Suburban Areas in Rio de Janeiro:

How do changes posed by megaevents affect everyday life for people who live there?

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Abstract

This paper investigates recent urban transformations in the suburban areas of Rio de Janeiro, focusing on some districts and slum settlements in the Northern Zone of the city. Transformations are taking place at various levels, often justified by the proximity to events like the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. Initially, we discuss the particular concept of suburbs in Rio de Janeiro, full of symbolic meanings. Following that we present several government and corporate projects that act upon these spaces. We argue that in this process, the symbolic dimension of the suburbs and its inhabitants is also changing, and a new imaginary is being created regarding the "suburban" experience of life. On the other hand, from the point of view of those who already live in these places, what matters is the dimension of daily life, which is often overlooked by large initiatives. This results in mobilization and resistance, which often are organized around cultural activities. We end the paper presenting some initiatives involving residents of the studied area in social and cultural projects that reveal and strengthen their sense of identity, enabling them to act upon their territories as agents of those changes they desire.

1 - INTRODUCTION

The research that supports this paper investigates recent urban transformations in the suburban areas of Rio de Janeiro, focusing on some districts and slum settlements in the Northern Zone of the city. Transformations are taking place at various levels and dimensions, often with the excuse of or justified by the proximity to events like the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. We are faced with the need to adjust the city in order to attract new investments and to receive more tourists. These changes are fast and intense, but already allow us to reflect on what ideas of "city" are at stake and what are the impacts that such changes pose to the people living there.

Initially, we discuss the particular concept of suburbs in Rio de Janeiro, where the term designates those districts served by railway, which arose in the first decades of

the twentieth century, that shelter mainly lower middle class housing and slums. These neighbourhoods lack adequate urban services and infrastructure, and have barely earned the same attention and governmental investment, when compared to the neighbourhoods of the upper classes. From the perspective of cultural representation, suburban neighbourhoods have always been portrayed in a caricatured or idealized way, sometimes emphasizing aspects such as violence and disorder, sometimes enhancing the image of a cheerful way of life based on bonds of affection, spontaneity and solidarity.

At this point, the research investigates various government and corporate projects that act upon these spaces of the city. So far, we have listed (1) planning-scale actions, using territory management instruments that encourage densification and verticalization, (2) large federal, state and local programs, such as the UPP's (Pacifying Police Units) that operate in the slums, already showing results in terms of reducing the levels of violence and increasing real estate appreciation, (3) public housing and road projects unfolded from these programs, (4) private projects such as the building of gated communities, shopping malls and housing developments.

We argue that in this process, the symbolic dimension of the suburbs and its inhabitants is also changing, and a new imaginary is being created regarding the "suburban" experience of life, where it is culturally manipulated and displayed as an object of consumption, in order to lure different audiences: tourists, investors and the rising middle class which emerged during the last ten years.

On the other hand, from the point of view of those who already live in these places, what matters is the dimension of daily life, which is often overlooked by large initiatives. This results in mobilization and resistance, which often are organized around cultural activities. These mobilizations do not refuse improvements, but claim protagonism in these cultural transformations. We appeal mainly to Bauman (2003), Lefebvre (1984; 1991; 1999) and De Certeau (2012) to address these issues.

We end the paper presenting some initiatives involving residents of the studied area in social and cultural projects that reveal and strengthen their sense of identity, enabling them to act upon their territories as agents of those changes they desire.

2 – INTEGRATING THE SUBURBS INTO THE CITY SPACE

The suburbs of Rio de Janeiro which spawned along the Leopoldina Railway since late in the XIX century covered what was previously a rural area dating from the XVI century.

The expansion of the urban perimeter of Rio, in the XIX century, was made possible by the implementation of a new transportation infrastructure, which offered better mobility to the city. Colective public transport, like trams and steam trains, was the big pusher for the physical growth of the city (ABREU, 2006). Tram concessions were strongly matched to the interests of the real state business, which focused on the south zone of the city. Railway construction, on the other hand, represented a profit by itself, so it didn't necessarily happen in urbanized areas. Even so, several new real state developments appeared as the rail stations were being opened. Thus, the trains may be considered the root cause for the displacement and establishment of the population on those first suburban centers to the north and west of the city.

Beginning in 1858, when trains started to run in the D. Pedro II Railway (now Central do Brasil), the suburbs started their urbanization process. The Leopoldina line started operations in 1886, but it was only in 1892 that the first residential areas formed around its stations, as farms were dismembered into smaller lots. The years from 1890 to 1906 saw a large increase in suburban population.

It is considered that that region went through three big inflection points since then; we propose that today we witness a fourth such point. Those inflection points are as follows:

(a) Occupation and urbanization period, from the early XX century until the Agache Plan (1930)

In the early XX century Rio goes through large transformations. Downtown modernization caused the poorer part of the population to migrate to the suburbs, which were very sparsely occupied until then. Small commercial areas appeared around the trains stations, which allowed the expansion of residential occupation by the proletariat along the railways.

The suburbs start showing their industrial personality in the 1920's, "as a trend in the city expels the factories from the more noble areas to give way to residences for the upper classes" (LINHARES, 2007:124)

As the urban changes modernized the downtown, connecting it to the new expansion front towards the South Zone, the suburbs started to appear as a poor and blue-collar area. However, these were the neighbourhoods which could shelter those who couldn't afford the more affluent areas of the city but didn't want to live in the slums.

The slums, by the way, represented a reality which already forced itself on the carioca urban scene, specially near and around the central areas.

In the 1930's, the areas along the Leopoldina, Rio d'Ouro and LInha Auxiliar railway axes were still sparsely populated, except directly alongside the railways themselves. The factories which were created in those regions did so without any official help, either occupying the higher grounds, safe from floods in the Faria, Timbó and Jacaré rivers, or paying for the required sanitation and anti-flooding works.

(b) Strong industrialization period, peaked from the 1930's to the 1950's

The 1920's is also marked by the strong interest of the ruling social sectors in fixing the city's "problems", namely, the presence of the poor. Until 1930, the slums were *de facto* present in the urban tissue, but not *de jure* -- they didn't appear in official maps and statistics, for example. They were considered to be a temporary and illegal solution to the residential problem; they occupied mainly the downtown and port areas of the city, and simply didn't exist as far as the governmemt was concerned.

The first government act to officialy consider the slums is the Agache Plan (a large urban planning, contracted by the city in the 1920's) which recommended, however, their elimination, as well as the transfering of their inhabitants to blue-collar residential areas to be created in the periphery of the city:

> Besides remodeling and beautification, the urban reform proposed by Agache would rule all of the city. Its intention was to partition the city into areas, according to their function: commercial, industrial or residential. The slum population and the blue-collars should be removed to houses or colective housing buildings, specially built *near the industrial zones in the suburbs*. The new order of the territory tried to isolate the social classes, to firmly stablish the places for the poor, while at the same time trying to "civilise" them. (SILVA E BARBOSA, 2005:33; emphasis is ours)

The Agache Plan fixates those uses (industrial and blue-collar residential) as it defines the main grouping for the industrial zones (OLIVEIRA, 2009). This moment also sees the appearance of the big slums in those regions, as residents were attracted by job opportunities and ease of access to lots which, although not

urbanized, at least weren't fought over by the real state business. The urban conditions of those areas were extremelly under-developed.

> Till now, the blue-collar suburban areas around the Leopoldina and Central do Brasil lines were developed without any coherent planning, and most of them were random juxtaposition of lots around private properties. They were marked by the lack of a skeleton of main roads which could provide easy communication with and fast transportation to and from downtown or work places, as well as the lack of parks, gardens or sports areas. Except for some important streets, most sidewalks weren't paved and any heavy rains turned them into mud pits; water provisioning was insufficient and sewage plumbing was nonexistent as we got far from downtown.

From 1937, the industrial orientation of the suburbs is strengthened by allowed use and land occupation legislation, when Decree 6000 firstly defines -- as instructed by the Agache plan of ten years before -- an industrial zone in that area. At that point, small and medium factories start to appear in great numbers between the Bonsucesso and Olaria neighbourhoods, near the Guanabara Bay. One of the consequences of the State meddling in city zoning with Decree 6000/1937 is that the few industries still located in the South Zone started moving towards the suburbs, selling their original land in small lots, or just closing for good. The South Zone turns more and more identified as a residence area for the upper classes, to the loss of the suburbs.

