socially urban segments"[6] , only with reforms it becomes attractive to the emerging elite and middle class, who also want to take possession of it, including during carnival. Frevo, the first musical genre created in Brazil specifically for Carnival, is born, therefore, as an urban expression. It is manifested and explained as an urban expression in the streets, squares, bridges, church courtyards, and forts of Recife such as the Cinco Pontas Fort, the Galo's gathering spot and place of departure. It is from there I start my procession, in which I follow behind a *trio elétrico*[7] to South Avenue. It is important to remember that Haussmann's urban planning, which inspired the capital of Pernambuco at the time, was associated to a way of life, of socio-spatial resignification of the city that the carnival exposed: a Recife that was remodeled according to certain models of progress, where streets and squares should express what was being done in the image of Rio or Venice, where the carnival was a spectacle conceived and staged by the aristocracy to be applauded by society[8]. The modernizing Recife no longer had spaces for the savagery of the "batalhas d'água" or the "farinha-do-reino"[9] (Cascudo, 2001).

However, on the route through South Avenue, it is not the aristocracy dancing their steps, despite the intensification in the presence of viewer's boxes in the apartments above the streets when the block enters Imperial Street and approaches Sérgio Loreto Square. There, the first chords of "Voltei, Recife" (Valença, 2014) are enough for the "drunkenness of the frevo that enters the head then takes the body and ends up in the foot" to raise the crowd and blur the scenario of the boxes that materialize above and behind the siding that surrounds squares or hides nineteenth-century facades, or present themselves in the buildings, fully dressed for the party, removed, the day before, from the condition of abandonment. Then we arrived at Dantas Barreto Avenue.

In 2011, after thirty-two years of existence, the Galo changed its course: it left Concordia Street and included Dantas Barreto Avenue. Decree N°. 378 of December 20th, 1943 determined the beginning of the demolitions to construct this avenue, an effort in three phases that would last until the late 1970s. Many streets met their end in the first of these phases when it tore through the area between Republic Square and Independence Square[10]. The overhead shot (Figure 1) presents Dantas Barreto avenue during its third stage of construction[11] as it diagonally cuts the landscape. Above, the color of the pavement reveals when this avenue splits into Nossa Senhora do Carmo Avenue, on the left, finishing the second stage of the works. Still on the left, the photo reveals the *Patio de São Pedro* and, further back, the bridge next to which you can see the Cinco Pontas Fort. Between the *Patio de São Pedro* and the Fort, a massif of townhouses and alleys. On the right side of the Fort, the towers of the Church of São José are visible. To the right of these, where Dantas Barreto Avenue ends, we have Sérgio Loreto Square. Perpendicular to Dantas Barreto, the Church of Martyrdom, is in a process of demolition. This avenue, which has never exercised its planned role as an urban connector, has remained occupied by informal trade and was the object of

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[5] Here, I am inspired by Soares (2020).

[6] As slaves, workers, in short, the people for the obligation of breadwinning or for the pleasure of sociability and leisure. (Araújo, 2018, p. 34).

[7] T.N: The *trio elétrico* is a type of carnival truck float with powerful sound systems and a stage on top for live musical performances. First developed in the 1950s in the Carnival of Salvador, the *trio elétrico* has become a staple of street carnivals and *micaretas* (off-season carnival-like parties) throughout the country.

[8] (Araújo, 2018, p. 34).

[9] Two street carnival traditions – the "*batalha d'agua*" (water battle) consists of using various implements to hurl water at other revelers; the "farinha-do-reino" (kingdom flour) is similar, but with wheat flour.

[10] Florentines, Cabugá, Trincheiras, Laranjeiras, Hortas, and Santa Tereza streets, and part of the Estreita do Rosário street, as well as the Saldanha Marinho Square and the Pátio do Paraíso, the Nossa Senhora do Paraíso church, the Hospital São João de Deus, the Barracks of the Artillery Regiment, and the Academia do Paraíso.

[11] It has already started in the Do Carmo Street, but has not yet reached Sérgio Loreto Square.

Fig. 1: The Dantas Barreto Avenue. Source: By Alcy Lacerda, 1979. Available at: http://acervocepe.com.br/uploads/2018/09/19/5ba28e92c0765.book-almanaque.pdf. Accessed 01 December 2022.

an intervention in 1992[12], is where the crowd decompresses in ecstasy when the "*passo da ema*" (tr. "The Emu's Step" - Carlos, 2019) echoes through the air.
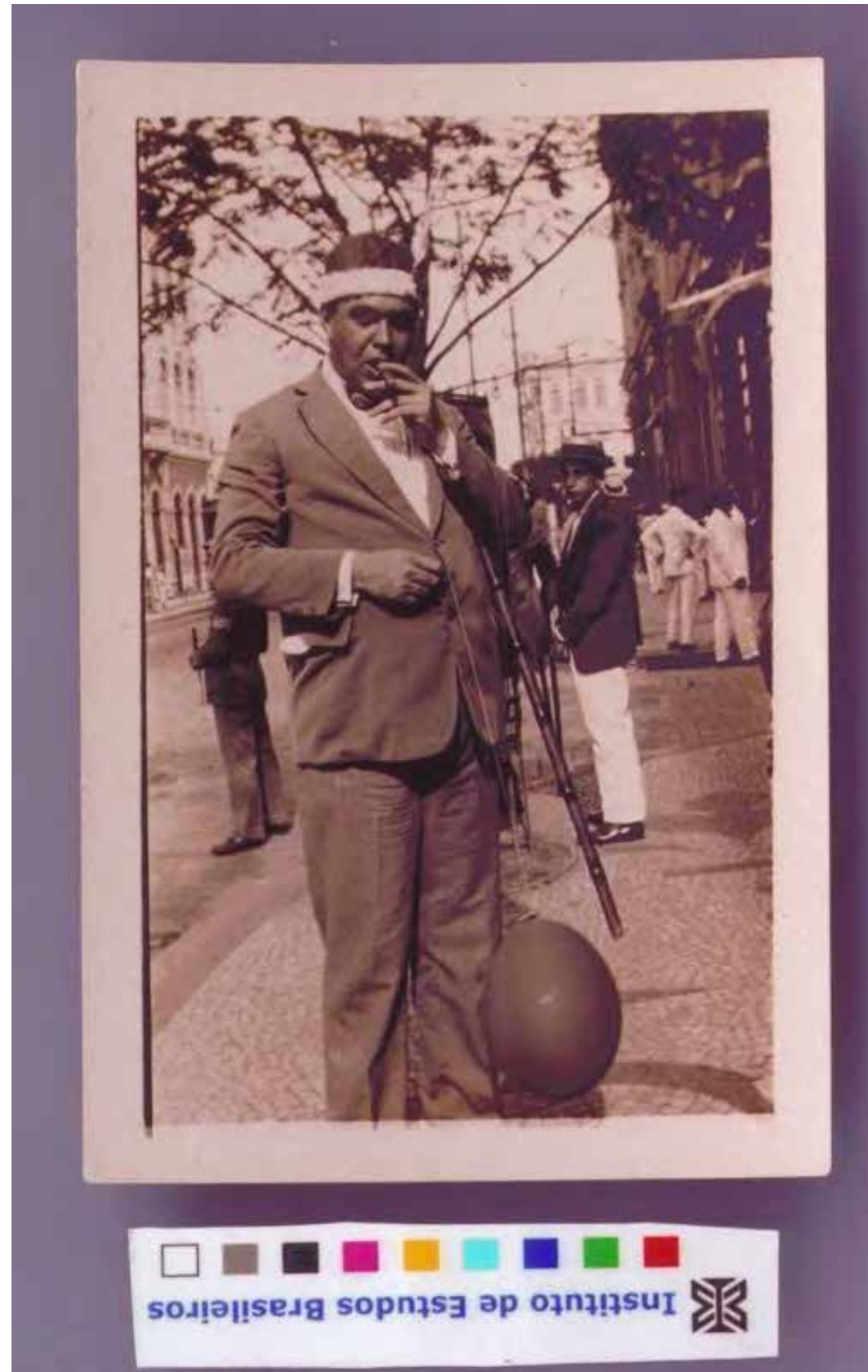

Fig. 2: Ascenso on a Carnival Sunday. Source: Archive of the Institute of Brazilian Studies USP – Mário de Andrade Fonds, reference code: MA-F-1128. 1929.

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[12] The Revaluation Plan of the Center, proposed by the City Hall of Recife. From then on, it started to house the "Peddler's Boardwalk", popularly known as Camelódromo, organizing the region's informal market. The construction, designed by Ronaldo L'Amour and Zeca Brandão, was inaugurated in 1994. (Lima, 2007).

In Independência Square, the number of revelers increases, as if part of the *brincantes*[13] went directly to the traditional headquarters of frevo waiting for the Galo to arrive. In fact, Santo Antonio, targeted with demolitions starting in 1927[14], has always been a carnival space, as shown in a newspaper article from February 4th, 1923, on a carnival itinerary:

> Comércio Square (...), Marquês de Olinda, Maurício de Nassau Bridge, 1º de Março, Independência Square, Sigismundo Gonçalves, Barão da Vitória, Boa Vista Bridge, Floriano Peixoto, Visconde de Camaragibe, Riachoelo [sic], Maciel Pinheiro Bridge, Floriano Peixoto, etc. to Comércio Bridge. (Diário de Pernambuco apud Gaspar, 2020, our translation).

In 1929, Mário de Andrade, then an apprentice tourist, reported: "Carnival Sunday (...). It was the afternoon, I was with Ascenso (...) I fell into the frevo headfirst" (Andrade, 2015, p. 240). In his photographer's diary, Andrade captures Ascenso Ferreira on Carnival Sunday, 02/10/1929 (Figure 2) and, when he does, it allows me to glimpse a Recife that does not seem immersed in Momo's revelry[15], except for the *punctum* of the photo – for Barthes this "chance that stings me" (1984, p. 46) – shows me something that looks like a balloon and a hat that resembles Santa's cap. Meanwhile, staying at the Glória Hotel on Nova Street, Andrade was in the heart of Santo Antônio, near Independência Square, or "Pracinha" (the little square), as it is known, where it is possible that he had "fallen headfirst" into the Vassouras frevo (Araújo, 2007) on the previous Friday, as recorded in his diary (2015, p. 240).

Andrade, in Recife as part of his ethnographic journey of the late 1920s, testifies to a modernist ideology that spread in Brazil in search of a national identity anchored in the binary modernity-tradition, inaugurated in the 1922 Modern Art Week in São Paulo. In Recife, this idea was expressed in the Regionalist Movement of 1926 and its defense of Pernambuco's values, including the tortuous streets of the *Cidade Maurícia*[16] and the carnival. This is how, between the years 1930-1945, the capital of Pernambuco lived the ambiguity of being modern. On the one hand, while the carnival was consecrated as a symbol of "Pernambucanity"[17], in the wake of the Estado Novo[18] of Agamenon Magalhães for whom, according to Santos "(...) frevo was the symbol that best represented Pernambuco culturally" (2018, p. 110), it also transformed itself, in the name of the order and social well-being of the New State, into a civilizing framework, losing much of its spontaneity (Santos, 2018, p. 80). On the other hand, despite the institutionalization of preservationist practice, the new code of works allowed a vast part of the traditional urban fabric that constituted the central massif of Santo Antonio to be torn down.

Through this photograph by Verger from 1947, the year Capiba released the song "E nada mais"[19], it is possible to see the Church of Santo Antonio (Figure 3). You can almost hear the frevo, the choreography of which is shown in the gestures of the dancing umbrellas. According to the IPHAN (2007), "(...) improvised in the street (...) the dance, a game of arms and legs, is attributed to the *ginga*[20] of capoeira practitioners, who took on the security of bands and blocks at the same time as they created the choreographies". Hence the presence of umbrellas become an indispensable accessory of the revelers in the early twentieth century[21].

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[13] T.N.: *Brincante* is another term for reveler in the Brazilian street carnival, from *brincar*, to play.

[14] Between the late 1920s and the 1930s, Outtes (1997) presented several urbanizations plans for Recife, focusing on the district of Santo Antônio.

[15] *Festa de Momo*, as Carnival is also referred to in Brazil.

[16] T.N.: *Cidade Maurícia,* or *Mauritsstad* is how Recife was known during the period when the region was under Dutch rule. It was the capital of Dutch Brazil, named after John Maurice de Nassau, the first ruler of Dutch Brazil.

[17] As in the set of features that characterize something and/or someone from Pernambuco.

[18] T.N.: Authoritarian regime installed in Brazil in 1937.

[19] See (Germano, 1960) from 6'54''.

[20] T.N.: Ginga is the basic to-and-fro motion from which all other movements of Capoeira are executed. It is also used to denote someone's rhythm and style when dancing, walking or moving in general.

[21] As a disguised weapon, once the Pernambucanas, the *capoeirista's* fishmonger, were prohibited.

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Fig. 3: Recife. Source: By Pierre Verger. ©Fundação Pierre Verger, 1947.

Fig. 4: Street Carnival in front of Santo Antonio Parish Church. Source: By Marcel Gautherot – IMS Collection, 1957.

A decade later, the carnival in the Pracinha was again the object of photographic record, now through Gautherot's lenses (Figure 4): Santo Antonio Parish Church in the background and in the very foreground, perhaps to the sound of "Evocação" (Ferreira, 1957), the photographic window opened by Gautherot shows a cordon, on the other side of which you can see the street floor where the participants' carnival unfolds, while on this side is a catwalk made of planks covering the street floor hosts a carnival spectacle. According to Lima (2018, p. 230), in the 1950s, the carnival was institutionalized, becoming the responsibility of the municipal government, and, as such, lost much of its free character. It is also Lima (2018, p. 226) who

claims that the 1960s were the decade in which the dispute between two types of festival that, already at the end of the previous decade, was present in Recife: the participatory and spectacle carnivals.

It is seeking to strengthen the latter that the Galo emerges in 1978, when Guararapes Avenue and Nova Street were still home to the most important stores in Pernambuco's capital, alongside movie theaters, offices, and bank headquarters[22]. That's why the Galo rose early so that the revelers could celebrate before commercial hours. Without a banner[23] and anthem (Valença, 2018), but accompanied by an orchestra with twelve musicians, it took from Padre Floriano Street, followed along Hospício, Imperatriz, Nova, September 7 streets, and Guararapes Avenue, ending by returning to Padre Floriano Street (Teles, 2018).

