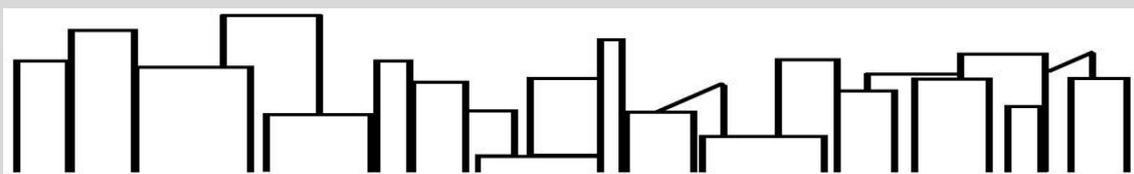
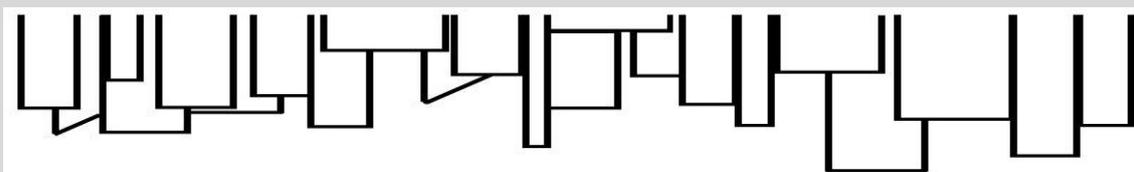


Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos

(coordinator)



THE URBAN CRISIS



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(Coordinator)

THE URBAN CRISIS

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THE COORDINATOR

THE AUTHORS

Metageography

Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos

Building a research path called metageography begins with an initial question: is unveiling the world based on space, that is, based on the spatiality of social relationships, the task and objective of geography?

Assuming that in the scope of the division of human sciences, geography embraced the analysis of space, the challenge to be addressed is that of thinking about the world and our status in the world through an understanding of space. But what kind of space are we talking about?

Mathematicians have certainly produced knowledge about space, as well as philosophers. Geographers have also covered a long path in the construction of a "geographical space". Along these same lines, Geography (which has considered it to be a disciplinary object) has a lot to contribute to this understanding, with respect to the knowledge accumulated from research that centers on the man-nature relationship, as well as its capacity to clarify the role of space as an indispensable element of understanding the modern world.

Brazilian geographical production (like all other disciplines) is characterized by differences, that is, by different ways of thinking about and studying geography. This opens up different paths of research, which consequently lead to different ways of establishing geography in the overall scope of knowledge production about reality. What underlies a determined choice is a conception of society, a view of the university and the role of research in the modern world. It is worth noting that differences in the theoretical-methodological approach are a condition for the constantly evolving knowledge production in the face of the transformations of society.

However, being characterized by specialties, the whole - in many cases - can only be glimpsed and is thus not necessarily problematized in the work of geographers. This becomes a great challenge to overcome for two reasons: first, because the analysis of the modern - urban - world points to the role of space as a crucial place and time in reproducing the capitalist society. This is because the development of the productive forces and the realization of capitalism is limited, since contradictions are produced in the process of growth

itself, requiring new strategies for realizing accumulation. At this time, urban space production answers them. In other words, faced with the internal contradictions of capitalism with respect to the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the pursuit of realizing added value shifts fundamentally to space production, in a context that becomes characterized by the hegemony of financial capital. Therefore, urbanization appears at a specific moment of capital reproduction due to the opening of new possibilities of capital valuation.

Secondly, faced with the fact that analyses about our "post-modern condition" are focused today primarily on the transformations of time and culture building on the edge of an e-spatial understanding of reality. This goes against the fact that, for example, the occupation of public spaces, around the world, as a place of dispute and for exercising denied citizenship, has consistently pointed towards a struggle for space, with respect to carrying on with daily life, as well as that which establishes the public sphere in its possibilities. With this reasoning, the political and cultural levels, despite not being in anyway negligent of understanding this big picture, are insufficient and require the space-time dimension.

Our thesis - the foundation of metageography - is that space production, as a social construct, is an immanent condition of human production as well as its product. Along these lines, space production would be the work of the civilization process. Space, in its real dimension, is considered a visible element, in its materiality, but also a representation of real social relationships in society at each moment of history. Contrary to what geographers preach, we can build a hypothesis according to which there would be no "geographical space", but a spatial dimension of reality, entailing the need for a way of understanding the world through understanding space as social (and historical) reproduction.

This book intends to contribute to unveiling space production and the role of Geography - in a dialogue necessary with other disciplines - in understanding the modern world in the face of the problems of the time. Space has been assuming an unprecedented central role, to the extent to which the reproduction of the capitalist society takes place today through urban space production, as the chapters herein will demonstrate. They are focused on the investigation of

the social dimension of reality, highlighting moments of social practice as space-time praxis. They are a product of a research project and of reflections made in an atmosphere of debate, which is still possible in the university.

Through each individual reflection, the collective project of unveiling urban reality is built, extending the thinking of Karl Marx and Henri Lefebvre, in a theoretical-methodological orientation developed in the Department of Geography of the School of Letters, Philosophy and Human Sciences of USP, denominated Marxist-Lefebvrian, as a path for building a critical-radical geography: metageography.

Metageography has been developing over a slow period of time. This long research process, which began during a master's study in 1976, developed in the Graduate Program in Human Geography from 1989 on, with a line of research called "the reproduction of urban space". This pointed to a possible path of understanding the modern world, through Geography, disentangling the contents of space production as a need to build a theoretical line of thought that reveals the contents behind spatial forms. It rests on a moment of questioning and on the capacity of geography to interpret reality in its disciplinary potential and limitations. It is permeated by many concerns in the face of an urban reality undergoing deep transformations and a geography being renewed.

In the 1970s, geography was being strongly criticized and needed a stance by geographers regarding their role in understanding that moment of history and the transformation of Brazilian society. Historical materialism was the path that opened the doors to a fruitful and stimulating debate. Studying geography at that moment was placing in check not only a way of thinking, but of questioning the social responsibility of the geographer. On the one hand was the concern with the epistemological statute of the discipline, but on the other, there were questions derived from social practice and the need to understand it. Today, little of this tradition remains and critical thinking is residual in a geography submerged in specialties - like the other disciplines in the human sciences - , a hostage of the parameters of the neoliberal university in which competitiveness is imposed on reflection and the speed of productivity to the speed of building knowledge.

This path allowed for a deviation of our analysis in the sense of making it possible to answer the questions asked by a society in transformation, under a suffocating military regime, demanding a project of societal change based on its understanding. From this perspective, the notion of "space as a stage for the activities of man" was made problematic, and consequently, it was proposed that generalizing and empty notions be overridden, like "population", opening itself to thinking about the contradictory movement of the world and the situation dependent on Brazil. After all, the knowledge process emerges from the search for answers. The path to this breakthrough was founded on the theoretical-methodological perspective proposed by the work of Marx and its theoretical-practical extension. This meant thinking about the path of the concept (geographical space) in practice and outside of it what the inseparable theory-practice relationship meant, exploring, as Marx observed, a whole in the making, since this method put forth the possibility of utopian thought. The objective was to attentively examine the contents of social practice as a producer of space, aimed at overriding the idea of human actions happening on a space or territory, as well as to elaborate an understanding of knowledge production as a necessary step towards building a project of society capable of illuminating the contradictions that support the foundation of the capitalist society, questioning its direction.

The notion of production being central was imposed by geographical research, which analyzes the relationship between man and nature. Therefore, the path opened up by the works of this line of thought enabled a shift in understanding a geography centered on location and the distribution of activities and of man in space or in a territory towards an analysis of space production - not of things in space -, but of space as a social and historical product.

Now, the spatial focus placed on the movement of the social production of reality and human life implies revealing its fundamental processes in the specific determinations of each time period, which involves considering the need to override the point of view that sees space as a physical picture or a natural environment deformed by human presence. At the same time, space production involves various levels of reality, which are presented as

differentiated moments of the general reproduction of society; that of political domination, capital strategies aimed at continued reproduction, and that of the needs/desires linked to living life in society. These levels correspond to a real socio-spatial practice that is revealed to be productive of places, and which encompasses in its nature a social content given by the social relationships that exist in determined space-times. This happens because social relationships take place concretely in space, which means that man, by living life, does so in space while producing his own space with each activity as a sustaining and defining action of human life, taking place in appropriate space-times. Thus, a social practice is revealed that is and which takes place spatially and temporally. Therefore, there is an abstract dimension in the elaboration of the concept, but is inseparably linked to praxis. In its development, the notion of production enabled us to arrive at an understanding of space-commodities and their reproduction.

Therefore, this spatial production expresses the contradictions that are at the base of society, and which, under capitalism, brings specific determinations in the scope of a logic of unequal spatial development founded on the concentration of wealth that ranks and regulates social relationships and people.

The starting point of understanding reality focuses, then, on socio-spatial practices as an objective condition of human existence in their needs, conflicts, alienations and possibilities. It contemplates, in addition to this objectivity, the subjectivity contained in the awareness that comes from and through practice and which is dramatically revealed by crises. As Marx wrote,

[...] awareness of the object is awareness of oneself; in other words, it is in the objects that are essential that man is aware of himself, he develops knowledge about himself [...] an awareness of himself as a subject in the sense of the ego [...] It is not an awareness that comes first and which would be a condition of possibility, of an all-awareness of the object. On the contrary, it is in the awareness of the object - and notably in the awareness of essential objects - that an awareness of oneself is developed that is always and foremost an awareness of genre - or of a generic essence and not of an awareness of a singular existence...¹

In this sense, knowledge focuses on the transforming action in the continuous production of space - in its universality. Therefore, the movement of thought goes from production to reproduction of space, which enables the urban issue to explain the contents and the moments of praxis imposed on the process of capital reproduction in its trend towards globalization. On this scale, this process constitutes unequal spatial development.

Our immersion in the understanding of the works of Marx² also enabled, through the notion of production, the elaboration of a **theory of space** taken as an inexorable product of civilizing construction. Considering space theoretically and practically, the notion of space production reveals its historical and social nature. In the modern world, under capitalism, space production recreates the new forms of the accumulation process of capital and of capitalist social relations, as well as the new forms of alienation.

Extending the idea of Marx, according to whom the major products of human activity escape the reach of man and are constituted as an autonomous reality, in which the world of men in confrontation with that of things is increasingly devalued - commodities and their signs - it was possible to think about production alienated from the city. Produced externally, it is opposed to the citizen as a strange power. Upon being constituted as an autonomous reality, the city is a condition of capitalist accumulation, as well as its most well finished product. Therefore, social production of space as a moment of exteriority with respect to society motivates struggles in space for access to it as a condition of exercising freedom in all its dimensions. This is because, over the course of the historical process, social space production, which is carried out as a general social process, is privately appropriated. In these circumstances, the process carries out divisions imposed in various ways, defining social relationships, dominating them, directing practices in terms of uses and accesses to space. A process in which human work is opposed to humans, whose questioning. Property as a constantly renewed condition and realization of capital is thus the core of the resistance and the conditions for the struggle for space.

As a consequence of this way of seeing and thinking about space, the line of research has been shifted from the field of epistemology to focus on that

of socio-spatial practice as a whole, in order to override the situation of geography as a discipline in the scope of the social sciences as a whole. On the theoretical level, the need for a critical theory points in two directions: a critique of the systems of thought and a critique of the social relationships that move history in a contradictory way.

The triadic movement of space production

Based on the premise that the process of establishing humanity contemplates space production, we arrive at the idea according to which "space production" is a *condition, means and product of human action*. This triadic movement suggests that it is through space (and in space), that, over the course of the historical process, man produced himself and the world as a real and concrete practice. Objective in its materiality, this practice leads to the realization of human existence through various forms and manners of appropriating space-times of life. Upon being created in this process, life reveals the immanence of space production as a movement of human realization (and his activities). With this, I mean to say that the relationship of man with nature is not external,³ since human activities have a practical relationship with nature as a reaction and response, assuming things such as building a world and himself in his humanity. Over the course of the historical process that constitutes humanity, space is closed off as one of the great human productions, overriding its condition as a "continent".

Geography places us before a space that is immediately objective in its absolute materiality. It is in this way that space emerges as a location for the activities of man, of a human group, to then understand that the activity of man, in addition to locating it, is capable of organizing a space. In a different approach, based on this indisputable materiality of space production, its deeper meanings are sought after, discovering subjects and their works, through their production in their general and specific purposes. The materialization of the process resulting from the establishment of social relationships producing places is the dimension of space production/reproduction, and is capable of being seen, perceived, felt, experience. In this sense, man takes over the world, by means of appropriating a determined space-time, that which results from its reproduction in society. Therefore, the focus is shifted from the location of the

activities in space to the analysis of the content of socio-spatial practice, which is carried out in the production/appropriation/reproduction movement of the city. This fact makes the space production process inseparable from the reproduction process of society.

Over the course of the historical process, therefore, men leave their accumulated marks on space, giving them specific characteristics. On the scale of the place, it reveals the existence of a daily life in which life is manifested, in which each action is carried out in a determined space-time. On the other hand, each act and practical activity contributes to building the identity of man with others in specific space-times. This way, producing life also means the practical production of space as a reality and a possibility. In this realization, identity is established, given that the various elements that compose the common existence of men is inscribed in space. In this perspective, space is produced and reproduced as an inseparable materiality of life, a fundamental element of social identity. By reproducing its existence, society continuously reproduces space, therefore, if on the one hand, space is an abstract concept, on the other it has a real and concrete dimension as a place for living life that occurs differentially, in time and in a place, gaining materiality through the territory.

However, the process of space production, in the sense of a civilizing process, brings with it that which denies it. In other words, with the development of capitalism, space (social production) becomes a commodity, like all products of human labor. In this condition, it is revealed in life by the use value/exchange value contradiction. The expansion of capitalism took space, made it its condition of production, first as a resource, then as a productive force, and finally, as a reproducible commodity, through the real estate sector. Its movement towards its reproduction points to the urban. Here, the levels of reality - economic, political, social - are intertwined and the scales - from local to global - are juxtaposed clarifying those responsible for producing space and their fundamental processes.

The construction of this triad rests on the notion of production as proposed by Marx and evidences the perspective of understanding of a whole that is not restricted to the economic level, but opens up to the understanding of

society in its broader movement, which presupposes a perspective that changes the terms of the classical spatial analysis. In addition to objects, the meaning of the notion of production reveals a real, broad and profound process as a set of relations, models of behavior, a system of values, formalizing and establishing relationships between members of society, and, in this process, producing a space in its practical dimension. Production, as a broad notion, involves production and its broadest relations, and means, in this context, what happens in the productive sphere, which involves social relationships of work, technology. Outside of the specific sphere of commodity production and the job market, it extends to the level of housing, to private life, to leisure, building representations and taking on a meaning of dynamism of the needs and desires that characterize the reproduction of society. In this sense, the notion of production opens the analytic perspective of revealing a reality under construction, which is reproduced. This notion constantly reiterates as its foundation a previously mentioned contradiction: space production reveals an important contradiction between the social production process of space and its private appropriation. Its foundation rests on the existence and relentless development of the forms of private appropriation of social wealth.

In a society founded on the relations of capitalist exchange (permeated by the mediation of the market), the production of space-commodity is realized as an extension of private property of urban plots and land. This reveals a new moment of the social production of space in which the conditions of access to places in daily life are invaded and mediated by the exchange value that devalues the practices, subjecting them to the needs of the market. Enveloped in the universe of commercial exchange, property is disguised in the relationships between subjects and activities. The existence of private property of wealth gains shape imposing itself and dominating life and social relationships.

The development of the accumulation process, in turn, creates new sectors of activities, extending productive activities and making space a reproducible commodity. This is due to the fact that the reproduction of the cycle of capital requires, in each historical moment, determined special conditions for its realization. In the first place, the occupation of space takes



place under the aegis of private property of urban land, in which fragmented space is sold in plots making it interchangeable based on operations that are carried out through and in the market comprising the circuit of exchange. It assumes a condition of the realization of accumulation, while also being, in the same movement, a means and product of this process, requiring, on the theoretical level, the consideration of the law of value.

In line with this, the founding contradiction of spatial production develops: space production as a function of economic and political needs, on the one hand, and on the other, space reproduction as a condition, means and product of the reproduction of social life. In the first case, space reproduction takes place by imposing technical reasoning based on the needs imposed by the development of accumulation which produces space as a condition of production (requiring space-time compression in a way that circulation, essential to the realization of added value, can take place without depreciation). This reveals the contradictions that capitalism raises in its development. In the second case, the reproduction of life in practice takes place in the contradictory relation between use and exchange, which outlines the forms and manners of access to space-times of life, developers of identity or of its denial. According to this reasoning, space production opens up to the understanding of the contents of life based on the possible appropriations in daily life (illuminating the level of experience). This process begins to define the contradiction between/among the strategies of the State (whose objective is capital reproduction and production of a dominated space) and those of the social subjects through the uses of space (aimed at the reproduction of life) which spatial practice reveals.

In a game of political forces, accumulation tends to produce a homogenizing reasoning inherent in the process and which is not only carried out in the production of objects/commodities, but also in the division and organization of work, in the models of behavior and values, in the guiding representations of daily life. Therefore, daily life tends to be presented as being invaded by a regulating system, on all levels, established in space as a norm - prohibited - which formalize and establish social relationships, reducing them to

the abstract forms that make spheres of life self-sufficient and, consequently, dispel spatial awareness.

On urban production

In the wake of the transformations of world capitalism, the movement of reproduction signals the passage from the hegemony of industrial capital to financial capital with consequences in the process of space production. This is reproduced as a condition of continued reproduction and, in this sense, attracts capital that migrates from one sector of the economy to another, in order to make production viable. This need, which emerges as a condition of realizing accumulation, is a product of the fact that a determined economic activity can only be realized in delimited places of space due to its characteristics, which are constantly reaffirmed and enhanced by production.

Urban space production reveals two moments from the point of view of spatial production (as movement of accumulation): a) the space *produced* becomes a commodity that is based on the expansion of private property of urban land in the wealthy group, related to the need for housing and the morphological construction of the city; b) the moment of its *reproduction*: in which, without disregarding the first moment, the circuit of capital realization in the movement from the hegemony of industrial capital to financial capital redefines the meaning of space that also assumes the status of a real estate product - a raw material of potential capital valuation.

Therefore, the current moment signals a change in the way that urban space participates in the accumulation process. Urban land changes meaning in order to allow for this process today to overcome its status of inflexibility, developing strategies of fluidity of the movement of the economy through the real estate sector (the mobilization of urban land accompanies transformations in the process: space as a means of producing financial capital encompasses the space as a whole. At this moment, the place is increasingly represented as a level and part of a broader whole - that of capital reproduction on the global level. Here, the urban policies that ensure reproduction are important. An example is urban renovations and with them, the way culture is co-opted, subsuming it in the world of merchandise to leverage the process of spatial transformation as a moment of accumulation.



The financial sector appropriates space as a possible place for realizing productive investments, while the real estate sector reproduces (allied to the civil engineering industry), constantly, space as a consumable commodity. At all of these moments of capital reproduction, the interference of the State is fundamental and its action triggers a revaluation/devaluation process of places and, thus, the expulsion/attraction of residents (due to its creation of compatibilities with the movements of renewal). This produces a phenomenon of an exploding city center - a movement of excluding residents to the periphery, reproducing it. These new strategies guide and ensure the reproduction of relations in space and through it private interests from various economic sectors of society, which see in space the characteristic of realizing economic production.

On the level of daily life, urban segregation reveals these strategies; since each subject is situated in a space, places enable one to think about life activities, living, work, and leisure as situations experienced, which reveals, on the level of daily life, the conflicts of the modern world. As an extension of the property that spans the history of civilization, space achieves its abstract power⁴. Today, the logic of urban policies deepen segregation by directing investments and building infrastructure, which leads to different values in the places of the city. Therefore, in its simultaneity and multiplicity, places are juxtaposed and interposed, generating situations of conflict which are revealed in their fragments; "the world of experience is where problems of production in the broad sense are formulated; that is, where the social existence of humans is produced"⁵.

The new forms that the metropolis has been assuming in its metamorphosis and the transformation of the ways of appropriating places in life emerge in that which is small, trivial, familiar, reflecting and explaining the transformations of society. This presents a challenge to the analysis of the modern world and demand an analytic effort that must address them in their multiple forms and contents, in their historical dynamic. It is to this extent that the presence of the accumulation of different times in the metropolis, in terms of material support, juxtaposes times, characterizing a different and unequal temporality of the reproducing processes of the metropolis.

The history of space production clarifies capital reproduction as a moment of a process of alienation; and the other, the class struggles take place and broaden (not without immense difficulties), surpassing the limits of the job market and industry and developing into struggles for urban space. Therefore, if the development of the generic man resides in the full development of his creative capacities, in creating potential, history has shown that which stops this process. It is in this way that, inside urban practice, contradictions emerge.

From individual research to collective investigation

As Paul Klee reminds us,⁶ "what we do not understand now, perhaps we can understand one day". With the genesis of a concern and an individual research project, over decades of advising, a collective investigation has been developing together with the graduate program of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences USP, formulated as the line of research "the reproduction of urban space", as previously mentioned.⁷

The theoretical-methodological "Marxist-Lefebvrian" line accentuated the centrality of the "space production" category, which served as the foundation for the analysis and understanding of the (Paulistana) urban metropolitan reality. This direction focuses on the role of space production in the process of accumulation and reproduction in capitalist society. It also involves a posture in the face of academic study (in a moment of crisis of theoretical thought and deterioration of academic ethics), founded on the commitment of building critical thought.

On this path is established what we have called, in the past few years, metageography, which is a moment of requiring critical thought based on the critique of knowledge production in geography. A radical critique is developed based on the need to build a new intelligibility for geography, capable of overcoming the fragmentations presented by geographical studies defining "many geographies" as we can partition in reality. On the one hand, there is the need to reveal reality in its deepest contents, illuminating the contradictions that move them. On the other hand, there is the temporariness of knowledge, of the need to renew and face the challenges imposed by the contradictory movement of reality, which has as a real and virtual horizon globalization - of (urban) space and society. This debate points out what is behind that which covers and



dissipates awareness, being able to reveal the ideology and illusions, as well as the intentions of power in its alliances; and with this the critique of the actions of the State in its alliances, with its assistance policies. With this procedure, the action that surfaces in a dispute becomes clear, questioning new forms of alienation.

The assumption of metageography is thinking about space as a social and historical production, a necessary and indispensable condition for thinking about the production of human life on the planet, which transforms it into the world. It is about a geography concerned with the problems of its time, renewing the reflection on inequality, updating the forms of alienation and accommodating the need for a profound critique of the State and its policy, whose power is exercised through space as political domination. In this sense, it is possible to propose: a) a new intelligibility that provides a starting point for the reflection and is situated against the division/subdivisions of geography whose fragmentation and simplification create analyses overshadowed by reality. This new intelligibility faces its limits of partitioned knowledge against the need for a thought capable of revealing, in its depths, the contradictory movement of reality that establishes the dialectic of the world. As a horizon of the research and as a theoretical-methodological path, this outline aims to elucidate the foundations of the movement that explains current reality, which is also realized as a movement of critical thought that faces a theoretical-practical crisis; b) a path capable of realizing the movement, on the level of geographical thought, from the "organization of space" to the analysis of its "social production". This perspective involves theoretical requirements that redirect the research, focusing on a world built socially; c) the analysis of contradictions that emerge in the form of struggles in space and for space, that come together with the deepening of inequality, with the increase of tensions of all kinds and which open up a daily life that is controlled and monitored. An understanding of the practice finds in it the remnants capable of gaining potential and transforming into a project of metamorphosis of reality. This is because the crisis of the modern world is real and concrete requiring a project capable of guiding the strategies; d) a moment of overcoming geography, since the assumption of knowledge is a relativity of the truth in the face of the uninterrupted

transformation of social reality; e) overcoming the ideological production of knowledge, that is, before pursuing solutions that enable the reproduction of the system, to find the possibilities of overcoming it.

The construction of a critical thought on the production of urban space in the modern world reveals a deepening of the contradictions resulting from the reproduction of society, in a moment of generalizing urbanization, from the hegemony of industrial capital to financial capital and of an eminently urban society. Therefore, a geographic analysis of the world would be that which tends towards unveiling the fundamental processes of space reproduction, since it is in space that one can read the concrete possibilities of establishing society, as well as its contradictions.

The level of space reproduction constantly replaces general conditions based on which the process of reproduction of capital and social life takes place, characterized by inequality. Alienation permeates social relations in the world today, if the world of men is reproduced as the world of things, commodities. From the awareness of this process, emerges the idea of freedom based on joining others, overcoming atomized social relations that pursue the right to participate in a society of the excluded, (founded on the relations of domination, in which the human right is linked to private property). The process of humanization involves a contradiction between the development of the dehumanization-humanization of man: it occurs in the exercise of overcoming alienation and in the pursuit of individual freedom established based on the generic level.

Today, to reflect on cities in Brazil means to think about them as a materialization of the process of "dependent urbanization" in which contradictions emerge in a more glaring manner; where the accumulation of wealth *pari passu* with misery, leads to a type of differentiated claim, when compared to those emerging in the so-called developed countries. There is still an arduous struggle for minimum conditions of life, for basic rights, already broadly achieved in those countries. The right to the city thus reveals the initiative, from the action, which places in check the social aspect as a whole subjected to the economy and, for this reason, to the rules of economic growth.



Therefore, the struggle regarding the right to the city is a product of the history of its production.