Starting in 1940, City Hall starts compiling information about the slums in the city, driven by hygienist objectives. Resident registration is done with the purpose of their transfer to the colective buildings to be built by the government, freeing the highly valued central areas for real state development. One such colective building complex is the one opened to the public en 1949 in the Penha neighbourhood, by the so called IAPI (Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Industriários -- Industry Pension and Retirement Institute). This is the third largest such complex, with 1248 units, smaller only than those in the Realengo and Bangu neighbourhoods, in the West Zone (PAIVA, 2010).

Industrial activity sees intense growth, specially after the II World War, when the import of several products being impossible leaded to their manufacturing being done locally. With that, several areas were cleansed and urbanized to allow for industry expansion. According to Linhares (2007), this state of affairs also prompted

the City Hall to allow for the indiscriminate establishment of industries in the suburbs, since the urgency to have them didn't allow for time to wait for previous urbanization.

In 1946 the Brasil Avenue is opened to the public, as an option to the traditional ways through the Leopoldina neighbourhoods to reach the União-Indústria road to Petrópolis (COSTA, 2006). All the area along the new avenue was turned to industrial use, except only for military installations. This opening ruptured the residential tissue, and increased the proliferation of slums in the region.

Beginning in the 1950's, blue-collar settlements in the periphery of the city started to spawn, almost always in extensive occupations, sparse and isolated. In spite of that, Fridman (1999) tells us that between 1949 and 1959 there was a continuous devaluation of land prices in the North Zone. This was specially true after the Renting Law of 1954, which fixed rent prices, not allowing for their increase according to inflation; building houses for rent was a common investment until then, but not anymore after that law.

> To this devaluation of land and the following cooling of the civil construction market, we can attribute the horizontal building trend, as well as the demand for those residences by the medium-low and low classes. Also, the most common building worker in those regions was now the individual entrepreneur, as opposed to the corporate building companies acting in the more affluent areas. This contributed to the building standards and architectural typologies still common in those neighbourhoods (FRIDMAN, 1999:244)

(c) Industry decline & slum growth period, after 1970

Around 1970 industrial activities start to slow down in the region. In a self-sustaining decaying process, the closing of the factories turns big production spaces and job-creating centers into abandoned areas, thus degrading those regions. Many of those now empty spaces were then occupied by the homeless, creating a new type of slum (VAZ, 2012).

Several factors explain the closing of so many factories in that region, leaving behind buildings in ruins and empty lots: the growth of the slums, specially along the Brasil Avenue, then already hit by high criminality rates; global economic crises, which imposed significant raises in transportation and maintenance costs; and changes in the location strategies for Rio's industrial complex, which now required larger spaces. Residential use was now the most common for that region, along with small commerce and services for the local population.

Now we should present a brief, but important consideration about the representation of the slums in the brazilian imaginary. This representation is the same for slums everywhere. However, as we shall see later on, when the slums in question are inserted into the suburbs, certain perceptions about the slums arise which overflow their original surroundings, and start being applied also to the suburbs themselves, under some points of view.

SIlva (2003) and Salles (2004) show that the axis of representation of the slums is the notion of absence. Thus, it is usually defined by what it does not have: urban infrastructure, public services, street grids, law and order. Besides, the discourse about the slums are often homogenized, ignoring a large plurality of situations: their historic and geographic formation; their socio-demographics; their conditions in relation to violence; their economic profiles and land rights. The slum is always viewed against an urban ideal, where "there's the neighbourhood, a typical place for the legal and formal dealings, a there are the slums as the non-city, as the space where the effective exercise of citizenship dies not happen" (SILVA, 2003:22).

In accordance with these authors, we point out that by priorizing the violence, criminal and material poverty aspects, this discourse reveals a reducing point of view which does not account for the wealth of content generated by the day to day dealings of any community.

(d) Media attention-seeking and investment-attracting urban intervention: Rio in the global city market

It is true that Rio's suburbs arised from lacking conditions and informality, and also that until the end of the 1990's this situation has worsened thanks to lack of public investment derived from neoliberal policies as well as to the growth of unemployment rates and impoverishmnet of the population. However, we believe that today those areas are being the target of other initiatives by a mixture of public powers and private companies. There is a set of actions which aim to more effectively bring this space to a new value level, or at least make them more profitable. This can be achieved through plans which attract verticalization and denser demographics, through objective urbanization programs, or through new bets on the (re)construction of the imaginary about said space, making them attractive from a touristic angle.

We understand that most of these endeavours present a discourse about "the fixing of the city's problems and orienting of its transformations". Actually, paraphrasing

Arantes (2000), they "hide the increase in competitiveness through images created for being consumed". Canclini calls it the shop-window city or the show-city. For this author,

> Show-cities are sexy, (...), poster children for globalization. They are the urbs to be visited and admired as *global cities*, i.e., well delimited spaces where the world is put on stage for four reasons: the intense role of the transnational companies, the mix of cultures, the concentration of the elite from the arts and sciences, and the large numbers of tourists. Those who push this view of the city seem to be thinking about a merchandise entity which would be for sale, in direct competition with other cities, all being managed as companies or as businesses, disconnected from the disorder, the discontentment and the insecurity which grows rampant in statistics and daily life (Canclini, 2005:186).

In several cities around the world, the hosting of sports mega-events like a World Cup or the Olympic Games have been used to legitimate interventions aiming to insert those cities into the global market scene, thus making possible the realization of multi-million transnational businesses as well as the renewing of the urban tissue, with huge profits for the real state sector.

Still according to Canclini (2003), we can understand globalization as "a set of strategies to achieve the hegemony of industrial conglomerates, financial groups and big enterprises from the entertainment and communications sectors, in order for them to take control of the natural and cultural resources, the work, the leisure and the money of the poor contries" (Canclini, 2003:29). As we shall see later on, some of those strategies are being actively pursued in Rio. Before that, however, it is necessary to know a bit more about this area and their inhabitants.

3 - DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA: THE IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF SUBURB AND THE POPULAR SPACES

We bear in mind that cities are also founded on and rebuilt by literature, journalistic chronicles, radio, television programmes, the movies. By dint of many cropped, selected, designed, described, enacted, created and represented images in fiction or in the news, the meaning of the city grows and consolidates. Canclini (2005) attributes to postmodern thought the valuation of the city as a text or a multicultural association of narratives.

Therefore, we reiterate that each turning point and change in the structure of the suburb was accompanied by a speech that idealized, demonized or questioned it, and today presents it as a consumption and touristic target. The manipulation of the symbolic dimension creates new forms of idealization, aimed at attracting investments and forming a mass of consumers.

(a) Suburb as a analytical category

According to Pereira (mimeo, undated), the word suburb appears in the dictionary in Portuguese, in Brazil, since the eighteenth century, as a synonym for surroundings. In the nineteenth century, in Brazil, the word denoted generically the outskirts of any town, although the term surroundings were still more current. The word suburb only circulates widely in Brazilian urban discourse from the twentieth century on.

It is possible, thus, to historically outline the process of introducing and expanding the use of the word, designating a poorly urbanized perimeter compared to the central area, followed by a period of obsolescence and limitation of the use to specific situations, and today we see the reversion of this scenery, by means of the uprising interest in the suburbs.

Until up to the1930s, the word suburb had no negative meaning. Fernandes (2010) points out that, for Mumford, the original and general meaning of the word suburb resided in the representation of an outlying part of a city or town, a space off the border, beyond the city walls. The word gains acceptance in speech due to cultural phenomena more than to administrative reasons. The advent of rail transport, for instance, was crucial to the regular employment of the term in order to designate the neighborhoods on the urban expansion areas served by railways.

Gradually, the term ceases to be an administrative or geographical concept – an area outside the city perimeter - to become a social landscape, "a hierarchical category regarding the social division of urban space in the process of becoming a metropolis", comprising neighborhoods and areas of the city thoroughly forgotten by public policies, or that receive them through second-best projects and programs.