Guararapes might be the apotheosis of the Galo, but for the avenue, then known as November 10th, to materialize, many streets disappeared under construction starting in 1938[24]. Over a length of 400 meters and a width of 30 to 50 meters, connecting Independence Square to Conde da Boa Vista Avenue, a clean slate was laid over old and thin colonial townhouses, replaced by proto-rationalist buildings that stretched beyond seven floors and spread out extending the street on its ground floor, in semi-public spaces set up in imposing covered galleries for pedestrians. (Naslavsky, 1998, p. 108).

In the carnival of 1945[25], the Sulacap building already marked the skyline of the new Recife, standing out imposingly in the landscape. It was situated on the left side of Guararapes Ave as it left Independence Square, where the carnival crowd was concentrated, crossing Duarte Coelho bridge over the Capibaribe River and stretching to the horizon and reaching Conde da Boa Vista Avenue on the other side. Guararapes Avenue is not yet the main stage of the party, which seems to disperse through Nova Street, to the left of the Church, one of the main arteries of the city at the time. The history of Galo and Guararapes Avenue is deeply intermingled.

According to Teles (2018), "the club grew in geometric progression". In the meantime, Santo Antônio was emptied.[26] During the decade and a half after its foundation, the scenario in which the Galo was spatialized deteriorated. The buildings in Guararapes Avenue were stripped of glamour, covered instead with the marks left by the passage of time. Before the turn of the century, Santo Antônio became a contested territory in disputes for the right to the city. According to Lacerda (1999), in 1999, some of Recife's homeless population occupied a part of the INSS building on Dantas Barreto Ave. From then on, struggles around the social function of property found a favorable battlefield in the emptied buildings of Guararapes Ave. or the Pracinha, as exemplified by the cases of the occupation of the Trianon building (Pinto, 2018) or the former Hotel Nassau (Cavalcanti, 2018). But during the carnival, a truce is called and the Galo reigns supreme.

Upon entering Guararapes, a certain air of achievement for having lived the Galo throughout its journey mingles with nostalgia for the approaching apotheosis. That's when the infectious *mangue beat* of "A praieira" (Science, 1994) starts booming out of the *trio eletrico's* speakers. Over the mass of people, it is possible to see the large structure in the center of the avenue imitating a circus big top. Further along, on top of the Duarte Coelho bridge, the block's signature giant Rooster towers above the masses. The proto-rationalist façades of Guararapes Ave, projecting over the throng of revelers, frame the pageantry. It would be the same austere frame in its original color palette was it not for the carnival paints of the first floors, where viewing boxes are common, or the patina and dubious chromatic choices.

But as soon as the "rain of umbrellas" (Rio, 1997) begins, the colors fade and momentarily compose a background. However, it is the music, more so than the colors, that are the main ingredient to the Galo's spatiality. The frevo dictates my body's

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[22] Like Viana Leal or Sloper and the Trianon and Art-Palace cinemas.

[23] Created in 1978, but after the parade.

[24] Conselheiro Peretti, Pedro Ivo, Neto Mendonça, Agostinho Bezerra, and 28 de Setembro streets, in addition to Praça do Sol Square (Cavalcanti, 1972, p. 207).

[25] A year later, in 1946, the song "O frevo é assim" (tr. That's the way frevo is"), was released, interpreted in the voice of Carlos Galhardo to the delight of the revelers.

[26] In 1980, Boa Viagem inaugurated the Shopping Center Recife with its stores arranged in indoor streets with air conditioning, protected from heat and rain, with its Multiplex cinemas and its vast and safe parking garage. Little by little, as the Recife citizens lived their day-to-day lives, the central streets of Santo Antonio were emptied.

rhythm, determining at which moments it can see/perceive what constitutes the spatiality of the Galo. The perceptions I have of this spatiality, from the point of view of the crowd as it expands and compresses, depending on the width of the streets and their relations with the trios as they get closer or farther apart, is a consequence of the ability that music has to take me completely - or not. I feel there are frevos that touch us more than others. For me, the most touching frevo in the Galo is precise "Chuva de Sombrinhas" (tr. "Rain of Umbrellas"). not because it is a "panoramic shot of the Carnival in Pernambuco" (Teles, 2020), talking as it does about Pernambucans and "Pernambucanities"[27]. Not because it represents the Galo from the point of view of someone deeply acquainted with it: "(...) I composed the song all at once. (...) the image of rain of umbrellas, and the 40 degrees of Vassourinhas!" (Rio apud Teles, 2020). Above and beyond all that, the song simply touches me, and that's it!

3   Conclusion

From the recalled apotheosis, this narrating body now wonders: what will the carnival of 2023 be like? How to think about the spatialization of Galo's intangible expression, materialized in the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, in the post-pandemic world? As already perceived by Teles (2020), the rescue of the old carnivals, participatory carnivals, which guided the block in its early days, was later lost. The fact is that the Galo did not rescue Recife's carnival but actually reconstructed it from the ground up. In the choice between a show and participation, it chose both: a carnival of participatory spectacle. The Galo has reinvented itself with time and will certainly be able to reinvent itself again, offering itself to other narratives in post-pandemic times.

Given this possibility and the narrative that now closes, it is necessary to be aware of two facts. First: narrating the Galo through photos and through the reveler's body bumps into the impossibility of speaking the unspeakable, of expressing through words the experience of being a *folião*, a condition that prevents or limits access to the symbolic, to the language that orders and rationalizes the narrative. Second: the written narrative, as Gagnebin (2006, p. 11) puts it, wishes to perpetuate the lived life, preserving its memory for future generations. When it does so, it codifies and anchors it, stiffening its inherent plasticity.

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In the narrative path, the naturalization of Dantas Barreto Avenue, the Pracinha, and Guararapes Avenue, spaces known from daily life and past carnivals, is denaturalized according to the rhythm, to the way it is offered up to be appropriated by the body as it experiences the Galo. There is a strangeness that allows the understanding of the architecture of the city as a locus where the block is spatialized, enabling one to apprehend it as an expression that only has meaning in that specific space. The Galo wouldn't be the same in a different route. The performance of the block, of the reveler who embodies it, is transmuted according to the space it occupies, whether in Dantas Barreto Avenue or in Guararapes Avenue. The intangibility of the Galo, as an expression of Pernambuco's culture, is inseparable from the tangibility of the space it passes through. This fact reinforces an understanding of the need to integrate the tangible and intangible dimensions of this and other cultural goods, in a posture in opposition to the current hegemonic dichotomy.

But, if you, dear Reader, want to really understand the narrative shaped by Galo's spatiality, go to experience the river of steps and rain of umbrellas as it traverses Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues!

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[27] Duda, Alceu, Antônio Nóbrega, Selma, and Lia, all famous musicians of Recife. Rivers of footsteps, umbrella rains, the *coco*, the *ciranda*, the *passo da ema*, the passing snake, all sights and sounds of the Carnival!

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ART AND SYMBOLIC INCLUSION IN THE PLANNED CENTER OF BELO HORIZONTE, BRAZIL
ARTE E INCLUSÃO SIMBÓLICA NO CENTRO PLANEJADO DE BELO HORIZONTE
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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to reflect upon the relationship between hegemonic dominant culture and manifestations of the subordinate classes and the excluded through urban art. The research was built according to an interdisciplinary perspective, articulating a brief history of the planned city of Belo Horizonte and studies in the areas of art, memory and territory. In particular, the text analyzes some artistic interventions presented at the CURA (Circuito Urbano de Arte, or Urban Circuit of Art) festival, which has been developed in the urban space of Belo Horizonte. As an inspiration, the text presents the work "Brazilian Flag," by Leandro Vieira, who replaced the colors of the Brazilian national flag with the colors green, pink and white, as well as displaying the words "Indians (here understood as Native Brazilians), blacks and the poor," in place of the positivist motto "order and progress," which fomented a hygienist logic of social exclusion in urban planning. As a result, the artistic interventions studied reveal themselves as counter-hegemonic works, announcing new territories of life and memory, which propitiate the democratization of the city and the public space.

Keywords: Urban Art, Memory, Territory and the City.

1   Introdução

This article[1] aims at reflecting on the relations between the hegemonic culture of dominant groups and the manifestations of subordinate and excluded social groups through urban art. In the public space, these interventions present themselves as counter-hegemonic architectures, vehicles for the representation of excluded groups, as well as vectors for the conformation of new territories of life and memory, which promote the democratization of the city. The qualitative, applied, and explanatory research was constructed through an interdisciplinary perspective, articulating the brief history of the planned city of Belo Horizonte and studies on art, memory, and territory. To this end, it investigates the planning of the new capital of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte (a southeastern state in Brazil and its capital city), in the context of the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, highlighting the logic of conformation of spaces and places of memory, as well as the hygienist thought of social exclusion that guided the planning process.

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The text follows with the case study that involves the analysis of the contemporary art interventions of the group CURA (Circuito Urbano de Arte, or Urban Circuit of Art) and its *modus operandi* of reconfiguration of planned spaces, and the creation of new places for memory, in order to proceed to the symbolic inclusion of excluded groups in the initial moment of the conformation of the new capital. To this end, it makes use of the research of documents that include the group's Instagram page and the news broadcasted about the interventions carried out in the city in the years of 2020 and 2021 – meaning pandemic times. It should be noted that CURA's work has always taken place in public space, in the urban network as planned in the late nineteenth century, in areas that configure centralities, bringing together all kinds of people from the city and the metropolitan region. This form of performance leads us to use the term "urban art" in the text, in order to name the public way of making art in the city, for all those who pass by, challenging the hegemonic culture that configures the landscape (Pallamin, 2000).

As a preliminary inspiration that also comes from the field of art, originating from the streets – in this case, from the slums – , the text presents the work "Brazilian Flag," in Figure 1, with the colors green, pink and white and the words "Indians, blacks and the poor," displayed by the carnival designer Leandro Vieira, in 2019, during the parade of the Mangueira samba school. Such work presented itself as a landmark for an idea of Brazil in which the excluded occupy the central spot, and they do not mean an obstacle to the republican order and progress. Leandro Vieira's flag puts into perspective the green, yellow, blue and white symbol of the country and the political project that was the fruit of the progressive thought of the 19th century, marked by social segregation and exclusion that still conform the large Brazilian cities even today. At the same time, the new flag places itself as a symbol of a different place, of a promising, colorful and inclusive nation, presented in the great popular

festivity that is the carnival – but a place that for sure exists outside this event, in the midst of everyday life, in many territories lived across the country.

Fig. 1: "Brazilian Flag" by Leandro Vieira, showed in 2019. Source: Instagram @_leandrovieirarj, 2021. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CTh8VvHLi0f/. Accessed 9 Jun. 2022].

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It is this green and pink flag, understood as a symbol of a possible place, that moves the investigation of this study in search of the territories of memory and resistance of the excluded in the planned city of Belo Horizonte.

2   Territory, Memory, and Liberation

Leandro Vieira's "Brazilian Flag," with the colors green, pink and white and with the words "Indians, blacks and the poor," became a museum piece in 2021, and the carnival designer was thus elevated to the position of an artist by the PIPA award (Willmersdorf, 2021).[2] It is now understood as a rare work, one to be studied and exhibited as an asset of historical and cultural value. It has its field of recognition expanded, moving between the streets and the institutionalized innards of art. Certainly, when the museum – a place of hegemonic culture par excellence – opens its doors to the flag of the carnival designer, this work is placed as material for the memory of the country and a symbol of its territory. It speaks of a national identity to be recognized, lived and remembered.

One conception of "territory" refers to all sorts of space over which a nation holds its power and its sovereignty. For Santos (2005), this is an old political-legal notion of territory, connected to the idea of conquering inherited from the Modernity and understood as the basis and fundament of the Nation-State, which, at the same time, shaped it. Contemporarily, this notion has been requiring permanent historical revisions, since the global communion, due to information technologies. It has transnationalized the idea of territory. In the different approaches to this notion, however, the use that individuals or groups

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[2] The PIPA Award is an initiative of the PIPA Institute. It was created in 2010 to be the most relevant Brazilian award in visual arts. About the name PIPA, no record was found about the meaning of the acronym.

make of territory in their daily lives is also of interest for social analysis, and not only the territory itself. It is the way that the territory is used, constructed from objects and actions, that shapes the uniqueness of human space, the inhabited space.

To the formation of a nation's sovereignty over a territory, the language, the symbols, and the construction of a collective identity and a social memory are fundamental. Le Goff (2013, p. 435-436), in this respect, notes that memory is an object of power and is historically constructed according to the values of those who dominate. It is the same as saying that the historical perspective that exists in books is always that of the conquerors, of those who won. In other words, memory is in constant dispute, as are territories themselves, and it is up to the scientific professionals of memory, namely, "anthropologists, historians, journalists, sociologists," to "democratize social memory" so that this memory is built for freedom, and not for the domination of man over man.

According to Gondar (2005), in addition to historiography and oral and written words (symbolic signs), social memory is open to a variety of sign systems, which involves images in volumes or surfaces (iconic signs) and all kinds of marks inscribed on bodies or on the city landscape (indicial signs). The use of non-verbal sign systems involves other professionals, so that memory is also present and in dispute in spaces, architectures, monuments and all kinds of artifacts, as well as in landscapes, flavors, smells, and the most unusual places (Seixas, 2001). In everyday life, memory and remembering are closer to the actions, the subjects' dealings with all that configures what is lived and the territory. In this way, the city is full of places of memory that are shaped by professionals or by the subjects in their daily practices.

If one wants to think about a democratization that includes the memory of the dominated and their liberation, it is necessary to observe if this memory is established in the built landscape of the city – if it is available, as Benjamin would put it, in a situation of combat or danger, in order to be remembered and updated (Gagnebin, 2018); and, also, to understand the making of urban art, architecture, and urbanism, the way they contribute to the erasure of memories and lived territories or to the democratization of space, memories, and life in cities. Since it is impossible to think of all the national territory in one go, we seek the memory and the possible territories, demarcated through art, for Indians, blacks and the poor, even if ephemeral, in downtown Belo Horizonte.

3   The Belo Horizonte of Order and Progress

The city of Belo Horizonte was planned and built in the late nineteenth century with the goal of housing the new capital of Minas Gerais. Its project, a design shown in Figure 2, was developed by the engineer Aarão Reis, in the context of the proclamation of the republic in Brazil, according to positivist ideals that referred to a "new time" in the country. According to Lemos (1998), the so-called "republican era" was characterized by ideas of progress, industrialization and modern life that involved a new economic thought, as well as the constitution of a new urban society. Old capitals, such as Ouro Preto (also in MG) and Goiás Velho (in the state of Goiás), were considered inadequate to this emerging notion of progress and modernity. In those states, new capitals were planned to meet the new demands. Preexisting capitals such as Rio de Janeiro (RJ), São Paulo (SP) and Vitória (ES) were readapted. The projects sought to combat the obsolescence of the spatial organization and to provide the new adequate infrastructure.