Today, the meaning of critique and critical thought is associated to a real practical crisis, a product of the metamorphoses of the modern world, in which the logic of growth - in various representations, such as that of progress (which establishes the idea of quality of life) - produced the increase in wealth generated in places and classes concentrated in space and in society. To think about the path to radical transformation signals the construction of a radical critique of the existing one. To live according to that which one believes, to dream of a better world and with our capacity to, through obtaining knowledge, reveal the deeper meanings of the conditions that prevent this world from effectively becoming a place where humanity can be fully realized, this pursuit constitutes the objective of the group. As Bensaïd wrote, “our task is to prove that there can be humanity and an inhabitable world beyond the capital”.⁸

As Santos proposes - in the next chapter - the project of metageography is placed critically with respect to those historical-philosophical (and political-philosophical) horizons and of the history of geographical thought itself. The simultaneous consideration of these fields brings the intention of finding, inside the theoretical debate, the need for overcoming as proposed by metageography. The contemporary crisis that reaches the social, political and economic fields requires the renewal of critique. It is in this context, for the author, that metageography is considered a result of the struggles, conflicts and contradictions between the theoretical perspectives most representative of modernity - in the philosophical and geographical sciences fields - and social contemporary practice. Therefore, metageography points to the requirement of a critical moment such as that of interrogation, from the pursuit of the whole as a need for overriding the fragmentations to which geographical thought is subjected.

Overriding this movement imposed by the modern world can be achieved by the pursuit of university categories of analysis: here centralized on space production/reproduction. The elaboration of a project capable of transforming space in another way that is not strategic planning contributes to this process, which is trending today.



The development of metageography would mark the need to renew geographical thought as a methodological proposal, more than the construction of another geography. Thinking theoretically and practically about the world by understanding the Brazilian urban reality, based on the Paulistana metropolis, illustrates a movement towards the construction of an issue that contemplates the new dynamics of the world, without distinguishing theory and practice. This path contemplates questions: how can geography, a science of partitions, be capable of thinking about the city and producing a thought that elucidates it as a whole towards its radical transformation, as a moment of transformation of society? How do we formulate methodologically the contradictions of the modern world? Where would the possibilities of a radical transformation of society be? In which direction would the remnants capable of constituting a project of changing the city point to?

The questions formulated over the course of this introduction characterize a line of theoretical and practical investigation based on the analysis of urban reality. These questions aim to understand the conditions in which Brazilian society is reproduced, illuminating the conflicts and the deeply unequal nature of this process, which requires of researchers the disposition to "inhabit slow time" imposed by the activity of knowledge. This understanding - as the history of knowledge proves - is not individual, but assumes an acquired knowledge. This process requires, in addition to time and work conditions, commitments to the university, and also requires the disposition for debate, without theoretical prejudice. The condition of this task is a method of thought capable of illuminating the inseparability between theory - as a form of understanding reality - and social practice; between a conception of the world and the social action that transforms it, thinking about reality in the movement of development.

What is presented by the method is that there is no set of assumptions as a starting point. Therefore, there are also no models of analysis founded on an absolute truth. The world moves and a theory is necessary to explain it in its movement, discovering future possibilities. Therefore, there is a glimpse of a possibility for utopian thought as the realization of the lost essence of man - his



creative freedom, his emancipation in the face of the conditions that enslave him in new ways. As Sève warns,⁹ we are living in a moment in which "the self-proclaimed management capital of the planet gives free reign to the fundamental trend: the unstoppable subordination of human subjects to their majesty, the rate of profit.

Notes

¹ Apud Fischbach, 2008: 366.

² Based on reading his work, carried out by the group coordinated by Professor José de Souza Martins between 1975-1993.

³ Marx, 1980.

⁴ Idem, p. 100.

⁵ Carlos, 1996.

⁶ 1990: 21.

⁷ Since 1989, I have advised master's and doctorate research in the Graduate Program in Human Geography. The students, under my supervision, exercise freedom to choose their topics and theoretical-methodological orientation, which means that the whole is not homogeneous. Despite this, a group formed naturally due to the theoretical-methodological approximations and the concerns in the face of the changes of reality and the transformations of the university.

The GESP gained structure in 2001, bringing together investigators from various moments in graduate study. Glória da Anunciação Alves, Simone Scifoni and Isabel Aparecida Pinto Alvarez were part of my first group of advisees in 1989 (today professors in the Department of Geography at USP). Sávio Augusto de Freitas Miele, Rafael Faleiros de Padua, Danilo Volochko, Fabiana Valdoski Ribeiro and Camila Salles de Faria constitute the hard core of GESP. Jose Raimundo Ribeiro Jr., Cesar Ricardo Simoni Santos, Renata Alves Sampaio joined it a short time after GESP was formed.

Today, we highlight the collaboration with Daniel de Mello Sanfelici.

In its development, GESP relied on the presence of Professors Silvana Maria Pintaudi (UNESP-Rio Claro, with her advisees and former advisees) and Rita Ariza da Cruz. New students - under my academic supervision - give new blood to the group: Elisa Favaro Verdi, Denys Silva Nogueira, Gilmar Soares and Renan Coradine Meireles. Under the supervision of Glória Alves, Livia Maschio Fioravanti.

⁸ 2004: 12.

⁹ 2008: 560.

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The reproduction of urban space as a phase of capitalist accumulation

Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos

Society in the beginning of the 21st century has revealed a set of issues that point towards a new level of establishing social relationships, guided by the globalization of capitalism and constituted as a predominantly urban society (as a reality and a possibility).

The research carried out and outlined here (by members of a research group from GESP¹) focuses on the reproduction of urban space as a central element of understanding metropolitan reality. They point out, in their advancements, the centrality of this production in the current stage of the process of capitalist reproduction, as well as the theoretical requirements in understanding reality. Building upon the thesis according to which the production of space is a condition, means and product of social reproduction, a hypothesis is proposed in which the accumulation of capital is accomplished through the reproduction of urban space, considered from the perspective of the reproduction of the Paulista metropolis. In this sense, the reproduction of space emerges as a renewed possibility for carrying out capitalist reproduction, in a contradictory process whose limitations are reflected in the provocation of recurring crises. This occurs because, through development, capitalism achieves its historic mission - that of reproduction - but upon doing so creates its own contradictions in critical moments, raising the need to override it.

Today, space has gained a meaning that diverges from previous moments in the history of its production. In the picture of the process of globalization, which characterizes the global/local relation, the role of the metropolis as a necessary mediation for this process has been redefined, which will determine a new role of space in capital accumulation. As a requirement for its development, this behavior is seen in the movement from the hegemony of productive industrial capital to financial capital, through the reproduction of urban space in new modalities, related to the global level. In other words, the reproduction of urban space in the metropolis exposes the moment in which financial capital is accomplished through this reproduction, producing "a new space" in the form of a "real estate product". This points towards a change in



the application of the accumulated money-capital from the productive industrial sector towards the real estate sector, which requires an overwhelming fluidity. In this sense, a movement is established from the predominance/presence of the industrial capital - producer of commodities aimed at individual (or productive) consumption - to the preponderance of financial capital -, which produces space as a commodity, as a condition of its creation. At this stage, space-commodity changed meanings with the change of direction (priority) of financial applications: from the occurrence of the industrial cycle of commodities to the production of real estate.

Over the course of history, the process of space production as a civilizing process brings with it that which denies it. In other words, with the development of capitalism, space (social production), becomes a product and, under these circumstances, is revealed in the use value/exchange value contradiction. Therefore, space becomes a commodity under capitalism, just like, in theory, all products of human labor. On the level of commodity reproduction, the process involves the reproducible and the repetitive, directly referring to productive activities (material and immaterial goods), which produce things in space (creating the circumstances for carrying out these activities) while producing space, as commodities and fixed capital. In these circumstances, the metropolis is a general condition of production, which imposes a determined spatial configuration.

At first glance, it is about the juxtaposition of productive units forming an interconnected chain (due to the connections and needs of the productive process, through the correlation between individual capitals and the general circulation of money in the economy), merging various productive processes, exchange centers, services, the market and manual labor. This action strengthens the agglomeration as a technical requirement to make it possible for the processes of production, distribution, circulation and consumption. Consequently, it enables the capital cycle to develop, enabling the continuity of production, hence its reproduction. In this case, it is about the requirement of the space-time compression as a condition for overriding the TRPF - tendency of the rate of profit to fall in the movement of accumulation. In this process, the expansion of capitalism took space and made it a condition of its production,



first as a resource, then as a productive force, and finally, a reproducible commodity, which opened the perspective to a new cycle of accumulation. The development of financial capital creates a new cycle of accumulation with the expansion of new activities, focusing on the space-commodity. It enters the exchange circuit attracting capitals that migrate from other sectors of the economy - in crisis - with the objective of broadening the possibilities of accumulation. In this process, the construction of a rational-functional space reveals a project and a strategy that involve the real estate market, promoting the valuation of areas as an immediate consequence of the movement of transforming use and substituting income classes in space ensuring the realization of profit.

In the movement from production to reproduction of space in the metropolis we find signs of new contents of urbanization: a) in the decentralization of the productive sector and the increased centralization of capital in the metropolis; b) in the change of activities from the service sector with the preponderance of the financial sector and of different services (computer science, telecommunications allied with the growth of unstable sectors, such as telemarketing; c) in the appearance of new economic sectors, such as tourism and leisure accompanying the financial business sector; d) in the establishment of public policies which pay special attention to space production in determined sectors and in determined areas of the metropolis with the creation of infrastructure and alterations in the uses and functions of places based on zoning changes, "replotting" of urban land, spatial intervention policies through urban operations and the so-called requalification of areas - mainly central ones - by means of establishing "partnerships" between city hall and private sectors, which influence and direct these policies.

The violent transformation of the areas where new projects are established by forcing out the residents and establishing a homogeneous aesthetic standard. Concrete and glass are used to create a "modern" image in the new buildings aimed at service activities and condominium structures are created in residential areas. Consequently, a new "order" is established based on the actions of real estate promoters linked to strategies of the financial system, which guides and reorganizes the process of spatial reproduction

through the fragmentation of the spaces sold and bought in the market. The actions of the State - through local authorities - , interfering in the production process of the metropolis, reinforce the hierarchy of places, creating new centralities, casting the previous inhabitants out to the periphery, recreating a space of domination and imposing their presence everywhere, now under their control and vigilance (direct or indirect).

Contradictions become more pronounced. The valuation of space as an expression of private ownership of wealth is imposed on all of society, redefining access to places, creating bans. This movement in space redefines social relationships through transformations in the use of space, accompanied by changes in the functions of the neighborhoods in the metropolis characterized by a new space-time relation. Consequently, the metropolis is produced as an exteriority, and the contradiction between the process of social production of space and its private appropriation becomes more aggravated, bringing the alienation of the modern world up to date through space reproduction.

Contradictions of space

At this time in the history of capitalism, which has become globalized (through the creation of new economic sectors and the expansion of productive activities), spatial reproduction gains relevance and centrality and, with it, the subordination of space-times of daily urban life. From this central contradiction, others arise. The process of space production/reproduction under capitalist direction replaces its own conditions for being carried out, renewing its assumptions, though without triggering new contradictions in its achievement. The transformations of the metropolis, as a condition for the occurrence of the capital cycle, generate struggles around space that signal this movement of contradictions. The chapters that follow are focused on these revelations.

Under capital, all production is transformed into commodities, with the use value/exchange value expressed in the dialectic, while the preponderance of the latter with respect to the former directs and subsumes social



relationships. The construction of the metropolis makes the uses and forms of appropriation of space clear, and are directly associated to the forms of private ownership of urban land, pointing towards a socio-spatial hierarchy as an expression of inequality - it is what calls attention to the socio-spatial segregation.

Space production is carried out under the aegis of private ownership of urban land. Space, fragmented from the dismemberment of old farmhouses and agricultural properties, areas of the forest on the fringes of urban areas, joined to the city through incorporation and sale. In parts, space becomes interchangeable based on operations that are carried out through and in the market. Therefore, space enters the circuit of exchange, generalized in its dimension as a commodity. This happens because capital developed the world of commodities, creating real possibilities for the expansion of private property in/of space, as well as the expansion of economic activities for its realization. The private ownership of wealth is thus realized and broadened under the form of owning urban land. The predominance of the exchange value, as an extension of the world of commodities, indicates the dispute for the use of places in the metropolis by different social classes, which generates conflicts between individuals and uses, to the extent to which the process of spatial reproduction involves a hierarchical society. Though produced in a socialized way, urban space, as materialized social labor, is appropriated in a different way by citizens. In the capitalist society, access to urban land, guided by the market, the fundamental mediator of the relationships established in this society, produces a limited set of choices and conditions of life based on the existence of the private ownership of social wealth. In the form of urban land, this determines access to urban life measured by a price, as an expression of its value.² The factors connected to establishing this price are mainly linked to the placement of a certain area within the global urban space. The starting point is the location of the land (for example, in the neighborhood and whether it is in the metropolis), accessibility with respect to so-called privileged places (schools, shopping malls, health centers, services, leisure, green areas, etc.), access to the existing infrastructure (water, power, sewage, asphalt, telephones, traffic routes, transportation), privacy and factors linked to

distinctions which are reflected in the possibilities and costs of construction³. The evolution of prices, however, are interrelated with the conditions of reproducing urban space, regarding the way in which the production of the general conditions of reproduction is developed, the costs generated by the concentration of urban land, as well as the zoning policies or territorial reserves, in addition to modifications in the purchasing power of inhabitants. On the other hand, the location of economic activities can only be understood in the urban context as a whole, in the connection between the situation and places, in the metropolis in the face of the demands of carrying out the cycle of accumulation.

The dynamic of the metropolitan economy, previously based on the productive industrial sector, has now been based on the broad growth of the modern tertiary sector - services, commerce, and the finance sector - as a condition of development in a globalized economy. This transformation requires that the production of another place "welcome it", imposed by the new standards of economic competitiveness, based on profound technical development and on new parameters for the development of new activities. These new standards, on the other hand, require fluidity and flexibility, while traditional areas are densely occupied and the road system congested. In the densely built capitalist metropolis, the expansion of this area does not occur without problems. Overcoming this situation requires the construction of a "new space" (as a movement of reproducing the totality of the metropolis), as an area expanding upon the city center, because centrality is fundamental for these activities. The possibilities of producing a space constantly redefines them, due to the abundance of lands likely to be incorporated into the real estate market, given the need for the capital cycle to take place.

Therefore, on the level of accumulation, the current moment of the historical process, spatial reproduction, with the generalization of urbanization, produces a new contradiction: that which refers to the difference between the old possibility of occupying areas as expansions of the metropolitan area and its present impossibility in the face of scarcity. In other words, space, as a value, has entered the general exchange circuit of society (production/allocation/distribution) becoming part of the reproduction of wealth, which, upon being realized, produced another, established as a rarity. Under



these circumstances, the private ownership of urban land becomes a limitation to capitalist economic expansion. The process that transforms space into a "new rarity" is thus engendered by the movement that makes space production explicit as an always renewed condition of the occurrence of the economic cycle.

The rare nature of space is manifested in precise areas of the metropolis, in the city center, or in the proximities of the city center. The phenomenon of rarity is established by the connection of three inseparable elements: the existence (and realization) of private ownership of urban land, the centrality of capital and of new economic activities (the consolidation of the city center contradictorily produced its saturation, which prevents the expansion of the service sector in the central area) and the degree of occupation (rate of construction) of the area in the overall space of the metropolis. The idea of scarcity is also allied to the need for a new constructive standard, based on specific networks of circulation and communication, since the capital cycle involves different conditions in each moment of history for its occurrence. It is in this sense that we can claim that the "new services", due to their specificity and need for proximity with other sectors of the economy, pursue a specific location with particular characteristics, which is determined by its centrality. Meanwhile, they require a type of installation incompatible with the constructions found in the city center, due to the need for flexibility of the economy and labor (characterized by another standard of competitiveness).

Therefore, in order to reestablish the conditions of growth, it is necessary to create mechanisms which minimize the situation that transforms space into a rarity without, however, questioning the existence of the private ownership of urban land (on the contrary, enabling its production), which is realized with the intervention of the State. This is because only the State has the power to act within the overall metropolitan space, transforming public areas, redirecting investments, building infrastructure, metamorphosing functions, creating forms of intervention, transforming uses, redistributing inhabitants, through urban policies (such as the mechanism of urban operations) etc. The creation of mechanisms capable of freeing up the residential built area for the growth of the service sector in São Paulo as an expansion of the old central area will be

realized by means of urban operations, coordinated by City Hall, in partnership with the private sector (such as the Urban Operations of Faria Lima and Água Espraiada). Government planning has been preparing these areas of the metropolis with express routes, tunnels and overpasses, tearing the urban fabric, destroying the physiognomy of entire neighborhoods, eclipsing the street, separating neighbors, breaking apart social relationships in the neighborhood, emptying the city centers of neighborhood commerce, revealing an "institutional way" of seeing and generating the metropolis that feeds the implosion-explosion process .

The State, with its legal instruments, thus produces major transformations in the uses and functions of places in the city, reproducing a hierarchy of these places in the overall metropolitan space. However, by directing investments in the infrastructure, it deepens the inequalities in the metropolis, interfering remarkably in the ways in which space is appropriated to the extent to which they produce, through their intervention, a different valuation process of the urban land. This takes place while intensifying the contradiction between the expansion of the exchange value in the space and the possibility of use value to the extent to which the exchange value is self-sufficient, due to strengthening the property as a right and reality.

With these transformations, functions become specialized in space, increasing the spatial division of work in the metropolis, imploding the old centrality that existed in the neighborhood - in the context of the spatial production of new centralities, constituting the polynuclear metropolis. Consequently, a new front of real estate investments follow the project due to the features provided by the construction of infrastructure which values the land, establishing a new use. A nucleus in the metropolis is thus created with a strong force of attraction, with heavy public and private investments generating a shift of activities that begin to compete with old economic centers of the metropolis. This constitutes a new center for attracting investments as an expansion of the centrality in a business axis of the metropolis, associated to a center for leisure bounded/defined by the location of bars, restaurants, theaters, shopping malls, hotels, connected to an organized, programmed consumption produced and populated by signs.



The city center has also been transformed with its contents overflowing where the use of culture, like an alibi, moves and guides the transformations. However, the role of culture and cultural patrimony in the reproduction of urban space, as presented by *Simone Scifoni*, with an emphasis on the specificity of Brazilian reality, relativizes the preponderance of culture in strategic planning. Here, the perspective of real estate revaluation of the central areas of major cities gains importance, and is relativized to the case of São Paulo. Therefore, the author focuses on the idea that a "patrimonial issue" emerges in the moment of the urban problem in its critical phase.⁴ Much more than generalize and totalize the processes, the author highlights the double and contradictory role of patrimony. On the one hand, patrimony is organized for visual consumption, thus being transformed not precisely into commodities, but, above all, into the mediation for it, something that composes its realization. On the other hand, by being in essence a bearer of symbols, patrimony also offers itself to social awareness.

The movement of reproducing metropolitan space also highlights the shift from a significant number of industrial establishments based on the redefinition of the productive process (with the reconversion of the industrial park, in different movements for each industrial sector) in the metropolis. This signals a worldwide tendency, imposed by the current stage of capital accumulation, which reveals a new moment of the capital cycle based on a new standard of competitiveness, which requires the flexibility of the productive process and which transforms the areas of industrial production into areas likely to have new uses. With the shift of the productive industrial sectors, neighborhoods have been destroyed which had survived on these activities, and with them the destruction of social spaces resulting from the disintegration of social life. The availability of lands that contained old industrial/residential uses thus opens up a new area to the financial sector. These areas are now included in another way in the metropolitan space, contiguous with the expanding centrality of the old areas, which come to compose the field of the expanding businesses, which constitute the business/commercial axis due to their centrality. Meanwhile, old industrial areas - due to their peripheral status - give way to residential housing complexes and a new way of living as *Rafael Faleiros de Padua* demonstrates

well. The meaning that the metamorphosis of the metropolitan space assumes, based on the commercialization of the urban land, provokes and accentuates the implosion-explosion phenomenon. In this process, the tendency to defer the means of appropriating space to the world of commodities is outlined. Consequently, this generates the emptying of social relations due to the reduction of content in socio-spatial practices.

The peripheries are being transformed and incorporated into the world of commodities, which has been guaranteeing their integration into daily metropolitan life. Consequently, based on the understanding of space production as a theoretical-methodological construction, which links some concepts (production/reproduction; space-time; socio-spatial practice) and notions (wholeness; contradiction) to the topic and to the new contents of contemporary urbanization (which starts from the practical and concrete process of the conflicts between the city as a capitalist space against the city as a space for daily life and of social resistance), *Danilo Volochko* addresses the production of new spaces in urban peripheries. His focus is the reproduction of unequal daily life in housing production, revealing the socio-spatial practice in its contradictory nature (the production of contradictory space in the heart of the logical production of space), which confronts distant orders. From this accomplishment, the production of space as a qualitative scale of analysis points towards the level of social and concrete subjects. This treatment aims to override the formal, typological and locative aspects of understanding space as an organized and ordered (logic of the State) means or as a source of accumulation (logical of capital), establishing a perspective that points towards the possibilities, though still derisive, of transforming the socio-spatial reality based on new aspects (economic, social and political) of the production of urban space.

Therefore, the transformations in the economy - aimed at continued reproduction - are carried out by reproducing the Paulistano urban space with significant consequences for the *socio-spatial* practice that is imposed by the valuation/devaluation process of places. The reproduction of life in the metropolis takes place in a contradictory relationship that appears and is experienced and perceived as strange/familiar. This is because daily life tends



to be presented as having been invaded by a regulatory system, on all levels, which formalizes and establishes social relations, reducing them to abstract forms, developers of identities. The standardization of social relations, the rarefaction of meeting places resulting from changes in the morphology of the metropolis, the degradation of relations in the neighborhood, the flexibility of labor have been pointing towards the establishment of a daily life⁵ in which atomization, while inducing a super-organization of life, is imposed almost without resistance. As a field of voluntary and planned self-regulation, daily life emerges as a construction of society, which is organized according to a strongly bureaucratized order, completed by repressions and imperceptible pressure. This process occurs in a place, but reveals broader spatial connections that point towards a new space-time relation expressed on the level of experience. The perception that time accelerates, transformations in urban references, the destruction of identity with the place where they live and with other inhabitants, compose a set of alterations resulting from the changes in the possibilities of how a place is used, in the ways in which one lives in this place. On this level, the contradiction between the time of life stands out - which is expressed in daily life (in a time and space which measures and determines social relations) and in the time of urban transformations which are produced in the modern world, particularly in the metropolis, founded on the always fluid and changing forms. This time is reproduced in the contradiction between the substantial elimination and persistent maintenance of meeting places, in parties, in the appropriation of that which is public for life. Time is about a space - the use of space. Transformed, metropolitan space and time acquire, through the process of abstraction, an amnesic characteristic (space) in direct relation to an ephemeral time. This new space-time relation redefines social relations in the metropolis, characterizing the contemporary moment.

The gestation of urban society determines new standards that are imposed from the outside in, due to the power of constituting a consumption society (creating behavior models and values that are intended to be universal, due to the propagation of the media which helps impose standards and parameters, due to the communication network, which approximates men and places), producing a different and unequal space-time. The shock between

what exists and what is imposed as new is at the foundation of the transformations of the metropolis, where places are being integrated successively and simultaneously to a new logic, intensifying the contradictions. This process occurs with extreme violence. This is how the topic of urban violence should be reconsidered and shifted from its relation to criminality, situating it in the urbanization process itself, which is what *Renata Alves Sampaio* does, locating it in the heart of urban contradictions. For this author, the "violence-criminality" identity presents problems for critical analyses and obscures the paths for revealing the essence of the contents of social practice which intend to be expressed through this term. From the recognition of the imposed interpretative limits, thinking moves towards the observation of insufficiency of the notion of urban violence which is necessarily founded and connected to the processes of urban space production and the reproduction of social relations; the process of urbanization thus emerges as essentially violent.

Consequently, the metropolis is a place for expressing conflicts, clashes, confrontations. The place of manifestation for the individual and the socializing experience, (impoverished or otherwise), the product of a multiplicity of exchanges of all kinds, which produce sociability in the city. On the social level, daily life is standardized and subsumed in the logic of accumulation, bringing another with it: resistance and, with it, new forms of struggles. *Fabiana Valdoski Ribeiro*, by focusing on the development of the use/exchange relation, illuminates the movement of the process of urban space production in which the hegemony of the exchange value over use value, standardizing it and subsuming life, points towards another. In other words, in the production of space, there is a conflict of strategies and, therefore, a relation of power, which intrinsically contains resistance, whether visible or not. Consequently, the author builds a hypothesis according to which resistance is constitutive of the social relations found in the middle of a socio-spatial practice connected to daily transgressions, of groups or organizations. However, this resistance is not pure, since, if on the one hand it places spatial contradiction on another level, on the other, it can ratify the foundations of the capitalist production of space. *Glória da Anunciação Alves*, in turn, by focusing on the transformations of urban city centers under the aegis of capital, points



towards another aspect of resistance as an action in the face of policies undertaken by the State in partnership with private initiatives. They act directly in the transformation process of downtown São Paulo, in the pursuit of building social consensuses on the need for such actions.

Struggles emerge from contradictory social relations, created and intensified by the development of the *lato sensu* reproduction process, which resolves the battles through the political game of social forces. This has been placing at the heart of the debate the right to the city as a possibility of questioning the actions of public authorities - in which space is revealed as an intentionally organized political instrument, manipulated by means of a power that is realized as a class strategy - as well as in the face of precarious life conditions. Thus, one questions the valuation process allied to the strategies of real estate entrepreneurs who reproduce a space aimed at the particular interests of big businesses, and which, by interfering with the urban, they interfere with socio-spatial practices and, consequently, in the ways in which the space of life is appropriated.

The idea of metageography is still a "gamble" which considers a possibility of thinking aimed at praxis, its understanding and illuminating it as a possibility of finding the residues capable of earning potential and transforming into a project of metamorphosis of reality. The main objective is to build an understanding about the nature of the urbanization process today in its contradictions, based on an understanding of the current moment of urban space reproduction in the São Paulo metropolis. We think that this line of investigation enables us to substantiate a critical urban Geography. This way, the research hypotheses that form the foundation of the chapters of this book are built as moments that elucidate this process.