Fernandes speaks of a Rio suburb concept. He mentions Maria Therezinha Segadas Soares (1960), who said that, in the nineteenth century, suburb meant those outskirts that bore an aspect of discontinuity of buildings and low occupying density, compared with the already consolidated areas. For Soares and Fernandes, the concept of

suburbs, specifically in Rio de Janeiro, loses this connotation of peripheral area and starts to be defined by three notions: "the train as means of transportation, predominance of low-class population and intimate/frequent relations with the downtown area" (SOARES, 1960 *apud* FERNANDES, 2010).

Fernandes points out that, in Rio, neighborhoods where there is no railway are never referred to as a suburb, even if the location meets other criteria that characterize it as such. Neither is the word suburb used to name peripheral urban expansion areas and neighborhoods associated to middle and upper classes. Even if they live very far, the upper classes never reside on the outskirts or in the suburbs.

> Today, when one says "suburb", the word no longer carries its rich polysemy nor does it represent the different forms of use and occupation that might exist in that space, being stripped off its original geographical sense. The peripheral position - the most unchanging element of its history, that which ensures the correspondence between the word and the reality - disappears, being mistaken, replaced by the representation of political, social and cultural distance. (FERNANDES, 2010:13).

This characterizes what the author calls and ideological miscarriage, analytical category borrowed from Lefebvre (1978) who used this expression

> to describe the sudden and drastic changes in the meaning of the terms, when the traditional meaning of a word is suddenly abducted, beginning to represent another reality, strange to its original signification. Such changes arise or match certain
> political and ideological needs in times of social and historical disruption.

The use, in Rio de Janeiro, of the word suburb to urban areas, hence, implies the emptying, abduction and sacrifice of the homology between words and reality. We highlight the fact that the emergence of this meaning to the word suburb in the city coincides with major shifts in society and the space of Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century and is synthesized in the urban reforms undergone at the time, from which the suburb becomes ideologically destined to working class people.

Concurrently, the lack of a consistent urban and housing policy, which could provide the suburbs with services and facilities of the same standard of those designed for central areas or areas occupied by the wealthier classes, led to the image we have of the suburb today, as a place without attractive, "the refuge of the unfortunate" as referred to by brazilian writer Lima Barreto in Clara dos Anjos (1904).

On the other hand, and on the same riddled-with-ideology record, the residents of these suburbs appear in the media and in works of fiction with features ranging from

provincial to rude, from naive to the tricky, from the good neighbor to the social climber. In the early twentieth century, suburbans were associated to barbarism and lack of civilization, as it appears in this article by Olavo Bilac, written in 1916 for Kosmos Magazine. He gives his opinion on the religious festivals around the Penha Church as follows:

> Last Sunday I saw a wagon crammed with pilgrims from Penha pass by Central Avenue and, on that broad and splendid boulevard, on the polished street, against the rich facade of tall buildings, against the carriages and cars that paraded, meeting that old vehicle, inside which the drunk devotees howled, gave me the impression of a monstrous anachronism: it was the resurrection of barbarism – it was a wild age coming back as a spirit from the dead world, coming to disturb and humiliate civilized life. If only the unbridled orgy was confined to the village of Penha! But no! Finished the feast, the crowd rushes like a victorious flood to the center of the metropolis (in GOMES, 194:107-108)

From the second half of the twentieth century on, suburban characters abound in soap operas, always playing the role of subordinate types without social refinement. Similarly to what we see in Pecado Capital (Capital Sin) by Janet Clair (displayed by GloboTV in 1975), they have very narrow choices in the range of occupational possibilities: if women, they will be manicures, nannies, factory workers, wannabe actresses and models; if men, they will be drivers, mechanics, sales representatives, unskilled clerks, bar owners, decadent or seeking stardom football players. Music and literature also glorified (and idealized) the suburbs for quite some time as that place where one can lead a way of living based on affective ties, and quiet, good neighborhood.

More recently, the representations of suburbia and slums, as well as those about its residents have pointed to this symbolic change, seeking to portray (or fabricate) who's this new suburban, courted by the media and promoted to the category of potential consumers. This happens in reports, as well as in newspaper articles and magazines or dramaturgy.

In a recent article, published in Globo Newspaper[1] testimonials from readers of several suburban neighborhoods were reproduced, expressing their perception of their social and cultural profile as compared to the perception they had of the inhabitants of other parts of the city, especially the south zone, taken here as a

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[1] Published on the April 14th, 2012 edition, Cultural Section, p. 3

parameter of "living well." In one piece, a resident of Pilares, in the north zone, declares that "the mall has changed our life. I usually played soccer in the street, eating barbecue and today my weekend leisure is all about the mall. It did improve". In another, a resident of Jacarepaguá area, West Zone, recognizes that "the houses are getting smaller, because many of them have to fit within a gated community. You don't see backyards anymore, big lots with a house in the middle. Where ten lived, a thousand live now, everything turns into gated communities."

Not coincidentally, the last two soap operas shown in Globo's prime time were respectively set in a fictional suburb neighborhood (Avenida Brazil, by João Emanuel Carneiro, shown in 2012) and the Complexo do Alemão (Salve Jorge, authored by Gloria Perez , shown in 2012-2013). In both cases, new kinds of character are presented, highlighting the greater consumption capacity, aesthetic appreciation, professional training and greater variety of social and cultural experiences enjoyed by those residents.

(b) The suburb and the "broadened slumization" or the popular spaces

Throughout this text, we have referred to, alternately, sometimes to the suburbs, sometimes to the slums, not by chance or random. We recognize the obvious differences and specificities of each of these spaces in shaping the city. However, we note that for the kind of analysis and research that we propose to do, thre is no reason to distinguish them most of the time, even more so if we take into account classical dichotomies – outmoded, in our view - between "formal" and "informal" or "legal" and "illegal" areas.

The strong imagery that marks the formation of the suburb is draws it close, in many respects, to the perception people have of the slum areas. As we have seen, the use of the term suburb is part of an ideological concept that allows or facilitates, in Rio de Janeiro, the identification of this popular area with settlements for the lower classes, and in many cases, even with the slum, a process called by Marzulo (2007) "broadened slumization".

Silva (2010) calls attention to the fact that, in Brazil, the slum has been more deeply studied than the suburb, holding a traditional historiography, in addition to a richer and more critical debate, which becomes a problem when we want to study the slum in the suburb or the suburban sprawl and the slum. The latest academic research

incorporates a reinterpretation of the slums, trying to deconstruct stereotypes and myths.

On the other hand, still according to this author, the relevance of the expansion of slums in suburban areas and their interrelationships deserve more extensive reflection. The author questions whether the change of meaning that the term suburb suffered somehow alters the representations of the favela, and more specifically, about the slum clusters inserted in suburban areas, concluding for the negative. Still, the question is justified by the "obvious association of two categories which have bore extremely ideologically meanings, often omitting or distorting the nature of the phenomena, and severely fed the setting of priorities and public policies with stigmas" (SILVA, 2010:162).

The author guarantees that in several representations of the favela, both in common sense and in social sciences, they appear in such a way that resembles the suburbs, in its "kidnapped" meaning, strengthening the relations of both with precariousness and abandonment. In spite of the aspects that differentiate suburb and slums, the images and representations of these spaces are always situated in the field delimited by visions of poverty and the construction of stigmas.

Silva links the suburban sprawl of slums largely to the lack of social housing, provided either by the state or the private sector. She also notes that several processes that give rise to the development of the suburban slum involve operations devised by the State itself, especially in the years 1940-1950. They are interventions associated with the transformation of the city, such as expansion projects for industrial and port activities, besides the opening of Brazil Avenue in 1946, but there are also official plans for the relocation of squatters, bringing people from other slums to new settlements, both in the North and West Zone of the city.

Finally, we remember that contiguous suburbs and shantytowns often share a situation of territorial vulnerability, due to the coercive and violent domain of criminal armed groups - drug dealers and / or militia - over the territory of the slums, with recurring ensuing conflicts that spill easily over the neighborhoods around them.

Another element that contributes to the perceiving of the suburbs as disaggregated urban space are the road structures, built to promote the connection between distant (and almost always more noble) points of town. There are highways tearing neighborhoods apart, sometimes setting real barriers and disrupting social, economic

and spatial relations. Metropolitan development strategies that take place to the detriment of local urban experiences. The typical landscape along Brazil Avenue, for example, is one of large industrial structures, isolated residential areas and slum clusters everywhere else.