According to Heliana Angotti Salgueiro (1997, p. 174), the Belo Horizonte city planner, engineer Aarão Reis,

> embodies the man of the 19th century, the polytechnic who believes that education, instruction, justice, dignity, science, technique, work, industry, moral religion, intervention in the city, territory and nature would lead humanity to become solidarized in the sharing of all progress (Salgueiro, 1997, p. 174, our translation).

Guided by these ideals, Aarão Reis elaborated the project for the new capital of Minas Gerais, with a view to the quality of life, the distribution of flows, routes and the visual organization of the city and its functions. The planner integrated an orthogonal grid, defined by streets, with a diagonal grid, defined by avenues. Besides breaking with the uniformity of the orthogonal layout of the streets, the avenues created connections that facilitated displacement and the view of the landscape. These monumental axes organized the visibility and the topographically hierarchical points in function of the uses, recalling the baroque perspectival ideal, restored by the neoclassical period, experimented in the urban planning of Washington and in the remodeling of Paris (Lemos, 1998).
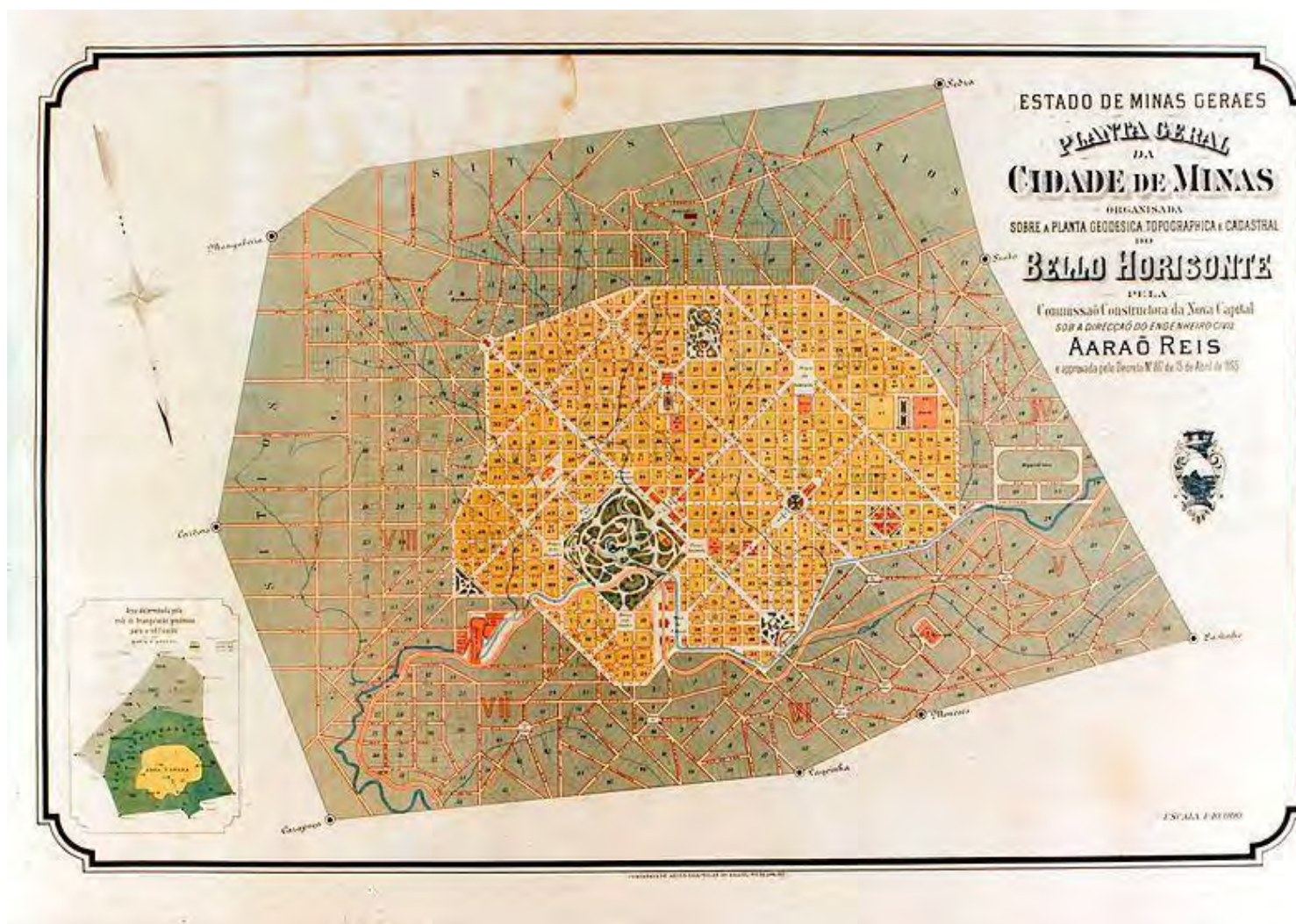
Fig. 2: Belo Horizonte city plan, by engineer Aarão Reis, 1895. Source: Wikimedia Commons. Available at: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Planta_BH.jpg. Accessed 9 Jun. 2022.

According to Lemos (1988), this "ideal city," conceived according to a main urban mesh, evidences the genesis of discrimination and segregation typical of modern capitalist urbanism. Salgueiro (2020) also identifies the political interests that regarded not only the urban organization, but also the settlement then understood as "adequate." In the photographs depicting the Building Commission and the inhabitants of the site chosen for the implementation of the city, it is observed that "the newcomers install themselves as master reformers and displace the autochthones, in the same way that a century earlier the Europeans had expelled the Indians" (Salgueiro, 2020, p. 85). To Salgueiro (2020, p. 190), the construction of a city with modern values implied the elimination of all those who would hinder progress: to the "topographic *toilette*," succeeded the "social *toilette*." Planning and organization involved demolitions, expropriations, and the inevitable exclusion of the inhabitants of the place.

In the official texts, Aarão Reis narrates the difficult mission that culminated with his resignation in May 1895.[3] Without friction, this mission was responsible for the expropriation of more than four hundred properties, most of them built and cultivated, which included urban lots, houses and cottages. The account shows the planner's understanding that, in a short time, many would abandon their homes and long-standing habits (Salgueiro, 2020). Many of these excluded people settled in the surroundings of the planned city, but without an infrastructure that could house them, since this type of investment was not thought for the new capital. For Salgueiro (2020, p. 199), Belo Horizonte constitutes

> A surprising example of the application of urbanism based on social exclusion. The way of settlement and the direction taken by the effective growth are harbingers of the miserable suburbs

[3] Aarão Reis coordinated the commission of study of the locations indicated for the new capital in 1893 and the work of the construction commission, afterwards, in 1894.

of today's Brazilian cities: an outcome that did not cross the minds of the progressive republicans of the late 19th century (Salgueiro, 2020, p. 199, our translation).

For Salgueiro (2020), in the annals of Belo Horizonte's history, the hygienist argument is present. It is one of the strongest ideological representations of that period that justified the rejection of the poor and defined their place in the outskirts. The Brazilian *mestizaje*, which for orthodox positivists meant the conciliation of races (white, indigenous and black), was understood, in practice, in a stereotypical and discriminatory way, based on the thesis of racial degeneration. The mixture was seen as a cause of backwardness, which was of no interest to those who aimed at development and progress. In the urban network of Aarão Reis, only the names of some indigenous tribes remained as a memory of all the excluded, which, together with the names of cities, rivers, mountains, historical dates and illustrious citizens, were understood as deserving perpetuity in the memory of the people (Saraiva; Carvalho; Diniz, 2006). Poor and black people were not contemplated, and were left out of the planned city.

4   The Belo Horizonte of the CURA

In the same sense of Leandro Vieira's work, some contemporary art actions in today's Belo Horizonte seek to expand the spaces of representation of Indians, blacks and the poor, once expelled by the original urban planning. The actions of CURA (Circuito Urbano de Arte) have restored the spaces of expression for those excluded groups with the purpose of constituting territories of memories in the planned center, today transformed by the verticalization of that area.

CURA began its actions in July 2017, creating panels painted on the blank external walls of downtown buildings (Cruz, 2017). The themes and places of intervention in each edition are objects of research by the organizers, artist Priscila Amoni and producers Juliana Flores and Janaína MaCruz, together with guest curators, who select artists and proposals to be executed, having Indians, blacks and poor people also as protagonists.

The project is shared and presented to the city through social networks. The residents of the building, that will have its wall painted, receive the project beforehand to be aware of it and to give their approval. The painting process, which takes place over some time, becomes an event in itself, an open-air studio, to be contemplated and experienced by all those who live there or pass by. The interventions in the public space are duly agreed upon with the public authorities. Thus, over the years, CURA has been reconfiguring the landscape with contemporary themes through actions that involve the understanding of urban art and social inclusion. In times of pandemic and a great crisis in the country, CURA has maintained its activities, expanding their struggle alongside indigenous and black people, in the presentation of the 5th edition of the Urban Art Circuit, held between September 22 and October 4, 2020. The event had as curators the indigenous artist Arissana Pataxó and the black artist Domitila de Paulo. It was presented, also through social networks, in the form of the poster shown in Figure 3, accompanied by a text that reflected on CURA's practices and the knowledge of black and indigenous people related to the planet and the collectivity.
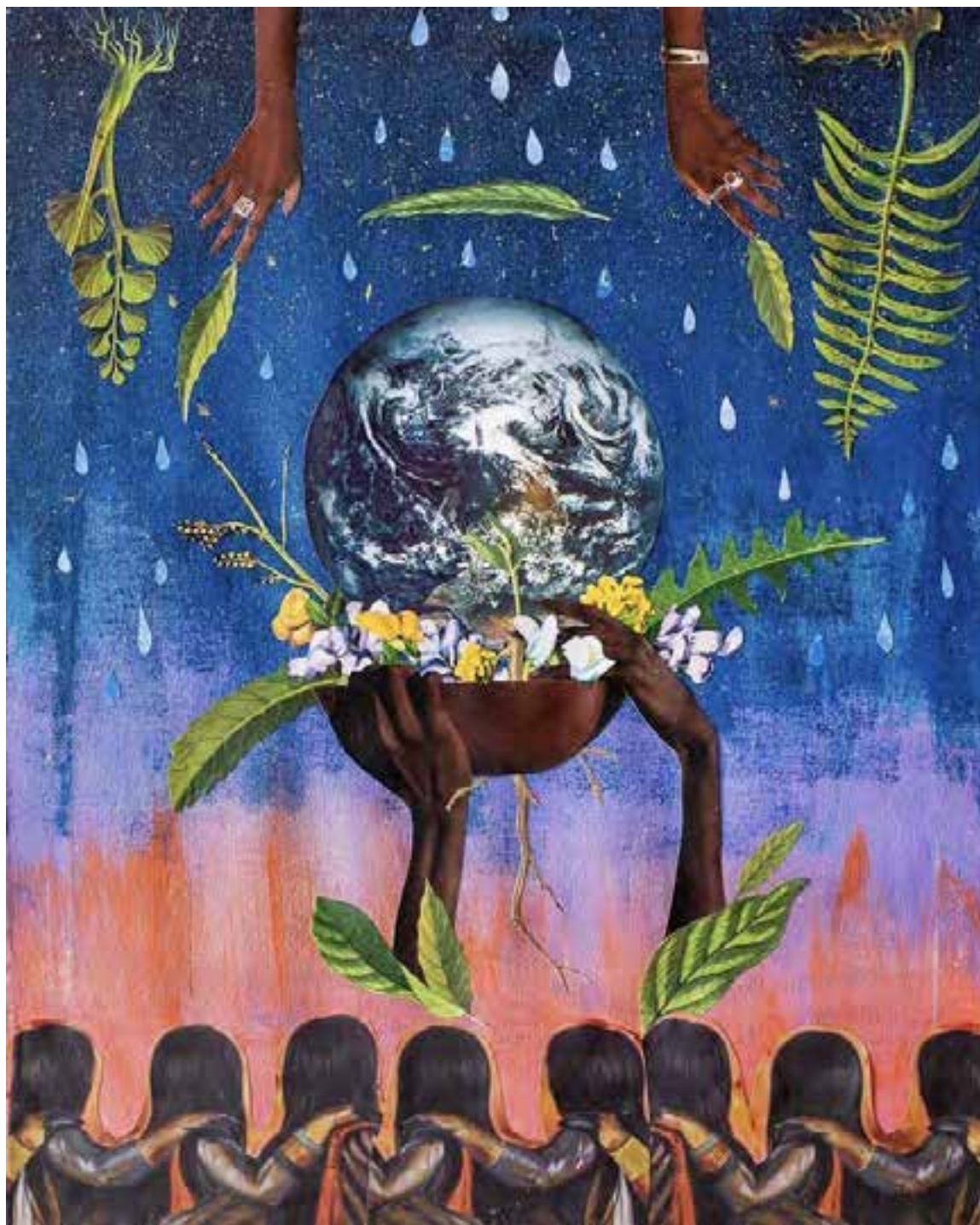
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Fig. 3: CURA's 2020 poster, authored by Arissana Pataxó and Domitila de Paula. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2020. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CEcsavIhsf6/?hl=pt-br. Accessed on 7 Feb. 2022.

The acronym of the group was associated with the noun "cure" and the verb "to cure," and with the ancestral knowledge of black and indigenous people, from a feminine, maternal and welcoming gaze, announcing in the year 2020 the actions that would take place next and in 2021. Through this proposal, the struggle of the excluded would be transformed into action in the city and in everyday life. The proposed "cure" would come from this occupation of the space that had never been destined to them, and that, through urban art, would conform as a sharing of social memories that would now be available, in large format, in the urban panorama, transforming the city with new colors and new characters.