Emerging from the vitality of research on the city and the urban, critical perspectives and radical reflection are presented as indispensable attributes for understanding the modern world as a whole, aimed at building a project of society centered on the possibilities of constituting the humanity of man, who

today is tied to the "world of commodities", conditioned by the "ideology of consumption", guided by the media, monitored by the State. A critical and radical reflective analysis of the real and practical world as a contradictory and complex whole aims to reshape the role and contribution of Geography in understanding the world and our position in the world - way of life. This will reveal the conflicts of a consumption society which subsumes individuals to the "kingdom of objects" simultaneously producing the representations that sustain it and an ideology of the growth that guides action.

¹ This is the first volume of the "metageography" collection.

² This process is described in the book *A condição espacial* (The spatial condition), published in 2011 by *Contexto*.

³ We have already defended in our doctoral dissertation, presented in 1987, the idea that there is no revenue from urban land. In the city, the urban land produced has its price based on value and not on revenue. It is worth clarifying that while in the countryside, nature is a means of production, while in the city, nature is a condition for the production of the city - which grants it the value defined in the production process of the city (in the labor process). See chapter 2 on *The (re)production of urban space*.

⁴ As developed by Henri Lefebvre.

⁵ In the terms developed by Henri Lefebvre in his 3-volume work *Critique de la vie quotidienne*. Paris, L'Arche éditeur, 1958, 1961 and 1981.

Metageography and the order of time

César Simoni Santos

The fever of postmodernity seems to have faded away during the first decade of this century. Compared to the amount of publications and the intensity of the debate that had emerged at the end of the 1980s, the presence of this topic in relation to the breakdown of modern intelligibility and its explanatory potential lost strength in critical social theory, but left an indispensable legacy for the contemporary interpretation of the world. If, on the one hand, in some areas, the term "postmodernity" has fallen out of use and any mention of it certainly suggests a fondness for old-fashioned categories of a passé nature, on the other, the feeling, intuition or even the understanding that there was something serious in the order of time, has been guiding important debates in the field of the human sciences to this day. The "reassertion of space in critical social theory", which was one of the concerns of Edward Soja, in his *Postmodern Geographies*, seems to compose this spectrum of legacies of the debate on postmodernity. Therefore, to understand this legacy, we need to understand the theoretical and social context in which it was created. This context of crisis and transformation constitutes the crucial moment based upon which the developmental conditions of metageographies were created. Despite the strong connection between the simultaneously foundational and critical elements of modernity, this chapter aims to observe the emergence of this moment from a point of view more in tune with the crisis of historicity.

From subjectivity to reason in history

Heidegger, in *L'époque des conceptions du monde*, presents a feature of the comparison between Aristotelian physics and Galilean physics to pursue the distinctive element that characterizes modernity. For him, the Aristotelian assumption that the force that moves the physical world is not separate from bodies themselves is essentially a testimony to a non-modern form of consciousness and representation of *Physis*. The consideration and

classification of bodies with respect to their own nature assumes a unity between their impetus or the law that governs its movement and its own particular bodily manifestation. In Aristotelian physics, each body presents a behavior that is defined according to its own internal nature, its primordial force, its *subjectum*. Therefore, bodies are divided according to their particular nature expressed immediately in their movement. And this is why bodies of land cannot present identical behavior or submitted to the same laws that govern the behavior of celestial bodies. According to this perspective, the former tends to follow a straight path to the center of the earth, and the latter are presented based on uniform movements defined according to circular paths. This behavior is unique to the nature of each one of these bodies. Heidegger captures the fundamental rupture with this non-modern form of consciousness in the formulation of the law of inertia elaborated by Galileo. By formulating a generalized formulation that begins with the postulate according to which the "whole body" should be at rest or in constant motion until some force is exerted on it, Galileo Galilei abstracts from the bodily element itself the law that should govern its behavior; it then becomes external to it to dominate it, making itself weigh indistinctly upon all bodies. The universal perspective embedded in this formulation reveals the power of understanding the nature of the physical world through reason and rational principles. Therefore, according to Heidegger, the *subjectum*, separate from the bodies over which it exercises its force of coordination of movement, is seized by the thinking that maintains the power of ordering the world based on the principles of reason. This is the moment in which the modern notion of subject, as an attribute of the thinking and rational being, will be identified with man as carrier of reason - more precisely with the *res cogitans* of Descartes. Consequently, we can also identify the justification for Heidegger to have considered the Cartesian formulation of *cogito ergo sum*, "I think, therefore I am", as one of the first clear manifestations of modern consciousness which reclaims and subsumes existence to methodical thought and reason.

There were many considerations that tried to connect the emergence of modern science, guided by the exclusive principle of subjective reason, to monotheism as the predominant form of cosmological conception. This is



because monotheism would bring the model of a unique and universal reason which falls upon every mundane manifestation, the model of dominance and superiority indistinct from the supreme spirit over bodily existence, the model of modern reason. According to these perspectives, the modern subjectivation of reason would not have been possible based on a cognitive and cosmological structure that does not separate the deity from things, from themselves. In the polytheist configuration of consciousness, the nature of things (and their *subjectum*) is not separate and determined outside the development of the corporeal world. Each divinity adheres to specific behaviors and manifestations of each particular element of the cosmos: the water, the harvest, the wine etc. The creation of the spirit, as a development of the monotheist configuration of consciousness, assumes a separation, which, beyond the methodical separation between subject and object, as a central element of science and modern theory of knowledge, presumes the subordination of nature to man as a principle of social ordering.

In the writings of Adorno and Horkheimer, this separation between man and nature is the structural condition of clarification which is translated into the superiority of reason. Therefore, it is also the normative criterion that develops into the principle of domination as a structuring element of bourgeois sociability and consciousness. The domination of man over nature, as a structuring principle of modern consciousness and a result of the separation between reason and emotion, between spirit and body, or between theory and practice, leads to the domination of man over man himself, whether in the field of social life, with a submissiveness that operates on the moment of work, or in the subjective field of a self-castrating consciousness manifested by the introjection of authority. In Adorno and Horkheimer, the image of Ulysses (the industrious, in *The Odyssey* by Homer), as the "prototype of the bourgeois individual", aims to highlight this new form of consciousness which is developed as a condition of the bourgeois sociability guided by domination. On the path back home, there were several provocations that nature and the primitive universe of impulses and passions imposed on the "industrious Ulysses". Those with the "astuteness of reason", however, one of the great concerns of Hegel in his philosophy of history, subjugated and continually overcame the most primitive impulses that

he had in his corporeal state, reaffirming the dominance and superiority of reason over the shapeless and wild nature, which was presented as an external (coming from the environment or in the shapes of their opponents) or internal threat (represented by the strength of instinctive impulses of a man who aims to hide the features of his repressed animality). The confrontation of the calls of nature, represented in the siren song, without giving into the impulses of the body and passions, and the refusal of the easy animalistic state of man, rejecting the enchantments of Circe, they represent the internalization of the principle of domination that is unique to modern rationality. It is in this perspective that the Freudian subject, far from keeping the foundation and the mental structure of ("universal") man in general, it represents the mental configuration of the bourgeois individual surprisingly well. The three-way division of the Freudian subject (one more of the synthetic triads of modernity) reveals in the *ego* the castration carried out by reason over the most primitive impulses and nature, which accompany humanity. In the social sphere, the exploration of work justifies the extraction of excess and overwork in material states of abundance. The authority that is exercised with the purpose of accumulation and work which is subordinate to the conditions unrelated to material production and to the satisfaction of needs reveal the independence of the principle of domination and violence as principles of social and individual cohesion of bourgeois sociability.

Hegel, to whom Habermas, not by chance, is considered to be the first philosopher to formulate a clear concept of modernity, will give the final touches to the domain of reason in the field of history. The philosophy of the history of Hegel will account for the elaboration, in a clear way aligned with his time, the modern concept of history. For Hegel, history is the field of reason, of the free spirit which is presented in time in pursuit of itself and of its own truth: the path in time of the dominance of reason over shapeless material. Therefore, there is a vectorial component of historical temporality that is defined by advancement and progress, in a temporal record opposed to the record of circularity and repetition unique to nature. This opposition, however, is defined in a contradictory way in the Hegelian system, which does not enable these records to run in a "parallel" way or without touching over the broad course of reason.



"Universal reason" simultaneously makes history the product, the main stage of its limited and particular manifestations and the vehicle for its final realization. In Hegel, the supreme and universal reason which is presented in the purpose of being fulfilled on Earth is essentially revolutionary and, at the same time in which it is manifested in the various configurations that the spirit assumes in this long journey, aiming to supersede each one of them in the name of a higher pursuit and in greater accord with its overall and final content. The suggestion of a spiral image to characterize the dialectical movement of history is, however, only one side of the whole intended in the Hegelian system. The progress of reason moves towards its complete fulfillment, in the "ultimate end of universal history", the moment in which the identity between contents and the form of reason is manifested completely. At the end of history, the identity between spirit and nature, between what is real and irrational, is also presented in a way to reveal the universal in particular, the rational in the real. It is in this sense that history works in the Hegelian system.

The Nietzschean critique, despite debating this order of time, recognizes the assumption of the modern era as the victory of reason (Apollonian) over the body and impulses (located in the Dionysiac dimension). In these terms, in defense of or against the rational order of the world, a meaning is imposed on the interpretation of modernity, and it was on the side of the supremacy of an abstract reason that dominates the world of things. Modernity is thus characterized by the representation of a temporal movement in progress that helped establish the advancement of the rational domain over a nature that was slowly "domesticated" over the course of modernization. The repression of impulses, the shape of the body and social control are aspects connected to the course of achieving a reason that frequently assumes its totalitarian condition. The image of the bourgeois, of the capitalist who gives up enjoying and spending his wealth, who refuses the nonproductive, immediate and present use and consumption of objects that comprise the notion of abundance, who abstains from and suppresses pleasure, entitlement and enjoyment, such as Ulysses, as analyzed by Adorno and Horkheimer, constitutes the essential unity of time in advance pointed towards the future. The social logic that substitutes use, waste (*gaspillage*, in the terms of Georges Bataille), with investment, at the

same time in which it reveals the system of private and social coercions based on modern sociability, locates this self-repressive system in the flow of temporal order which privileges a historic intelligibility of accumulation and progress, which gives up the present in the name of an intangible future, legitimized by the liberal credo of the socialization of the benefits of social abstention.

Critique and crisis of modernization

The promises of teleological modernity not only were not fulfilled but also gave no sign that they were still executable in the short term. Therefore, a strong element of social cohesion and justification of the modern program started to be lost. The rupture from the horizon of expectations of modernity breaks down the legitimacy of the great enterprise of rationalization that characterized its time. For Henri Lefebvre, *reproducing the social relations of production*, as a purpose that supersedes production in the economic field, signals this loss of connections with the universe of legitimate purposes that the discourse of modernity would have elaborated about itself. The analyses of the Crisis group that underwent the *collapse of modernization*, observed based on the crisis of the real processes of valuation, and by the critique of the working world, which is designed, above all, with the crisis of the capacity of "inclusion" and engagement of the work force in real processes of valuation, also point towards a weakness of the theoretical and social justification of modernization. When mountains of accumulated work start to be destroyed in crises or wars, only and exclusively as a condition for fulfilling new lucrative inversions and with the purpose of present and future accumulation, the declared purposes of production admit to being false. When the financial capital loses all connections to the processes of real valuation, incapable of promoting global levels of accumulation according to socially acceptable profit rates for the produced mass of values, the supposed "benefits" of accumulation or even their capacity of maintaining social order collapse in the face of a process that is associated to the crisis of modernization. The certainties with respect to progress as the irreparable order of time are devoid of a general crisis of representation. Crisis and critique of reason go hand in hand. And even the cohesion surrounding the



structure of Freudian subjectivity crumbles. The loss of meaning of reason, in the face of its ineffectiveness as a universal (and not class) principle, does not eliminate the set of self-repressive norms, but breaks apart the unified links surrounding it. This loss of substance coupled with whole reason, which is simultaneously internal and external, places it entirely in other state, as a strange substance which is imposed from the outside for the exercise of its dominance. The rejection of rational principles as an element of coherent unification of the subject and social cohesion originates the fragmentation of subjectivity and the social body, in time and space.

The first effect of this rupture from the structure of intelligibility of modernity can be perceived in the crisis of historicity. The historical horizon of fulfilling the spirit, reason, justice, the truth and other values taken as universal weaken in innumerable particular projects when it simply does not cease to exist. The society of abundance, already achieved, did not lead to complete satisfaction of desires and needs. The stake on a future that develops from present struggles ceased to be a part of the social mystique which, in part, justified the movements of the most diverse natures - today, social articulation of a revolutionary nature is residual and exacerbated sectarian individualism is one of the main features of social conservatism; moreover, many social and leftist party movements abandoned the utopian horizon of the revolution and the construction of a radically different future with respect to the present. The perspective of capitalist valuation shifted from the level of the real economy and currently takes place without strong connections to production time. The financialization of the economy determines the fictional time of the instantaneous as a basic temporality of accumulation. The employees of this "casino economy" deal with simultaneous purchase and sale time and no longer with successive valuation time. This temporality is transported to daily life and the reference of historical time is lost as a parameter of life and social organization.

The loss of historical temporality as a parameter for life or valuation and the dissolution of causal links praised by modernity (such as those which are defined between production and valuation or between work and compensation, for example) suggest a break in the chains between the signified and the

signifier which served as parameters of validation of messages also in the arts, philosophy, science and social life. Guy Debord condemns the spectacle as the most advanced stage of the developments of the logic of complete commodification. The spectacle, in support of accumulation, destructures social modern organization seated in the relation between use value and exchange value. The "seems to have" supersedes "to have" as a form of exponentially superseding "to be". This detachment that operates at the foundation of social organization was well illustrated in an example given by David Harvey regarding the success of sales achieved by a factory of imitation car phones in the 1980s. The simulation, the simulacrum and the spectacle appear in the world of signs, such as the universe of the autonomized signified and independent of their signifiers. Measures and calculations, as attributes of reason and instruments of modernization, stop working as socially valid parameters. Speculation in the financial and productive markets, the monopolistic behavior that advances on all markets and the revenue aspect of an economy that is increasingly supported by patents and by intellectual property reveal the empire of the unmeasured as a substitute for the laws of classic econometrics. The rupture from the temporal horizon of modernity, the crisis of the rational parameters of calculation, the separation of the chains between signified and signifier detonate the normative stake of the classic and neoclassical economy founded in the half hypothetical and half real *homoeconomicus* figure. In the new economy that has been developed, there is no more space for long term planning, whether in the scope of the company, of one's personal life or even of the State. The current limits of predictability, however, do not affect only the presumption of a calculating, selfish individual who acts according to the principles of reason and who is at the foundation of neoclassical economic theory, the State itself is developed based on the crisis that removes Keynesian planning. The dissolution of social well-being and the horizon proposed by the Fordist expansion deconstructed the field of intelligibility upon which the historical modern perspective is seated. In the field of architecture, the rupture from the standards of modernism, and above all from Corbusian modernism, promoted the denial of rational coherence that aimed to join form, function and structure; it promoted the abandonment of the principles of the economy applied to edification and suggested a retrieval of the ornament out of its original context. This detachment from form did not take



place only with buildings, but also in its relation to its surroundings: the standout building and, in some cases, with the aim of substituting the city. On the level of urbanism, the change of traditional planning standards and the greater openness to the encroachment of private capital in the so-called urban reordering projects have fragmented social space and deepened the chasm of segregation. Therefore, on the trail of the deep transformations that affect the space-time relation beginning at the end of the 20th century, the social structure has been reorganized around parameters extraneous to the logical body of modernity. The temporal linearity of a history regarded as a paradigm of progress and spatial cohesion disseminated by centralized state planning, as the structuring elements of the old forms of social cohesion and modern subjectivity, give way to the breakdown of the history and fragmentation of space. In this universe of correlations, the figure of Lacanian schizophrenia, employed by Jameson to characterize this time of deep alterations in the field of modern intelligibility, it is admitted as the substitute of a paranoid universe. While this last image suggests the figure of a modernity conceived from the recognition of a complete reason, from which everything originates and to which everything converges, a world in which any minimum manifestation points towards the rational meanings of existence, the image of schizophrenia points towards the impossibility of the very formation of subjectivity in the terms in which it was conceived by modernity. Therefore, based on the derivation of adopted psychoanalytical metaphors, if the loss of meanings seems, by opposition, to characterize the period of crisis that we have been experiencing since the 1980s, the hypersignificance would have guided the ideological discourse that preceded it. The image of a modernity that moves towards progress as a synonym of supreme good and truth, the reading of the universality of reason in the infinite particular manifestations and the convergence of isolated movements in consonance with the great destiny of humanity formed the ideological soup in which everything pointed towards a single truth, revealed in the great end of universal history. This is what constituted the mental environment of modernity. If, after the crisis, on the one hand, we have a loss of references, in the breaking of the chains between signified and signifiers, on the other, despite the critique of the current condition, it is necessary to recognize that in modernity and in high modernism the



plenitude of meanings forged based on the hypersignificance of paranoid nature would suggest a reason with totalitarian features.

Space, Geography and Metageography

From the 1950s on, the strong presence of the State in the orchestration of life and the economy seemed to bring with it the expectation of complete control over the variables of history and the movement of society. The effort to assert the reign of a bureaucracy that embodied and applied the principles of reason, by self-proclaiming the supreme manifestation and vehicle of reason, aimed, with an iron fist, to arbitrarily shut down history as Hegel had done in his system. This first mistake of historical temporality brought with it, in the rehearsed statistical order, a conception of space adapted to its purposes: a space that represents the end of antagonisms and contradictions understood as elements of an order though imperfect as it is historical. The position and realization of reason on Earth should thus produce a space according to the reign of supreme logic, fairness, equality and justice; in other words, the image and form of perfection of a dominated world in agreement with the principles of reason. Here, the rational distribution of the elements, functions, objects and actions is the symbol of dominance which is the goal of reason, the representation of the victory of logic over history. The elaboration of the urban plan and construction of Brasília perhaps had revealed the clearest intention of a rationality that intended to put an end to history producing a space, distinguishing, in its internal forms, dispositions and logics a state hegemony at the end of the great edifice of modernity. The renewing movement of Geography, which occurred post-war, also found in this moment a field conducive to the legitimation of a discipline in crisis. This legitimacy would be pursued here in the utilitarianism and servitude of academic production for the purposes of territorial and regional planning. The links of the so-called *New Geography* with a *raison d'État* are thus very explicit and it was in this environment that quantitative or grid-based Geography, mainly in its American version, was developed. At this moment, the revival of the models of the classic and neoclassical regional economy gave priority to, above all, the founding



principle of spatial balance. The assumption and objective of the models to be applied, in pursuit of balance and its representation, advocated a statistical and ahistorical space where the reason of the state ordering of society reigns. The models by Von Thünen, Alfred Weber, Christaller and Lösch served as the inspiration for an expressive perspective of the post-war geographical production.

Here, the reaffirmation of the principles of the neoclassical economy in the scope of spatial science, instead of renewing thought and regional studies attributing them to the critical potential that allow them to understand the world beyond utilitarian assumptions embedded in every bourgeois science, annihilated through its foundation the tradition of a regional science that is still maturing. The supposedly neutral, scalar and atemporal principles of spatial balance and equivalence were superimposed upon the traditional notions, concepts and categories of the previous regional science. The traditional scale and the difference of areas, as founding elements of the region until then, were abandoned as valid criteria and principles for regional delimitation and study. An abstract space, as a pure form, surface or extension, entirely interchangeable in their equal and empty parts, is the assumption of a conception that weighs on the dethroning of particularities, history and unequal contents as strong elements of the traditional regional conception. Since, according to the tradition of regional thought in Geography, the region is the field of the specific and the particular,¹ the models of spatial economy can be treated as the antithesis of the region and of regional science. Along this path, the deprivation of meaning in the studies of traditional Geography had a previously known purpose in the scope of territorial strategy: that of proclaiming the reign of reason right at the moment of greatest strength of the exercise of state hegemony; proclaiming the end of difference, inequalities and contradictions that move history; proclaiming, in sum, the very end of history based on the extension of the state dominance of reason over space. When the differences were incorporated into the scope of the quantitative analyses, they fulfilled the ideological-strategic principle of basal balance and homogeneity. When not treated as inessential data, the differences were situated in the field of appearance, reaffirming flat and homogeneous space as an assumption and starting point of the analysis and reality. In the

scope of Grid-based or Quantitative Geography, the difference, such as the antipode of the vital principle of spatial balance and homogeneity, was frequently referenced (when it happened) as an expository resource, treated as an illusion-creating image or the normative criterion established in a backwards manner: the negative element for demonstrating balance and the replacement of the principle of assumed homogeneity. In models that are abstract or in their applications, the distribution of differences aims to reaffirm the general law of balance. When this does not happen, and a coincidence is not observed among the elements of the model and the elements of reality, the latter should be placed in order of planning action, which should adjust reality to the plan, annihilating or ordering the differences.

The critique of this line of geographical thinking of quantitative renewal thus emerges from the perception that state planning was more linked to promoting the conditions of accumulation on a new level of capitalism of what is linked to the annihilation of social and spatial inequalities. Whether on urban and regional scales, whether on national and global scales, the persistent sociospatial inequality and even the deepening of social contradictions revealed another side of post-war statism. From this point of view, history was kept alive and a perspective of the so-called Active Geography, due to the affinity for movement of this history, saved the dialectic from Hegel, as Marx had done through him. In this context, the theory of unequal developments, of a strong Marxist inspiration and anchored in some works by Lenin, were renewed on the basis of the reconstruction of Geography. The influence of the French revolution on Geography in Brazil was decisive. Critical Brazilian Geography was thus consolidated in the 1970s and 1980s essentially as a Marxist Geography.²

Much of the importance of this perspective was due to its performance in the field of epistemology. The "critique" that described this view was not aimed only at the world and the social processes being analyzed, but, based on the new possibilities created in this field. It was also heavily aimed at the discipline itself, in an overwhelming critique of the so-called Classical Geography and the American perspective of the quantitative renewal. The understanding that the conception of space considered within the scope of American Grid-based Geography, which was consistent with an abstract space, without content,



without movement and without history, was part of a strategy of reproducing social relations of production that would further deepen socio-spatial inequalities, which was only possible due to the effort of consolidating the theoretical contribution of Critical Geography. This perspective understood that, on the one hand, the abstract conception of space promoted by the quantitative perspective masked the inequality and the fundamental spatial conditions of the social regime of accumulation in effect and that, on the other hand, the implementation of plans and policies founded on spatial models produced by this perspective represented, in an effort which is unique to the practice of planning, the establishment of abstract space such that it figured in the models and thus the promotion of the conditions for reproducing the (anti)social model of capitalism administrated. Planning frequently led to a *tabula rasa* of social space, transforming it into the concrete abstraction originated in laboratories and research of pragmatic science. This draining of the social and differential contents of space by force of the planning action was the result of the developments of the quantitative and neoclassical conception of space. This entire movement, in a process of inversion, however, shifted the critique of quantitative or grid-based Geography on the purely epistemological level and demanded the recognition that the abstract concept of space as an empty plan was established, through planning, in the social life of cities and in the destruction of traditional and community spaces directly affected by the violence of state planning. The production or reproduction of space through planning consists of the annihilation of the history of space. Therefore, this collusion between science and planning removed the barriers represented by the force of tradition and by the inadequacy of past elements, orders and configurations, which served the purposes of capital accumulation very well in a sort of primitive accumulation of space.³ It is about the recognition of a complex strategy of liberation of new or old spaces for the joint accumulation of power and capital which is accomplished in the preparation of a new temporal intelligibility.

The miscarriage of history at this moment of global social life thus represented, on the level of conceptions as well as on the level of reality, the effort to eternalize capitalism as a regime of accumulation and social regulation,



or at least, the condition connected to the strategies for the quickest capital reproduction.⁴ Hence, this is why this perspective is founded on the critique of the classical and neoclassical notion of spatial balance, repeatedly used by Matrix Geography of American origin. Critical Geography thus restored history as a privileged field of social development and development of the categories for interpreting the most current life conditions. Its affinity for history, while a source of various debates within the disciplinary field of geographical science, enabled the advancement of geographical production in the sense that it was consolidated as a critical social science. The abandonment of the classical regional paradigm took place together with the critique of the neoclassical assumption of spatial balance. The regional difference as an authorizing principle of the investigation was resumed in other terms and this was due, in large part, to the theoretical leap represented in the conception that space is a product of human action and that, therefore, it should be considered a dynamic element of social reality. The paradigm of space production gave coherence to the adoption of the notion of unequal development, interpreted simultaneously as the product and condition of capital accumulation, which appears here as a normative parameter for social ordering and for new studies of Human Geography.

In the 1980s, when the crisis of the State of Keynesian inclination and the crisis of Fordism appeared to be imposed as inevitable themes and paradigms in the human sciences, presented a question on the primacy of historical intelligibility, on the rational parameters of evaluating and guiding society and even on modern subjectivity as one of the pillars of social and historical order. The questions about the meaning of truth and the notion of representation undermined scientific objectivity as a paradigm for knowledge production.⁵ Artistic formalism and post-modernism in architecture reinforced the split between subjectivity and the concrete world taken as exterior. In an analysis by Fredric Jameson, this loss of the notion and the pretension for the constitution of the whole (whether of a contradictory whole, or an identical whole) finds a concrete abstraction carried out by the independence of money in the financialized economy, the effective impulse that appears to give support to the



new manifestations of a consciousness apart from the real world. This was the context in which phenomenology gained strength in the geographical discourse.

While in Philosophy, the authors of the perspective known as post-structuralist gained importance based on a radical critique of reason, history and the contempt that modern science and consciousness demonstrated for the body and space, Critical Geography had not separated or formulated a critique of their affinity for the categories of history and maintained, in most of their productions, the belief in temporal-categorical development based on the present. Despite its great importance, the strong influence of Althusserian structuralism in Marxist geographical thought worked as more than a factor of understanding the discipline with the field already critical of modern rationality and subjectivity. Frequently, based on this, Critical Geography was accused of using an author who did not bring any contribution to geographical thought in the foundation of its reflections, since Marx, according to this perspective, had never referred to the importance of space for critique or for social comprehension. As a response to these accusations, many geographers dove into the pursuit of space and a Geography in the works of Marx. Others, however, in accepting the premises of the anti-Marxist critique, tried "to spatialize" the theory of Marx. The energy spent on this debate of little external relevance (outside the disciplinary or academic field) ended up removing strength from the critical renewal that had begun some decades before. Many consider that this movement assumed the dimension of a self-boycott elaborated in a deaf manner for decades within the Marxist perspective of Geography. Others interpret this movement as the moment of consolidation of a trajectory that had already totaled three decades. Independently of this, however, it is worth noting that while Critical Geography debated internally or even pursued a place in the field of critical social theory, phenomenology gained strength among geographers.