As the city spreads over more and more surface, segregation also increases, with the poorest destined to live in the outskirts and suburbs where transportation and services are scarce or of poor quality. It is this process of reducing the presence of the State in certain areas of the city, coupled with the precarious conditions of work that makes the phenomenon called by Marzulo (2007) "broadened slumization" emerge. In his work, the author seeks to study precisely the relationship between the slums and the neighborhoods around them, trying to establish "the constitutive dynamics of a process that transformed the contemporary favela into a compelling paradigm for understanding the society-space relations in Brazil, particularly with regard to the territory effect on the poor "(Marzulo, 2007:1).

He admits that slum dwellers have indeed had more access to consumer goods and achieved higher levels of education, however, their rise in the social structure is more easily explained by the increased insecurity of labor relations, relative decrease of income and permanence [in the last decade[2]] of high levels of unemployment, which have impoverished the middle class, without significantly altering the perverse conditions of income concentration in the country.

He also reminds us that the differences between the slums are relational. That is, slums near prime neighborhoods have, by comparison, far worse conditions than the neighborhood itself, but they are still a bit better than the slums located in suburban neighborhoods, which "tend to have more similiar or even equal conditions to the formal neighborhoods of their surroundings."

What the author is basically trying to say is that there has been a leveling between poor neighborhoods and suburban slums around. At the moment he writes this article, he credits this similarity to the impoverishment of the working class people living in these suburban neighborhoods. Experience allows us to share this formal perception of a certain lack of differentiation between so-called formal and informal fabrics in the area of this study, which might allow us to apply the expression "broadened slumization" to large stretches of these neighborhoods. However, our

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[2] This text was written in 2007, and analyses data from the last half of the 90's decade.

understanding is that this condition should be explained by a mixture of more complex and varied phenomena, rather than those mentioned in Marzulo's text. Besides recent investments in slum urbanization, the so-called "social ascension of the C class" is a phenomenon that deserves further attention as part of the process change in the suburb, in simultaneously cultural, social and spatial terms, with consequences yet to be studied.

Therefore when Marzulo says that "the sprawl of slums over the suburban neighborhoods tends to be stronger and faster in the areas closest to them, as if the slum was was advancing on the formal neighborhood", I think this process of merging appearance works both ways. Anyway, we agree on the consideration that these are multiterritorial spaces, appropriated by and identified with the working classes. We mean to recognize a social representation that "treats the whole of the popular classes vicinities as equivalent, using the favela as a paradigm, but not distinguishing among the slum, the old working-class neighborhoods or popular housing developments" (Marzulo, 2007:12) .

In the process we have just revealed, there would be an identification between slum dwellers and the residents of suburban neighborhoods, metropolitan outskirts and (legal or illegal) housing developments, in which they would recognize themselves as sharing a similar social status in opposition to the social status of the residents of elite neighborhoods. This social identity would be founded on the concept of territory, not specifically the slum's, but the working classes' as a whole, allowing us to name these territories, in a general overview, as "popular spaces", a term adopted by Silva and Barbosa (2004; 2005; 2013).

(c) Getting to know Complexo do Alemão and its surroundings a little better

The area we call Complexo do Alemão consists of fifteen communities located in the "Serra da Misericordia" (a literal translation for that would be Mercy Hills), set of hills west of Brazil Avenue, who had their occupation directly related to the industrial boom in the region. It is named after a former owner of the lands, a I World War polish refugee called Leonard Kacsmarkiewiez, who was soon nicknamed as "Alemão" (that means German in portuguese, so, "Complexo do Alemão" literally means German Complex). The parceling of these lands was promoted by Leonard the "German" from 1928 on, but the communities that make up the complex settled there effectively between 1950 and 1980. Their names are Itararé, Joaquim de

Queiroz, Mourao Filho, Nova Brasilia, Palmeiras Hill, Alvorada Park, Relicário, Rua 1 pela Ademas, Vila Matinha, Piancó Hill, Adeus Hill, Bahia Hill, Itararé Road, German Hill and Armando Sodré[3]

The complex has achieved the status of a formal district in 1993, as the unique district of the 29th RA (Administrative Region) of the city. On the border of Complexo do Alemão there are six neighborhoods: Bonsucesso, Ramos, Olaria, Higienópolis, Inhaúma and Engenho da Rainha. Among them, the Complex is the neighborhood with larger population and higher population density, but the lowest in average income per capita, as we can see from the tables below.

DISTRICT	AREA (ha)	2000			2010			Variation in pop.
		Pop.	Dens (inhab per ha)	Number of residences	Pop.	Dens (inhab per ha)	Number of residences	
Alemão	296,09	65.026	220	18.245	69.143	234	21.272	6,3%
Bonsucesso	219,97	19.298	88	6.683	18.711	85	7.133	(3,1%)
Ramos	279,35	35.537	134	12.034	40.792	146	15.012	14,8%
Olaria	368,98	62.509	169	19.469	57.514	156	21.620	(8,7%)
Inhaúma	348,53	42.722	123	12.958	45.698	131	16.320	7,0%
Higienópolis	115,75	16.587	143	5.337	15.734	136	6.327	(5,4%)
Engenho da Rainha	222,56	27.311	123	8.237	26.659	120	9.581	(2,4%)

Source: http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairroscariocas/index_bairro.htm
Population in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2000: 5.857.904, with density of 48 inhabitants/ha
Population in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2010: 6.320.446, with density of 52 inhabitants/ha
1 hectare = 2.5 acres
Variation of population in the city 2000-2010: 7,9%
Negative variations (districts where population decreased) have their percentuals in brackets

In a first glance, we observe that, while the population of Rio rose 7.9% in the last 10 years, the number of inhabitants in some of the neighborhoods focused decreased, by an average 5%. Aside from Ramos, the other neighborhoods - including the Complexo do Alemão - had lower growth rates than those of the municipality. Nevertheless, the production of households in the same period increased in all neighborhoods, even if in modest rates. These data are part of a broader information, which points to the high attractiveness of the West Zone of the city, indicating a trend

[3] http://www.uppsocial.org/territorios/complexo-do-alemao/

of population and real estate expansion, while reveal that, although this is an area closer to the City Center, with great potential for occupation, it is still downsizing.

In the following table, we evaluate the average income per capita in the same districts. Be reminded that the minimum wage in 2000 was worth R$ 151.00, or U$83 at the exchange rate at the time ($1 = R $1.81)[4]. For comparison, the Brazilian minimum wage in 2010 was worth R$ 622.00 or U$ 306[5].

DISTRICT	Monthly average income per capita (R$) Year 2000	Equivalence in US dollars in 2000	Monthly average income per capita (R$) Ano 2010	Equivalence in US dollars in 2010	Income variation 2000-2010 (in dollars)
Alemão	177,31	U$ 98	432,77	U$ 245	150%
Bonsucesso	552,99	U$ 289	981,04	U$ 557	93%
Ramos	508,76	U$ 281	918,81	U$ 522	86%
Olaria	460,31	U$ 254	983,18	U$ 559	120%
Inhaúma	324,30	U$ 179	686,66	U$ 390	118%
Higienópolis	614,41	U$ 339	1.100,06	U$ 625	84%
Engenho da Rainha	362,62	U$ 200	818,25	U$ 465	133%

Source: http://portalgeo.rio.rj.gov.br/bairroscariocas/index_bairro.htm
Monthly average income per capita in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2000: R$ 955,00 (U$ 528)
Monthly average income per capita in the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2010: R$ 1311,00 (U$ 745)
Average income variation: 41%

The Complexo do Alemão, according to official municipal data presents one of the lowest Social Development Index amongst the districts in the city, occupying the 149th. position and the lowest income per capita of the municipality. Nevertheless, we note that over the past 10 years, their average income improved significantly compared to the change in income of the municipality as a whole, and even in relation to the surrounding neighborhoods. The difference between the lowest (Alemão) and the highest (Higienópolis) income in 2000 was 246%. In 2010, this difference fell to 155%.