Fig. 4: : Work "Entidades (Cobra Grande)", or "Entities" (Big Snake), by Jaider Esbell, 2020. Photo by Flávio Tavares from the newspaper O Tempo. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2020. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CFe8lzOByCG/?hl=pt-br. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

There were numerous interventions in 2020, with a highlight to the first urban sculpture made by an indigenous artist in Belo Horizonte. The luminous work, named "Entidades" ("Entities"), by Jaider Esbell, was installed in the arches of the Santa Tereza Viaduct, as shown in Figure 4. The presence of the giant snakes configured a surprising event in the city at a critical moment of the pandemic. The "big snake" has great importance for the Makuxi people, which were Esbell's, and he explained what it represents in their culture:

> The path of water, of abundance, because it lives underground, in the great underground rivers, keeping the water movement pulsating so that the springs are maintained. It is an idea of making sacred this animal that is still so trivialized in the Amazon itself, and how people do not value its wisdom, its medicine, its power, and also extending this cosmology to our daily and current reality, which is a challenge we are presented to, of substituting mining for another form of economy, this secular wave of sadness that this economic activity has caused to all of humanity (Esbell apud Revista Museu, 2020, s.p., our translation).

The scale, colors, shape and meaning of "Entidades" over the arches of the city's historic viaduct led many people to leave their homes to see and photograph the mythical beings, never before imagined or seen on the city scenery. Both during the day and lit up at night, people created images, which circulated in the media and on social networks, of a Belo Horizonte enchanted by the forest beings. This historic landscape of the viaduct, whose arches were often climbed by poets and writers, led by Drummond, in the 1920s – in a deliberate action of the poet against the sameness of the capital of Minas Gerais (Villa, 2016) – was again appropriated by poetry, escaped the routine and met with the ancestry of the original peoples, so little or almost never experienced in the big cities.

Still in that edition, at the Itamaraty Building, between Tupis St. and Afonso Pena Ave., the black artist Robinho Santana, from Diadema (state of São Paulo), painted the mural entitled "Deus é mãe" ("God is mother"), shown in Figure 5, covering almost 2 thousand square meters. In it, there is the image of a mother with a daughter on her lap and with her son clutching her arm, all black. The scene, with warm colors such as red, yellow and pink, in dialogue with a yellow frame with graffiti by Poter, Lmb, Bani, Tek and Zoto, created a great impact on the urban landscape. The painting is situated on the most important and widest avenue in the planned city – on the great axis that directs the gaze towards the Curral mountain range, the one that forms the beautiful horizon that names the city. It was in this context of traditional space, that the great black goddess inserted herself, with her young children, and became part of the new image of the city.

Fig. 5: ""Deus é mãe" ("God is Mother"), authored by Robinho Santana, 2020. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2020. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CGmonaAhosZ/?hl=pt-br. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

The two works, "Entidades" and "Deus é mãe," by exposing other imaginaries in the city, were attacked and threatened. Esbell's work was the target of religious extremism and reactionary right-wingers who led racist attacks through social networks (Revista Museu, 2020). Robinho Santana's work was criminalized in 2021, and the organizers of CURA, along with the five artists, were included, as perpetrators, in the Civil Police inquiry that investigated the occurrence of crime against the environment. The reason was the presence of graffiti aesthetics (CURA, 2021a). CURA mobilized public opinion and obtained great popular and media support in both situations. But the clash demonstrates the difficulty that exists when citizens encounter the representations of those who, for many, should remain without history, without memory, without territory and invisible.

In 2021, still during the pandemic, the highlight was the intervention carried out at Raul Soares Square, which started from the discovery of Marajoara references in the graphics of its Portuguese stone floor, as shown in Figure 6. This universe served as the reference for a large anaconda, which was painted around the square, on the asphalt, with contrasting and strong colors, yellow, blue and pink, as idealized by Sadith Silvano and Ronin Koshi – a work that can be seen in its entirety in the landscape shown in Figure 7 and in detail in the framing presented in Figure 8. For CURA, the great guardian of the waters and forests was invoked by many hands that, in communion, brought forth the largest Shipibo painting in the world (CURA, 2021b).

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Fig. 6: Detail of the study of Marajoara elements in Raul Soares Square in 2021. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2021. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CUTXG3Up04z/?hl=pt-br. Accessed on 7 Feb. 2022.

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Fig. 7: Aerial view with the painting done on the asphalt, around Raul Soares Square, 2021. Photo by Rogério Argolo. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2021. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CXUmU1grq-s/?hl=pt-br. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

Fig. 8: Detail of the painting on the asphalt around Raul Soares Square, 2021. Source: Instagram: @cura.art, 2021. Available at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CV1FU4UJ6nq/?hl=pt-br. Accessed 7 Feb. 2022.

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On November 2, Day of the Dead in Brazil, in the early evening, with the painting in process, a great collective ritual of healing and enchantment was held, involving the ancestral experience, the smoking of cleansing, the cooking of sacred foods, the singing to the sacred Jussara and the painting with genipap of the Marajoara graphics. The square was renamed Patú-Anu, becoming a territory enchanted by the magic and ancestral strength of the Marajoara people (CURA, 2021c). Coincidentally, that same night in São Paulo, the indigenous artist Jaider Esbell killed himself (Assis, 2021).

5   Final Considerations

In the city, the streets, avenues, architectures, monuments, surfaces, ornaments, or, in short, all of its landmarks are repositories of memories that can be triggered at any moment along the paths of subjects. The process of building and planning these spaces, however, has often been tied to the hegemonic values of the dominant culture and its representations. In Brazil, in the context of the Proclamation of the Republic, the planning of cities was based on the positivist ideals of order

and progress, which in practice meant a segregationist and hygienist urbanization. The mestizaje of blacks, whites, and natives was seen as an obstacle to the advancement and development of the country. Therefore, those who were not interested in the so-called "project of a future" were to be banished from the planned city and were not to be represented in it.

In case of Belo Horizonte, the landscape design was based on a predominantly white and European repertoire, and the only traces that remained of those who should be forgotten were the names of some indigenous tribes in the streets of the planned city. Perhaps, a possible democratization of memory has taken place nowadays through contemporary urban art. CURA, in its impactful interventions portraying black and indigenous people, created, on a large scale, experiences of the Aarão Reis mesh that propitiated the construction of other memories in city life, true counter-hegemonic architectures. Other universes of reference, with large dimensions and in strong colors, have become visible and will certainly constitute territories of memory while those works last. Our hope is that this kind of intervention, like Leandro Vieira's "Brazilian Flag," can inspire a more open, democratic, inclusive, fair and respectful future in our country, giving back to Indians, blacks and the poor their spaces. May the awareness of the importance of these groups be amplified in our memories, as well as the dialogue and the mixture that, as we know, make Brazil a country of many colors.

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NATURE AND HEGEMONY IN THE WAYS OF LIVING *SEMPRE-VIVAS* FLOWER PICKERS
NATUREZA E HEGEMONIA NOS MODOS DE MORAR DOS APANHADORES DE SEMPRE-VIVAS
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Abstract

Traditional communities in Brazil are historically marked by situations of conflict, lack of autonomy and denial of rights. We address the issue of housing in the Mata dos Crioulos community, located in Diamantina, Minas Gerais, southeast Brazil, which identifies itself as a *quilombola* and *sempre-vivas* flower pickers. Amidst the territorial conflicts in which it is inserted, their ways of living are closely related to the ways of life and the "picking" of flowers, a characteristic that underlies its collective identity. During the "picking" period, the families live in caves, and when they tend the field, they live in houses built using traditional techniques, a practice that can be understood as counter-hegemonic because it is not guided by the socially accepted forms of the ideology of the capitalist mode of production. These practices were threatened by the implementation of Conservation Units of restricted use, which overlap the community's territory. This text reflects on why these ways of living are not considered legitimate by the western urban society, and whether counter-hegemony can be a key to understanding these ways of life. Based on the understanding of ideology as a form of specific social awareness and an investigation into the society/nature relationship, we conclude that the neglect of caves and houses that articulate the territoriality of flower pickers are directly linked to the hegemonic notions of external and universal nature.

Keywords: Ideology, Conflicts, State

1   Introduction

In the midst of a context of dissolution of the rights conquered by Brazilian traditional communities in the early 2020s, the ways of living are presented as territorialities and objects of vindication by these social groups. In a situation of fragility and constant disputes, traditional communities – *quilombolas*, indigenous people, extractivists, etc. – claim to be recognized by the State in order to have their ways of life legitimized and (re)produce their lives. The case of the *sempre-vivas* flower pickers, communities located near Diamantina, Minas Gerais, southeast Brazil, in the southern portion of *Serra do Espinhaço*, serves as an example to demonstrate how the ways of living are inserted in the struggle for the territories of traditional communities in a wider context, as a counter-hegemonic practice in a way.

After the overlapping of the communities' territories by Conservation Units of restricted use in the 1990s, the families of the *Mata dos Crioulos* community – distributed in five different locations – were deprived of part of their territory. Although this territory is necessary for the reproduction of their ways of living, the access to the fields where they carried out extractive activities and some of their homes have been restricted. The dynamics of these families' ways of living is marked by the phenomenon of transhumance, described by the speech of a resident in the documentary *Sempre-Vivas* (2014, our translation): "the time for us to take care of our gardens is not the time of the meadows. And in the time of the meadows we already take care of our crops". Part of the year, the families live close to the farmable areas, usually in wattle and daub or adobe houses, and when the *sempre-vivas* bloom, they live close to the flower fields, in caves – and these were taken over by the parks. From the debate about the ideologies of nature, we seek to demonstrate the limits and contradictions of State actions (in its various spheres) in recognizing the territorialities of these communities, which perpetuates and deepens the political disputes and conflicts that mark life of these peoples. In addition, we seek to reflect on the possibility of thinking about the practices of traditional communities as counter-hegemonic.

To substantiate the nature debate, we use authors from the Marxist tradition, especially Neil Smith (1988), and make our observations based on the notes from a fieldwork with an ethnographic report presented in Cerqueira (2019). The observations related to the ways of living, of constituting and building their housing in the *Mata dos Crioulos* community allows us to glimpse counter-hegemonic practices, in the sense of not fully adapting to the dominant ideology and values. However, we consider that the notion of cultural hegemony in the Gramscian sense results more in a concealment of aspects of the reality of these practices than in any aid to its understanding.

Nature – and the ways of knowing it, mastering it, etc. – is one of the main and oldest issues that refer to Western science, and we can say that it remains a mystery in the eyes of many. By pondering how a bourgeois ideology of nature was constructed, we will draw some parallels that elucidate the ways in which the State deals with the issue of housing in the

Brazilian countryside, which in our view are linked to the conceptions of external and universal nature. We do not consider that the lack of legitimacy given to the ways of living in houses with construction techniques of raw clay or living in caves are a direct consequence of the exclusion condition of this specific social group. This phenomenon is the result of a historical construction that involves several subjects over time. It is necessary to think about how the universality of the economic productive system governed by capital allows the existence of these particularities, as is the case with the ways of living in the *Mata dos Crioulos* community.

2   *Mata dos Crioulos*: Traditional Practices and Ways of Surviving

There are many traditional communities who occupy the southern region of Serra do Espinhaço in Minas Gerais, southeast Brazil, such as the *quilombolas* and indigenous people, who have, for long, inhabited that territory. Over time, these peoples have developed land occupation and survival strategies, in which their ways of living are transformed and reconciled with economic, cultural, and environmental activities.

The black population there is numerous, and was initially taken to the region by the Portuguese colonizers, who in the 18th and 19th centuries used their slave labor during the peak of the mining economic cycle. The presence of diamonds in the locality was "discovered" in 1729 (IBGE, 1959, p. 21), leading to an accelerated occupation of the place due to the promise of quick richness, a process that formed a small aristocracy and consolidated the rest of the population in evident poverty. Unlike other colonial Brazilian economic activities under the slave regime, such as, for example, sugar cane mills, mineral extraction provided a different spatial organization. Instead of masters and slaves being concentrated in the same place, as was the case with sugar mills, mining, due to the way its work is carried out, required the presence of an urban center of power control, while the activity was carried out elsewhere. Besides being considerably more dangerous and dirty than agriculture, the wealth generated by the mineral exploration activity is disproportionately greater, which enabled the configuration of a powerful and concentrated elite, which, as in any colony of mineral exploration, was abandoned after the period of abundance (Galeano, 2015).

As is common in the official Brazilian history, there is little information about the many enslaved black people who sought freedom and formed the local *quilombos* in the recorded history of the exploitation of diamond mines. Their presence was fundamental for the production of wealth that consolidated the local elites, and the erasure of the historical relevance of the black population is also an instrument of hegemonic social control.

In recent centuries, many conflicts have occurred in the territories around Diamantina/MG, but the situation has worsened in recent decades, since the implementation of the Rio Preto State Park (RPSP) in 1996 in the municipality of São Gonçalo do Rio Preto/MG, and expansion of the same park in 2005 in southern direction. This area corresponds to part of the territory of the *Mata dos Crioulos* community, where the "picking" of *sempre-viva* flowers takes place, one of the main economic activities of the community, which integrates the identity of this social group (Minas Gerais, 1994; 1998; 1998b). This overlapping of the areas of the RPSP and the community led to many changes in their ways of living, and especially in their ways of occupying, circulating, walking and establishing residences on the territory. At the time of flower "picking", all the people of the community went to the tops of the mountain range, and stayed there for the entire time that the *sempre-viva* species flowered, something around four or five months. At that time, the flower pickers and *quilombolas* leave the houses located in the lower part of the territory and live in the *lapas*, which are types of caves, where they install fences and internal divisions for the accommodation of families with materials commonly found at that site and building techniques they've mastered for generations. In figures 1, 2, and 3, specimens of *lapas* still used by the population can be seen. In figures 4 and 5 it is possible to see one of the only houses in the community that preserves the thatched roof and the *barreamento*[1] as a form of maintenance and cleaning.

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[1] *Barreamento* is a process in which clay is diluted in water and other materials – such as lemon juice, cattle manure, dyes, etc. – and ironed with fabric cloths on the surfaces of walls and floors for their maintenance.

Fig. 1: Entrance of a *lapa*, once used as a sale. Source: Cerqueira, 2019.

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Fig. 2: Entrance area of a *lapa*. Source: Cerqueira, 2019.

Fig. 3: External view of the entrance and fence of a *lapa*. Source: Cerqueira, 2019.

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Fig. 4: Facade of one of the only thatched roof houses in the *Mata dos Crioulos* community. Source: Cerqueira, 2019.

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Fig. 5: Furnace and clay floor. Source: Cerqueira, 2019.

These Parks were implemented in a Conservation Unit (CU) regime of restricted use, which restricts the community's access to its own territory, where the fields with the greatest diversity of species of *sempre-viva* flowers were located; as well as the caves considered best located by them, in an area that constituted a "neighborhood" of *lapas*. That is, the community had its territoriality affected after part of its area was subtracted by those who arrived from outside, claiming they wanted to "protect nature". From the moment the Park was implemented and its area fenced, the ways of living in the territory of the people of *Mata dos Crioulos* were substantially modified to adapt to the new reality of restrictions to which they were forced to adapt.