The context of the phenomenological valuing of subjectivity also appears as one more source of critique that was directed at Marxist Geography. On the one hand, the broad diffusion of the idea that Geography and Marxist theory did not consider subjectivity (and, therefore, brought a "skewed view" of reality), pointed towards a limit for the pretension of giving an all-encompassing

treatment of reality on the part of this Geography and theory (structural and defining pretension of the theory and method of Marx). On the other hand, the very segmentation of objective reality and subjectivity proposed by phenomenology (as a type of redefinition of the Kantian legacy), the emergence of the practical and social environment that gave support to this perspective and the incapacity of formulating an adequate response to this accusation on the part of the perspectives of Critical Geography promoted a polarization between addressing the issues relative to subjectivity, expected of the phenomenological perspectives, and the materialist approach, from a common materialism separate from its conditions connected to consciousness, linked to Marxist currents. This polarization, false within the Marxist method, constituted the most widespread form of recognition of the debate between materialism and phenomenology, helping to promote the sterilization of the Marxist proposal, elaborated in the scope of post-war Critical Geography, in many of its views.

The recognition of the elements implied in the crisis of the history associated to a critical and radical perspective with respect to historicity itself and its meaning are at the foundation of the re-elaboration of contemporary thought in a part of Geography. This movement, however, does not occur with segmentation between the different critical perspectives presented up to this point, but it also does not occur through simple addition, as if these proposals were complementary and not contradictory.

The intellectual environment of post-structuralism and *Post-modern Geographies*, which Edward Soja discusses, brings from Nietzsche a radical and thorough critique of history and reason. As understood by Henri Lefebvre, it is possible to extract from Nietzschean thinking the proposal of abandonment and overtaking of history and the condition of historical societies. It is about a type of non-dialectical breakthrough of history (*überwinden*) which is opposed to the Hegelian-Marxist breakthrough (*aufheben*). This Nietzschean breakthrough (*Überwindung*), which in no aspect can be considered conservative, "throws away" what preceded it and moves towards a record that is elaborated in a relation of independence with what came before it or is simultaneous with it. Therefore, this proposal brings in its method that which it adopts as its object, content or purpose: it abandons as form and content the historical intelligibility

of progress, reason and spirit. It is not about a perspective attached to the internal developments of movement, which it wants to abandon. It thus brings an orientation towards thorough practice and critique. From this perspective, inspired by the Nietzschean philosophy and in the shift from the opposition between the Apollonian (reason, serenity and sobriety) and the Dionysian (passions, dance, inebriation and insanity), body, desire and space are revived, constrained and covered by the historical rationality of spiritual progress and elevation.

This revival of Nietzschean philosophy is bundled with historical ruptures which occurred at the end of the 20th century and marked a new perspective for a social critique and for the role of Geography. However, in the line of thought of Lefebvre, it gains importance in the face of other perspectives, which extract from Hegel an understanding of the role and place of the State (based on the logical-philosophical and political horizon of finalizing history) and from Marx the critique of capital reproduction and the very exercise of bureaucratic power in the determination of life (understanding crisis as the substantial content of the exercise of this critique). Therefore, the Lefebvrian dialectic developed to understand the social, power and capital dynamic from the end of the 20th century on brings a very particular benchmark. The third term here is not the result or a synthesis of the two previous terms nor is it derived from its contradictions. It is also a working term in this triadic dialectic. It is as if one tried to "dialectize" the relation between the previous dialectic, represented here by the relation between Marx and Hegel, and the presence of the third term, represented here by the Nietzschean perspective. It is possible to extract a corresponding movement from the book *Formal Logic-Dialectical Logic* (mainly based on the preface written for the second edition, more than twenty years after its release, in 1969).⁶ The possibility, or even the project, of understanding the dialectic as logic suggests a third term in the relation between the (dialectical) movement of content (of the world and history) and formal logic, mainly when it tends towards hypostatized and abstract isolation of the formalism. In Geography, this possibility promoted the conditions for a radical critique of Quantitative Geography which supersedes the field of the epistemological debate and invades the critical depths of what is real. This

critique is presented in the recognition of the notion of abstract space not only as an ideological detour or a barrier to the understanding of the complexity of the processes involved in the dynamic of space production, but as a strategic element that surpasses the universe of consciousness and the epistemological field. By understanding that abstraction contained in a conception of space (a conception in which it is merely restrained or an extension of others to their contents: a Cartesian plan, therefore) is realized through planning, annihilating the preterit and historical contents of this space and promoting the conditions of social reproduction of capital, the requirement of (dialectical) confrontation is placed between a formal logic which is defined with respect to space and the dialectic itself which comprises the contents of social space. This dialectical relation, borne out of the contradiction between logics (formal logic and dialectical logic) which develops beyond the epistemic field as a given of reality, contains the Lefebvrian project which surpasses a conventional apprehension of the modern dialectic. The dialectic between formal logic and dialectical logic is, in this conditions, the third term of the triad. But this project only finds the possibility of advancing towards a radical critique of history and historicity, which is the element here that makes the project of Lefebvrian breakthrough concrete and, at the same time, constitutes the basis for the metageography program, based on the categories found at other points of the work by Henri Lefebvre. Hence, the meeting of Geography with the critical categories of daily life, social reproduction, the metaphilosophical project, critique of the State, the bureaucratic society of directed consumption, urban society among others constituted the field of superseding the critical renewal of the second half of the 20th century. These categories enabled Geography to understand the planning and pragmatic spatial science not only as promoters of a process of primitive accumulation which dethrones the old traditional contents of space in the name of capital accumulation, but as part of a continuous strategy of valuation which articulates the State and capital surrounding a dynamic of space production; a dynamic based on which not only the spaces that are still not capitalist become targets of the sanitizing action of planning, but also the spaces already affected and established by typically capitalist configurations in previous valuation cycles. The apparently unlimited reiteration of a process of the strategic removal of space, according to which the destruction and annihilation of social and



historical contents of space as a replaced condition of accumulation always suggests a new beginning from zero, focuses on the validity of evolutionary schemes and replaces a more cyclic (repetitive) than linear temporality in progress. The observation of the unbridled replacement of this strategy suggests, really, a non-historic and temporally non-cumulative intelligibility. This consists of a difference between production and reproduction of space as a crucial given for understanding the need for metageographies. The change from the record of production to space reproduction comprises, in the field of the real, the crisis of historical intelligibility and, in the field of critique, the overcoming of historicity as an exclusive axis of radical knowledge, even with respect to the critique of planning and pragmatic spatial science. The notion of reproduction enhances the critique of the strategic role of the abstract concept of space. The perspective of reproduction, which becomes an important part of the theoretical tools for observing the rupture of modern intelligibility from historical temporality, also enables the shift of the debate with respect to the relation between formal logic and dialectical logic with respect to space (which, later, can be identified according to the terms of concrete abstraction) for the field of critique of history and historicity.

The crisis of historicity and the horizon of expectations of modernity restricted some perspectives more strongly attached to the field of the development of the philosophy of history. Recognizing the circularity of the replacement of strategies connected to social reproduction (including here the reproduction of urban space) reduced the expectations of revolutionary transformation associated to the views that bet almost exclusively on the immanent developments of history itself. Hence, this theory, to the extent to which it does not abandon the critical positioning, should better situate the role of praxis and political action beyond the domain of a philosophy of history. At the same time, the Nietzschean perspective enabled here, in its relation with the dialectic of Marx and Hegel, this operation towards a radical and thorough critique pointing out not only a historical breakthrough of history itself, but the need to consider a non-dialectical breakthrough (an abandonment) of history itself and historicity. Here resides the recognition of the work of social forces erased in the course of rationalization of the world, suppressed by history and

western Logos. Passions, impulses, body and space, not only as elements linked to the logic of capital reproduction, but as realities of life, return with Dionysian strength. Therefore, here also resides an openness to the practice of another nature. The critical perspective posed from the end of the 20th century to Geography is freed from the rigidity of the logic committed to rational and immanent developments of history and is open to the possible/impossible (embedded in the possibility of a breakthrough of historic totality of Reason for a totality that points towards the practice as superseding history). Perhaps here is also one of the meanings which Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos has pursued with the title *Metageography*. A Critical and Radical Geography should also take into account a critique of a Geography that accepts normative parameters in effect as criteria for critical reflection. The utopian component in this project is decisive.

From the point of view of the diagnosis and interpretation of reality, the categories point towards a context of reinforcing the need for a practical-theoretical project that considers these requirements. If the preponderance of time over space marked critical production until this last chapter of the human sciences, it is time to recognize that coercions, contradictions and constraints of all types are realized in and by space and that, therefore, space production constitutes an interest in these disciplines. This recognition involves, in turn, the new meanings of the production of geographical knowledge. If the crisis of historicity goes hand in hand with the crisis of standards and intelligibility in industrial society, it is in the urban that new coercive and intimidating mechanisms are constituted. The dissolution of the proletariat as a revolutionary class also transfers to the urban, the field where there will be social struggles waged and where there new revolutionary utopias will be developed. As another element of the rupture from the paradigms of historical modernity associated to the urban, daily life is carried out as a sphere of coercions, reproduction and creativity in the development of a new project of society. The movement of the record of production, typically connected to the historical field of industrialization, to the record of reproduction, which suggests another field of temporal intelligibility removed for breaking from historical intelligibility,



punctuates space, and not time, as a strong element based on which the dominance of the State and capitalist exploitation are exercised.

Finally, it is worth noting that many contemporary Geographies contribute greatly or are even already part of that which has been understood here as a field of metageography. At the same time in which it is developed as a project, a silent movement required by the material conditions placed on the path of metageography many productions from various geographers and research groups spread, above all, throughout Brazil.

Notes

¹ In order for us not to exclusively keep the material that regional papers inspired by the French perspective originated by Paul Vidal de la Blache on their own offer us, which were normalized in the disciplinary field of Geography, we can recall, among others, the role of Karl Ritter, based on his general comparative geography, and Alfred Hettner, in the pursuit of the objectives of the geographic discipline, in the establishment of an understanding of the difference of space, areas or land surfaces as the foundation of the classical conception of region.

² Perhaps here, the introverted nature of a large part of Brazilian Critical Geography is due to the internal conditions upon which are placed economic growth and the processes of formation of the State, while in central countries, and above all in France, the cradle of the new critical trend of Geography, the more extroverted nature of academic productions in this scope is perhaps due to its relative success in the constitution of a social welfare State, which highlighted inequality on an international level.

³ Cf. Damiani, 2004.

⁴ A good part of this critique was only possible thanks to the work of a group of professors and researchers of the Urban Geography laboratory at USP (LABUR) carried out in the 1990s and 2000s. I would venture to say that even if metageography is based on a critique which is simultaneously epistemological and practical, and if it is substantiated in the dialectical relation between these terms, one of its foundations can be located there, identifying it in the works of LABUR, from this moment, a propensity to supersede the so-called Critical Geography. This means that part of this critique which has been developed based on the Lefebvrian conception of the "concrete abstraction" perhaps should have been located in the text in a section with greater focus and separate from the block in which the analysis of Critical Geography is questioned. But since the aspect of greatest interest for the observation of metageography here constitutes its relation with the order of time, I preferred to maintain the critical potential of this moment still connected to the scope of Critical Geography, since in it is its origin, which complements it.

⁵ Boaventura de Souza Santos, in *Um discurso sobre as ciências na transição para uma ciência pós-moderna* (A discourse on the sciences in the transition to a post-modern science), mentions the highlight that the author of *O fim das certezas* (The end of certainties), the chemist Ilya Prigogine, receives at this time due to her alignment with the crisis that is announced with respect to the modern paradigms of science.

⁶ This book was generally poorly understood and interpreted as a terrible understanding of the Marxist dialectic. The theoretical and methodological proposal of Lefebvre in the book was not, as many thought, to understand or present the Marxist dialectic, or something that he mistakenly would have called dialectical logic, as opposed to formal logic. This understanding was the Reason for which Henri Lefebvre unfairly received frequent critiques for having addressed the dialectic as logic and, therefore, as a mental operation. In his perspective, there was a proposition of superseding the modern dialectic without abandoning the Marxist method, understanding that there would be, beyond the dynamic understood inside the dialectical movement as understood until then, a dialectic, in his terms, between the latter and formal logic.



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Violence in the urbanization process

Renata Alves Sampaio

The level of theoretical investigation presents needs that are intimately related to what drives us, bothers us, strains us, surprises us or amazes us about the world and the society in which we live. From the beginning of our academic journey, we have taken on the challenge of reflecting on one of these aspects of social life, which for a long time has caused us to ask questions, thus awakening a specific research interest: we are referring specifically to the issue of *violence*. The breadth and complexity unique to this general topic and the internal limitations and characteristics of a study posed some important difficulties on the analysis whose purpose was to uncover the components of this 'object' of study.

Parallel to this specific interest, the issues about the city and the urban ended up redefining our original concerns regarding violence. Therefore, we focus our investigation on one of the problems related to violence which is more widely discussed and which can be summarized by the name of '*urban violence*'. This topic, which is very present in the imagination of people and strongly connected to a representation people have of life in big cities, has revealed an analytic power. At the same time, it has been presented in a disorganized manner, obscured by numerous unfounded opinions, poor explanatory analyses, frequently biased news, which, from our point of view, made a rich and complex topic even more confusing, almost unintelligible. From this concern - which is ours as well as that of any other resident who abstractly or concretely experiences the "dramas" plotted by the experience of urban life - violence, in its relation to the issues regarding the city and the urban, has led to this investigation.

It is worth emphasizing, however, that the intention of this study began with a recognition: that the notion of urban violence belongs to the understanding of the components of urban issues, which have been publicized in the modern world. However, the move from research to thought (which is alive and open) has presented us with problems. The discovery of a specific intimacy between the notions of urban violence and criminality - which does not

quite constitute a problem in itself, in any way - has appeared to us to be an important limit to the development of a critical reflection on urban issues.

Therefore, this line of thought made an important move: it is about the move from recognizing the *belonging* of the notion of urban violence towards recognizing its *failure* as a notion capable of answering our specific questions about urban issues, including about the urbanization process in cities. When recognizing this failure was placed clearly in the line of thinking, the object itself was mobilized.

Thinking about violence, based on its relation to urban issues, only began to make sense for us when we began to consider it in an important conjunction with the processes of urban space production and the reproduction of social relations. However, when we establish these fundamental relations, the analysis of violence, as we have assumed from the beginning, had to be presented based on a reversal. Instead of reflecting on the meanings and components of that which is understood as urban violence, we began to consider, as an object of theoretical reflection, the capitalist urbanization process as an essentially violent process.

It is clear to us that a violence relative and intrinsic to the capitalist urbanization process could be broken down into various angles. In this chapter, we selected just one '*point of entry*', certainly insufficient, but decisive, from our perspective, for the elaboration of the reasoning that sustains our hypothesis, according to which the capitalist urbanization process is, in essence, a process founded on, among other things, violence¹.

We aim to reveal here the role of the State in the capitalist urbanization process. We took on the challenge of understanding how urbanism (or at least its state form assumed by urban planning), upon being intimately related to urban space production and to the reproduction of relations of exchange, replaces, on the level of everyday life and by means of the urbanization process, the meaning of violence, which forms the foundation of capitalist social relations.

It is important to point out to the reader that the reflection proposed will not result in a concept of violence, urban violence or the violence of

urbanization. Our challenge was to put thought in motion and, upon reflecting on some fundamental components of the urbanization process, we simultaneously considered violence to be a revealing category of the foundations of capitalist reproduction. Our intention is not, however, to reduce the urbanization process only to its violent dimension, but to discover and reveal that it is one of its identifying components. This was only possible, from to our point of view, based on a reflection that proposed to criticize this society, which intends to pacify, at all costs, its immanently violent components.

The violence of the capitalist urbanization process:

- **Violence as a reproduction of relations of exchange: reflections on the State and urban planning (or state urbanism)**

At first, we anticipate that associating the expressions *urban planning* and *violence* may cause surprise. This is because it has been disseminated among us, city dwellers, as well as in the academic environment, a relatively strong expectation that recalls a (partial or complete) solution of all kinds of problems regarding cities (especially large ones). Therefore, we present a kind of consensus that projects and confirms the positive meaning of urban planning and urbanism. From this (positive) perspective, the most probable relation between the expressions '*planning*' and '*violence*' would be that which places in urban planning the hope that it could become one of the most important tools for combating crime. Our argument, however, will ignore similar considerations.

According to Flávio Villaça,² since the 1930s, "a view of the urban world has been developing in Brazil according to which the problems that are increasingly manifested in the cities are caused by their chaotic growth - without planning - and that an 'integrated' or 'joint' planning, according to well-defined techniques and methods, would be indispensable for solving them".³ If the city assumes an image of chaos, a cause for profound discomfort, which suggests and demands the implementation of a regulatory principle for urban space, the plan and the project become the salvation called upon in the face of what is perceived as an imbalance, danger, disorder, lack of control, imminent

regression. The ideological adherence of images relative to planning to the notion of progress contributes to the falsification of reality, which "produces the illusion of [society] developing upwards and, in fact, continues to be what it was".⁴

However, reflecting on the urbanization process based on our central thesis recalls some questions: why is it that with all the knowledge and technology developed, cities have not been built with the aim of effectively attending to real social needs? Why has urbanism not been able, even with all the demand and propaganda, and despite the intention, knowledge, technology, or policy, on the one hand, to solve the problems of the city and urban life, and, on the other, to be an/the ideal pacification instrument of a process that is carried out violently? The Lefebvrian critique of urbanism has helped us to examine some theoretical answers to our questions. Among these, we can say that only in a fetishist way is it possible to conceive of urbanism, including urban planning, as technical-scientific knowledge capable of working on the containment of an urbanization process which produces all kinds of constraints observed in everyday life. Lefebvre writes, *urbanism* "is defined as the activity that 'traces the order of human establishments in the territory with traces of rock, cement and metal'".⁵ An ideology referring to urban space, this activity involves a practice. Apparently technical and scientific, this practice is essentially political, comprising a double aspect: the institutional and the ideological.

Though it is still possible to dissect different sides of urbanism, in this chapter, what interests us particularly is to think about it with respect to one of its essential relations: the **relation with the State** (and the political) - which will certainly require a consideration of the economic and social. If we believe that it is pertinent to propose an analytical inversion that considers the violence of the urbanization process, and if we focus on urbanism as one of the keys to understanding this same process, we point out, in turn, that the critical examination found its own understanding in the investigation of its specific relation with the State.

The common reference about the most explicit manifestation of the power of the State is that which focuses attention on the role of the police, the

Court (the legal system) and the army; not without reason. This is because these institutions, if we may say so, fulfill the roles that most obviously give meaning to that which constitutes one of the definitions of State, which is consolidated within Western political thought. This is due, in large part, to the thinking of Max Weber⁶ for whom the Modern State is, par excellence, the entity that is defined as having the "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory".⁷ If, by chance, the right to use physical force, coercion and power is attributed to some institution or person, this is accomplished only to the extent in which the State allows it, since the State is, for Weber, "considered the sole source of the right to use violence".⁸ The pertinent issue here regards the fact that if the monopoly of the use of physical force is exercised actually and essentially by the police and by the army, authorized by a normative, constitutional structure, which features the complementary role of the justice system in the implementation of this monopoly. One can say, however, that the centrality of these institutions hinders another set of profoundly relevant facts: that in which the exercise of power, coercion, the repressive role of the State and, in addition to this, the production of a significant amount of social damage, is also executed by means of other political-administrative institutions and bureaucratic organizations of the State. It was this way that, in the heart of our specific concerns, focusing on this reasoning has allowed us to broaden the horizon and consider *the path by which the urbanization process is politically institutionalized*. It acts, in turn, as one of the means for the State to exercise power, which is accompanied by the use of its correspondents, such as coercion, domination, repression, orders, whose logical consequence - the level of damage - can characterize, in part, the contents of the violence of the urbanization process itself. We are talking about *urbanism*, or more specifically here about its state aspect: urban planning.

If we sense that urbanism - institutionalized, thus, acquiring a logical/practical adherence to the State and its corresponding rationality - is one of the means by which the violence of the urbanization process takes place, the investigation that appears to be most adequate is that which tries to comprehend, among other things, the intertwining of urbanism and the State, as well as the scope of the *structural* characteristics and problems of the State.

This prevents us from considering their approximation with power and violence, as dependent on a (economic, political, social) context or even a specific conjunctural arrangement.

A reconstitution of the history of urban planning in Brazil could lead us to empirically verifiable evidence that the urbanization process, especially in large cities, was characterized by major spatial inequality. This situation interpreted by many authors⁹ based on the influential power of the dominant classes in using the State (responsible, par excellence, for this planning), to benefit their own interests. The concentration of urban infrastructure in determined areas of the cities, notably the areas occupied by the wealthier population, could offer us proof of the degree to which the economic elite were prepared in the heart of a State reduced to the condition of instrument of class domination. In fact, the analysis of the complementary relation between the political and economic in any capitalist State offers us practical examples, and not only with respect to planning. In this sense, the political decisions on all levels are guided towards private interests of *capitalist* valuation, which has made many identify there the class-based nature of the State.

The problem of this perspective is not exactly due to the fact that the connections between the economic and political are realized primordially at the expense of the political, or even in the fact that the State has a class-based nature. The issue that instigates us more particularly can be summarized by the idea that behind this line of argumentation resides what Claus Offe calls the "implicit assumption of state neutrality"¹⁰. In other words, a conception according to which the State, according to its internal structure, "could in principle be used to carry out other interests".¹¹ This would mean conceiving a possibility (always potential) of the (capitalist) State being politically appropriated by the dominated class¹² and/or in benefit of their demands, where one would conclude that the necessary critique of the State consists essentially of the evaluation of the perversity resulting from the balancing of the state institutional arrangement by the dominant class which, by decisively penetrating and influencing the political structure, uniquely establishes the nature of the State.

For us, the problem emerges in the following way: if there is a violence that permeates the urbanization process, it would be resolved analytically considering the command of this process. In other words, the dominant class being devoid of power in establishing the direction and the components of the urbanization process, having in mind its segregating and elitist nature, consequently, would also be devoid in large part of their foundations (including violence). This perspective is not totally dissociated from the belief that, if the State were not corrupted by extraneous and private interests, if they had the political disposition and strength to fulfill legal determinations favorable to attending to popular demands (and not only the demands of those intrinsically related to the "forces of delay"), if the priorities were reversed in the scope of public investments, if there were greater popular awareness and participation in political decisions, if there were greater political commitment to social issues, that is, if policy were conducted differently, we could be faced with another social reality, of another city (form and content), of another social function of the State. This reasoning leads us simultaneously to: the distancing of a possible (structural) critique of the State and, in parallel, to an understanding of the relations between *urbanism* and the *State*, as well as between violence and the capitalist urbanization process as contingency relations, which presents problems for our hypothesis. In order for violence to be understood as one of the identifying components of the urbanization process, carried out by an urbanism institutionalized by (though not only by) the State, the theoretical elaboration should be aimed at understanding the structural needs that connect all of these terms. This invalidates the conclusion that the capitalist urbanization process can, depending on the (historical, political) context, be carried out under other components and foundations.

The capitalist urbanization process - and even space production in general - , it is worth emphasizing, is not a process essentially and exclusively carried out by the State. This consideration consists of a considerable reduction in the reality of both processes. However, understanding them without the understanding that the State has a fundamental role in their materialization would be impossible. Even under the strength of the neo-liberalizing discourse of the maximum reduction of the State in economic, social and urban regulation,

it is known, however, that the objective relation between the state system and interests of capitalist valuation do not establish, in any way, to a lesser extent in the heart of capitalism; on the contrary, it is one of their foundations. In this sense, the path towards unveiling the components of the capitalist urbanization process in order to arrive at some conclusion pertinent to the validation of our hypothesis assumes, necessarily, a reflection on the State, to the extent in which there is an essential relation to be unveiled.

The consideration that the State and capital are intertwined in a complex tangle to be distinguished is recurrent in the works that propose to reflect on the urbanization process. However, even faced with this awareness, we are confronted, at least in Brazil, with a (political, ideological, theoretical) position that very clearly reclaims the State in the face of this process (though, not in any way, alone). It would be false, as well as irresponsible on our part to consider that no positive component can reside in the actions of the State aimed at the specific level of urbanism. Experiences observed in different governments - on federal, state and municipal levels - reveal to us that it is not completely irrelevant who (which party) is in political power. A greater or lesser number of social policies interfere qualitatively with the possible experience of appropriating urban space, in the broad sense of appropriating a time and space and not specifically a location. The issue, therefore, is not about disregarding the importance of the State, but about theoretically understanding the meaning and the consequences of the repossessions. *What does repossession mean to the State, especially as a necessary means for the urbanization process?*

Claus Offe, in *Structural problems of the capitalist State*,¹³ presents a series of essential issues to a general theory of the (capitalist) State and, more closely, connects us to previously mentioned questions. One of their main concerns is summarized in dissecting the content of the Marxist interpretations which, on the one hand, are based on the principle that there is an instrumental relation between the capitalist class and the State, with the latter being manipulated and dominated in order to realize the collective interests of the former. On the other hand, and on the contrary, they claim that there are structural limitations of the State that prevent it from acting and which guide it

towards a lack of institutional sovereignty, consequently resulting in a general inefficiency of political regulation and intervention. According to the author, both types of interpretation - which he calls, respectively, "theories of influence" and "theories of limiting factors" - have as an analytical horizon the demonstration of the class-based nature of the State. At no time does Claus Offe invalidate the empirical evidence of these arguments, which according to him, indicates that "within the plurality of political forces, there is an enormous empirical preponderance of those which represent and implement interests oriented towards the process of accumulation [...]"¹⁴; the point of tension would be in the inability to demonstrate the structural need for this phenomenon, fundamental, particularly to understanding the class-based nature of the State.