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[4] Source:http://www.guiatrabalhista.com.br/guia/salario_minimo.htm;
http://www.portalbrasil.net/indices_dolar00.htm
[5] Average exchange rate in 2010: U$1 = R$1,76.
Source: http://www.acsp.com.br/indicadores/IEGV/IEGV_DOLAR.HTM

4 – ACTIONS IN DIFFERENT SCALES ACTING IN CONCERT IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

We understand the city and transformations we have been referring to in the lefebvrean sense: in their several dimensions and in relation to their several spatial scales. Lefebvre (1999) proposes the understanding of the urban space as a force field expressed in forms which enclose the typical contradictions of the urban reality. As space and space policies reflect social relationships and also act over them, the general organization of social practice only seems to be rational, because it is made of order and enforcement. Thus, the discourse of order and disorder underlies many intervention proposals presently being offered in the areas under study.

The methodology for approaching the urban phenomenon depends on descriptive methods. However, after a certain point the description, even if refined, isn't enough anymore. At this point, we need to substitute ideology for description, analysis for phenomenolgy, and go from formal logic to dialetics.

Confused discourses concerning the city and the urban matter may be organized from the adoption of different levels of analysis. The author distinguishes three approximation levels for the urban phenomenon:

- The global level, where power is exercised. Lefebvre identifies this level with the State and institutional space. It's the level where strategic policies are processed, but at the same time it has reflections in part of the built -up domain (buildings, monuments, urbanization projects), as well as in the non-building domain (roads, transportation and urban tissue organization). At this level we'll analyse the State acting through urban norms in the construction of formal logic. Those norms impose the necessary rules on the workings of the real state market, by regulating the ownership of the land. However, by establishing market niches and exclusivity, they also create exclusion mechanisms and, paradoxically, they encourage informality.

- The mixed or mediating level, which he considers the urban level. In the built-up domain we consider the streets, squares, avenues and public buildings. The non-building domain relates to the study of forms-functions-structures of the city, including considerations about grouoings and their social relationships and connections. At this level we'll study the implementation of large social and infrastructure programs.

- The private level, where the dwelling prevails. At this level, we'll consider the social practices and the several discourses which form the image the inhabitants have of themselves and of their living place, in a perpective which appreciates the everyday life which is usually dismissed by large projects and interventions.

(a) Global level: the planning

Considering the region of the city we are focusing on, we have in the global level the several legal or planning tools which orient urban land occupation, among which the Master Plan stands out.

The Complexo do Alemão and its neighbour areas belong to Rio's Planning Area #3, which is the most densely oocupied area of the city: 13,135 people/km2, while the number for the whole city is 5,149 people/km2. It covers 16.6% of the city's territory, houses 2.5+ mil people (40% of the population, according to the 2010 census). Taken alone, it would br Brasil's 10th largest city (by population). Besides, it contains about half of the whole slum population of the city.

The Master Plan

The present Master Plan for Rio was approved by Law nº 111/2011, and covers the macro-zoning of the city in its Chapter II. The plan defines all of AP3 (Planning Area) as an "Encouraged Occupation Zone", which is defined (article nº 32) as "*where the increasing in population density, economic activity and large urban equipment placement will be encouraged, preferrably in those areas with more availability or potential for infrastructure placement.*"

Urban Structuring Project (PEU) for Penha

This PEU, defined by Law 114/2011, establishes conditions for land use and occupation on the area covering the Penha, Penha Circular e Brás de Pina neighbourhoods, belonging to the XI Administrative Region, modifying the conditions previously defined by Law 7654/1988.

The PEU in question explicitly aims to encourage economic recovery of the area, assuming land value appreciation as the means to put an end to the control of the Penha and Alemão area by the narco dealers. In order to achieve this, it proposes to create denser demographics around the Penha Church by allowing for higher residence buildings (eight storeys).

The main critics of the law call attention to the fact that it would be naive to relate denser demographics with economic recovery. Amongst the problems they cite we can mention:

- Elimination of the Special Interest Area around the Penha Church, created to assure the visibility of that Historical Heritage building as well as to protect the cultural heritage of that region.

- Excessive increase in building's maximum height standards. According to computer models, that would hurt the visibilty of the church. This increase doubles the building potential in the Curtume Carioca[6] area, with a corresponding increase in its value.

- Lack of directives for natural and cultural environment protection, as well as for the local landscape, contrary to what is established in article 69/II of the present Master Plan.

- Lack of legal tools for obtaining the necessary resourses for investment in public infrastruture works, contrary to what is established in article 69/V of the present Master Plan.

- Lack of reserve of areas for social housing , either in state-owned or abandoned private ares, as well as lack of provision for green, leisure, school and othe public equipment areas, and also for urban infrastructure (including streets), all of which would be essential for the increase in demographics desired for the region.

Special Urban Interest Area (AEIU) of Brasil Avenue

Law 116/2012 creates this AEIU which -- agreeing with the macro-zoning defined in the Master Plan -- aims to strengthen the economy of an area full of industrial holes and large growth potential. WIth that objective, this AEIU defines new building parameters, increasing maximum height standards to 18 storeys and encouraging residential use. It also specifically mentions reuse of empty industrial structures.

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[6] Curtume Carioca once was one of the largest manufacturers of leather in the country and went bankrupt in 1998 amid severe environmental scandal. The land of 28.5 thousand square meters was transferred to the City Hall, and was sold in 2007 for $ 3.5 million. The current owners were the first to apply for a license to construct residential buildings in the area, and are the major beneficiaries of the change in legislation. The land will give rise to a large real estate launch, already in sales.

Those strategies point to a growth in density and verticalization of the region, as well as the optimization of the already installed infrastructure.

(b) Urban level: large programs and infrastructure projects

Several programs from all government levels act on the region. They are far reaching, both in geographical terms as in the time distribution of investments and works in time. We'll briefly mention some of them and their respective impact on the analised neighbourhoods.

My Home, My Life

This is a federal program which aims to create mechanisms to encourage building and acquisition of new housing, as well as requalification of urban buildings. It also covers building or renovation of rural housing for families with yearly incomes up to USD 30.000[7] (approximate value, as of June 2013). This programs works in partnership with local city governments.

According to the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Urbanism Authority[8], as of August 2011 there was a forecast for 112,638 housing units to be built in the city, divided as follows:

2,722 units (2.4%) in AP1, which comprises the neighbourhoods near the downtown;

188 units (0.2%) in AP2, which comprises the South Zone and some neighbourhoods near Tijuca;

17,103 (15.2%) in AP3, which comprises the North Zone, including the area under study;

12,208 (10.8%) in AP4, which comprises the Jacarepaguá Lowlands;

80,390 (71.4%) in AP5, which comprises the West Zone.

In AP3, 68 units will be built in Penha and 99 in Ramos, representing 1% of the total for those areas.

There is an interesting fact related to distribution of those units by income ranges. The program assumes roughly three income ranges: the first from 0 to 3 times the value legally defined as the minimum wage, the second for 3 to 6 times this value,

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[7] http://www.cidades.gov.br/index.php/minha-casa-minha-vida

[8] http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/web/smu/exibeconteudo?article-id=2069711

and the third for the range from 6 to 10 times that value. Almost half of the housing units due for Rio, according to Rio's Housing Authirity, are reserved for families in the lowest income range. This distribution, however, varies across the PAs.

In AP1, 58.5% of the units are reserved for the low income families; in AP2, 74.5%; in AP4, 8.2% (all in the City of God slum); in AP5, 58.1%. In AP3, where we have half of all the slums in the city, less than a third of all units are reserved for the low income bracket, and none in Penha or Ramos. The 68 units for Penha are actually reserved for the highest income bracket.

Finally, it should be noted that as of today (June 2013), not a single unit has been built in those two neighbourhoods.

Growth Acceleration Program (PAC)

The PAC is a federal program launched in 2007, encompassing a set of economic policies which aim to accelerate economic growth in Brazil. Among its priorities are investments in infrastruture and urbanization, sanitation, housing, transportation, energy and water resources. Its first phase (2007-2010) included 15 cities in the Rio de Janeiro state, 12 of them in the Metropolitan Area of Rio. In Rio, the slums covered by the program included the Complexo do Alemão, Manguinhos, Pavão-Pavãozinho, Rocinha, Colônia Juliano Moreira and some areas in the greater Tijuca region. The Cities Ministry, in its last report[9], shows that the works in the Alemão Complex are in progress right now, with a budget of USD 950 mil. Those works include:

- new projects related to transportation systems and infrastructure (drainage, water supply and sanitation);

- construction of social equipments (Integrated Service Centers, Legal Support Centers, libraries, Health Centers, schools, Civic Centers);

- construction of housing units (2620 new units, renovation of 5600 units, expropriation (with indemnification) of 862 units;

- creation of the Mercy Park, including reforestation and construction of leisure areas at the Mecy Hill;

- creation of a cablecar system with six stops on a 3 km long path.