The lack of recognition and neglect of this way of living by the State, both in the fields where they picked flowers and in their homes during the traditional practice, resulted in conflicts that still exist in the daily life of the community and that causes significant changes in their ways of living.

Previously, the community lived in conditions of relative invisibility before the State, as their lands were not the target of any kind of political, economic or cultural interest, except for recent investments by mining companies that aimed to settle there in the last decade. After suffering the violent and truculent actions of the State through environmental agencies to remove them from their territory, visibility became necessary for their survival. It is in this context that an investigation into the ways of living and the ways of housing of the people of *Mata dos Crioulos* is relevant.

Mata dos Crioulos and other *sempre-viva* flower picking communities, at a time of intense territorial disputes and conflicts with environmental agencies, started a joint organization, which gave rise to the Commission in Defense of the Rights of Extractive Communities (CODECEX in Portuguese). This articulation of the various flower-picking communities occurred during the implementation of the *Sempre-Vivas* National Park (Sempre-Vivas NP) in the mid-2000s, which was also a source of conflicts related to the restriction of the use of the territory of other communities of flower pickers.

The housing issue, generally in Brazilian human science, is a topic that has been extensively studied in urban contexts, in which contradictions are highlighted by existing conflicts due to social inequality expressed in the production of space in cities. When this topic is addressed in rural spaces, normally the focus of studies is on public policies that interfere in the dynamics of the countryside and reconfigure the peasants' ways of life through State action. In order to understand the housing issue in *Mata dos Crioulos*, a *quilombola* community, or rural black community, and *sempre-viva* flowers pickers, which has already had its existence ignored or devalued by the State on several occasions, it would not be possible to rely on any of these approaches.

We believe that the way that enables greater understanding of the housing issue in this context is by relating what was observed in a fieldwork that used the participant observation methodology, carried out in 2018 (Cerqueira, 2019), with the notions of nature and hegemony of Western society from a Marxist perspective. We believe that these notions are central to the conflicts observed in the Mata dos Crioulos community, and from these it is possible to make fertile observations that contribute to the understanding of these practical problems.

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Participant observation was considered the most appropriate methodology for fieldwork in a community in a situation of conflict, as it allows for a closer relationship between researcher and the researched person/people. We followed the guidelines of Foot-Whyte (1980) who reported his research experience stating the importance of the process of entering the group and the insertion of this strange subject, and the way in which the social practices of the community are altered by his presence, as a subject who is active in that context. To condense the information collected, the ethnographic report was the most appropriate form considered in Cerqueira (2019), as it allows the researcher's perceptions to be pointed out at the same time as the narrative unfolds. To elaborate the present reflections in this text, we appropriated the experience of participant observation reported in the aforementioned text to formulate theoretical elaborations from the keys to understanding the ideology and hegemony of the notions of nature.

3   Ideologies and Notions of Nature: Hegemony?

Initially, it is worthy to point out that we consider the term ideology according to the notes of István Mészáros (2004, p. 65, our translation), who defines it as a "specific form of social conscience". This is not dissociated from and is not opposed to science, as any neutrality promised by it is not possible, and the search for knowledge comes from the purpose of transforming reality. The knowledge produced is not neutral, and neither is the role of the researcher in the field. With this awareness, the surveys of the research and the writings elaborated here were carried out.

We chose in this text to work with "notions" and not with "concepts", because we do not necessarily deal with the academic dispute between the definitions of housing, ways of living, ideology or hegemony. These conceptions are linked to social world views, related to ideology according to Michel Löwy (2002, p. 13, our translation): "a structural and organic set of ideas, representations, theories, and doctrines, which are expressions of social interests linked to the social positions of groups or

classes.". We see the housing issue in this specific case as the clash of hegemonic notions linked to the ideology of nature, which has different meanings in relation to the social group that appropriates it.

It is possible to state that construction techniques that use raw clay are depreciated in Brazil, even when we observe common sense comments from community residents. This is mainly due to the Brazilian concrete industry, which established its hegemony throughout the 20th century in the country, according to Roberto Eustaáquio Santos and Bernardo Oliveira (2006). This gave rise to the myths that wattle and daub constructions are the cause of the proliferation of kissing bugs that transmit Chagas disease, among other beliefs that devalued these traditional construction techniques. This traditional knowledge was disappearing from the life of the Brazilian population in general through this devaluation. Santos and Oliveira (2006, [no pagination], our translation) also point out that "[concrete] is seen as the natural result of a long evolution: the adobe from the colonial period would have been replaced by brick masonry from the 19th century, to finally arrive at concrete, a sign of modernization, progress and development". Clay buildings are commonly seen as a synonymous of poverty – antagonistic to the hegemonic notion of progress and well-being. In other cases, these constructions are observed from a romantic point of view – originating from a predominantly urban population that seeks refuge from urban life in a supposed proximity to nature through permaculture[2], without realizing the artificiality of it. These positions are intrinsic to the ways of seeing and perceiving the rural and the countryside in Brazil, and also to the vision of nature, which Neil Smith (1988) presents as the bourgeois ideology of nature, consolidating conceptions of nature as *external* and *universal*, a relationship that we explain below.

> When thinking of nature as external, it is considered as something that does not relate in any way to society or culture, static and unchanging. In this way, clay constructions are seen as incompatible with the development already achieved by society, if there are more suitable techniques, why continue using something old? However, it is not taken into account that in Brazil, these materials are more suitable for the climate, mainly due to their thermal inertia. (Cerqueira, 2019, p. 159, our translation).

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The conjuncture that built the characterization of these techniques as inferior to others in the population's imagination is fundamental for understanding the existing conflict between traditional knowledge and the hegemony posed by the most diverse agents of capitalism. If the *quilombola* population itself says that a "house" is defined only by the construction with ceramic bricks and cement, and that houses built with traditional techniques were considered shacks, in a pejorative way, what do they think of these people who live in caves for part of the year?

When nature is considered a universal notion, a romantic vision is created around nature itself, and human beings and society in general are just one element among all of nature. This bucolic aspect also fails to perceive nature as something socially produced, and disregards the role of anthropic interventions in the environment in a dialectical relationship, and places society as just another subject, subjected by nature, which is not capable of affecting it in any way. Thus, we see how a conception that romantically exacerbates clay constructions can be constructed. This is "permaculture" – a term used in urban and academic circles –, which enables proximity to the earth and brings a supposed individual well-being built on the ideal of a harmonious relationship between society and nature.

The definitions of permaculture mentioned above relate to a vision of universal nature, as defined by Smith (1988), in which human society appears only as one of the parts of a natural system that is supposedly harmonious. Realizing an imbalance in the relationship between society and nature, a group of environmental activists created this term in an attempt to regulate this relationship. Not only that, those who use this term still make use of an appreciation of ancestral knowledge, attributed precisely to traditional communities, but only in this way can they be estimated for being in agreement with the subjects who found dissatisfaction with the hegemonic ways of life of urban centers. Construction techniques that use clay are romanticized

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[2] Permaculture was a term coined from the junction of the words permanent and agriculture, "permanent agriculture", created by an Australian in the year of 1976. The term is defined as "a system of planning, project and design of properties (rural or urban) and of sustainable and productive communities (neighbourhoods, towns, cities)" (IPOEMA, 2016, p. 15, our translation) and the "systemic and holistic thinking that we are led to develop for the implementation and readaptation of our systems (residences, properties, cities, bioregions) towards Permanent Culture" (IPOEMA, 2016, p. 15, our translation).

as a way of returning to nature, to bucolic life – as criticized by Raymond Willians (1989), to harmony between man and nature.

Fernanda Monteiro (2011), who deals directly with the issue of *sempre-viva* flower pickers, states that

> the historical materialization of the 'cult of the wild' through the creation of parks takes place mainly in former tropical European colonies, in rural areas often occupied by indigenous peoples and traditional peasant communities. Such groups carry other myths and signs related to nature, which support other social worldviews and other ways of relating to it, not recognizing themselves in the society/nature dichotomy. (Monteiro, 2011, p. 78, our translation).

This so-called "cult of the wild" can be understood within a dichotomy between society and nature, perpetuated by the external and universal conceptions of nature, as presented by Smith (1988). Traditional communities, however, do not recognize themselves in this dichotomy.

If for bourgeois society, at a certain point, nature was considered hostile, now it is found in a "[domesticated] form, sanitized, spread out on coffee tables, nature was a belonging, just like the cat in the house. family" (Smith, 1988, p. 38, our translation), subservient to man. Smith (1988) also states that "just as the vision of a hostile nature had its social function – legitimizing the attack on nature – the same occurred regarding the vision of a virtuous nature." (Smith, p. 39, our translation). Each of these conceptions has a very specific social function, which perpetuates the hegemonic and dichotomous notion of nature.

Virtuous nature, which can be worshiped by society, promotes the nostalgic vision that reinforces the ideal of that supposed "return" to nature and subsequently legitimizes the urban bourgeois thought of "preservation" of nature (Willians, 1989). Traditional communities are seen by Western society at the same time as hostile, the wild to be dominated; and as a friend, who represent direct contact with nature, who serve as an example to be followed in solving environmental problems. The same applies to the perception of the ways of living in the *Mata dos Crioulos* community: the *lapas* and clay houses are considered socially backward and obsolete, and, for that, must be transformed to make way for the technological and modern, which would currently be masonry and concrete. When these techniques are appropriated by an urban middle class that seeks the aforementioned "return" to nature, clay buildings are praised and seen as something desirable for urban life, which is supposedly no longer able to "connect to nature", as if this was a universal entity of which humans are only part of the totality. The same can be said about the *lapas*, which can serve as shelter for backpackers who spend their weekends in the aforementioned Parks, but cannot shelter the families that have occupied them for generations.

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On the subject, Smith (1988) continues: "[a] exteriority is replaced by universality, at least on the weekend." (Smith, p. 44, our translation). Thus, nature becomes a vacation trip, something temporary, which each one chooses when they can "reconnect". In the unequal social structure consolidated by the capitalist system, this implies unequal access to nature and its conceptions by different social groups. These two conceptions are related and contradictory to each other. "The external conception is a direct result of the objectification of nature in the production process." (Smith, 1988, p. 44, our translation). It is then possible to state that both conceptions have a social and political function: the ideology of bourgeois nature.

> It is important to understand that the human-nature argument is not valid if, for whatever reason, nature's condition of exteriority is denied. For 'human nature' to fulfill its ideological function, there must be a separate nature with its own inviolable powers, for it is in this nature that the human-nature argument has its basis. To maintain this powerful ideological concept with all its fragile contradiction, there is a singular and revealing omission of the concept of nature. By definition, external nature excludes human activity, and so does universal nature, except in a more abstract sense that labour is necessary and dignified. (Smith, 1988, p. 46, our translation).

If both conceptions exclude the presence and human activity – considered by Neil Smith in a Lukacsian reading as "labour" in general – from nature, how are these ways of living considered within these conceptions? In the case of *lapas*, they can serve travelers as a temporary shelter, or they can be appreciated as an archaeological site, as this way of living was only acceptable when the human species "was not evolved", and can only be recognized as a museum piece, symbolizing part of human evolution, untouchable. For the *sempre-viva* flower pickers, who use these *lapas* as shelter in the 21st century as

a way to help and optimize their activity in the flower fields, the right to use the caves is denied by the State, as these cannot actually be homes within these conceptions of nature that exclude human activity from its essence, a fact that we seek to oppose based on the unity between society and nature.

The ideology of nature, here, operates in this process of dissolving the "blame" for the environmental crisis on society as a whole from the denial of practical activity: at the same time that it is presented as an agent, part of nature that destroys it (universal), it is outside (external), observing its own performance, and no viable solution is presented. When everyone is responsible or guilty, it is not possible to identify who or what is truly responsible. We understand that this

> starts from an abstract conception of equality in which everyone is supposedly equal in the face of the environmental liabilities produced, as if everyone had the same degree of responsibility in the face of the problems generated, forgetting that we are unequal in terms of the economic assets produced. (Lima, 2015, p. 111, our translation).

In the case of *quilombolas* and *sempre-viva* flower pickers, on the contrary, the blame for environmental problems is not attributed to society in general. The subject who supposedly damages nature is very well identified, blamed and even criminalized. Not only because of the physical and verbal violence reported by residents, but also the lack of recognition of their ways of living and housing can be considered institutional violence. If we consider, in addition to these issues raised, the territorial division of labor worldwide, we can reflect more deeply on the Brazilian case.

> Colonies were exploited for their resources, with no regard for the well-being of local (usually indigenous) populations. Mining and exploitation of energy and forest resources tend to follow a similar logic. But the environmental effects are localized: they leave behind an uneven geographic landscape of abandoned mining towns, depleted soils, toxic waste dumps and devalued heritage values. *The environmental benefits lie elsewhere* (Harvey, 2016, p. 238, our translation and emphasis).

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Ideology continues to reaffirm, based on the dichotomous conception of society and nature, social inequality on the most diverse scales. As Mészáros (2004) observes: "[the] dominant ideology tends to produce a categorical structure that mitigates the current conflicts and eternalizes the structural parameters of the established social world" (Mézáros, p. 69, our translation, original emphasis). When the responsibility for the environmental crisis falls on the entire population in a generalized way, this is exactly a denial that classes consume, appropriate and produce nature in different ways, and once again directs the resolution of problems to a dead end.

We see that ideology, especially that imposed on nature and its relationship with society, plays an important role in defining the paths of the ways of existing in traditional communities.

We emphasize that the notions of nature, understood here in terms of the ideology of nature posed by Neil Smith (1988), corroborate with the perpetuation of the hegemony of capital as a social relationship – both in its dimension of universality and externality in relation to society. It is precisely through readings that place only the notion of hegemony at the center of the debate that we lose sight of the contradictions of reality, as an appearance is created that what is not identical to the hegemonic can automatically be considered a counterposition. The contradictions of the conflicts of traditional communities in the political field are evident from the policies of cultural heritage and natural heritage, as we point out from the study of the same case in Cerqueira (2021). The issue on the ways of living of the *Mata dos Crioulos* community shows us that, despite having non-hegemonic elements in their traditional practices, their way of existing still occurs in terms of hegemony or universality. This way of living is not necessarily opposed to such terms, but is amalgamated in such a way as not to lose its essence. Therefore, hegemony (re)poses counter-hegemony in a dialectical relationship.