For the author, more than serve the interests of a dominant class, the State, by means of its institutional structure, aims to guarantee in a long lasting way the rules that formalize and establish the *specific class relations of a capitalist society*. In other words, it is about thinking that instead of defending private interests, the State needs to accomplish common interests of a capitalist society of classes. There is a specific characteristic in the approach by Offe that clearly determines the possibilities of deriving his arguments. We propose to consider the *capitalist* State, with its particular form-content and, therefore, to consider the connections that undeniably solidify the relation between the political and the economic. As such, he warns that: "The concept of the *capitalist* State, ignoring historical differences and changes in structure and function, refers to an institutional form of public power in its relation to material production".¹⁵

The component of this relation between political power and material production in capitalism is determined, according to the author, by at least four functional aspects: in the first place, production in capitalism is privatized, that is, "public power is structurally prevented from organizing material production according to its own 'political' criteria"¹⁶ - which is valid even when a part of the capital stock is property of the State, since this, in reality, guides its objectives and actions in a way that makes their capital available to the process of private production (infrastructural goods would be an example). In the second place, there is structurally, with respect to the State, a dependence on taxes. This

means to say, in other words, that "public power depends, indirectly, through mechanisms of the tax system, on the volume of private accumulation",¹⁷ a fact that establishes a link between accumulation of material assets as one of the requisites for the manifestation of (political) power. In the third place, and directly connected to the previous aspect, capitalist accumulation is considered a point of reference of political power. For Offe and Ronge, if the State guides its actions in a way that preserves the continuity of accumulation and, parallel to this, the conditions for the public exercise of power, this is not based:

[...] not on any alliances between the state system and certain classes or levels, nor on the privileged access of members of the capitalist class to decision centers of the State. This privileged access, when it occurs is not a cause, but an institutional reflex of the structural dependence of the activity with respect to how accumulation works.¹⁸

As the fourth and last functional aspect of the intertwining between public power and material production, we highlight the importance of democratic legitimacy, since any political group "can only appropriate state power when it finds majority power, through general elections". For the authors:

The dependence of state power on acts of proclamation, through general elections, contributes to disguising the fact that the material resources, the only ones that allow for the effective exercise of state power, depends, first of all, on the revenues derived from the accumulation process, and that the utilization of these resources is only determined by the preferences of the public voter to the extent in which these preferences are in line with the requisites of ongoing accumulation.¹⁹

It is this way that Offe and Ronge develop the argument that the capitalist State is subject to the double determination of political power. "by its institutional *form*, this power is determined through the rules of democratic and representative government; by its *content*, it is controlled by the course and the requirements of the accumulation process."²⁰

Based on this reasoning, the 'policy' of the capitalist State would be committed to constantly producing and reproducing the integration and compatibility among these four determinations that structure the State. The question would be to think about what way, taking into consideration so many

variables, an agreement between these four determinations could be reached. The answer to this question has been developed under the thesis that *one and only one* general strategy of action by the State is put into motion. It consists of "creating the conditions according to which *each citizen is included in the relations of exchange*".²¹ Once the conditions for the effectiveness of the relations of exchange are developed, the other four aspects constitutive of the capitalist State are equally considered. This is because, for the authors, the structure of the capitalist State only becomes problematic if the units of value²² cannot be included in the relations of exchange, upon which necessarily depend, the production and consumption of merchandise, and therefore the valuation process and capital accumulation. In this sense, the commodity form will be constituted as the general "balancing point" of the capitalist State, as well as the general balancing point of accumulation. Therefore, "the link between the political and economic structure of the capitalist society is, therefore, the commodity form. *The stability of each one of these structures depends on the universalization of the commodity form*".²³ What Offe and Ronge are indicating here is, along general lines, the structural inseparability between the State and capital, whose unit is enabled by the commodity form, which puts us in a dialogue with that which Henri Lefebvre so vigorously claimed: "For Lefebvre, there is no separation between the political and the economic. They also do not get confused with one another. Between them is a dialectic relation of double determination".²⁴

Since the viability of the relations of exchange, or, the constant disposition of the units of value in the market, is not natural, and since the balancing mechanisms of the market (self-correcting mechanisms) are decreasingly efficient in the extent to which capitalism becomes more complex, the capitalist State has a fundamental role in generalizing the commodity form and in incorporating the units of value in the relations of exchange, creating conditions in order for "all legal subjects to effectively introduce their property (in goods or work force) into work relations".²⁵

What Offe and Ronge are trying to demonstrate with these observations, to a certain extent, is the fact that the relation between the State and capital (or between the political and the economic) is not contingent, situational, or even

dependent on or prey to external forces in order to become established (as would be the case of an instrumentalization derived only from the greater or lesser power of the capitalist class in penetrating the heart of the institutional arrangement of the State in order to implement interests of accumulation). The state promotes these interests, since they are not alien to the requirements of their reproduction; on the contrary. The argument develops in the sense of demystifying the opposition between interests of the State and capital, as well as the premise that if the State guides its policies and strategies of action to the interests of capitalist valuation, it only does so due to being coerced by the dominant political forces outside of its structure. This objection is intimately related to the argument that the most general strategy of the capitalist State does not aim to attend to a specific interest of a class, though this treatment is carried out empirically. What is at the core of this strategy is the perpetuation of a society of classes which is implemented based on the specific *relations of exchange*, and in which the commodity form is constituted as the most general foundation. The thesis elaborated by Offe and Ronge can be summarized based on the following claim:

The fact that certain capitalist groups (or categories of the work force) are more favored than others is not the objective, but the byproduct necessary of a policy that is aimed abstractly at the conservation and universalization of the commodity form.²⁶

It is important to point out that Claus Offe does not deny that there is a political domination exercised by the State, nor does he deny that the act of power by the State involves a class-based nature. What the author aims to unveil is the internal structure of the political system, which guarantees that the integration of private interests of capitalist valuation is carried out as political (class) domination. For him, it is necessary to show "that the system of political institutions has its own, specifically class-based selectivity, corresponding to the interests of the valuation process";²⁷ this indicates the need for a theory that points out the nature of class present in the very structure of the State.

We have arrived at the point in which we ask the question about the meaning of these observations for the objectives of this chapter. Our concern orbited around an essential question, derived from the hypothesis that the

capitalist urbanization process is violent; namely: *is violence immanent or contingent to this process?* If it were carried out in another way, based on distinct political orientations, would the urbanization process abdicate this "characteristic"? The considerations about socio-spatial segregation, peripheralization, slumming etc., present on the agenda of an immense number of urban studies, attest to the range of perverse effects of the urbanization process, especially on the social level. However, we consider that, under the analytical perspective, these perverse effects always appear to be potentially possible to be solved by policy, by the State, from an elitist, patrimonial and *coronelismo* 'mentality', historically founded on institutional structures whether substituted by another, pluralist, democratic one that is aware of popular needs. To recognize the theoretical validity of this argument implies, from our point of view, admitting that a pacification of the *capitalist* urbanization process could be accomplished based on distinct political angles, based on an institutional shield that reduces the possibilities of the State being maintained by a dominant class or even based on another way of conceiving of planning. The consequence of this recognition is understanding that the capitalist urbanization process is violent only under certain political circumstances, obviously with the possibility of not being so in others.

Initially a condition and product of industrialization, the *urbanization* process in the 20th century assumed another meaning for capital reproduction, as pointed out by Henri Lefebvre in a series of papers about urban issues. Phenomenally, this meaning can be evidenced in cities by the centrality of the real estate sector in the capitalist production of urban space and by its corresponding consequences: notably, substantial growth in the processes of speculation and real estate valuation. We know that the State was also responsible for the process of urban space production, sometimes as an essential means for the realization of capital, based on infrastructure construction, for example; Other times, as they claim, it was a necessary means of redistribution of global added value in the heart of this process (social policies of housing is a significant example). The reflection developed by Claus Offe ²⁸ helps us relativize this 'servile' nature of the State and prompts us to also consider the fact that the urbanization process carried out by the State is one of

the factors that *objectively* enables the manifestation and reproduction of its (political) *power*. This reflection allows us also to more clearly locate the outline of the capitalist State, based on the connections that link it necessarily to the economy, but fundamentally to capital (as a social relation). The interpretation that follows assumes, therefore, that we consider the State in this and through this relation.

For Henri Lefebvre, understanding contemporary society means understanding that the reproduction of social relations of production - the foundation of the social reproduction of capital - is not restricted merely 'to moments of manufacturing'. In other words, the production and reproduction of production relations would no longer be carried out only based on productive forces. The world, as it was observed over the course of the 20th century, suggests to the author the emergence of new social relations, as well as the continuity of essential relations of domination, exploitation and humiliation, reproduced extensively in all moments of social life: work, private life, leisure. The issue would be to understand in what way this movement, as well as this expansion would be carried out. In Lefebvre, one of the key elements of the unveiling of this process would be to know the role of the State and the institutions in the *political production of society*.

Similarly to Offe, though on a completely different path, Henri Lefebvre parts from the foundation, which is essential to us, that there is a necessary agreement, a structural (structuring) condition between the economic, political and social. To achieve this understanding, Lefebvre examines that which was previously mentioned as a fundamental link of the understanding of the capitalist society: the *relations of exchange*. Sposito²⁹ claims that, instead of being limited to the investigation of the productive processes, Henri Lefebvre aimed to advance the reflection of exchange and market, in our understanding, not only to understand the economic foundation of the State, but to understand its own social foundation. The analysis of the exchange gains centrality. For the author, it is not a simple swapping of objects. Its apparent simplicity hides a complexity unique to the fetish of our society, in which the social relation between the individuals are masked as relations between objects. This fetishist nature of the social relation is not, however, a mere characteristic of the

capitalist exchange of commodities, but its immanent meaning. It is what enables the processes of *abstraction* and *quantification* to be implemented as a form of awareness, enabling commercial exchange to be defined as the par excellence *form* of the social relations in capitalism.

This kind of "movement of the social relation between the subjects to outside of awareness, eliminating the previous moment of production"³⁰ is one of the fundamental moments of the execution of exchange and is added to, according to Lefebvre (recalling Marx), at least, two other moments: in the first place, the establishment of an agreement between the (exchanged and exchangeable) parts which enables the exchange itself. The equalization of the unequal parts through the formalization of a contract enables the regulation of terms and the acceptance of the exchange. In the second place, the production of a constraint that is intrinsic to the exchange, since "it implements the equality of the unequal terms and implies their acceptance".³¹

Marília Sposito, as well as Kosminky and Andrade,³² in very enlightening passages about this reasoning developed by Lefebvre, highlight this third moment of equalizing inequality:

[...] the equalization of the unequal, which is achieved by an act of constraint, brings power and violence as inherent to the act of exchange, to its confrontational dimension. In other words, **power is the political production of social ties** and, in addition to violence, would not be extra-economical or extra-material, but they would be assumed in the founding ties of the social exchange, publicized by commodities.³³

Exchange is the equalization of the unequal, equivalence of the non-equivalent, identification of the non-identical. As such, it assumes conflict and imposes coercion, authority, logic and morality. The inherent nature of coercion, authority, logic and morality in exchange consists more precisely in the forced equalization of the unequal, in the forced identity of the non-identical and in the forced equivalence of the non-equivalent. "This generalized identification would have no place if the material exchanges were not joined by force, current or virtual". Therefore, **violence is inherent in the economic, as it is inherent in the political**; violence *cannot be seen as extra-economical*.³⁴

It is completely clear that this reasoning is fundamental for us, but it is still insufficient in the construction of *our* reasoning, since the issue is to understand in what way this violence, which is inherent to exchange and, in turn, inherent to the economic and political, enables an understanding of violence, which is inherent to the urbanization process. We will return to this, but it is important to begin to tie together the links that connect these terms, with exchange being one of the most important.

Exchange, as presented by Marx and reflected upon by Lefebvre, assumes a formula of equality which, in order to be constituted, necessarily needs a legal system to turn it into a reality. This formula is not given a priori; it can only be constituted artificially by the force conceded exclusively to power. This is how the State - as a *form* of power and politics - formalizes this legal system in which the figure of the contract enables the formal equalization of the non-equivalent. The State emerges, for this very reason, as a necessary mean for instituting exchange, as the means of including units of value in relations of exchange, by establishing an equality between the parts which they naturally do not have and without which the exchange is not possible. In reality, the State enables the establishment of the paradox in which the legal contract (which equalizes the inequalities) is the pacific form of the emergence of violence.

The relations of exchange, as we have seen, are the foundation of the capitalist society. For the State, it is necessary to understand that it is structurally worth guaranteeing the reproduction of the production relations of a society whose social interactions necessarily undergo exchange. The indispensability of the generalization of the relations of exchange, especially as a form of awareness is therefore assumed, together with the mediation of the State, in this process. The result of this intensive mediation can be observed in the fact that, as pointed out by Lefebvre, in the bourgeois democracy, all relations of equivalence tend to transform into *contractual relations* and *institutional relations*. The process that metamorphoses the relations of equality into contractual and institutional relations can only result, in reality and virtually, in a universalization of violence as the form and content of the social relations of capitalism, hidden under the veil of peacefulness, which shrouds the figure of the contract.

Lefebvre saw in this generalization of contractual and institutional relations a very important, and not very clear, moment, for understanding capitalist social reproduction. To penetrate these relations, he resumed the analysis of the institutions of the State. In fact, as David Harvey pondered,³⁵ the State cannot be reduced to the integrated set of its specific institutions; thinking about it this way means involving it in a risky fetishization. As Marília Sposito adds, based on Lefebvre, "the State institutes policy as a higher activity, involving the set of institutions, conducts and representations, but is not defined by any one of them. Being the form of politics, the State acts as the center of institutionalization and decisions (...)".³⁶ Though they do not define the State, the institutions open analytical possibilities to reveal a significant process, in which the State acts decisively: the process of institutionalizing society as a "moment of founding social ties, the forced equivalence of the exchange relation in societies where the market and commodities are generalized in their abstractions and fetishes".³⁷

What is interesting to deduce is the fact that the role of the State is not reduced to ensuring growth and the process of capital accumulation, strictly speaking; though this is the logical consequence of its performance. The extension and generalization of the commodity form, as well as the universalization of the relations of exchange is what allows for the formation of a social foundation for capital as well as the State; it is what simultaneously enables and justifies the process of capital accumulation and the exercise of State political power - which Lefebvre came to consider a process of *political accumulation*. Therefore, "state activities should guarantee and execute equivalences, approximating them to pure and simple identification; it executes them in all directions, penetrating all spheres of social relations, even the most trivial and routine ones".³⁸

This last sentence highlighted by Sposito reveals one of the considerations we regard as most important. For Lefebvre, the generalization of the relations of equality is not carried out only by capital, but also and essentially by the State. However, it cannot be understood as a result of an imposition coming from above and outside of the State over society. It would be necessary to identify that this generalization is carried out by means of a

process in which the State produces, penetrates and spans (at least tends to) all social relations. But, in what way can this spanning be possible? Lefebvre considers the possibility that the penetration of the State and its logic in the heart of social life - substantiating the logic of exchange, equality, abstraction, quantification, homogenization - would be carried out based on a process of *institutionalizing* society. What does this mean? This means the real and potential transformation of all social needs into institutions of the State: "*whether it is about justice, teaching, health, social welfare, urbanism, transportation, every institution that is born corresponds to a politically interpreted social need*".³⁹ Each one of these "politically interpreted social needs" in the form of an institution, conducted according to the manner and logic of the State, enables its horizontal spanning through levels and moments of social life. This opens the real path towards the universal materialization of abstractions, as well as the path towards the consolidation of the strategy that critically ensures the structure of State reproduction and capital reproduction, which is, the creation of conditions for realizing and perpetuating the relations of exchange.

According to Lefebvre, this is the process that enables us to focus on the passage from the production and reproduction of production relations based on productive forces towards a process of the political production of society - a moment in which the reproduction of production relations fundamental to capitalist society is potentially materialized in all scopes of life, permeating everyday life, with the active participation of the State. The so-called "political production of society", possible due to the intervention of an institutionalization process, which has been generalized, thus meaning, in essence, the social extension of *relations of equality* (as well as the processes of quantification, homogenization, abstraction), whose foundation is based on *coercion* and *violence*, both legitimized by Law as resources available only to the power of the State.

We believe that understanding urbanism in its intertwining with the capitalist process of urban space production and more, with the reproduction of the social relations of production, moves through an understanding of the considerations issued, which includes the processes denominated by Lefebvre as the "institutionalization of society" and "political production of society". The

critical observation of reality encourages us to consider urbanism as one more of the many other social needs, whose political interpretation and appropriation enabled their radical institutionalization. Therefore, from now on, we will consider urbanism based on the premise that, in modern society, it assumes the figure of the institution - an expression of "equality of law, morality, legal ground, abstract equality",⁴⁰ which Lefebvre called the "institutional" level. This way, this premise is composed as the essential means for constructing (and for understanding) the criticism of urbanism (or, if we prefer, urban planning).

Lefebvre claims that production relations could only be very precariously and indirectly comprehended, since exploitation (in the scope of work) was perceived as an *injustice*. Faced with this (false) parameter, it appears, contrary to the State, to be a generator of justice and equality. The practical result of this understanding was the obscuring of the role of the State in producing and reproducing capitalist production relations. A more frequent critique of the State, as we have said, is directed at the political obstacles which prevent or make it difficult to implement justice or equality (and even freedom). However, behind this critique is still the expectation that the (capitalist) State is the par excellence means for achieving social justice, just as state urbanism is the path for implementing socio-spatial justice. It just so happens that state urbanism, given its own foundations, could not arrive at such a pretense.

The contradictions put forth by the capitalist urbanization process appear symptomatically as chaos, disorder and incoherence, justifying the insistent claim of order and coherence as necessary to overcome these contradictions. The industrial practice appeared to be, historically and logically, a carrier of at least two characteristics, which would explain, in part, its "success": coherence and effectiveness. According to Lefebvre, urbanism - called upon to solve or ease the contradictory socio-spatial effects of the capitalist urbanization process - intended to follow the "efficient" reasoning that characterized the industrial practice, adopting the paradigms of programming and planning as standards unique to it. For the author, institutionalized *urbanism* ended up prolonging industrial reasoning to urban reality, translating and reducing the problems of this reality to the level of technical and financial issues, even when it appeared to be concerned with so-called social issues. It could only acquire such a

decisive role because the State, the only one to which the Law can concede power, extended to it the temporary authority to interfere politically in urban space production. The essential question, however, is that this political meaning was supplanted and neutralized by ideologies from technology and science, which urbanism began to speak in their name.

The abbreviation of urban problems to a scale of technical-scientific issues suggested that the corresponding solutions would necessarily undergo this path. However, how shall we operate faced with and over a space that is a social product, admitting the (social) complexities and needs that escape the kingdom of formal logic, the empire of reason, the determinations of numbers and quantity which give it its foundation? This experience did not take long to demonstrate that one such ("technical") operation would only be possible based on a reduction: reducing social space to an empty, level, speculative, geometrical, medium, subject to an ordering action.

Plans and projects of action on an urban scale demonstrate that one of the practices of urbanism (including the state kind) was precisely to preside over (urban) space based on its perspective as continent, fulfilled by a component (people and objects), or as a pure-form, at times to be evacuated, at times to be occupied, depending on the context or situation of interest. Conceived as material, objective, neutral and perceived as fulfilled by a "chaotic component", urban space was subject to reason, science and technology, with the expectation that an urban order could be established, enabling the emergence of new social relations or, in a less ambitious way, the satisfactory solution of one-off problems that interfere with the coherence of it all. Apparently neutral (a condition acquired due to the illusion of neutrality of technology and science), urban planning could be presented with an air of being a logic of space. The analysis proposed by Henri Lefebvre, however, points out other components for planning.

The technical-administrative sectors of the bureaucracies connected to state urbanism - composed of engineers, architects, urbanists, economists, consultants, politicians, etc. - were given the challenge of thinking about and acting on this apparently free sector available for action: urban space. Completely free for the action and intention of this technocracy? Certainly not.

Contracted to study and find technical-scientific solutions to urban problems, these professionals, according to Lefebvre:

only have limited decision power; in fact, engineers who have become administrators execute orders, the orders of political authorities who have "strategic variables". The power imposes the decisive choices on the technocrats. They propose solutions for officially recognized and formulated problems and the state power chooses among them.⁴¹

With this sentence, the author helps us discover, at least, one of the many illusions associated to state urbanism. Operating in a set of disciplinary and fragmentary knowledge for elaborating diagnostics and technical reports about the viability of action on the level of the city, this technical-administrative sector of bureaucracy involved in the planning is very far from representing objectivity, neutrality or the certainties of science, or the good individual intentions of professionals or even the demands from real social needs. This sector obeys only one demand and order - to use the terms by Lefebvre - that which comes from the State, the most general and abstract level of power, a level in which strategies (which are political and economic) are formulated according to a unique reasoning. What this sector can, at most, represent are the demands of the political and, simultaneously, the economic.

Urban problems are put into planning action (or intention) because they were defined and legitimized, not technically, but politically and institutionally as *problems*. Among them, we can say that at least two were established as the most important for the act of planning: the issue of urban infrastructure (especially those of traffic circulation) and the issue of housing (or residency).⁴² We can reflect more vertically on these two problems, but here we will consider only the issue of housing, since it reconnects us to the central objectives of our concern.

In order to solve (or at least ease) the problems of housing, the technical-specialized-administrative sector, connected to the scope of urban planning produced everywhere a profound reduction: it transformed quality (that of housing) into a quantity and a function - that of a habitat, even when it did not know what it did. Presented as an administrative, technical and budgetary

problem, the issue of housing has been presented in a generalized way as "the project of providing housing as quickly as possible for the lowest possible cost".⁴³ Ignoring the social practice and the most qualitative meaning of what living or inhabiting would be, due to a justified urgency, the plans and projects directed at the issue of housing have been aimed at producing simplified, functional and homogeneous spaces. The most directly perceptible consequence was the reduction and the functionalization of private life to "some elementary acts: eating, sleeping, and reproducing".⁴⁴

What took shape, based on the plans and projects conceived, was, according to Lefebvre, the concept of *habitat*. He thus summarized: "The habitat was established from above: applying a homogeneous and quantitative global space obligating 'life' to be closed in boxes, cages, or 'housing machines'".⁴⁵ This process and this production - the habitat - were valid for the analysis Lefebvre presented on France, just as they are valid for what has been observed in Brazil in terms of social housing production. The production of housing projects and similar constructions - which disseminated like a formula for operationalizing housing issues - could empirically reveal "the concept of housing leading to its pure form through state bureaucracy".⁴⁶

Making the issue a little more complex, Lefebvre demonstrated that the production of habitat is not carried out only as the production of functionalized spaces, *inhabitable volumes*; the production of these spaces also meant the simultaneous production of an everyday, repetitive, scheduled time, which extends beyond the housing space, covering the vicinity, "(intermediate space, paths, facilities, 'surroundings')".⁴⁷ Under the cover of effectiveness, urban planning meant, therefore, an activity which scheduled and reduced social practice to elementary functions; the issue of habitat merely revealed this in a clearer way. Therefore, the production of housing represented more than the production of an inhabitable volume. It represented the production of an everyday life as well as the reproduction of production relations and the production of new social relations.

An element to be considered consists of the fact that the production of abstract, homogeneous and functional spaces⁴⁸ only residually enabled the fast and practical solution of an urban problem. Collaterally, however, we can say

that this production enabled the insertion of these spaces, produced as units of value, into the relations of exchange. Let us have a closer look at this process.

The political definition of the issue of housing as an *urban issue* is not a merely casual, random decision. If we previously saw that the State has the essential function of formalizing a legal system which enables the effectiveness of the relations of exchange, we would have to consider that it is also worth practically guaranteeing the placement of units of value, including the work force, in these relations. In the course of the critical development of capitalism, we observe that the salary could not be constituted effectively as the category that guarantees the satisfaction of the basic needs that reproduce the worker as the (real or potential) work force. Faced with this process, the State works systematically on the (critical) treatment of the basic needs that cannot be completely satisfied by the market and which, however, are fundamental to the reproduction of the work force. Here we are taking into consideration the reflection previously developed with the help of arguments by Claus Offe and Volker Ronge⁴⁹ that the State works on creating conditions such that every "citizen" is included in the relations of exchange, since the very structure of the State has become problematic if units of value cannot be included in these relations, which necessarily depend on the production and consumption of commodities. Therefore the valuation process and accumulation of capital are also points of reference for the reproduction of the State.

The definition of the issue of housing as a problem to be contemplated by state urbanism is not, therefore, unrelated to these problems. It becomes their responsibility, at least partially, to address some of the basic social needs, fundamental for reproducing the work force, among which housing is one of the most important. It just so happens that the notion of *social need* in capitalism needs to be considered according to a crucial inversion pointed out by Marx: since the purpose of the capitalist society is to realize the valuation of value, work - and therefore, the worker - it exists for capital valuation, instead of material wealth existing to satisfy the broad needs of individual development. According to this reasoning, it is perfectly reasonable that the historically constituted social needs are reduced "to the most necessary and miserable subsistence of physical life".⁵⁰ This is in addition to the fact that, *from the point*

of view of *capital*, social needs are reduced to their economic aspect, resulting in every object of need being translated into capitalism in the form of commodities. In this sense, we can consider that every social need, in capitalism, tends to realize, above all, an exchange value.

Since social needs in capitalism were transformed into needs of an object, each politically interpreted social need is offered an object as a commodity form. Urbanism institutionalized by the State could not escape this premise. Faced with recognizing the social need for housing, state urbanism produced extremely simplified use values as means for realizing exchange value. With this, it removed use from its meaning. This is how (qualitative) *living* disappears from the meaning of the production of urban space itself. In its place, the *habitat* was produced, a precarious existence as the norm, given that social needs were reduced to the minimum for survival.