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[9] http://www.planejamento.gov.br/PAC2/2balanco/docs/RJ_WEB.pdf

Except for the cablecar system, operating since July 2011, and a few other eye-catching projects under construction, a common complaint of the local population is that most of the social equipments like hospitals and schools, as well as most of the promised housing units have never left the planning stage[10]. Not coincidentally, the cablecar is the most iconic work from the PAC-Alemão, definitely including the Complex as a new tourist attraction.

According to Canclini (2005), in the transformation of the "text city" (modern) into the "multimedia city" (post-modern) we lose the urban sense. More relevance is then given to the trends of celebrating or recovering spaces going into extinction, or of appealing to marketing or artistic shows as a means to build the urban imaginary. To him, the spectacular is the new method of glorifying the city: "nowadays the outdoor marketing pieces are sometimes used to specify places and to identify the part of the city we are referring to". The Alemão cablecar fits this description as a glove.

The social scientist Wellington Conceição, local sponsor of the Cultural Solos project in the Alemão Complex (which will be presented later on) is also of the same opinion. He declares: "the tourism which arrived in the Alemão is a from-above-only kind, using only the cablecar point of view, much like african safaris where you can get near the exotic -- but not too near[11]." In his opinion, this kind of tourism reiterates hierarchies and stereotypes, reinforcing for the slums and their inhabitants the wounds of prejudice from which they have benn trying to free themselves for more than a century.

Police Pacifying Units (UPPs)

This is a State goverment public security program which allocates police units to Rio's slums until then controlled by the drug dealers, allied to the strengthening of social policies on those communities. The partnerships with federal government assume the simultaneous execution of urbanization works and construction of community equipments. Some of the UPP installations required a previous military invasion of the affected regions, such was the level of control by the drug industry.

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[10] http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/parceiro-rj/noticia/2013/05/obras-do-pac-no-alemao-no-rio-nao-sairam-do-papel.html

[11] http://solosculturais.org.br/quer-conhecer-o-alemao-va-de-mototaxi/

As of today, 33 UPPs are in operation in the city, covering 226 communities[12]. At the Alemão Complex there are four units (Nova Brasília, Fazendinha, Morro do Adeus/Baiana e Morro do Alemão), which started operations between april and may 2012[13].

The strategy of priorizing certains areas to the loss of others was made explicit in 2010 by the then City Executive Secretary from the National Security and Citizenship Program (PRONASCI), Ricardo Rotenberg[14], who stated that the aim of the this initial UPP phase was "to build a security belt around downtown and the South and North Zones, with an eye towards security for the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016". Military Police colonel Robson Rodrigues confirms: "Its actually the Olympics whicg dictate our choices. I'd say that were it not for those events, the pacification would never have happened."[15]

CARIOCA LIVING

The Carioca Living program was created in July 2010 by the municipal government with the stated objective of promoting social inclusion through urban and social integration of Rio's slums until 2020. The program presents itself as part of the local government's legacy for the Olympics, and boasts a budget of about USD 4 billions. The program is currently in progress in several pacified communities, including Alemão. Projects are also scheduled for Ramos, but visits to the announced addresses revealed no signs of any works related to this program.

BRT-Transcarioca

The high-speed corridors for articulated busses known as BRT (Bus Rapid Transit) are the main item in the urban mobility policy. The Transcarioca is among the scheduled ones, which will connect Barra da Tijuca to the Galeão International Airport, spanning 45 stops (3 being integration terminals) covering 39 km across 14 neighbourhoods, including Penha, Olaria and Ramos.

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[12] http://www.upprj.com/index.php/historico

[13] http://www.upprj.com/index.php/informacao/informacao-selecionado/ficha-tecnica-upp-alemaeo/Alem%C3%A3º

[14] http://www.sidneyrezende.com/noticia/79269+proximas+comunidades+a+receber+upps+sao+reveladas+mas+paes+desmente

[15] http://www.diplomatique.org.br/artigo.php?id=1328

Designed to be to be built in two parts (from Barra to Penha and from Penha to Galeão), this freeway has a total budget of USD 900 mil, of which USD 550 mil come from federal funds (the World Cup PAC) and the rest from the local government[16].

This is a high-impact construction work, which calls for the duplication of avenues for cars, construction of nine new bridges (two of them cable-stayed), two under-passes e ten overpasses. In its wake 2000 expropriations will have to be carried out, 500 of them in Olaria alone. USD 150 mil are budgeted for the corresponding indemnifications, but many cases are being fought over the courts given the disagreements between proprietors and the local government[17].

The works have begun in March 2011, being carried out by Andadre Gutierrez Construction Company. Its completion is scheduled for December 2013.

Other investments

The set of projects and programs listed here comes from the government, even if with help from private companies in their execution. However, those are initiatives and strategies which tell the private sector the direction wanted by the government, showing them the profit possibilities which might attract investors. In its wake, some private projects are slowly beginning to appear.

There is a demand from the population which also wants the benefits of what, for them, are the signs of modernity and social ascension: shoping malls, gated communities, freeways, large parks. Those projects are indeed starting to appear:

Alemão Shopping Mall

The first shopping mall in a slum is being built in the Alemão. O Favela Shopping is a partnership between Celso Athayde, ex-president of an association of slum communities (CUFA) and a shopping mall franchise from the state of Minas Gerais. It's expected to generate 6000 jobs and to stir the comminity's economy, through deals stricken with large shops so that the partners from the Alemão won't be required to pay rent.

According to Athayde, "the economy is warming and the slums are being viewed differently, not only as consumers but also as managers of their businesses". On the other hand, the director the Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analyses (IBA-

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[16] http://www.cidadeolimpica.com.br/projetos/transcarioca/

[17] These numbers do not include housing in informal settlements, that add to another 800 displacements. Source: http://www.brtbrasil.org.br/index.php/brt-brasil/cidades-com-sistema-brt/rio-de-janeiro/brt-transcarioca#.UbqAW3ztpT8

SE), Itamar Silva, is concerned that the construction of shopping malls in the slum might "reinforce the distancing between these communities and the rest of the city, as well as increasing the social differences between the slum inhabitants themselves". Again, geographer Jailson de Souza e Silva, coordinator of the NGO Slum Observer, sees Athayde's plan as inovative: "the bug inovation is Celso's and his partners' desire to help present and potential commerce owners to be successful, to actually be able to grow their businesses." He alerts, however, to the risks inherent in trasnforming the slum into a consumerism space, and states that to be successful, the project must provide access to credit and training, so that they can compete in a level field with other entrepreneurs.[18]

New Penha Club Gated Community

Taking advantage of the new construction potential just released for the old Curtume Carioca, their owners launched the first gated community in the region, which is already selling units. Following the traditional selling ritual from other parts of the city, they publicize, in vubrant color images, "apartments with 1, 2 and 3 rooms with ceramic floors, suites, gourmet verandah, excelent internal distribution, 1 to 3 car slots in the garages. According to the marketing pieces, the gated club will have the expected facilities -- "gym, party spaces for adults and children, pools for adults and children, toy libraries, kid's space, sauna and jacuzzi, sports court, pizza oven and barbecue pit, besides perimeter security with gate personnel 24/7"[19]. It includes five residential buildings and a total of 481 housing units from 51 to 101 m². The 56 m² apartments are being offered for USD 135,000, while a similar one outside the gates can be had for around USD 80,000.

(c) The private level: the day-to-day scale

All of those projects work on a macro scale, too distant from the common person. For the local inhabitants, however, what is important is the local scale, related to their life experinece. Social relationships are spatialized. What that means is that this social dimension happens on a concrete base which is "the place".