4   Final Considerations

The transformation of the condition of traditional communities is not feasible through the romanization of the communities or the attempt to simply exalt their ways of life. As we can see in the case of *Mata dos Crioulos*, the State's indifference to the community's problems is not news. The condition of enslavement of the black population, now a remnant of *quilombolas*, left

this portion of the population in the ruins of a homeland built from the exploitation of the land, and the most isolated communities remained for a long time without access to basic rights as Brazilian citizens. The recognition of the remnants is nothing more than an attempt to correct a historical debt, something necessary, but that does not guarantee this population a worthy condition of existence.

The relations of social domination are not a consequence of a specific consciousness of the dominant class towards the dominated, but it happens that way because it is the only possible way to allow the accumulation of capital. If we do not take into account that social relations are guided and increasingly deepened in this logic, it will not be possible to overcome the logic of class society and commodity fetishism, where relations between people seem to be relations between things, and vice versa, as Marx (2017) states in the first chapter of his most relevant work.

We do not consider that the lack of legitimacy given to ways of living in houses with construction techniques made of raw clay or *lapas* is a direct consequence of the condition of social exclusion of this group, or even of considering these as hegemonic or counter-hegemonic. This phenomenon, permeated by several contradictions, is the result of a historical construction that involves several subjects over time. It is not possible to state that only the ideology built from the conceptions of nature is the reason why these ways of living are not recognized, but this ideology certainly helps us to reveal the fact that there are countless factors that contribute to this reality. By considering an architectural practice as counter-hegemonic, based on the Gramscian notion of cultural hegemony, as a series of ideas, values, beliefs and behaviors proposed by dominant groups, naturalized and reproduced by the social body, we are at risk of just replacing the condition of hegemony that places dominant groups as conscious agents of the social relationship of capital, and not as subjects conditioned by the fetishistic character of this universal social relationship. This demonstrates how the search for the transformation of reality is not an easy task, and it is essential that we have in mind the construction of a critique of reality, and not just reduce observations about reality to any concepts. Understanding the hegemonic condition of reality not as an absolute reality, but as an appearance of capital's social relations, as we presented in the case of the ways of living and housing in the *Mata dos Crioulos* community, is just one more step towards the critical construction of reality.

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PROJECT, LAND, AND FREEDOM: THE ILÉ WA QUILOMBO MESQUITA COMMUNITY HOUSE
PROJETO, TERRA E LIBERDADE: CASA COMUNITÁRIA ILÉ WA QUILOMBO MESQUITA
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Abstract

This paper lays on an empirical design exercise to discuss the possibilities of breaking with the hegemonic logics of space and materiality production in architecture. A project is proposed for a Community House in *Quilombo Mesquita*, located in Goiás, about 50 km far from Brasília Federal District. *Quilombola* communities have been an alternative to the social structures of oppression since their creation. They represent the cultural resistance and social organization of the black population and their descendants. In short, *quilombola* territories and traditions symbolize freedom. How can architecture designed for the *Quilombo* contribute to breaking hegemonic spatial structures and expressing freedom? This paper attempts to answer this question through a discussion that relates to counter-hegemonic values and design, and vernacular knowledge, topics that are discussed in this issue of V!RUS Journal. The goal is to create a place with a non-hegemonic logic of design. To this end, Quilombo's territory and history, and the participation of the community in the definition of the guidelines and development were essential. The methodology is structured in the theoretical and historical contextualization of quilombos, with an emphasis on the *Quilombo Mesquita*, and the project development process, whose result is the Ilé Wa Community House. This project expresses the sense of freedom through the relationship with the territory, the spatial configuration, and constructive elements. As it emphasizes memory, vernacular knowledge, and the struggle for freedom which is in the essence of the quilombos, the project highlights possibilities for architecture to break with spatial structures evoking oppression.

Keywords: *Quilombo Mesquita*, Community House, Project, *Quilombola* Community

1   Introduction

Quilombola communities emerge as opposed to the slave regime and represent places of freedom, cultural resistance, and social organization. It means that they have been counter-hegemonic spaces since their emergence. There are more than three thousand recognized *quilombola* communities in Brazil, but the number can reach up to six thousand. They are more than just a reference to the past as they preserve black culture in modern times. *Quilombo Mesquita* is one of these communities, founded in the 18th century by three freed female slaves. It is located in the state of Goiás, about 50 km from Brasília Federal District. According to Nascimento (1985) and Santos (2015), freedom is associated with the quilombo because it represents the opposite of captivity. And according to Aguiar (2015), the conquest of the land is the materialization of this sense of freedom. So how can the meaning of freedom be expressed in architectural space? Can architectural space contribute to breaking with hegemonic spatial structures? This paper attempts to answer these questions through a discussion of the architectural project for the Ilê Wa *Quilombo Mesquita* Community House[1], which aimed to develop an essentially counter-hegemonic architecture, as quilombos are.

The discussion in this article is related to the following topics discussed for this issue of V!RUS Journal: counter-hegemonic values, counter-hegemonic design, and memory and heritage, especially vernacular knowledge. The process of developing this project consisted of a theoretical research approach on quilombos, with special attention to the *Quilombo Mesquita*, and an empirical development of the architectural design. The theoretical discussion presented in Theme 2 of this paper analyzes the counter-hegemonic values present in the history and social and cultural dynamics of these communities, as well as the elements that manifest the sense of freedom. In the design process presented in Theme 3, the program and construction technology guidelines were established jointly with the community. On the other hand, the preliminary design seeks to materialize the sense of freedom from the relationship with the territory and the spatial configuration, employing the analytical categories of Spatial Syntax[2] and constructive elements.

The goal was to create a place where various activities take place such as capacity-building spaces and intergenerational meetings. To this end, the project seeks to break with architectural patterns that include in their spatial configuration the reproduction of hierarchical spaces and strong social control, easily found in the history of Brazilian architecture. In this way,

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[1] Ilé Wa means "Our House" in the Yoruba language. The name was suggested by Manoel Barbosa Neres, a historian and resident of *Quilombo*.

[2] Spatial syntax analysis, which emerged in the 1970s, focuses on configuration, emphasizing the movement of people and the fundamental relationships between visibility and permeability of spaces (Hillier, et al., 1976; Hillier; Hanson, 1984).

the article aims to contribute to the debate on cultural resistance through a counter-hegemonic architecture, valuing the memory, vernacular knowledge and freedom that constitute the essence of quilombos.

2   Quilombo and Freedom

According to Beatriz Nascimento[3], it is necessary to reverse the historical and sociological analysis regarding the study of the black issue in Brazil, putting slavery in the center and replacing it with the history of the quilombo. This view is fundamental to understanding the Black history of black people from its social, political, environmental, territorial, and economic constructions (Conaq; Terra, 2018). Black resistance starts from the moment of capture and continues to the present day. Evidence of this is the creation of quilombos, whose records are found in a Portuguese document as early as 1559 (Fundação Cultural Palmares, 2000)[4]. The quilombo represented a concrete alternative to slave society, both in lifestyle and in production and social organization. Economically, these communities were autonomous, producing food and trading with nearby towns (Aguiar, 2015). Or, as Nascimento states,

> Quilombo became synonymous with black people, synonymous with black behavior and hope for a better society. It became the inner and outer seat of all forms of cultural resistance. Everything, from attitude to association, would be quilombo. (Nascimento, 1985, p. 47)

The quilombo thus represents freedom and belonging as opposed to captivity and hegemonic social structures. Another important element in the dynamics of the quilombo is the attachment not only to the place but to the land, the territory itself. These communities have maintained their traditions, beliefs and way of life and have passed them on to their descendants. There is a *Quilombola* Brazil. Recent data show that the country has 5,972 *quilombola* sites in 1,672 communities. About 1,800 of them are in the process of titling, about 400 territories are officially recognized, and fewer than 200 are titled (Comissão Pró-Índio, 2022; Barros, 2020). Thus, the land rights of less than 2% of *quilombola* communities have been recognized, which is far from meeting the requirements of the Federal Constitution in Article 68. Figure 01 shows the number of *Quilombola* communities in the titling process and those successfully titled.

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[3] Beatriz Nascimento (1942-1995) was a Historian, teacher, screenwriter, poet, and an activist for the human rights of women and black people. She is one of the most important researchers and theorists of black history in Brazil.

[4] From 1549 until the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888, there were many struggles and resistances of the black population. It took a century for the 1988 Federal Constitution to grant them the right to ownership of their territories, in accordance with Article 68 of the ADCT, which establishes the obligation of the Brazilian state to grant ownership of traditionally occupied lands.
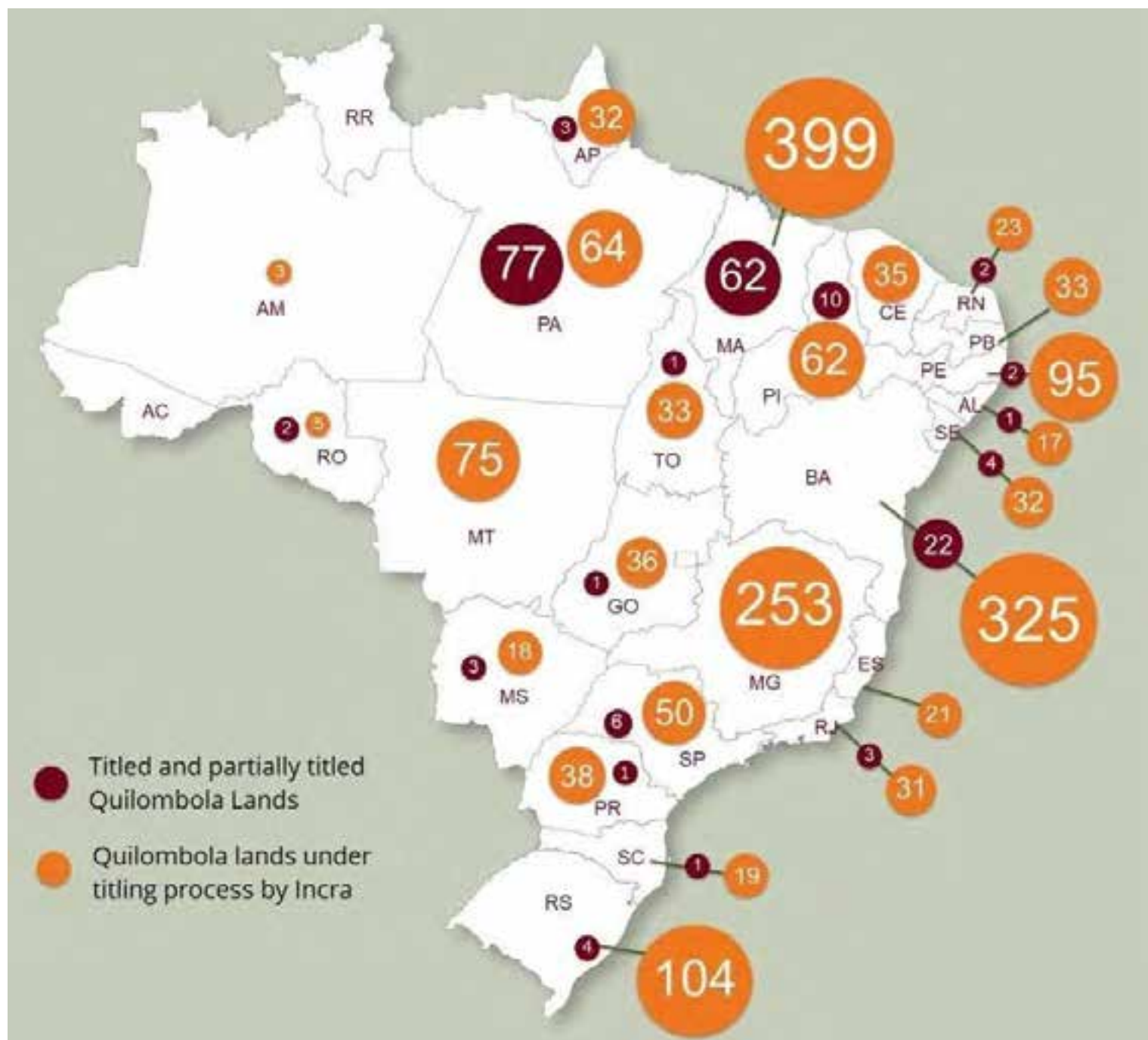
Titled and partially titled Quilombola Lands

Quilombola lands under titling process by Incra

Fig. 1: *Quilombola* Territories in Brazil. Source: Comissão Pró-Índio [Pro-Indian Committee], 2022. Available at: https://cpisp.org.br. Accessed 25 Nov. 2022.