What did habitat mean in its more profound form? In the first place, it meant, in an apparently simple way, the production of exchange values, the extension of the world of commodities. In this process, the inhabitant was "reduced not only to merely functioning as an inhabitant (habitat as function), but to being a buyer of space, one who realizes surplus value".⁵¹ In reality, habitat is a means by which the inhabitant can be (or be forced to) located dually in relations of exchange: as a (potential) seller of commodities of the work force - since housing is one of the essential conditions for reproducing the life of the worker - and, simultaneously, as a buyer of commodities (house, space). The production of the surrounding areas, that which surrounds and accompanies the functionalized spaces of housing, only broaden in scale the reproduction of the relations of exchange.

The most appropriate conclusion to be derived can be summarized in the following way: the urban planning for which a model was made to address the urban social needs encoded as needs for a corresponding object (commodity) produced use values as a means, embodied, for the realization of exchange value. Obviously, for the inhabitant, metamorphosed into a "space consumer", the commodity is realized by its use value, one of the motives for which planning can appear to be an activity generating satisfactions; which is just a 'fetish of satisfaction'.⁵²

However, what is obscured is the fact that urban planning is not an activity that strictly produces materiality (housing, urban facilities, the city itself), to be at the disposal of inhabitants for their use; this understanding would be limited. Urban planning (state urbanism) needs to be understood, as we have claimed, as an institution: this activity is responsible for the production of a materiality by means of which profound abstractions are materialized: that of value, that of the State. The production of materiality, the habitat, as well as its surroundings is the production of an everyday life, whose meaning, as dissected by Henri Lefebvre, is the expression of scheduling (for consumption), a repetition of acts; it is everyday life that is carried out through norms, prohibitions, coercions and constraints imposed by the logic of change. It would be reductive to think that it is the responsibility of planning, as a practical orientation, to produce the city as a use value. There is always an exchange value linked to it and, in fact, in capitalism, it is the only reason that the use value exists. Therefore, what urban planning enables is the possibility that reproducing the relations of production - the relations of exchange - is carried out, but no longer only based on spheres restricted to commodity production.

What awakens a more specific interest here is the fact that, in reality, in its most profound meaning, urban planning is a fundamental instrument for extending and generalizing the relations of exchange, to reproduce the social relations founded on exchange. *What is at the heart of this issue is the fact that, by enabling the extension and generalization of the relations of exchange, violence and coercion are generalized as the foundations of social relations.* This is because the exchange structurally assumes a violent and coercive nature, since assembling the chains of equalities can only be carried out by force, omitted in the pacific representation of the contract.

As we have pointed out before, there is only exchange (that is, there is only an exchange relation) because all the inequalities, differences, non-equalities were forcibly - through power - equated. Only violence, says Lefebvre, "enables a division between these two moments of the act of the exchange [use value and exchange value] and the predominance of the exchange value. 'The annihilation of the unequal, different, content, that is, the equalization of the unequal, equivalence of the non-equivalent: this is the *law of*

the form and its fundamental force, it is the foundation of the power in general and in particular of political power".⁵³

This meaning - that in which violence is developed in and through the capitalist urbanization process, and a foundation for the reproduction of the relations of exchange - cannot be neglected. Obviously, if an adherence between the notions of violence and criminality is established, any expectation of thinking about violence as a foundation of the urbanization process can be highly frustrating. But, though it cannot be constituted on its own as a process of defetishization and disalienation, the recognition of violence in relations of exchange (contractual relations) and, consequently, in institutional relations, realizes the power of the meaning of social critique.

State urbanism, as an important institution in the reproduction of the social relations of production, touching on all moments of life, reaching the level of everyday life, operates, in its most intimate meaning, *in the extension and generalization of violence, since it is a category inherent in the relations of exchange (also contractual relations) which it helps to reproduce and expand*. This is the pertinence of the investigation. Contrary to the idea that it would produce technical and scientific answers to urban problems, that it would act according to a logic of space, we point out the fact that planning produces a *political* (which is also economic) and *instrumental* space, based on a policy of space. With this, we corroborate the argument developed by Lefebvre which appears to point out the meaning of our reflection:

Some say that capitalism is maintained uniquely by ideological pressure, which some call ideological devices of the State. Others say that the new relations of production are initiated through policies and constituted by political means. None of these reasons appear to be sufficient, and I ask that we reflect on it. From my perspective, social relations in capitalism, that is, the relations of exploitation and domination, are maintained through and in the whole space through and in *instrumental space*.⁵⁴

However, as long as it is submitted to the masks of justice and inequality, which still accompany the representation of the capitalist State, *state urbanism* can only be realized by hiding and obscuring what is really produced: a space of



"filtered and coded needs".⁵⁵ According to Offe,⁵⁶ one of the structural problems of the capitalist State consists of the fact that it needs, simultaneously, "to practice its class-based nature and make invisible". Its nature as an instrument of *one* class? No, its role in the reproduction of a society of classes (despite the currently hidden meaning), whose social relations are realized through relations of equality.

Urban planning, as an institution of the capitalist State, has an important function in resolving this structural problem: it works by realizing and obscuring the reproduction of the relations of production by means of urban space production. According to Lefebvre, urbanism, in reality, obscures a series of strategies, masks a situation, covering up an operation; "it implies the interventions of power more than that of knowledge".⁵⁷ This urbanism, taking the criticism to its ultimate consequences, enables the power of the State to be accomplished by means of producing space that is simultaneously political and instrumental. Therefore, urbanism dominates (or at least intends to dominate) and submits to its order - that of the State - the urbanization process and urban practice.⁵⁸ What is the power of this order, what are its results? Without exaggerating, we can say that it results in the production of a "*repressive space*",⁵⁹ where all the constraints of the changeability assumed in relations of exchange are expressed. It is where social practice is realized based on determinations which, instead of freeing, imprison: determinations that are of a quantitative, repetitive, homogeneous, abstract nature. Is it possible to demand another social practice? Certainly, but not based on a simultaneous claim of the State and its institutions - among them urban planning, for all the reasons previously discussed at length.

¹ In our master's research project, the reflection on a violence constitutive and intrinsic to the capitalist urbanization process was developed from 3 "angles" or "points of entry". The first of them refers to revealing the institutional movement of capitalist private ownership - the foundation of the urbanization process - carrying out one of the meanings of its violence. To this end, we investigate a spatial fragment of the São Paulo metropolis: the fragment that comprises the Real Parque neighborhood, the Real Parque and Jardim Panorama slums and the Parque Cidade Jardim Enterprise, all located administratively in the district of Morumbi, in the western region of the Paulista capital. The second "point of entry" refers to the role of the State in the capitalist urbanization process (a reflection developed in this chapter) and, finally, the third point is related to the reflection on how some (apparently abstract) constraints imposed by and in the urbanization process materialize, on the level of everyday life, violently.

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- ² 2004.
- ³ Villaça, 2004: 183.
- ⁴ Adorno, 1995: 56.
- ⁵ Lefebvre, 1999: 137.
- ⁶ Weber, 1982 [1919]
- ⁷ Idem, p. 98.
- ⁸ Ibidem.
- ⁹ Raquel Rolnik (1994), Ermínia Maricato (2002), Flávio Villaça (2004), João Sette Ferreira (2010) and Mariana Fix (2004).
- ¹⁰ Offe, 1984: 142.
- ¹¹ Ibidem.
- ¹² The expression "dominated class" is utilized as a resource for the opposition adapted to the previously mentioned term "dominant class".
- ¹³ 1984.
- ¹⁴ Offe, 1984: 143
- ¹⁵ Offe and Ronge, 1984: 123.
- ¹⁶ Offe and Ronge, 1984: 123.
- ¹⁷ Idem, ibidem
- ¹⁸ Idem, p. 124.
- ¹⁹ Idem, p. 125.
- ²⁰ Idem, ibidem
- ²¹ Idem, ibidem
- ²² Which includes workers, given the fictionalization of the work force as merchandise.
- ²³ Offe and Ronge, 1984: 126, our emphasis.
- ²⁴ Kosminky and Andrade, 1996: 56.
- ²⁵ Offe and Ronge, 1984: 128.
- ²⁶ Idem, p. 129.
- ²⁷ Idem, p. 147.
- ²⁸ 1984.
- ²⁹ 1996.
- ³⁰ Sposito, 1996: 43.
- ³¹ Idem, ibidem
- ³² 1996.
- ³³ Sposito, 1996: 43, our emphasis.
- ³⁴ Kosminsky and Andrade, 1996: 57, our emphasis.
- ³⁵ 2005.
- ³⁶ Sposito, 1996: 45.
- ³⁷ Idem, p. 46.
- ³⁸ Idem, p. 45.
- ³⁹ Kosminsky and Andrade, 1996: 58.
- ⁴⁰ Sposito, 1996: 46.
- ⁴¹ Lefebvre, 1969: 15.
- ⁴² Lefebvre has previously emphasized a process of reducing the urban area to issues relative to housing and facilities, which signaled, to him, a narrow-mindedness of political life.
- ⁴³ Lefebvre, 2006: 19.
- ⁴⁴ Lefebvre, 1999: 79.
- ⁴⁵ Idem, ibidem
- ⁴⁶ Lefebvre, 2006: 19.
- ⁴⁷ Lefebvre, 2008: 128.
- ⁴⁸ The form represented by housing projects can be interpreted as their most symptomatic manifestation.
- ⁴⁹ 1984.
- ⁵⁰ Marx, 2004. 141.
- ⁵¹ Lefebvre, 2008: 141.
- ⁵² Lefebvre, 1999.
- ⁵³ Lefebvre, 1977 *apud* Nasser and Fumagalli, 1996: 33, our emphasis.
- ⁵⁴ Lefebvre, 2008: 156.
- ⁵⁵ Lefebvre, 2008: 144.
- ⁵⁶ 1984: 163.

⁵⁷ Lefebvre, 1999: 145.
⁵⁸ LEFEBVRE, 1999.
⁵⁹ Ibidem.

Spaces of deindustrialization in the contemporary urbanization of the metropolis

Rafael Faleiros de Padua

Understanding the dynamic of reproduction in the metropolis¹ today presents us with the need to investigate the transformation of spaces, at a time in which the metropolis is undergoing a process of productive restructuring, with an industrial deconcentration related to a centralization of services connected to management and finance.² Deindustrialization in São Paulo from this perspective is evident in determined regions of the metropolis, and not in the metropolis as a whole.³ The regions undergoing deindustrialization, with the availability of land that can be incorporated into the real estate market, are integrated in the productive process and forged as new economic frontiers in the urban area. Urbanization emerges as an important venture for mechanisms of capital accumulation, and in this sense, spaces of deindustrialization are revealed as new regions to be managed by hegemonic agents of space production,⁴ in a growing context of globalization. There is ample proof of the restructuring of deteriorated spaces in large industrialized cities of the world, given the centrality of these areas and the space that they occupy in the urban fabric. They are industrial or port regions that, with productive restructuring, modernized transportation and logistics, in addition to crowding and traffic jams in the large cities, become obsolete and non-productive spaces in the economic sense.⁵ In this way, the integration process of run down regions from the economic point of view to the dynamics of valuation points towards the central role that space production and urbanization have today for capital reproduction as a global trend.

In the city of São Paulo, we can identify two types of spaces of deindustrialization: one that refers to regions of older industrialization,⁶ around the railroads, in the Northwest-Southeast direction of the city, where the deindustrialization process is also older, regions where, until recently, one could not see a clearer trend towards the effective revaluation of space.⁷ It is about spaces that represent the potential for reuse for a variety of activities and which now are presented as new economic frontiers in the urban landscape, with a

large expansion of the real estate market, particularly residential; the other kind of space of deindustrialization are those spaces in which effective industrialization occurred afterwards, from the 1950s on. In these spaces, places fully connected to large-scale industry were established, responsible in large part for the urbanization of these places, where today there is a considerable availability of land, with large, old, closed-down industrial warehouses and a relatively privileged location and accessibility in the current context of the metropolis, since they are near the Marginal do Rio Pinheiros Avenue.

The difference in the process of space production between the regions of older industrialization and the regions of more recent industrialization, where deindustrialization intensified from the 1990s on, is that in the latter, the dynamic real estate sector incorporated large plots of land previously used for industry extremely quickly in comparison to the relatively short time (approximately 30 years) during which the industry was there.⁸ This dynamism was aided by the fact that parts of these regions are strategically located in the scope of the already established focal points of valuation, as is the case of the northern portion of the Santo Amaro district, which is considered the southern point of the hub of valuation in the southwestern point of the metropolis. This accelerated incorporation of land today has also begun to incorporate the land available in the old industrialization regions, which also have lands that are unoccupied by the industry for real estate incorporation.⁹

In this chapter, we aim to raise some issues regarding the changes produced by the expansion of the real estate sector over spaces of deindustrialization, which have emerged as privileged regions for the business of urban space reproduction, given their location and the availability of large plots of land previously used for industry. The scarcity of land in São Paulo has made the real estate sector expand to where there is available land, creating, in the regions where possible, new focal points of valuation, new frontiers of urbanization as business. The analysis of this process leads us to the awareness of a new process of change, persistence and ruptures that point towards the configuration of new ways of seeing the city and the metropolis, new forms of social interaction, presenting conflicts between different types

(and times) of social interactions present in the same place. It is about the production of new places in the metropolis, with new contents, not only about a change in their landscape, with verticalization, but a change in the concrete contents in these places, with new languages and new ways of living in the metropolis.

The scarcity of land for real estate production in São Paulo results in a new phenomenon, the expansion of the real estate sector in less valued regions within the city of São Paulo as well as in other municipalities of the metropolitan area and even beyond it (especially Jundiaí and Santos). In many cases, this movement profoundly alters daily life in established locations of the metropolis. This is the case of the spaces of deindustrialization which have been taken over by this process. Places where industrial activities had predominated, but which had and still have a traditional residential population, have begun to receive large residential condominiums, converted into objects for the accelerated expansion of the real estate sector. Traditional neighborhoods, with small houses, small duplexes, neighbors of old industries, many of them closed down, are taken over by a broad and fast process of change. Now, on the streets, there is an intense flow of cars, buses, school vans, product delivery vans and construction trucks. Small houses, now surrounded by large condominiums, become elegant commercial establishments, aimed at consumption for a new residential population of the new condominiums.

The movement of the landscape and the transformation of places

São Paulo emerges today as a metropolis that has been increasingly establishing itself in global networks and flows, gaining the characteristics of a global city, transforming itself in this process of being placed in the general mechanisms of the global economy, making its old industrial regions emerge as new focal points of real estate incorporation. In our attempt to contemplate a geography of places in the metropolis, based on what we call "spaces of deindustrialization", at first, an observation of the landscape reveals places in full transformation, especially with the accelerated construction of large

residential condominiums. The club condominiums consequently bring along new commerce aimed at a new consumer public that has begun to live there.

We observe a passing moment in these places, with a large amount of buildings ready or under construction, large condominiums, among sets of small houses, many of them transformed into businesses. In this landscape, the new and old coexist, with small houses, small bars, old unoccupied industrial warehouses, coexisting now with new residential enterprises that are ready or under construction. This reveals an accelerated movement in the landscape of these places, when new elements begin to take the place of those elements from industrial times. In these transformations of spatial forms, daily activities transform as well, with new contents substituting old contents produced and experienced when the industry was still the main activity in these places.

This process of obvious transformation requires a reflection on the practices of the traditional residents in these places, who are increasingly being driven out, revealing the contents of the new placement of these spaces in the reproductive movement of the metropolis. The regions which today emerge as spaces of deindustrialization, whether those in which industrialization took place from the end of the 19TH century and the beginning of the 20TH century (Água Branca, Barra Funda, Brás, Mooca, Belenzinho), or those which began to be industrialized from the 1950s on (Vila Leopoldina, Santo Amaro), underwent an urbanization process that was extremely connected to the industrial process that took place there. In this industrialization/urbanization process of industrial peripheral areas, the process of establishing the industry and with it the production of working class neighborhoods makes it such that these regions are incorporated in the urban fabric of the metropolis. Today, in the movement of productive restructuring, they have become regions with a stock of land for real estate incorporation, in the face of the scarcity of land in the more valued regions of the metropolis.

While industrial spaces also revealed themselves as places of reproducing a working class involved by the needs to reproduce the industry, with its own rhythm, in a repetitive, reproductive process. These places emerge not only as fragmentations of space and time due to the needs of industry, but also as appropriations, places to reproduce life in the metropolis, with their

qualitative space-times, due to the concentration of people, in bars, restaurants, at the train station; in other words, social life takes place in connection to places. The life of the middle class, or lower middle class, had its spaces of social interaction and its neighborhood and friendship relationships with other people in this place, sharing the reality of a daily life dominated by industrial production. This place emerged with a certain unity, taking shape beyond the private space of the house. Currently, the strategies of the hegemonic agents of space production take places as if they were empty spaces to be molded for valuation. In this capitalist space production, there is a need for accelerated transformation in large regions of the metropolis for an effective valuation of space. What is specific at this time is the magnitude of the process of transformation of places, the size of the regions and the speed with which the strategies take place. Space production has become accelerated, new trends have been produced and new regions are being incorporated quickly to the strategies of space production.

In this movement of incorporating new regions to the strategies of space production, the State has a fundamental role in producing the conditions necessary for expanding the economic frontiers of the urban area. Urban operations are presented as key instruments for the development of new focal points of valuation in the metropolis. The urban operation is an urban instrument of exception to the zoning law, allowing construction over the coefficient established by law, within its perimeter, through payment to public authorities by private entrepreneurs. The amount accrued in this process must be reinvested in building infrastructure on the borders of the perimeter of the urban operation. In other words, the State expedites the valuation process, producing new possibilities for reproduction in the real estate sector. The urban operations in the city of São Paulo (in vigor, under study or proposals) incorporate spaces of deindustrialization into their mechanisms, indicating these regions as priorities for the processes of “urban renewal”. Increasingly larger areas of the metropolis are taken over as perimeters of this urban instrument.

In the urban operations, the spaces of deindustrialization emerge as regions to be returned to the city, renewed, revitalized, with new connections between public authorities and the private sector, as if the economic growth of

these places automatically produced social development. The central issue is that in these processes of renewing spaces, the old residential population of these places becomes part of the "deterioration". As such, the hegemonic strategies promote a razing of the social life there, revealing the increased fragmentation of space and the daily life in it, imposing segregation as the central component of contemporary urbanization in the metropolis.

Segregation as a component of contemporary urbanization

It is clear that the strategies and actions by public authorities in connection with the interests of the private sectors increasingly transform space into productive spaces in the economic sense, increasing fragmentation and segregation. With these strategies being practiced, producing another space, with different contents from those that had been previously established, there is a razing of the already established social life, breaking up the social relationships created in the predominantly industrial period or even prior to this period. Due to trends of valuation, part of the old population has left this place, being segregated from their own residence in the city.

Above all, in the projects of large residential condominiums, the attempt to promote a "new way of living" in the metropolis is striking. The condominiums have become thematic, dedicated to leisure, or sustainability and being green, or sports and physical activities, with innumerable specialized internal spaces, from those dedicated exclusively to small children to contemplative green areas and *spas* with a whirlpool. They are condominiums built on large plots of land, from 17,000, 20,000, 70,000 m², with more than one tower and an infinity of services and facilities inside. The discourse of safety is an important issue for the realization of these condominiums, which plays on the issue of urban violence today in these projects, which are completely closed off from the city. Allied to the facilities present within the condominium itself, a wide range of services from laundry, personal training, a pet shop, driver, movie rentals etc., are offered to the resident, to be consumed. In other words, a life is proposed in which one needs to leave the condominium as little as possible, since it satisfies

a large part of the daily needs of residents, logically with an additional cost for these services. From the point of view of new facilities of entertainment, concert halls, event halls, or even new office buildings, it is also closed off to the city, since they are all spaces whose use is mediated by payment and to which one arrives and leaves by car. It is worth pointing out that when one observes the advancement of the economic frontier, with the establishment of new facilities in the regions of the city in which industry previously predominated, in which the residents who are neighbors to them do not participate in any way in their operation. The neighbors of the concert halls do not go to the shows, since the activities are aimed at another level of consumption, just as they do not use the services that are being established to attend to the public in the new condominiums. At the same time in which they advance these new facilities and condominiums, the volume of car traffic in the area increases, since the use of new entertainment and leisure facilities, as well as life itself in the new condominiums is based on getting around by car in the metropolis.

We can say that by the volume of strategies and actions in these spaces of deindustrialization, there is currently a direction of the urbanization in these places of reproduction of the metropolis. It is about a deurbanizing urbanization,¹⁰ as it contradicts the city, since the increasing fragmentation of space, with the extreme functionalization of uses, in the dissemination of spaces for private, specialized consumption, obeying strict orders of use, designed for determined functions, empties the content of the city as a meeting place, for confronting differences, qualitative and free spaces. Life is increasingly being divided into the use of spaces as specific functions at specific times, which are sold as products. Consequently, the city itself becomes a product, since it is about selling a new way of life through new enterprises, producing a daily life that is increasingly fragmented. The result of this is that the city increasingly takes on the content of merchandise, segregating the poor classes from using the social urban spaces. With this, an instrumentalization of life in the city takes place in order to carry out the interests connected to economic reproduction, contradictory to the reproduction of life.

One of the essential contents proposed by this urbanization aimed at the realization of the economic in the metropolis is the deprivation of housing, which

was already residual in the case of industrial spaces, for the placement of housing.¹¹ Housing does not carry only the sense of living in the city, but of realizing the potential of urban life. Urban life carries the possibilities of man's achievements in history, in the sense of his emancipation. At this time, housing has been instrumentalized through innumerable ideologies, such as the ideology of safety, environmental awareness, sustainability, unlimited economic growth, quality of life, revealing the city more as a set of compulsions than of living life. There is a contradiction of public places in the metropolis, proposing a city of automobiles, which contributes to this fragmented way of life and of closed-off and private places.

Space production is thus revealed as the production of new rarities, new facilities, new products, new trends, and new hegemonic ideas of how to live in the metropolis. In this material and ideological process of space production, there is a refinement of segregation. For the poor, the residents of slums, the homeless population, disadvantaged communities, segregation is experienced as a violent and arbitrary expulsion, since to implement the valuation of space, it is part of the strategies of the hegemonic agents of space production to remove the poor, through connections between private entrepreneurs and the State.

We identify segregation as also taking place for those who are old residents in these places, real estate owners, who experience this process like a deprivation of their habitual spaces of social interaction. This happens through the closing of bars, the moving of long-time neighbors, the increase in the movement of cars, the transformation of small houses into spaces of consumption for the more wealthy incoming population, places to which the old population does not have access, due to the high prices. In other words, the place becomes an exteriority for residents who have often spent their entire lives there, and who, with the transformation of the place, are undergoing a process of deprivation of their space-times of life. In this sense, a trend is developing of people becoming increasingly restricted to the space of their home, to the scope of private spaces.

The accelerated construction of large residential condominiums imposes new social interactions on these places, connected to housing and to consumption for a class with higher purchasing power. This creates new

inequalities there, highlighting segregation as a form of social interaction, one of not meeting, of avoiding differences, a life restricted to space-times among equals (those who have the same level of income). For the accelerated advancement and realization of these processes of valuation, ideologies are extremely important. This is revealed even in the ambiguity that often appears in the discourse of residents in the area, those who suffer from segregation, often reproduce the ideologies that segregate them. It is the importance of the idea of progress evidenced with the new constructions and the new spaces of consumption.¹² In the production of large residential condominiums, which are presented as the most potent products of space transformations, we identify three main, broadly disseminated discourses, which have become fundamental "values" for the realization of these enterprises: sustainability, quality of life and safety. They act as ways of masking the contradictions produced in the urban space, reversing the concrete content placed in this process of urbanization. Therefore, it is about a deurbanizing urbanization, because it contradicts the concrete contents of the urban space, denying the city as a meeting place, for the concrete exchange of differences, in the production of an abstract space aimed at commercial valuation. With this, there is a reduction of local residents as property owners and the deterioration of the area in a privileged location of the metropolis.

The social interactions imposed by this type of space production is based on the deep fragmentation of daily life, experienced in specific space/times, housing, work and free time and between these space-times moving about by car in the city, reducing the street to a place of passage, contradicting public spaces as a place for social interaction. The public space, the place par excellence of the urban experience,¹³ from this perspective is a place to be avoided, a place of violence, dirt and poverty.

The regions of the city as a land market for the real estate sector.

Over the past few years, the Brazilian real estate market has experienced a great euphoria, in the production of residential enterprises as

well as in the production of commercial enterprises in large cities, presenting the highest global (average) increase of prices in the real estate market.¹⁴ In this context, São Paulo is the city that has seen the greatest strength of the real estate market, where the prices of real estate have had the greatest increase. The strength of the real estate market accompanies the general economic growth, but it is evident that it has been rising as an important part of the production of wealth. In this movement, financial capital begins to increasingly command the circuits of production, in a connection between the specific conditions of São Paulo to the more general determinations of the global economy. In this process, in which the production of space becomes a central sphere of capital reproduction, the global, the world of merchandise develops with more fluidity, producing profound and evident contradictions in the places. The consumption of space (production of spaces for consumption) reveals this as a special merchandise, such that while it is produced, it produces new socio-spatial practices. Objects increasingly determined by social life are filling in the spaces (condominiums, leisure areas, gyms, cars, etc.) and creating a specific type of social interaction in the city.

An approach for us to understand this movement in São Paulo can be visualized in the expansion of the real estate market in spaces of deindustrialization. It is necessary to reflect on the socio-spatial practice that is being forged at this time, with the different points of view present in the production of space revealing conflict managed daily in urban life.

We are faced with a challenge of thinking about a phenomenon that has emerged as something new in the context of reproduction of the metropolis. The spaces of deindustrialization emerge in the current state of the metropolis as large plots to be incorporated to the expansion of real estate businesses, when space production begins to occupy an increasingly prominent role in capital reproduction.