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[18] http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/03/130321_favela_shopping_sub_cq_ac.shtml
[19] http://www.vivareal.com.br/venda/rj/rio-de-janeiro/zona-norte/penha/

5 – RESISTANCE AND OTHER ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES

We take "place" in the sense of a space to which meaning has been assigned, the experienced space, according to Henri Lefebvre (1991). The experienced space denotes the differences compared to a programmed way of life, and everyday experience is linked to the space becoming a clandestine residue. Social space, then, appears as the most concrete expression of lived space, when understood as man's dominion over the object through its appropriation by the corporeality of human actions.

The relation city/district/everyday life of the past often appears as a nostalgic experience. Meanwhile, the cultural diversity, the multiplicity of urban uses and diffusion of communication technologies offered by contemporary times tore the boundaries of everyday places. Far from being a threat, the multiple scales of "living the city" surround us with social learning opportunities.

Looking gently and keenly at urban life microscale, Michel de Certeau (1998) also opens up new ways of looking at and understanding spaces from small daily operations that give birth to social practices of those who inhabit them. Vaz (2012), sums up this thought:

> These practices, "arts of practice", undertaken by the populations, are barely evident, scattered, often silent, however, they reveal ingenious ways of re-appropriation of space. They are also manifestations of micro-resistance to hegemonic and disciplinary forces present in the various fields of urban life, which manifest themselves from the emergence of slums, the construction of houses, streets and infrastructure, the embankment of mangroves, to cultural actions and the spaces that originate them. To understand the spaces resulting from these practices, rules and decrees, plans and projects, rational and functional features that guide urban development are worthless; however, the results of these practices provide spaces with sense and change their meanings. (VAZ, 2012:12)

The "ordinary practitioners of the city" (Certeau, 1998), residents of the city, thus exert a resistance that deserves further attention. Living in the slums and outskirts of cities of the third world is, in itself, a spatial dimension of resistance. And, according to Salles (2004), "It is not only about resisting, but doing it with a new meaning, with the power of an affirmative statement, which makes the notion of resistance comparable to a procedure of re-existence".

Several authors consider the territory as formed by spaces of resistance. Holston (1996) talks of spaces of "insurgent citizenship", to "act against". We realize that, in popular spaces, resistance is expressed mainly through cultural or artistic activities.

Cultural actions

Cultural actions are counter-hegemonic initiatives, based on artistic and cultural movements, originated by (usually) communitarian groups, formed by young people from slum clusters and peripheral areas of the city that emerged from the 1990s. Through cultural and artistic expressions such as music, dance, theater, graffiti, "capoeira" and others, strongly connected to the space where they live, these young people seek to stabilish themselves individually and collectively, reversing their condition of invisibility and conquering basic rights of citizenship. Above all, cultural actions bet on transformation.

Vaz (2007) presents cultural actions as mutant, dynamic (because their performance has ups and downs), heterogeneous (for its huge diversity), diffuse (because it has no definite edges), intermittent (because the activities are often discontinuous, and the projects are carried out according to the possibilities of the occasion) and contradictory (especially when it gets very successful) objects. Another important feature is that these actions work based on singular initiatives, bypassing government and intermediaries in conversations with various partners.

The author also states that cultural actions have revealed distinct and interrelationed effects:

- in economic terms, developing income-generating activities (of cultural production and consumption) and enhancing local production;

- in social terms, contributing to the growth of individual self-esteem, to the strengthening of local identity and the restructuring of the social fabric;

- in local terms, making legit the spatial occupation, defining territories and/or cultural networks, transforming the space community and the way you look at and think about that space;

- in sociocultural terms, recording or retrieving memories and local cultural practices, among other results.

The "new carioca", mobility and territoriality

Barbosa and Silva (2012) talk about the emergence of a new carioca (we call carioca the people who live in Rio). They are people, often young people, whose main characteristic is mobility. They venture different territories, establish multiple connections, create and take part in a wide range of cultural events. For these authors, taking urban integration as the future face of the city can only be understood in this multiterritorial perspective.

Mobility is a flexible concept for Haesbert (2004), constraint neither to the strict sense of objective displacement nor to pure abstraction. He says:

> Mobility can be defined as a social relation linked to the change of place, that is, as the number of ways in which members of a society deal with the possibility of occupy successively several other places. By this definition, we let aside two other options: one that would reduce mobility to mere displacement (...), thus eliminating their ideal and virtual dimensions, and one that would give a very indeterminate sense to the term, playing with metaphors (such as "social mobility") or with uncontrolled extensions (communication, for example). (HAESBERT, 2004:237)

Matching Silva's and Barbosa's concept, Haesbert also works with the notion of multi-territorialiality, implying the ability to access or connect several territories, which can occur either through a "concrete" mobility in the sense of a physical displacement, or a virtual one, meaning accessing different territorialities even without physical displacement, as in the new space-time experiences offered through cyberspace.

Culture and territory

More than a normative concept employed to define distinctions amid social practices, culture concerns the concrete experiences of the subjects in the act of conceiving and knowing the world from the similarities and differences that are built into their personal histories (BARBOSA, 2013). In this perspective, culture is constituted not only by deeds that transcend the "banality" of everyday life, nor it is conceived exclusively in terms of objects or artifacts created / recreated, but as a signifying practice imprinted on the territory. It is within the territory that culture gains its symbolic and material dimension, opening up the possibilities for its appropriation as a concept and its visibility as a social practice.

Culture can appear either as an instrument of economic development of the city, in the process known as "cultural regeneration", and as an instrument of socio-cultural

development of the population. In the bright spaces (SANTOS, 2007), initiatives in the field of culture tend to act in the first sense. But in the opaque spaces, culture can be a strong ally for human development. Santos reminds us that the opaque spaces are, par excellence, the territory of the slow men, and therefore offer greater possibility of opening to the others. Contemporary speed, characteristic of bright spaces, almost never allows this. But the slow man in his trivial, everyday space, resists those actions responsible for commercializing culture and turning landscape into simple scenery (RIBEIRO, 2004).

"Territory" carries itself a strong and important cultural component, which will help us in the study of culture within the field of Urbanism. Ordering the contribution of geography to the study of territory Haesbert (2004) groups the various notions in three basic aspects:

- the ones of political approach, more widespread, in which the territory is seen as a delimited and controlled space, through which one exerts a certain power, mostly - but not exclusively - related to the political power of the state;

- the ones of cultural or symbolic-cultural approach, that prioritize the symbolic and more subjective dimension, in which the territory is seen primarily as the product of symbolic appropriation / appreciation of a group in relation to their experienced space;

- The ones of economic approach, emphasizing the spatial dimension of economic relations, considering the territory as a source of material resources and / or embedded in the struggle between social classes and the capital-labor relation.

Based on Lefebvre's (1986) distinction between property and appropriation of space, he then suggests that

> territory always involves, simultaneously, a symbolic and cultural dimension, through a territorial identity set by social groups as a form of "symbolic control" over the space where they live (being, therefore, a form of appropriation as well), and a more concrete dimension, of political-disciplinary (and political-economic, we should add) aspect; the appropriation and ordering of space as a way of disciplining and controlling individuals (Haesbert, 2004:93-94)

Unlike many authors who advocate the idea of deterritorialization of the world, due to its "postmodern" condition, which would include the processes of globalization,

instant communication and space-time compression, Haesbert argues that the great novelty of our so-called post-modern spatiotemporal experience is to live in networks, in a state of mobility. No more controlling areas and setting boundaries, but "prioritizing interaction with a myriad of network-territories marked by discontinuity and fragmentation that allows the constant passage of one territory to another, in a game we call (...) 'multi-territorialiality'", a fundamental feature of postmodernity" (HAESBERT, 2007:337-338).

What many young people from popular spaces have tried, facing the shifts undergone by the city in which they live, is to make up new and multiple uses of spaces, uses that aggregate, unlike spaces of modernity that crumble as activities split. Traditional, fixed, stable, continuous, homogeneous territories, ruled by a defined and exclusive spatial logic, with precise limits and boundaries, are left behind, making way for a new territorial configuration, more fluid, dynamic, articulated.

We live in simultaneous experience of several territories. As Pinheiro (1986), we find that space, time, processes and activities are shifting, promoting the coexistence of "formal and informal spaces, spaces of tradition and innovation, of dwelling, work and culture, among others." It is still difficult to find appropriate categories for classifying new spaces, at a time when paradigms are inadequate and we need to "replace rational/functionalist thought that separates the fields of life with another that recognizes the reality around us as heterogeneous."