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The notion that Quilombos are only territories in rural areas also no longer applies to Brazilian reality. These areas, once far from urban centers, are now close to cities, a consequence of urban growth in Brazil. This is the case of Mesquita, a peri-urban quilombo near the Federal Capital, in the municipality of Cidade Ocidental, state of Goiás, as shown in Figure 2. In 2006, the Mesquita Quilombo, with almost three hundred years of history, was certified by the Palmares Cultural Foundation (INCRA, 2011).
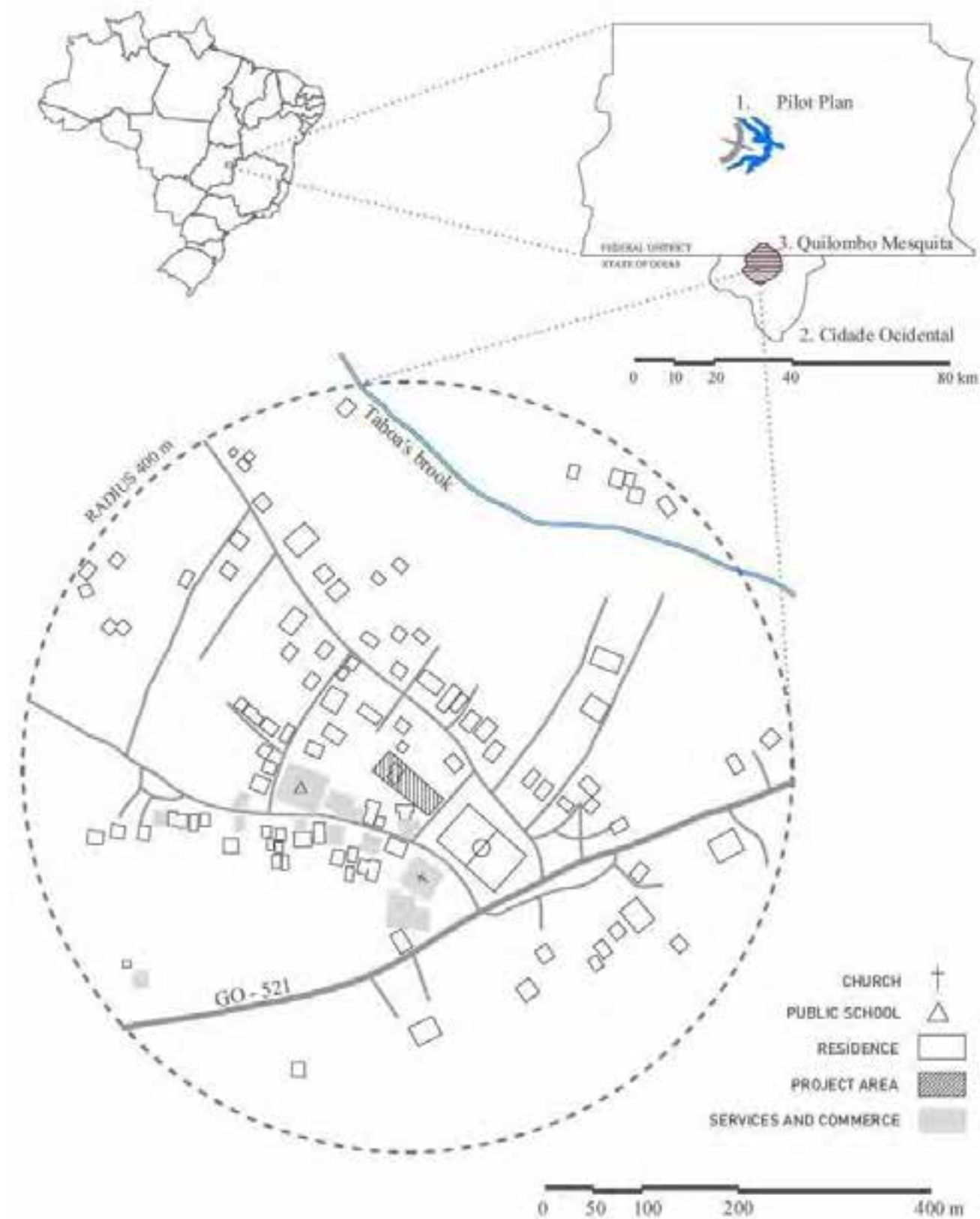
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Fig. 2: Location of the Quilombo and the intervention area. Source: Authors, 2021, adapted from Google Earth Pro.

In the 18th century, the search for precious metals reached the captaincy of Goiás and was the main reason for the use of slave labor (Aguiar, 2015). The history of *Quilombo Mesquita* is directly linked to the mining cycle in the Midwest region, but also to the Bandeirantes. In 1746, the *bandeirante* Antônio Bueno de Azevedo arrived in the interior of Goiás, in the village of Santa Luzia, now Luziânia, Goiás, in search of gold. Among the *bandeirante*'s entourage was José Corrêa de Mesquita (Neres, 2015; Aguiar, 2015)

Gold mining thrived until 1775, but with the decline of mining, much of the white population sold or abandoned their property, which led to a devaluation of the land (Neres, 2015; Aguiar, 2015). This event favored the retention of blacks in the remaining areas of mineral exploration. Thus, if for whites the land no longer had value, for blacks "the land itself was associated with freedom" (Aguiar, 2015, p. 31). With the end of the gold cycle and the promulgation of the Golden Law in 1888, freed black men and women began to live at the Mesquita Farm (Neres, 2015). During this time, José Corrêa de Mesquita transferred land from his estate to three freed slave women (Neres, 2015; Incra, 2011). The three original families of the Quilombo (Pereira Braga, Lisboa da Costa, and Teixeira Magalhães) descended from these founding matriarchs of the community (Oliveira, 2012). Figure 3 shows the church of *Nossa Senhora da Abadia* and the soccer field near the land selected for the project.

Fig. 3: Soccer field and a church. Photo: França, 2021.

For Anjos (2006, p. 106), the founding of the Mesquita Quilombo has "the image of the three black foundresses of the community" who preserved the cultural traditions of the African matrix. Later, they were joined by free blacks from different regions, so the identity of the Mesquita *Quilombola* is very rich and formed by different groups that have "a common ancestry, their own political organizational structure, a particular production system, and common linguistic and religious elements" (Anjos, 2006, p. 108). For Anjos (2006), daily life is like a "guardian of traditions" As guardians, the *Mesquitenses* take care of various Midwestern traditions (festivals, celebrations, dances, and food cultivation). These include the *N'golo* Festival (a drink made from *hibiscus sabdariffa*, originally from Angola), the *Som de Quilombo* cultural project, the cultivation of medicinal plants, festivals, and the production of quince jam, which is considered a Quilombo trademark (Santos, 2011). Figures 4, 5 and 6 show part of this daily life, the organic food production, meeting space, books of the Arca das Letras project.

Fig. 4: Organic products. Source: Gideoni Júnior/Coletivo Enoá, 2013. Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/ancestralidadeafricana/albums. Accessed 25 Nov. 2022.

Fig. 5: Existing meeting space. Source: Courtesy of Sandra Pereira Braga, 2021.

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Fig. 6: Arca das Letras project. Source: Gideoni Júnior/Coletivo Enoá, 2013. Available at: https://www.flickr.com/photos/ancestralidadeafricana/albums. Accessed 25 Nov. 2022.

From the search for gold in the Midwest to the construction of Brasília, the *Mesquita's quilombolas* were there. Part of their territory was ceded for the construction of Brasília (Anjos, 2006), but the Quilombo is constantly threatened by real estate speculation and land loss because titling has not yet occurred (Fellet, 2018; Neres, 2015). Thus, the history of the Mesquita Quilombo does not remain in the past but is part of the history of Brasília, the present, and the future of the Midwest region.

3   *Ilé Wa Quilombo Mesquita*: a Land-born Architecture

In order to develop a project consistent with the sense of freedom, the architectural parti has taken into account: (i) the memory and the relationship of the Mesquita people to the territory; (ii) the logic of spatial configuration with an emphasis on a permeable and low hierarchical organization in terms of the theory of Spatial Syntax; (iii) the techniques and materials sought relevance and the construction of meaning. Figure 7 shows the plot of land.

3.1   Territory and Memory as Architectural Parti Elements

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Following Augé (1992) and Certeau (2000), when we look at places of identity and everyday practices to think of a space that can bring people, history, and traditions together, a place's customs bring us back to spaces like the house; the house as a place of diverse activities, different age groups, traditions, and culture: a Community House. "As in a house, the proposed architectural program was organized in sectors. However, in contrast to the tripartite logic of the domestic space - where the organization in social, intimate and service sectors prevails, with a clear reference to the legacy of slavery (Tramontano, 1998; França, 2008) -, in the Quilombo, the servant space is abolished. It makes way for a tripartite structure focused on social, cultural and economic solidarity". The concept is a multi-get-together space[5] that welcomes children, youth and adults, diverse activities, knowledge sharing and the strengthening of the *Quilombola* identity. The project includes the following spaces: a) meeting space for gatherings, parties and presentations; b) community kitchen; c) reading room for the *Arca das Letras* project; d) music room for the *Som de Quilombo* project; e) Shop for sales of community products; f) multiuse room for meetings; g) administration; h) restrooms.

In defining the architectural parti, elements of the history and tradition of the Mesquita were included in the composition, that is, the architectural relevance (Mahfuz, 2004). Therefore, the territory was the starting point, as an element that represents freedom and the relationship with the land, the place of life, and the sustenance of this community. From the relationship between the territory and the history of the Quilombo emerged the three defining geometric elements of the architectural parti: the trapezoid, the straight line, and the circle. The trapezoid is the recurring figure in the morphology of this part of Mesquita territory, especially where the land is located. From the topography, it is the diagonal line that divides the rectangle into two rectangular trapezoids. The circle, an important element in African culture because it is based on the space of human existence and conveys the idea of uniformity and continuity (Pereira, 2011), is also present in the copper pot used to make quince jam, a symbol of community. Thus, the copper pot is located in the opening in the central space and establishes a direct relationship with the sky, the rain and the earth. It is the place where everyone is under the circle and at the same time inserted in it. Under the crack projection, the plenum is lowered, as shown in section AA in Figure 8. At the entrance, the

[5] Multi-get-together is a term coined by Sandra Pereira Braga, a *quilombola* leader, during a conversation with the authors in March 2021.

Jardim dos Marmelos represents the three freed slave women who created the *Quilombo Mesquita*, as shown in the floor plan in Figure 8.
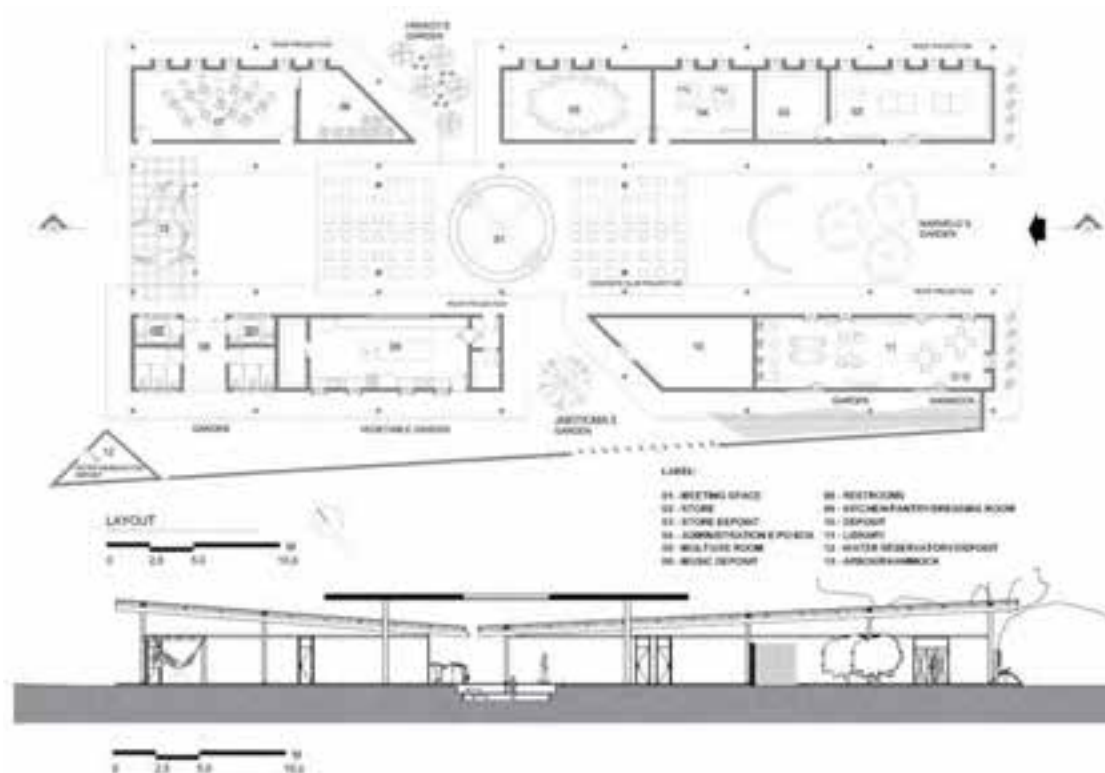

Fig. 8: Layout and section AA. Source: Authors, 2021.

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3.2 Space and the Sense of Freedom

Among the design guidelines, the configuration is a fundamental element to realizing a sense of freedom. In the study of the spatial configuration of the building, the methodological apparatus of Spatial Syntax was used, taking into account the fundamental relationships between visibility and permeability. Permeability is the possibility for a user to move from one spatial unit to another, and visibility is the possibility that a space or part of a space can be seen from another (Hillier, et al, 1976; Hillier; Hanson, 1984). The following aspects were considered: i) creation of spaces with little hierarchy, avoidance of segregation, and strong spatial control, which are characteristics of communitarian and free places, such as quilombos. ii) greater visibility and permeability and their relationship with movement patterns, to create more intensively used spaces, in relation to the freedom so desired by the black people; iii) easy access from the outside (shallow), the direct relationship of the building to the community. The final configuration of the project can be described as the search for a space with symbolic centrality, configurable, accessible, permeable, and integrated. In order to achieve the goal of creating a multi-get-together and low-hierarchy space, it was necessary not only that the usual spaces (kitchen, reading room, multiuse rooms, etc.) be accessible from the street, but also that they are in direct relationship with the main social space, the meeting space. The analysis of the visibility graphs[6] illustrates the fulfillment of these guidelines for spatial organization.

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[6] Visibility graphs calculate metrics related to fields of view and were created using Depthmap 0.8.0 software. Connectivity, visual integration, and isovist measures are important for addressing questions related to spatial cognition to understand or predict how the configuration of space can generate motion potentials (Castro, 2017). In the caption, warm colors mean more integration and the opposite, less integration. See the detailed analysis in França; Sousa, 2022.
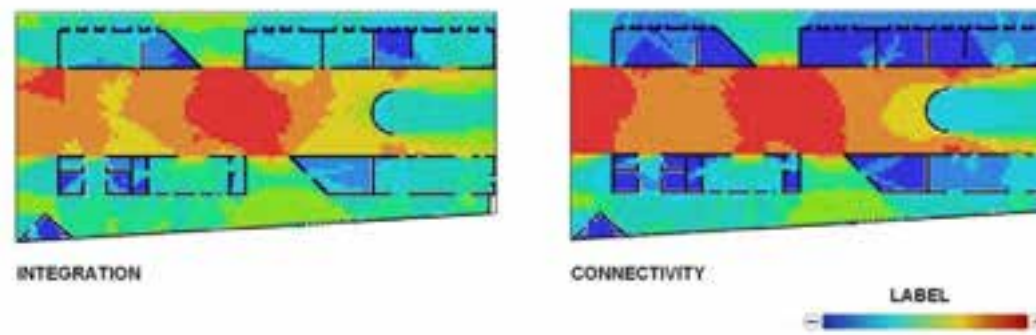
Fig. 9: Integration and Connectivity, elaborated with data from DepthmapX 0.8.0. Source: Authors, 2022.

Measures of integration and visual connectivity show that the most integrated and connected areas have the warmest colors, as shown in Figure 9. The gathering space at the center of the project is the most integrated space in the system - this is important because centrality runs through this space, to which all other spaces open. The everyday spaces (reading room, store, meeting room, and music room) are integrated, while the ancillary spaces (storage rooms and bathrooms) are less integrated. The kitchen plays a prominent role, it is one of the most integrated spaces and has a permeable relationship with the main social space, the meeting room, and the living room of the community house. The connectivity graph confirms that the gathering space has the highest visual connectivity. Among the common spaces, the kitchen and the reading space are among the spaces with the highest connectivity (França; Sousa, 2022).