It is not about reflecting on the reproduction of the industry, but the reproduction of urbanization, developing the issue of how these places, which we are designating spaces of deindustrialization, are incorporated to the dynamic mechanisms of the economy of São Paulo. In this sense, we are observing a trend, which has already partially come into effect, of the valuation

of regions undergoing the process of deindustrialization. However, for the effective implementation of valuation of these regions, it is necessary to radically change these places. This process could be defined as an updating of the places within the movement of the metropolitan economy, an updating that incorporates and provokes profound changes in life and in the daily practices of the people who live in these places, imposing new socio-spatial relationships, updating the way of life in the areas of the metropolis. For this change, the conjugated actions of the private sector with the Public Authorities are fundamental, through the actions that City Hall undertakes in the spaces of deindustrialization in the sense of making them more attractive for private investments. This set of actions that aims to economically strengthen the space produces in these areas of deindustrialization a profound restructuring of daily life of the middle and lower middle class population, producing a place of consumption and housing for the upper middle class.

For the real estate sector, the land is what matters. The houses, the warehouses, are a moment in the whole process, possibly of the most derisive type in the process of real estate production. Perhaps a fundamental barrier for real estate production is precisely the subjective part of the residents who do not want to leave, as they are attached to the place. For entrepreneurs, the area is the mere location to be forged as something special in the metropolis.

According to the discussion in Harvey about the built environment, we should consider that the realization of real estate depends on immobilization in a place and valuation depends on location. However, there are a series of barriers that the capital needs to overcome for its realization. If on the one hand, one needs to create rarities to guide places to processes of valuation, in the case of São Paulo, the scarcity of land makes the formation of land for new constructions a necessary and important moment, being fundamental to produce the location. On the other hand, private property and rarities themselves, fundamental to the valuation of space, created by the movement of the real estate sector in the city become barriers for the realization of valuation.

Henceforth, after the constitution of a "new privileged location", there is the problem of the depletion of this location, which requires the production of new locations, showing the limitation of spatial availability as an evident



obstacle for urban businesses in real estate incorporation. Following the reasoning of Harvey, we can consider urban commercial valuation to be, from the moment of purchase of the land and the construction of new enterprises, in the process of inevitable capital devaluation, given that it represents an immobilization of the capital which will last a long time. In other words, the fundamental quality of housing itself (and of spatial productions in general) as a constant, a durability, means a limitation for the capital cycle to be realized indefinitely. The relative permanence that is necessary for accumulation to be realized (space production of housing, commercial and corporate buildings etc.) is contradictory with capital reproduction, presenting an essentially critical process, as Harvey shows,

The fixed capital, which emerges from the point of view of production as the pinnacle of capital success, is converted, from the point of view of capital circulation, into a mere barrier for further accumulation. This way, the capital "meets obstacles of its own nature". There are only two ways to solve these contradictions. They are solved by force during the course of a crisis, or they are displaced to a higher level and generally where they provide the ingredients for the formation of a crisis of a different type and frequently more profound.¹⁵

Adriano Botelho also shows how land ownership represents an obstacle for the reproduction of the real estate sector, since land purchase represents "28.41% of the total production costs (DIEESE, 2001:33)".¹⁶

In this expansion process of the urban built area as a strategy for dealing with high prices in the more "wealthy" areas of the city, the role of the real estate promoters/corporations is fundamental for the creation of new needs, which materialize in a differentiation of the urban space.¹⁷

Therefore, the real estate market needs increasing speed to achieve this, quickly incorporating the available land in the city, increasingly determined by the mechanisms of financial capital reproduction. Francisco de Oliveira presents the creation of a new social interaction with the domain of financial capital. A social interaction dependent on an indeterminacy as a norm and a state violence to ensure the process of capital profitability. In the case of the urban, the police in their various channels are ready to guarantee private property, the

basic form for capital circulation in the city. In sum, it is society and its conditions of reproduction, which are increasingly involved in the mechanisms of financial reproduction.

Francisco de Oliveira summarizes below the context of the entry of Brazil into so-called globalization, a moment in which the passage to the hegemony of the financial is made explicit:

Deregulation of the market, indiscriminate openness to importations, loss of foreign exchange control, complete financialization of internal and external debt and, no less important, the development of the discourse with which adversaries were accused of "corporatism", denying the previous "communicative action" and trying to establish a new social interaction, whose central model was the liberal discourse of the initiative of individuals as well as deregulation and disorganization which provided material foundations for the new "communicative action".¹⁸

In other words, it is about the preparation of land for the new stage of modernization, the period dominated by the financial. The discourse of deterioration, with the removal of industry from areas of the city, helps to extend the regions working within the real estate market and the State.

However, the process only achieves this magnitude through the articulation of these actions from the private sector with the actions of Public Authorities. Despite the official discourse (decrease in inequality, social function of the city, etc.), the concrete actions of City Hall, especially through urban operations, point towards the configuration of parts of the metropolis in regions attractive to investments, endorsing the effort of the real estate sector in the creation of new fronts of space valuation. Consequently, it is the laws of the market that will also define the actions of Public Authorities, from a perspective in which the strengthening of regions of the metropolis in the economic sense represents a developmental process of the metropolis, with benefits for all of society. This makes the regions economically productive, whether through the production of residential condominiums, or through the production of spaces for consumption (growth of the commercial and service activities, etc.).



The conflicts and mismatches in the transformation of spaces and socio-spatial practices.

Space reproduction in the spaces of deindustrialization necessarily produces conflicts, and it is these conflicts that reveal the components of contemporary urbanization of the metropolis. The elements that appear as new remove the old elements, in the transformation of the landscape, which is evident, as well as in the transformation of the socio-spatial practice. New enterprises, new urban facilities with new uses, take the place of traditional spaces of the industry, removing old spaces of social interaction from the old residents, producing conflicts which are realized in the daily life of the residents. It is about the imposition of a new socio-spatial practice, which is now removing traditional social interactions from places through the transformation of bars, restaurants, small commerce, houses, factories, aimed at the traditional population, in spaces of consumption for the upper middle class which has moved into the new club-condominiums to live and do business at new commercial establishments. The old population has no access to this commerce, due to the high prices of the products, or also because the new spaces of consumption are not part of the type of daily consumption of the traditional residents.

On the one hand, we can consider the movement of the landscape, which reveals a change in uses, functions, activities, socio-spatial practices, as something inherent in the very idea of the metropolis. However, we highlight here that what is specific about the current moment is the great speed with which the radical changes are being realized in these areas and the magnitude of the process, in dealing with spaces of deindustrialization. It is evident that this movement of radical changes of places respects the specific interests of the hegemonic agents of space production (corporations, construction companies, real estate agencies, banks and the State), revealed by these processes of spatial reproduction. These radical changes of places are disseminated as "revitalization", "requalification" or even "renewal" of depreciated and degraded spaces in the metropolis, as the action of the private entrepreneurs consists of the forefront of the process as social agents of "progress". The State plays the

role of implementer of infrastructure necessary in spaces and of legal guarantor of the valuation processes, legitimizing the changes and neutralizing conflicts. This set of tactics, whose purpose is to increase value, involves spaces of deindustrialization as if they were empty spaces, as if they did not have social life, or residents with their spaces of traditional use, as if they were not urban spaces. In sum, the strategies involve these places as deteriorated areas to be "revitalized", taking over the space in an abstract way and producing an abstract space, where the purposes are exterior to the concrete use of space, situating it in the reproduction of the exchange value.

When we come across spaces of deindustrialization, we observe the existence of places in the metropolis, with a consolidated social life. On the one hand, they present an apparent deterioration in the landscape, with the removal of industries and the consequent presence of unoccupied buildings and lands, which are imposed as form. On the other hand, the perpetuation of qualitative relations coming from the process of urbanization induced by the strong industrialization of spaces has become obscured regarding the ways in which these places are used in building their history, in building a social life. Moreover, the qualitative moments enable a possible identification of the residents with these places, which persist in the fragmentation process promoted by industrialization. This way, understanding what is happening in these spaces of deindustrialization means studying the movement of the socio-spatial practices of these places, reflecting how social life metamorphoses there.

Therefore, we have at the same time the production of space in the sense of making it increasingly more productive, with the creation of new economic frontiers in the urban, with the fragmentation and functionalization of space and, on the other hand, we have space as a fundamental stage of life, as the lived-in space. The critique of the process of current urbanization has as a foundation the historical role of the city and the urban as a meeting place, a place of appropriation, differences, and quality. However, we are faced with an urban reality that is progressively reduced to the exchange value and to signs that realize this exchange value. The urban society as a strategic hypothesis envisages a true and concrete socialization of society in the urban. However, we have observed that what was and what is being socialized are the signs for



consumption; that is, the socialization of abstractions are demonstrated in daily life.

The research on restructuring spaces of deindustrialization in São Paulo demonstrates the need for a direction aimed at perceiving the movement of reality, with new contents and new contradictions.

Industrialization produced a city of production which denies the city of fruition, but which contradictorily still has elements of a concrete urban life. The industrial areas of São Paulo, those that we can call old industrial and blue-collar neighborhoods, simultaneously reveal the formatting of a large part of the population of the city according to the rhythm and needs of the industry. This results in fragmenting life, imposing a quantified time, but also reveals gatherings, meetings, the essential (radical) needs of life that are beyond what industrialization itself provides. It has created a specific social life, with places for social interaction, which are part of the industrial logic, but also overturn this logic, since they propose another appropriation of space and time different from the industrial rationality. For José de Souza Martins, factory life also has moments of appropriation:

The laborers are not only a social class, an abstract category that brings together those who work in a place. Outside of the work situation and outside of the factory, in its daily routine, the laborers from different sectors of the same factory converse among themselves. They are neighbors; they travel on the same train or on the same bus. Often in bar conversations, the entirety of the work process becomes evident and conscious. Work and what happens inside the factory is a frequent topic of casual conversation outside of the factory. Sometimes, the poets see this better, as Vinícius de Moraes did in: “a laborer spoke and another laborer listened”. Even mutes exchange ideas.¹⁹

Industrial production is also the production of a fragmented, impoverished culture, frequently a result of the shattering of the previous cultural models, revealing itself as the domestication of the body for productivity, not only at the moment of production, but also in other moments of life. However, this does not capture the essence of man. We should highlight that the notion of space is necessarily connected to that of appropriation. There are



also in the industrial city space-times of recognition and appropriation. According to Chombart de Lawe,

The perception of familiar objects, the appropriation of space, the relation with the surrounding environment is related to the sensation of pleasure that can give life its quality when the subject, individual or group, come to free themselves from constraints or oppressions. But above all, the modes of mutual understanding and communication through gestures, the original forms of language, facial expressions, ties, are the expression of affective ties between workers and their factory buddies or among the residents of a neighborhood who are found in the commercial establishments and constitute a first form of collective identity, of recognition as belonging to the same living environment.²⁰

Even in the industrial neighborhoods, the residents and workers create a concrete knowledge of the place. They know the codes, they live here and they identify with others, in the gaps of massification and domination of industrial reality.

The spaces of deindustrialization today show the moment of passage from places with social interactions founded on industrialization to places of expansion of the real estate market, above all. As a moment of passage, we find innumerable constants and innumerable ruptures, the new goes about replacing the old. We are faced with the production of a new space in established places of the city, transforming the landscape and the social life of these places, in the city produced increasingly as a productive space from the economic point of view. We observe that the incorporation of spaces of deindustrialization through dynamic activities of the economy represents the increase of segregation, in the place itself, while depriving the residents themselves of their space. This also occurs in the context of the metropolis as a whole, with a spatial broadening of segregation, since the process produces a mobility of impoverished classes to more distant places from the city center and more in need of infrastructure. We are also considering segregation a severing of ties, of relations between people in habitual spaces of social interaction, as well as in relation to the urban space itself, to the landscape and social relations to which the residents are accustomed.



If, on the one hand, segregation is presented this way, expelling from urban life those who are not able to financially afford it, on the other hand, the life proposed by the new facilities (closed vertical condominiums and spaces for consumption), which ideologically provide an urban "quality of life", do not realize a concrete appropriation of the city. This is because it is closed off to the city, proposing self-segregation as a solution to urban problems (violence, traffic, lack of leisure, scarcity of green areas, etc.), naturalizing segregation. Therefore, the analysis of space production in spaces of deindustrialization indicates a process of abstraction from it.

Faced with the fact that the metropolis is experiencing a moment of passage of the primacy of the industrial capital to the financial capital, accompanying the general movement of the capitalist economy, the space takes on a new sense in the movement of the general reproduction of society.²¹ The reproduction of the financial capital increasingly goes through the production and reproduction of space. In this sense, spaces of deindustrialization become privileged areas for the financial capital strategies to act in connection with the sectors of construction and real estate. Large construction companies, corporations and financial businesses are the promoters of the new enterprises which in a short period of time have profoundly transformed the landscape and the life of these areas.

In São Paulo, where space for new enterprises has become scarce, due to the intense crowding of the metropolis in its most valued areas, these spaces of deindustrialization emerge as new frontiers to be exploited by hegemonic agents of space production, with the advantage of dealing with spaces that are relatively devalued due to their past industrial use. It is necessary for these agents of space reproduction to forge new spaces attractive for consumption, whether for housing, offices, or for both at the same time, or even for new services or entertainment, shows, etc. New discourses connected to the development of space with the arrival of new enterprises, new services, of a class with a higher standard of consumption have been disseminated to these places. These ideological discourses have the role of building an idea capable of realizing these spaces as economic frontiers of the urban.²² Even in the strategies by public authorities, often developing a region of the city means

preparing it for the public with purchasing power, who will, in theory, stimulate it economically. In these plans, the purpose is to increase the density of the regions, which also means, most frequently, to stimulate housing of the wealthiest classes there. Behind these discourses is a view of the city as merchandise, for which the areas of the city should be prepared to attract capital. They should become productive. Public authorities take over the discourses coming from the private sectors of space production, who are interested in the development of the city as merchandise.

The market increasingly begins to mediate life in the city, completely and quickly transforming portions of it, producing new uses in established spaces in the metropolis. The city as merchandise invades the places of people's lives, who do not participate in high consumption. It is the residents of these regions in the process of transformation who passively suffer the consequences of the logic of the merchandise of the city, often not able to remain in their original residencies, due to the valuation of these places. The very transformation of spaces, in the landscape as well as in life, drives away traditional residents.

Spatial production is produced by social relations and produces new social relations, thus being configured as a special product. It involves the city and the contradictions present in it transforming life in the city. We would like to say that while space is produced by social determinations of the current moment, it also induces the way in which the city is appropriated. In this process of fragmentation of the metropolis, the statute of private ownership of land is asserted. In other words, space is produced socially,²³ but its appropriation occurs through the mediation of money to pay for its use, through the mediation of private ownership of land. This way, uses in the city will be differentially distributed according to the possibilities of consumption of the different portions of the population. It thus emerges as a segregating production of space, since it excludes those who cannot pay to use it. In this sense, the transformations under way in the spaces of deindustrialization increase the fragmentation of space and consequently increase the socio-spatial segregation of the city. Segregation today is no longer something covert, but explicit in the new real estate products which are built in these areas previously occupied by



the industry. It is the fragmented and segregated city that is produced there, contradicting the public space and contradicting the city itself.

This process reveals a contradiction of the idea of the city (as a place for meetings, gatherings, differences, and centrality), since it is anchored in the discourses and facilities that present the city as chaos, with its chaotic traffic, followed by massive gridlocks, difficult mobility. The city is a grey empire of concrete which drives people away from nature, due to the lack of green areas; the city is a place of stress, speed and lack of time. However, among other reasons pointed out, the idea of the public space of the city is highlighted as the privileged place of violence, an inhospitable place to be avoided, or at least to be used with the maximum precaution possible. This set of ideas is part of the concrete and abstract construction of new real estate products, which are central to the realization of new urban businesses. This clearly highlights that space production needs the physical production of new places as well as a set of ideas, discursive models that create "truths" about what it means "to live with quality" in the metropolis.

As previously mentioned, we are faced with a deurbanizing urbanization, since it contradicts the urban to the extent in which it produces segregating practices that separate those who are different and who deny the public space, the concrete materiality fundamental for the realization of the possibilities of the city as a meeting place. The morphology that the accelerated advancement of large condominiums produces in spaces of deindustrialization indicates a contradiction of the urban. As large fortresses, enterprises completely closed off all around, they rely on a system of apparent safety, with extremely restricted access, where the threshold between public space and private space is strongly controlled, with a border between the internal space of the condominiums and the street, violently delimited and monitored by the safety system. It also points to the extreme functionalization of the space-times of daily life, placing cars as a central instrument, in which the street is transformed into a restricted place of passage, a necessary mediation between the various locations that compose people's daily lives (house, work, school, college, leisure, shopping, etc.). The citizen-consumer thus emerges with force, since he is a consumer most of the time, even with respect to housing (a consumer of a "way of living" in the



metropolis) as well as the city, which becomes reduced to specific and private places, to which residents of the metropolis travel by car. What is touted as "quality of life" is revealed as a set of compulsions, induced by a world mediated by merchandise, which produces an individualism with modern features, with urban facilities and ideologies that justify them, imposing a linear time, experienced in strictly functional spaces at specific times.

Along these lines, we observe that the objects present in daily life are results of social relations and induce new social relations. They are increasingly mediators of social relations, bearing in mind a social space and a social time, defining socio-spatial practices (the city and the facilities of the city involved as objects). They denote a language, whether merchandise, new standards of customs, ways of dressing, or vocabulary etc.²⁴ The language of daily life, or prior to this, the language of a scheduled daily life that is shared by all, which expresses/defines the placement or not of people and places in the dynamic movements of the current moment. Things, mobility, access, objects, moments, places, are mediated by merchandise. Knowledge, awareness and technique emerge as domination, commodified. It is the logic of merchandise that comes to define appropriation, ideologically, preventing appropriation, without disallowing some appropriation, contradictorily. The city thus emerges as the language of merchandise, an expression of the change of capitalist patterns involved in space production. However, the whole imposes use as a form of reproducing life; quality comes in necessarily to realize quantity, revealing the whole space (of the metropolis) as the place to live. It is space production as the production of life in the city, which is permeated by plans, by objects that invade daily life, filling the voids produced by the culture of consumption. The production of things in abundance reveal scarcity, misery, deprivation, which rise above as contradictions present in the realization of the contemporary urban landscape.

The city today is revealed as an expression of a new moment of urbanization, as the advancement of a way of life, which is experienced by everyone, even if not everyone participates in it. The consumption of large plots of land for building large closed condominiums; houses as investments, reducing the resident of the (concrete) place to (abstract) owner of land that



earns value in its transformation (valuation of space); the transformation of houses into spaces of consumption, which in turn transform the sidewalk into a parking lot; the intensification of car traffic; the imposition/constitution of new standards of movement in the city; the specialization of places (second function, income), evidencing a strict dependence on cars.

It is necessary to decipher the language of the world of merchandise which produces the current "city" (the world of segregation). Segregation emerges as a form of social interaction (a restricted form of social interaction, of non-social interaction) which is naturalized and imposed on society as a peacemaker of social conflicts, producing even more conflicts. Even if the city has carried the marks of fragmentation for a long time, it is necessary to see today that which is new. The fragmentation of space and life has reached a level never before achieved and indicates (produces) a reality that is fundamentally segregating, which separates those who are different, which produces inequality and relegates a large part of the population of the city to life far from centrality, a component of the urban landscape. Spaces of deindustrialization in the metropolis can show how space is produced, and, still, as new social interactions are produced in this process, presenting, to a great extent, new forms that compose the production of the current urban area, being a part of the general process reproducing the metropolis. They show trends of reproducing the urbanization of the metropolis today.

The production of spaces, in this process, is in fact a set of constraints, since it has been established beforehand how each individual should be, what they should want, and what they should have. It presents a ready, complete, finished, given life without conflicts, based on the unrestricted consumption of objects, including the housing "object", or the condominium "object" or even the "neighborhood", "city" "object", in sum, everything that would be enough for the complete satisfaction of residents' needs (those who can participate in this privileged life) in the metropolis.

Large construction companies produce their magazines themselves, distributed freely in sales booths, showing the "reality" that they "produce", connected to green areas, sustainability, modern design etc., showing how one should live, with what products to furnish the house, how one should decorate it.



Large residential enterprises are presented as "complete" products, as rather self-sufficient, aimed to account for, in its interior, many moments of peoples' daily lives.²⁵ This universe of real estate production appears (and intends) to produce a specific life in the metropolis, implanted in a series of ideological elements, such as that of "leaving" the chaotic metropolis (being in it) inside these facilities, closed off to the city, which does not have a concrete reality. It is necessary to decipher that which is unreal, which is nonetheless produced, and consumed as a concrete thing, which ends up becoming (abstract and concrete) reality, which is realized in the city and in spaces. In the place they are built, they produce abrupt changes, from the moment of launching, or even before, with the demolitions for plotting land, the building of the enterprises themselves and afterwards when the enterprise is ready and the residents settled in.

If these enterprises as real estate products are realized through the representations and innumerable ideologies employed for their publicity, their realization as housing imposes changes on the space. The ideologies that are disseminated and the materialization of enterprises produce new behaviors, new procedures and new perspectives, through the production of new places. Accordingly, new conflicts are produced by this "new way of living in the metropolis", with the valuation of space and the rising prices of services and commerce in the surrounding area. Moreover, the street is established as a place of passage for cars, with growing traffic, and the sidewalk is parking for stores, with the coming and going of vehicles of the condominiums. It is a world that is produced as if there were no previous residents in these places; it is as if the place had no history and was only a location, a point of the metropolis, whose quality is its accessibility. It is managed with contingencies so that social issues (street dwellers, recyclable material collectors, slums, needy communities) do not hinder the realization of urban businesses, which is done by driving out or hiding the poor in these places, which does not happen without resistance. Therefore, by pursuing space for its expansion, the real estate sector advances on peripheral areas to the more valued regions of the city, constituting a tendentious movement of driving away residents, often from self-built communities on public land, a phenomenon inherent to the process of



Brazilian industrialization and urbanization. This shows that the movement of space valuation reproduces the periphery, since these residents are pushed to the most distant peripheries. Those who resist reflect the conflicts present in the production of new economic frontiers in the urban space of São Paulo. This set of elements illustrates the central concern with the valuation of capital, mediated by the urban space.

Notes

¹ This chapter is based on my doctoral dissertation, *Espaços de desindustrialização na reprodução da metrópole*, ("Spaces of deindustrialization in the reproduction of the metropolis"), defended on March 1, 2012 in the Graduate Program in Human Geography of the School of Philosophy, Sciences and Letters at the University of São Paulo, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ana Fani Alessandri Carlos.

² Lencioni, 2003; Carlos, 2004.

³ Ramos, 2001.

⁴ We define as hegemonic agents of space production the State, private entrepreneurs, real estate and finance.

⁵ It is the case of the docklands region in London, the northern periphery of Paris (Saint-Denis), the reconversion of industrial spaces in Ruhr Valley, in Germany, or even Puerto Madero, in Buenos Aires, in addition to countless other examples. According to Roncayolo, in the case of the docklands of London, a large deteriorated port and industrial area in the Eastern English capital, the urban intervention, implemented in a partnership between public authorities and the private sector, with the discourse of "reintegrating" this region to the city of London, ended up transforming this space into an example of gentrification, and this project can be described as "a clear economic and even speculative strategy"(RONCAYOLO, 1997: 252).

⁶ They are spaces from the first phase of São Paulo industrialization, which had occurred from the end of the 19th century until approximately the 1930s.

⁷ In these older spaces of deindustrialization, until a few years ago we observed only specific points that present a trend towards the valuation of space in Água Branca, Barra Funda and Moóca. Over the past few years, however, we have perceived that the advancement of real estate incorporation constitutes new focal points of valuation also in these more central regions of the metropolis. We have observed that there is a great effort by the State, through urban operations, to make these regions attractive to the real estate sector.

⁸ This is the case of regions such as Vila Leopoldina, Jaguaré and Santo Amaro.

⁹ The expansion process of the real estate sector that is currently occurring in Moóca is striking.

¹⁰ LEFEBVRE, Henri. *O Direito à Cidade*. São Paulo: Centauro Editora, 2006, 4ª ed..

¹¹ LEFEBVRE, Henri. Introduction. In: RAYMOND, Henri; HAUMONT, N.; RAYMOND, M.-G.; HAUMONT, A.; *L'Habitat Pavillonnaire*. Paris: Centre de recherche d'urbanisme, 1965.

¹² One of the former residents of Vila Leopoldina interviewed in our doctoral research evidences this ambiguity when he says "Has the value gone up? A lot, a lot, it's just that it will take us out of here, you know, and we really liked living here" (Padua, 2012: p. 199). Some of these residents who are home owners in Vila Leopoldina and are in places in which the real estate sector pressures for the formation of new lands, reported that they considered selling their houses, but intended to move to another place nearby, remaining in the region.

¹³ Mongin, 2005.

¹⁴ Revista Exame, maio de 2011.

¹⁵ Harvey, 1990: 242-3.

¹⁶ Botelho, 2007: 56.

¹⁷ Idem, p. 57.

¹⁸ Oliveira, 2007: 30-1.

¹⁹ Martins, 2011: 351.

²⁰ Chombart de Lawe, 1982: 30

²¹ Carlos, 2004.

²² Smith, 2008.

²³ Carlos, 2008 [1994].



²⁴ We have observed in the major channels of information a large amount of propaganda and reports from large real estate enterprises and decorative products to fill apartments aimed at the upper middle class. It is all aimed at consumption for this class, but what appears the most are objects for luxury apartments, everything that involves luxury, elegance. It is the construction of an idea that daily life is dictated from top-down, starting from high consumption. This profusion of advertisements also occurs due to the financial volume that circulates in the various fields of realization of the real estate sector. Publicity is thus fundamental.

²⁵ Gomes, 2006.

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The new production of urban peripheries and the reproduction of everyday life

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How shall we understand the intense spatial transformations taking place in Brazilian cities and metropolises over the past few decades? What are the economic, social and political components that move the constant reproduction of the morphology of urban spaces, which have been redesigning the everyday lives of their residents? Why has capitalist space production, in particular, been revealing an expansion of investments towards the urban fabric of the peripheries? What can this reveal to us about the current moment of urbanization and what are the socio-spatial implications of this process? These are some of the questions that guide the reasoning presented in this paper.¹ However, these phenomena, which we take as an empirical starting point for the analysis, aim to bring a methodological path to be presented and debated, on a theoretical level, in the form of *a question to be analyzed*.