6 - CULTURAL SOLOS/SOILS: A CONCRETE EXPERIENCE AT THE ALEMÃO COMPLEX

The "Wonder City" alias given to Rio has the clear mark of cultural elements like Carnival, samba and football. Cultural expressions notoriously associated to popular urban territories, specially the slums, overflow their original frontiers to reach the city both as national and as an international legend.

Even so, the representation of those urban territories is still associated to a prejudiced view, centered on precarity and the inferred absence of knowledge and shadowy doings of their inhabitants. The market's productivist logic, says Barbosa (2013), "instrumentalises the cultural and educational actions to their pretense utility in the field of income generation or, in the limit, as prevention against the assumed criminal potential of the slum's youth".

In this scene, youth has the fundamental role of rebuild everyday life under new references, through different sociocultural networks which they constitute and through which they express their subjectivities. This is the frame through which should be understood the Cultural Solos/Soils Project.

It's a project based on actions over the cultural field which augment the recognition of the slum's role in the construction of the cultural identity of the country. The idea appeared in 2011, from the Slums Observatory, and counted with the partnership of the State's Culture Department, and also the sponsoring from Petrobrás, the brazilian mixed-ownership oil company.

The first objective of the project was to map cultural manifestations in five of Rio's slums -- City of God, Alemão Complex, Penha Complex, Manguinhos and Rocinha -- as well as their main actors; it also aims to produce estetic interventions on each of these areas, through formation in research e cultural production offered to about a hundred young people from these slums over the course of one year. There were several formative actvities. There were pedagogical encounters involved in area reconnaissance, guided visits to cultural facilities of the city, participation in artistic activities in the slums and social memory reserach.

As objective results, a book was published which will serve as mapping and research source for the cultural production from these communities and, more importantly, new slum culture producers were formed, with capabilities to develop social research aiming the continued mapping of those actions.

The Alemão experience: Short-Circuits

Amongst the formation activities for the young, the production of an urban intervention in their spaces of origin was proposed. The young of the Alemão idealized an itinerant cultural intervention in the slums of the complex, named Short-Circuits. The action aimed to create simultaneous presentations in several cultural languages (jazz dance, hip hop, graphitti, funk, rock, "pass dance", photo expositions) from artists of the complex, in four different places, motivating the exchange and the dialogue with the inhabitants, as well as internal recognition of those existing cultural practices . The difficulties they faced and the solutions they found to overcome them are related in the book by the artists themselves, who speak about the results of their production.

Another face of the project was the learning of social research methodologies. In a first moment, debates were realized with focal groups, with the objective of reflecting about their own cultural habits. The discussion started with the question: what do you do when not in school, working or engaged in the project itself? The answers could be classified in three categries:

- Answers common to most of them, uncorrelated to social class: staying home, going to movies or theaters, going out with friends, surfing the social networks.

- Answers commonly associated with the slum and popular neighbourhood young: making music, take part in carnival, barbecues with friends, drinking beer at the local bars, gossiping at the fence, circulating in the slum's streets, going to funk balls, or samba places, playing footbal in the street.

- Answers pointing to a larger set of interests, not usually associated to the young of the slums (usually portraied as being interested only in the funk balls): photography, surfing, making movies with friends, amongst other activities.

Next, they were asked: what would you like to introduce in your routines? The answers were as diverse as the interviewee's profiles: going more otten to the theater, movies and shows; buying CDs, going to expositions, practicing sports, form a cineclub, dedicate more time to photography, music, film-making etc.

We observe that the demands of the young interviewees, in cultural terms, was not focused in specific leisure or cultural practices , but point to the need of diversification of offers in those places, thus breaking the preconceived views of what would be the "popular desire". or the "wants of the youngs from the slums".

The possibility of choice apears as the big posession to be conquered. As one of them siad: "As you acquire knowledge, you acquire power. That's the difference between the rich and the poor: the capability of choice. You can only choose when you know."

The third activity developed by the young in the project was the producning of an inventory of the artistic practices in their slums, with two very clear objectives: to gather information for the creation of a cultural guide of the slums, and once those practices were mapped, to offer subsidies for the construction of a public cultural policy having the art and culture creators themselves as protagonists.

This inventory was built by applying structured interviews in order to identify artitic and cultural practices, defined by the classification of large groups of registry: music, scenic arts (dance, theater, circus, scenery production), visual arts (photography, sculpture, drawing, engraving), pop culture (craftwork, culinary, capoeira), audiovisual (cinema, video, cineclub), literature (poetry, cordel, romance, novel), sports and sociability, fashion, formative activities, graphitti, socializing and cultural spaces (bars, lan houses, town squares).

The methodologies of territorial inventory were also used, based on digital maps of each slum and the corresponding application of cartographical records, having as areference the census sectors of the Brazilian Geography and Statistics Bureau (IBGE).

In the Alemão Complex 110 different practices were mapped, a number similar to that obtained for Rocinha, and far higher than the numbers for other communities. It was possible to observe the existence of an acting civil society, but the public institutions were also present as catalyzers of cultural activities in their areas. This picture has seen a big increase in the last years, specially after the implementation of the UPPs, but also and more strongly due to the urban interventions related to the PAC -- specially the cablecar. Each stop has showrooms usually occupied by public institutions, notably from the State government, or used in sessions -- almost always turned to actions related to education and culture.

The activities found by this research are mostly related to music and scenic arts (dance and theater), and this is common to all the slums. At the Alemão, however, there was equal prevalence of activities related to the visual and audiovisual arts. Besides those, others were listed, but in lesser numbers: activities related to fashion, literature, pop culture, sports and socialization.

Almost always, the teams responsible for the conduction of cultural practices are quite small, usually less than 10 people (70%), and often having only 1to 5 people (50%). This reveals a central tenet of the slums' cultural production: their organic character, as opposed to an institutional one. The dimension of institutional practices shows the absence of propositional actions by the state which could establish networks between those practices. We should note the almost nonexistent number of cultural facilities maintained by the state in these areas.

The declared target public is well diversified, but there are activities focused on children, young or specific minority groups (afro-descendants and LGBT communities, for example).

As for financing, we see nultiple compositions in which several budget sources are involved: money from companies, government, NGOs, religious organizations and individuals. Most of them (60%), however, totally depend on their own resources, which badly affects the profissionalization, susteinability and continuity of those activities, as well as the offering of good jobs.

We should note that most respondents, in all five researched territories, indicate as challenges for their actions the absence of financing and infrastructure. If we look, for example, at the two most common practices -- music and scenic arts -- this is not surprising. The number of theaters and public stages is extremelly small.

Those manifestations, however, keep making use of the streets and squres as their stages. 42% of the activities have been there for longer than 5 years, and 17% are between 2 and 5 years. In what respects to periodicity, two thirds of the activities happen at least weekly, and most happen daily.

Conclusion

While for middle and high class young people culture is an adventure towards knowledge and learning, making them more humane and expanding their ability to choose, for young people living in poorer areas, it is still treated as a preventive remedy to urban violence. According to Porto (2004), "social action developed there is connected to expressions such as "improve self-esteem","feel socially included" and many others we find in companies' financial reports or hear in the speeches of officials of the state or international bureaucracy."

While cultural action is seen secluded from its political and transforming potential, as welfare work, the task of expanding access to culture, making actors and practices in the political and symbolic universe truly representative is still incomplete. For Barbosa (2013):

> We believe that the policy of investments in cultural facilities need to gain new territorial dimensions, overcoming the perverse combination of cultural and urban interventions in our city under the nickname of "urban regeneration", which has been very useful to market revaluation of places once considered degraded and that will

most certainly have implications as gentrification in the use of the land and the facilities provided.

It is paramount to think of ways in which these cultural practices may be strengthened and visualized by public action. However, it is imperative that any action performed in these territories be made by them and not in spite of them. WITH them and not FOR them. One must take into account that the slums are already important cultural soils, whose practices need to be encouraged: the state must act together with what already exists, basing their actions on this fundamental recognition of the cultural sparkling of the carioca slums.

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