Two points were used for the Isovist analysis: from the entrance (01) and from the gathering space (02). Isovist 01 shows a field of view that includes the store and the reading space. This visual field is interrupted only by the gabion wall that separates the entrance from the central space, creating a clear relationship between the building and the street, as shown in Figure 10. This approach strengthens the permeability of this community space. The isovist at the entrance acts as an invitation to the community, but the gesture of not directly serving the main space is intentional, an act of respect for the *Quilombola* community's path of struggle and self-governance. The semicircular gabion wall was used as a tool and has a dual function: it provides a backdrop for the three quince trees that pay homage to the quilombo's founders, and it conveys the time needed for the final unveiling of the gathering space.
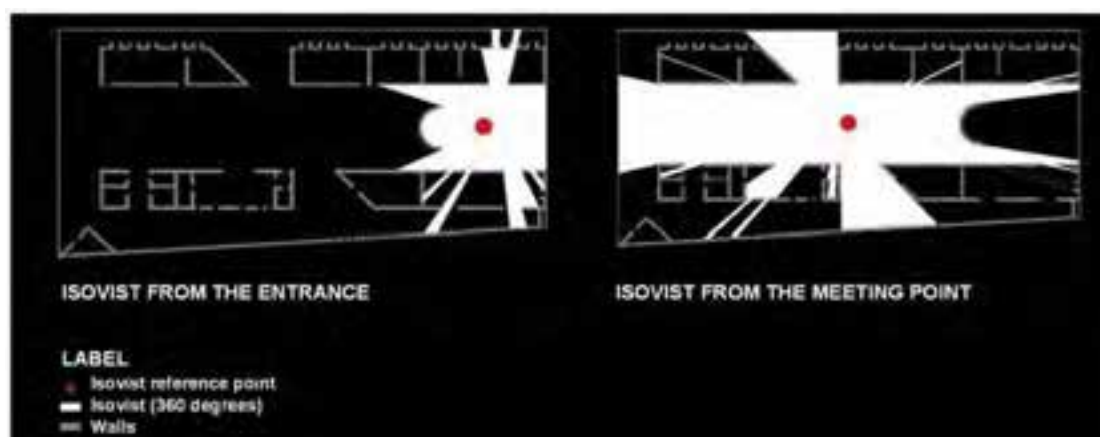
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Fig. 10: Isovists, made with data from DepthmapX 0.8.0. Source: Authors, 2022.

Isovist 02 reveals important aspects of the gathering space: i) it explodes in several directions and includes practically all the everyday spaces, except for the spaces in front of the gabion wall; ii) it establishes a direct visual relationship between the kitchen and the main space. The kitchen is one of the keys to understanding social relations in the domestic space in Brazil, due to its slave past. It has always been separated from the domestic structure for social reasons (Lemos, 1976) and this is evidenced by Trigueiro (1994, 2012) in her analysis of colonial *sobrados*. In Figure 11 (blue), the position of the kitchen in the systems analyzed by Trigueiro and in the project studied here, the author has shown that the kitchen, together with the servants' spaces, was always the most separated from the domestic structure in the colonial townhouses of Recife. According to Trigueiro "[…] The kitchen (Cz) and pantry are the last cells to be reached […] kitchen (Cz) and the rooms presumably occupied by slaves or servants are situated in the more segregated range" (Trigueiro, 2012, p. 206-207, our translation).
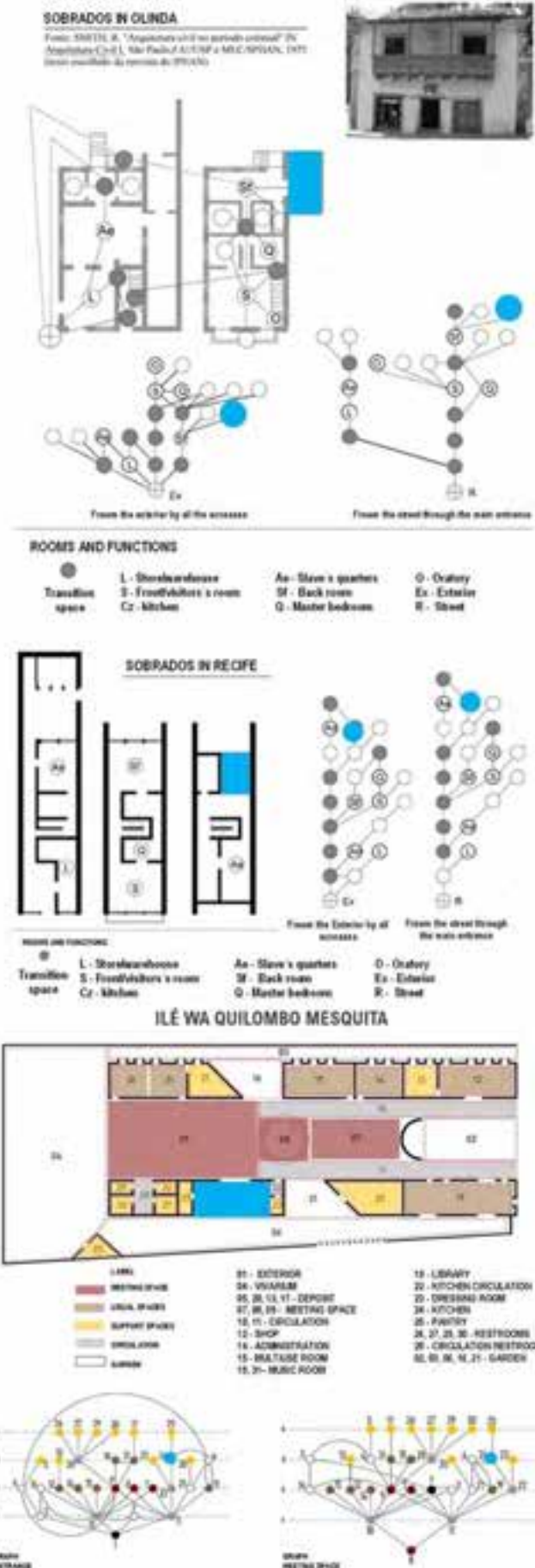
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Fig. 11: Trigueiro Colonial *Sobrados* and the project. Source: Trigueiro, 2012; Authors, 2022.

Therefore, the proposed spatial configuration breaks with the segregation logic historically found in Brazilian housing (Trigueiro, 1994; 2012), placing the kitchen as an integrated and shallow space in the system - that is, it is not configurably distant - unlike in Trigueiro's studies, in which it is one of the most distant spaces in the spatial structure in relation to the street. This was one of the objectives of the proposal and shows the appreciation of this space in the dynamics of the Community House (França; Sousa, 2022).

3.3   Materiality as an Expression of the *Quilombola Mesquita* Identity

The definition of materials took into account the rescue of local constructive references, both historical and contemporary. Diversity was the intention, as *Quilombo Mesquita* represents many facets, and the starting points were adobe and concrete. The emphasis was placed on adobe, without forgetting that the *quilombolas* also contributed to the construction of Brasilia, hence the presence of concrete - although it has a strong Portuguese influence, African peoples already mastered the technique of adobe (Santos, 2018). Therefore, it is not a construction technique associated with the colonizers, but with African peoples. The decision took into account that it is a technique mastered by the *Mesquita Quilombolas*, and according to *quilombola* Sandra Pereira Braga, it was a desire of the community, apart from the possibility of making it with local raw material. It also symbolizes the relationship with the land, a key element in the history of the *quilombolas*, because the adobe is more than just a building material. The community house is made of earth and through the hands of the *quilombolas*.

Fig. 12: *Ilé Wa*- Main Facade. Source: Authors, 2022.

Stone is one of the oldest building materials, along with adobe, and is used in two ways in this proposal: i) as grade beams, ii) as a gabion wall. The gabion wall is used in two moments: in the lowered central space - in the role of a retaining wall that is both a permeable structure and a bench made of wood for seating - and also in the vertical element that separates the quince garden from the central space. The same element is also used on the wall of the left side facade, as can be seen in Figure 12.

Another material is Glued-laminated Timber (glulam), a prefabricated structure that combines technology and strength[7]. The technology allows to overcome large spans, which made possible: i) the adoption of the loose roof of the structure, giving a certain lightness and emphasis to the adobe; ii) the valorization of the one-water roof, widely used in the houses of the

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[7] This technology was adopted in the Canuanã School in the Brazilian state of Tocantins, by Aleph Zero and Rosenbaum, 2017, and the Casa Palicourea, by Bloco Arquitetos, 2021, in Chapada dos Veadeiros, state of Goiás, Brazil.

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community; iii) the choice of wood instead of steel, which was the determining factor in the environmental issue; iv) the certification as wood. Rainwater is collected by transverse downspouts along the roof and stored in the lowest points of the ground, which are intended for nursery use. The building's loose roof was one of the design definitions. But the concern to bridge the gap between the adobe structure and the roof required the choice of another material, straw, whose versatility and presence in African culture was crucial for its use both for the external closure and for lining the project's interior spaces.

Concrete was specified as the material for the structure and the roof of the central space with the hollow circle. The traditional concrete mixture (cement, gravel, sand, and water) can vary in color, but it ranges from light to dark gray. In the proposal, the concrete gets a more contemporary version and matches the earthy tones of the color palette - the colors yellow, red, and their derivatives (brown) are obtained in the pigmentation of the mass by adding iron oxide. Due to the leading role played by the *Quilombola* community in the construction of Brasília, concrete is already part of the materials defined in the project.

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Fig. 13: *Ilé Wa - Marmelos Garden. Source: Authors, 2022.*

The floor gained importance in the project, taking into account several aspects: Practicality, durability, beauty, and relationship with the history of the community. Polished concrete was chosen because it is durable and easy to maintain. Given the large floor area, the goal was to avoid cleaning tasks that are usually done by women. Combined with its durability and the fact that it can be used in all areas, including wet areas, it proved to be the material to use for the entire set (see Figure 13).

But concrete alone does not characterize the *Quilombola* Mesquita Community, so this material was combined with metal that has been used in the community's history since the 18th century: copper. In the most used areas, copper strips were incorporated into the flooring. The metal is valued for its esthetics, durability, and the fact that it can be recycled countless times. It is used not only together with concrete (flooring), but also in combination with other materials, such as stone and concrete (central recessed space, see Figure 14), wood, and concrete (base of the roof columns). It is therefore the element that "sews" the other materials together, giving them luster and beauty, and glorifying the history of resistance in this community.

Fig. 14: *Ilé Wa-* Central Space. Source: Authors, 2022.

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The vegetation is one of the elements of the daily life of the Mesquitenses, is present in the community nursery that produces native species of the Cerrado, and for this reason, three species produced in the community were selected for landscaping: the quince, *jabuticaba,* and *Hibiscus sabdariffa L.* In addition to the *barba-de-bode* grass, typical of the Cerrado biome. These species represent i) the African-ness of *Hibiscus sabdariffa L.*, used for the production of *N'golo*, a drink representing the Angolan matrix of *Quilombo Mesquita*; ii) the Brazilian-ness character of *jabuticaba*; iii) the Cerrado with the *barba-de-bode* grass; iv) the mesquite-ness of Quince.

The color palette is an important element of the project and can be referred to as the colors of the earth, alluding to the soil and fruits in the *Quilombo Mesquita*. The yellow to dark red hues are allusions to products found in the community, such as saffron and *Hibiscus sabdariffa L.*...; the brown and orange tones come from the soil of the *mesquita* (Nascimento, 2016) and are found in the exterior walls of raw clay, on the floor and the wood of the roof and openings. The colors orange and red are used for the flags on the wooden doors and windows, as shown in Figure 15.

Fig. 15: *Ilé Wa -* right side perspective. Source: Authors, 2022.

In the project for the *Ilé Wa Quilombo Mesquita* Community House, memory and the relationship with the territory were determining factors for the design, techniques and building materials. These were carefully selected with the participation of the *Quilombola* leaders to create an architecture that is not imposed on them but is born and nurtured by them.

4   Final Remarks

Even if architecture is not a decisive factor in social relations, it is an active element in maintaining sociability based on oppression. The opposite path that this article proposes is to think of architecture as actively representing freedom and countering hegemonic structures. The design process sought in the protagonism, history and traditions of the *Quilombola* Mesquita, the essence of this Community House, in terms of architectural program. And the elements for the composition and definition of the architectural materiality are found in the area and in the vernacular knowledge.

According to Holanda (2007), architecture creates a field of possibilities and constraints, of encounters and dodges. By reversing the historical logic of separate and hierarchical spaces, the project reconfigures the sociabilities made possible in the Community House. In this sense, the theoretical and methodological apparatus of Spatial Syntax has allowed us to make a proposal whose configuration is shallow (easy access), permeable (not very hierarchical) and with high connectivity and integration (non-segregated spaces). This can be seen in the importance given to the kitchen in the spatial arrangement, or in the centrality of the meeting space, which is the most integrated space of the system and to which all the other spaces are aligned (without hierarchical distinction among them).

In this space, centrality is reinforced by the circle, an element under which the community gathers, and which refers to the copper pot and the economic activity that has kept the Mesquita community alive for centuries, and which is therefore the most important space for maintaining the community's traditions (festivals, gatherings, cultural performances, among others). In this central space, the ground is covered with earth, so that everyone can feel the *quilombola* land and have direct contact with it, which underlines the importance of the territory in building a sense of freedom. The soil is the basis for the construction technique established by the community, the adobe bricks, which are carried out through a collective effort, reinforcing the sense of ownership and collectivity that is in the essence of the Quilombo. The vegetation chosen for the landscaping comes from the community nursery and represents Mesquita's Africanness and Braziliannes. The color palette for the architecture was chosen based on the soil and food produced by the Quilombo.

Through the appreciation of memory, vernacular knowledge and protagonism of the *quilombola* community by its leaders, the project process involves counter-hegemonic design practices, as it is a manifestation of resistance, questioning and opposition to the dominant logic of space production in architecture. The project is based on the symbolic value of the land, on the intangible heritage manifested in the traditions and social organization of the black people. These are counter-hegemonic values that form the core of Quilombo. The result is an architecture born from the land and nourished by the everyday possibilities of the community for encounters, affection, art, autonomy and freedom.

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