It seems obvious that raising questions and problems by researchers always and immanently carries a methodological proposal to be debated. We initially propose a reflection that highlights the importance of the theoretical-methodological development of problems and objects of research in geography, since we hypothetically tend to believe that Brazilian geography today is increasingly becoming what we would call a *thematic geography* or a *geography of themes*, with increasingly fragmented research projects. New topics multiply and strengthen a thematic ultra-specialization, which is perhaps revealing of a trend in the context of the sciences as a whole.

But, what is guiding this ultra-specialization/ultra-fragmentation in and of geography? Does it reveal a new dominant position, defined by a competitive pursuit in exploring new niches of research/funding? We see that, to a great extent, slow reflections have been subsumed by pragmatism, which, in turn, is achieved as productivism, establishing competition/hierarchies in higher education institutions as a practice that has been increasingly naturalized and established in the geographical community. Such a *thematic geography* as a horizon would present the problematic fact that only the topics of verticalization,

global warming, "mega-events", teaching, textbooks etc., seem to be enough to define, for example, the selection of authors and bibliography of research projects. This reveals frequent methodological inconsistencies and discrepancies or ratifies an eclecticism through ideas such as *plurality* and *complexity*.

The challenge then becomes that of situating our research topic in a larger movement, which supersedes the topic-fragment, associating it to a possible perspective of an open and moving (dialectic) totality. Therefore, we will consider the unequal reproduction of everyday life in the movement of the new housing production on urban peripheries as the moment to develop a theoretical-methodological problem as a starting point, method and conclusion; therefore, elevating the presented and analyzed topic to the status of a means, and not an end in itself. The development of this (theoretical-methodological) research problem is based on the conceptual analysis of geography. Particularly, the concept of space production/reproduction helps us clarify the new components of the current urban landscape. Among the new concepts, we highlight the following: *the capitalized peripheries reincorporating social groups to a new urban life – through consumption/debt/financialization/institutionalization – while separating these groups from the city, from centrality and from urban life, reproducing new levels of socio-spatial segregations and alienations.*

The aforementioned topic is related to a way of doing geography that comprises space production in its concrete (practical) dimension as a starting point and means for its theoretical-methodological development. This generally involves thinking about new components of contemporary urbanization by means of the conflicts between the city as a capitalist space (a space dominated by state action and by the logic of valuation) as opposed to the city as a space for use and appropriation in everyday life. Therefore, it is about considering how space production can point towards a dialectic understanding of the world based on geography, understanding socio-spatiality as a whole in its contradictions.

This perspectives leads us to consider the production of new spaces on urban peripheries based on a qualitative scale of analysis: that of concrete

social subjects, inhabitants, urban movements, on the level of *praxis*. This brings light on space production and everyday life in the scope of conflicts, practices and representations of those who experience the socio-spatial practice in their contradictory components, in other words, those who confront the logical production of space issued by distant orders - public authorities and commercialization. Space production seen on a qualitative scale of analysis does not oppose quantification, it just aims to establish a dialectic between quality/quantity that is capable of superseding the simplification of understanding space only in formal, typological and locational (systemic space) terms. This reduction is unique to the logic of the State, which understands space as a means for organization and order (a means for balance upon receiving programs and policies), and for capital, which sees it as a source of accumulation. In this sense, the particular topic of the current reproduction of peripheries, connected to the general problem of space production/reproduction, aims to understand the relation between space production *stricto sensu* and *latu sensu*, in which the former addresses the analysis on the level of capitalist and state production and, in the latter, that of the production of social relations. Moreover, it is about a reading that underlines differences and points out the possibilities, though irrelevant and/or virtual, of transforming the socio-spatial reality based on the new components of urban space production.

New spaces on the peripheries: from self-building and housing projects to "popular" real estate enterprises.

Housing perhaps represents the most direct practice through which we appropriate space. In fact, according to Rodrigues,² “[...] it is always necessary to reside somewhere, since it is not possible to live without occupying space”. However, as Carlos writes,³ “man lives where he can reside, and where he can live will be determined by the income that he receives and by the sacrifices that he can make”. The issue of housing has been the object of direct and indirect analysis by many authors, among geographers, architects, urbanists, social scientists and historians.

There is a very dynamic internal connection between the problem of housing and the way in which capitalism is being reproduced as a critical process of work and the salary that always weighs on poorer workers. Engels⁴ writes: “we see that society in fact pays salaries to laborers for their work, in the form of housing, clothing and food”. For the author, the structural instability of work and salaries in the industry determine housing conditions, in addition to other basic needs: “any laborer, even the best one, is constantly exposed to the danger of unemployment, which amounts to dying from hunger [...]”.⁵

Within the Brazilian housing context, we see that the issue of housing is central to the production of urban peripheries. For Bonduki,⁶ the first slightly more systematic works of the State in the formulation of guidelines which aimed to organize social policies to provide housing for laborers dates back to the 1940s, when the State (Vargas administration) initiated, with the Institutes of Retirement and Pension (IAPS), the construction of a series of housing projects with the support of modern architecture. Similarly, as Bonduki⁷ states, in 1942, the tenancy law was established, which froze rents, in theory, to benefit the laborer, but it also discouraged the legal production of housing for rent, making laborers build for themselves “houses in rural areas, independently of more general planning or even an urban project [...], in other words, on unstable plots recently opened by speculators”.⁸ Bonduki also claims that:

[...] housing production has thus clearly gained non-capitalist characteristics. In other words, housing was excluded from the normal process of commodity production and also from the rules of occupying urban land. It was transformed into a system of domestic production, traded on a lease market in which the mechanisms of capitalist regulation were not in operation, though fully integrated to the process of capitalist accumulation, as a basic component of the reproduction of the work force.⁹

The “home ownership-peripheral land division-self-building trinomial”, pointed out by the same author, has been gaining strength particularly in larger cities. Self-building is a long process, since, according to Rodrigues¹⁰, “self-building takes place on the weekends and sometimes on holidays. The speed of building depends on “free time”, on the money available for buying building materials [...]”, and the author claims it is “[...] common to initially build a little

house at the back of a plot of land, or [...] a wooden shack, which serves as housing while laying bricks in the middle or at the front of the property. This is also a way to save on rent [...]”. Therefore, we consider the temporariness of the periphery (cf. term by Damiani) as being connected to the temporariness of housing and living conditions of the poorest. They are subject to various kinds of violence, from the insecurity of not having access to formal/legal private ownership of the land, and insufficient salaries, isolation and enormous commuting times, police brutality, criminal and drug threats, expropriations, valuation and expulsion, as a general rule, to places farther away.

Parallel to the process of producing peripheries, especially by diffusing the self-building of private homes on irregular and regular plots of lands, the State, in the mid-1960s, began a systematic action of housing production through Housing Projects by Housing Companies (COHABS) and the National Housing Bank (BNH). As some authors have analyzed,¹¹ currently, housing production means control over the peripheries, evidencing a custodial nature over the working class by the State, in the repressive political context of the military dictatorship. An “integration of the population to the State” and also to everyday life, in the words of Damiani, who wrote:

[...] home ownership, built by hand by the family itself on mostly irregular plots, this periphery that has gotten out of control, would contradict a periphery, incorporated to the city legally, without exactly earning the right to the city. But the figure of a periphery is the target of centralized power. In principle, a safe life, with running water, paved streets, social facilities at disposal, in exchange for this imposed order.”¹²

On the other hand, an analysis of the contemporary landscape of peripheries reveals important transformations. In fact, the landscape shows us the level of the immediately visible, pointing simultaneously towards the edified/built space (spatial morphology) and towards the movement of life: social relationships, as well as experiencing the reality of social classes (social morphology). In this sense, the current mobilization evident in the peripheral space of cities and metropolises carried out by the formal/hegemonic real estate market¹³ in connection with the housing policies of the federal government – the *My House, My Life*¹⁴ Program – and to the general

internationalization/financialization of the economy and the sector, has led to an explosion of new enterprises¹⁵. This is especially true with residential enterprises in spaces that are in less valued locations in peripheral self-built neighborhoods, which have relied on (and in part still relies on) land that can be incorporated to the new construction.

This new real estate production and its products - the popular housing market, according to Shimbo¹⁶ – are characterized by mass housing projects (horizontal and vertical) with reduced square footage, generally occupying distant properties, with little urban infrastructure and facilities in the immediate surroundings. Construction problems are very common in these housing projects, due to the speed of construction and to the low quality of the materials used in the houses and apartments, which reveal the logic that governs this type of business. A large quantity of real estate should be produced and commercialized as quickly as possible, in order for the profit to be lucrative. As such, the construction technology of many of these enterprises is all aimed at the optimization of the construction, using pre-fabricated structures and materials that enable a quicker and more standard assembly. The approval of these large condominiums - which house thousands of families - together with the public authorities tend to be characterized by a greater permissiveness by municipal authorities. This is in spite of the fact that in the enterprises financed by the Federal Economic Bank - such as *My House, My Life* – there are construction criteria and norms that should be monitored by a team of engineers.

The photo below shows one of these new closed housing projects¹⁷ being built in the city of Cotia, in the São Paulo Metropolitan Area (RMSP). In the back, the new buildings can be seen and, in the foreground, one can see the Jardim Isis neighborhood, separated from the enterprise by walls (and later, sentry boxes):

Photo: Vale Verde Cotia Residential Condominium, in RMSP



Credit: Danilo Volochko.

Therefore, the corporations offer "complete real estate products", since they supposedly "urbanize" fragments of the peripheries by building closed enterprises which rely on some infrastructure (paved streets, lighting, sanitary sewage). However, by doing this, the existing separation between the new spaces and the surrounding areas is accentuated, in addition to generating a large demand for urban services that many municipalities may not be able to provide. Therefore, this process reveals that first, real estate negotiations must be guaranteed, then the public authorities are asked to give these spaces better urban conditions. At times, the set of condominiums located in a determined region can constitute a centrality and attract commerce, other enterprises and urban improvements for the location, but then the area also increases in value, leading to an increase in property prices, potentially driving away the residents suffering from the greatest state of poverty.

Powerful advertising and marketing strategies also exploit the "dream of home ownership" and end up making many of the new residents subject to poor conditions. Among those already listed, we add great distances with respect to the work place. However, the problems do not end there. They frequently intensify with the maintenance of these condominiums, since the difficulties of families to pay the high condominium fees and taxes can compromise the

administration of the properties. Housing continues to be produced as mere merchandise to be consumed, with residents being confused for consumers of products just like any other, strengthening the integration of everyday life of large social groups to commercialization while reproducing historic socio-spatial inequalities in new foundations, as seen below.

An urban population - employees of commerce, services, the construction industry itself -, in large part maintained during decades on the fringe of the circuits of real estate mortgages and formal private land ownership is thus pushed¹⁸ to new condominiums, in a process of urban reproduction which shifts strata of the population towards the peripheries. In this sense, a possible previous configuration of the peripheral space (that of self-building and informality from the point of view of private land ownership, but also that of "living from rent") has become a source for new housing commercialization, becoming a part of the accounts of the new urban businesses which involve the real estate and financial sectors, in addition to the State. As such, we are faced with a reproduction of the peripheries, which adds a new morphology and a new process to the peripheral property - self-building - home-owning tripartite, slums, housing projects and closed luxury condominiums: the real estate-financial-state production of new popular housing projects. This process signals the trend of an intensification of the aggregation/fragmentation *contradiction of urban space*.

The spatial logic of the new (re)production of peripheries: between real estate, globalized financialization and new housing policies.

The process in question leads us to the need to consider the terms *differentiation* and *inequality*: differentiation as a founding element of the spatial advancement of capitalism, inequality as a necessary form of capital reproduction. Therefore, the rather variable concepts of geographical development by Harvey¹⁹ and unequal development by Smith²⁰ help us consider how socio-spatial difference and inequality are constant and simultaneously reproduced, since they are constituted as one of the sources of

capital accumulation. This claim can be understood by considering the development of capitalism as a space-time process that is achieved unequally. The basis of this understanding is the idea that capitalist reproduction necessarily feeds on differences between countries, regions and even farther inland from the metropolis to achieve an ever-increasing capital accumulation. These differences refer to a variety of processes, among them the way in which the work force of each country is organized and reproduced, institutions and public organizations which regulate productive activities, the technological capacity of companies, cities, regions and countries (the organic composition of capital), the infrastructure present in the territory (fixed capital) etc.

This means to say that new space productions as well as their destruction/reconstruction - of determined areas of cities, of the infrastructure of the territory - represent moments in which the capitals can find more profitable forms of applications. This way, new valuations can be realized, especially in the face of crises - overproduction, circulation, recessions -, migrating from one sector or branch of the economy to another which appears to be more advantageous from the point of view of profitability. When we analyze the development of capitalism in the history of Brazil and other countries, we observe a shift in the dynamic of accumulation, which becomes concentrated on urbanization based on more intense industrialization (from the 1940s on, in Brazil). This does not mean to say that accumulation ceased to be present in the field, with agribusiness being, for example, one of the contemporary pillars of capitalist economic reproduction.

From the point of view of intra-urban space production in our country, the most active economic sectors in the production of the city - the real estate sector formed by large construction companies and corporations (also linked to commercial and industrial capitals) and the financial sector (banks, at first) - concentrated their actions on the production of upscale and well-located neighborhoods. They are well served in terms of urban facilities, aimed at housing the political and economic elite. As such, we do not disregard the existence of companies and owners who have real estate businesses aimed at building and renting popular housing to workers, but we are admitting that private real estate production was spatially concentrated on central

neighborhoods and/or which would become central. This is because the peripheries are the places where this real estate-financial production did not work in a definitive way until at least the last decade. Given the continuous needs of increased production for urban accumulation, and given some obstacles such as the scarcity of space in certain valued and densely occupied regions in cities and metropolises, the cutting-edge real estate sector and financial capital, with the help of the State, have now begun to invest heavily in housing production in peripheral spaces - but not only there -, where the historically constituted poverty had been mobilized profitably. This is why one can observe today on the peripheries what one could consider to be a new spatial round of the reproduction of real estate capitalism in Brazil, which is closely connected to so-called financial globalization.

This is an interesting issue, since it recalls the new and increased scale and power of the private sector in current urbanization, and is also part of that which we call the new level of spatial reproduction of capitalism. At this new time, urban policy is being abandoned or is being delivered to the hands of private real estate and financial interests, with the *My Home, My Life* Program being a more complete manifestation of this process. Urban space production involves a series of subjects who act conflictingly for acquiring spaces aimed at use in everyday life and spaces aimed at satisfying productive-profitable requirements. In this struggle, the State presents itself as a field of mediation and dispute between the social and economic. However, what has been observed is that legislations such as the Statute of the City - and its devices which aim to combat real estate speculation, such as the time-regressive property tax IPTU - are being trampled by government programs that are presented as anti-crisis packages. The main objective of driving the real estate market is to enable it to excavate new frontiers in the urban area, which are materialized in the construction of large closed condominiums aimed at the popular classes and the lower levels of the middle classes on the peripheries. The governments are increasingly linked to private interests, giving more power to the leading role of the economy as a form of urban management/administration. There is a naturalization and a strengthening of the idea of entrepreneurship and governing in which the State, on the level of

political power, presents itself as a natural representative of economic interests, and not the interests of the majority of the population.

In order for the study of this process to advance, it is necessary to recognize the dialectic between the *valuation/devaluation/capitalization of space*. The valuation of space occurs largely when social work is incorporated effectively into space production through improvements in infrastructure that strengthens the centrality of the area²¹. On the other hand, capitalization is linked to a more fictitious process linked to the increase in prices considering speculation on the future valuation of some areas. Capitalization symbolically and ideologically predicts valuation, being a central moment of the valuation process, which, nonetheless, can be achieved to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, it has become necessary to know and consider each space and its connections with the urban/metropolitan context in order for us to project its valuation and whether the level of space capitalization is being disconnected from the possibilities of effective valuation (a possible moment of crisis or real estate bubble).

One of the foundations of the spatial dynamic which explains the advancement of residential enterprises towards the peripheries refers to the scarcity of space, which is a product of the historical dynamic of the social production of the city and urbanization, and to scarcity, and in this scarcity we mean particularly the absence or almost absence of properties that achieve the expected levels of profitability. Above all, scarcity is most evident from the point of view of the establishment of the tertiary-modern axis and the market of office buildings, but can also be constituted as a scarcity of larger properties, not edified and cheap, capable of harboring new housing condominiums. The construction process of enterprises in peripheral spaces can be concentrated in determined regions, constantly producing scarcity and, with it, capitalization/valuation gains a significant incentive.

This process strengthens the transformation of housing in financial investment, forcing housing to be increasingly distanced from its social components. In fact, we can consider the city itself or urbanization being managed as a business, as a "productive force", a "machine of growth", a source of profits. In order to increase financial gains, there must be financial

expropriation (cf. a term by Lapavistas²²), which is about the growing absorption of family salaries and personal worker incomes for achieving the basic needs of the population: housing, health, education, transportation, pension. This means that these needs have been privatized, making them paid services that require credit.

The banks deal with this credit for the consumer, but the industrial and commercial capitals must ask for borrowed credit no longer only for banks, but also in capital markets, increasing the relations and contradictions between the fractions of capitals put forth by the competition. The State is called upon to fulfill the role in this field of disputes, and it structures the macroeconomic transformations (and economic policies) on the level of the governments on their various scales of political activity. The financialization of the economy is a long process which is strengthened by the deregulation promoted in the national economies since the 1970s and which gained momentum with the measures of the Washington Consensus in the 1980s and which would reveal the changes in the sense of preparing a new dominant regime of capital accumulation: the financial.

Some economists will ask themselves if we live in a new regime of accumulation in capitalism, which would be characterized today by the dominance of financial accumulation, which puts us against the increased importance of the sphere of value and added-value circulation against its production. We call attention to the fact that it is about new additional forms of capitalization and capital valuation that do not change, however, the foundation of the exploitation of work and the extraction of added value in production, but which present new trends for the circulation and reproduction of added values globally. Therefore, even considering financial dominance, one must not lose sight of the necessary concreteness of this process, which, incidentally, has frankly been based on space production, as we have been discussing.

The intrinsic and growing relation between the real estate sector and financial capitals points towards the need to create a *market of concrete guarantees for fictitious financial derivations*, this role currently being played by real estate properties. Hence, this reveals the importance of legal changes involving the guarantee of real estate mortgages which protects creditors,

through the change from the Housing Finance System (SFH) to the Real Estate Finance System (SFI), centered on the figures of secured transactions and incontrovertible values. Basically, they guarantee quick and facilitated investment returns to the creditor in case of default (Secured Property Transactions, Law 9.514/97) and guarantee continuity (non-suspension) of value payments taken as "incontrovertible" in the case in which the consumer files a suit questioning the determined clauses and/or values of the real estate contract (rule of incontrovertible value, Art. 50 of Law nº 10.931/2004). This prevents the freezing of payment in installments by the borrower during the legal process and guarantees cash flow for the creditors. Fundamentally, secured transactions and incontrovertible value remove the last social nuances from housing production, and they begin to use formal access to housing as a mechanism of maintaining the exploitation of work, by instituting a terrorism of swift evictions for defaults. The maintenance of workers working is even more forced, regardless of where or what the work is. However, financialization of the real estate sector is accomplished slowly and is still difficult, depending on the innumerable macroeconomic, institutional, legal, political and social variables, which can get out of control, hence the constant attempt to develop legal frameworks that support economic strategies.

Accepting the hypothesis of financial dominance, this regime basically sees property and space as financial assets, providing real estate merchandise with liquidity and great mobility, implicated in increasingly exponential negotiations, reinforcing the process of constituting *abstract space* (which is presented in its status as merchandise (exchange value). However, other elements are included with this *abstraction of the abstraction* (via interest financialization, derivatives etc.), among them the image, which gains relevance in detriment to the concrete component of social space, which tends to be depleted. The ultimate evidence of the strength of appearances, which materialized in the morphology and landscape of the performance of real estate-financial businesses in urban areas, seems to be China, where, for example, hyper-urbanization, as defined by Arantes,²³ also includes the fact that the different levels of bureaucracy in municipalities compete among themselves for investments, politically forcing urban growth.²⁴

These new commercial, but also residential, spaces, which are financialized and, we would also say, *real estatized*, depend on political games which entwine local, regional, national and international interests, and depend on a homogenization of the landscape to keep attracting investments. Financial capitals depend on a representation of space that serves as a pseudo-concrete (or spectacular, as Guy Debord writes) mediation, which produces spaces on a broadened scale, and this aestheticism has to do with the capitalization of space (speculation with prices that can result in valuation. Though perhaps in a less spectacular way, financialized and real estatized housing production produces its own representations of space for all social classes: the supposedly safe life enclosed by "contact with nature" in horizontal/vertical closed condominiums and properties.

A new everyday life?

Based on the hypothesis that space production is not separate from the production of life, the debate on the concept of everyday life in light of the problem proposed here is of utmost importance, since it can reveal daily practices as socio-spatial practices. Indeed, the challenge present on the analytic level of everyday life becomes understanding the lines of tension and contact between the worlds of subjectivity and objectivity. In other words, we must try to understand how, objectively and having space production as a means, one can arrive at shaping subjectivities. We believe that, for the researcher, the perception of the individual regarding their world is thus not only about a singular and unique, subjective vision, but can be aligned with a perception similar to that of others. It is thus more collective, and virtually comes together as a collective subject: the inhabitants of a determined neighborhood or region that are part of a certain group or social class.

As a possibility of finding continuity in the idea of the space production/life production inseparability in the history of geographical thought, we cite SEABRA,²⁵ who claims that "with Paul Vidal de La Blache (1922) [...] the notion of the life genre has been incorporated into geographical knowledge."

And he continues defending that “geographers such as J. Brunhes (1920), Max Sorre (1952) and later Pierre George (1969) [...] could not deny that Human Geography considered knowledge to include the experiences of daily life”.²⁶ The way in which they intersect the capitalist mode of production and mode of life assumes a relation that is not quite indirect, but very direct. For Granou,²⁷ “every enduring attempt [...] to accumulate capital necessarily assumes the development [...] of the social foundation upon which the relations of capitalist production are reproduced”. And he reinforces his argument, “[...] capitalism could not definitively be imposed against the previous modes of production if the revolution born in the mode of production extending to include the way of life had not occurred [...]”.²⁸ Therefore, this author understands the way of life as a concrete whole produced and reproduced by the development of the mode of production, a production that is not only material, but also which is presented as an “immense accumulation of images”:

Said another way, it is not enough to produce this means of capitalist life materially, it is also necessary to produce it “as an idea”, as a new ritual and a new moral, as a social order. And ultimately, it is the ability of this means of capitalist production to incessantly change rituals and morals, until we make them coincide in every moment with the reproduction needs of production relations, on which they depend for their capacity to materially alter the way of life and, therefore, to return to their own reproduction.²⁹

One could say that this necessary increase of the social foundation and transformation in the way of life as an active moment of capitalist reproduction includes everyday life, with economic reproduction going through space production and the reproduction of everyday life. And what would be these transformations that the new residents of closed housing condominiums produced by the real estate market go through - strengthened by housing policies and financialization - on the urban peripheries more or less far away and more or less established? In the first place, we have to recognize that the pursuit of owning a home characterizes and mobilizes individual and family trajectories, dominating the organization of weddings, motherhood, jobs, child education. Life planning has intensified in the separation of the space-times of living everyday life, in which public spaces and streets atrophy as spaces of spontaneous social interactions and the condominium-school, condominium-

work, condominium-mall circuits begin to schedule the progress of everyday life, establishing the neighborhood and neighborhood life as mere points of passage and pseudo-spaces for use, appropriation, identity. A first change is with respect to the different rhythm and temporality of everyday life, since new distances and new consumption presupposes an intensification of productive time and obligatory times (those fulfilled daily on the house-work route). Moreover, meeting between residents who partially dominated the technique of (self)building and the properties already ready reveal elements of a greater formalization of relations.

According to Silvana Pintaudi,³⁰ these new properties characterize spaces of confinement and isolation, spaces where social interactions atrophy, a condition for the development of life. Still according to the author, there has been a "super-exploitation of the peripheral space", since incoming families with reduced incomes in this market would be possible not by reducing the average values of the m², but by reducing the absolute square meters of properties and at greater distances (cheap land). Here, the increase of the total area of enterprises reveals, on the one hand, the amount of families being commercialized by a new credit structure that has been requiring a broader territorial scale of enterprises (a massification of real estate mortgages). On the other hand, it shows the reduction of square meters used by housing units to the minimum of the minimum as a necessary condition for this massification and a "reduction" of the price range of properties and the consequent mortgage matching.

In this process that we are analyzing, the new production of housing space on the metropolitan peripheries emerges in official discourses and common sense as a social interest policy, as well as exploiting the argument of reducing the housing deficit to legitimize these strategies. There is a new State-space relation, in which the economic dynamic of space valuation guides logic. Co-option can be occurring as an attempt to cool down the struggles of the social movements for housing by defining and supposedly meeting demands through policies such as the *My House, My Life* Program, which is clearly business-like in nature, but which is used as jargon for the policies of combating poverty.

Moreover, so-called direct "community actions" by corporations together with residents from the surrounding areas of these enterprises aimed at convincing them that a new condominium can bring them future benefits, in which the enormous inconvenience and transformations that they have already suffered reinforce the attempts to formalize and control their lives and daily struggles. For Cibele Rizek,³¹ the social reproduction of the periphery is complex. The innumerable economic and political relations (such as the clientelism reproduced in the councilmen-community leader or neighborhood president relation) involve and are involved in a set of obstacles, evidencing a kind of political shell - like the co-opted associations of the neighborhood, or other entities representing residents – which establish many overlaps in use and appropriation in the area.

We believe that it is not only possible but necessary to reflect on the new everyday life that currently aims to be imposed - as a central moment of the advancing commercialization of a more specific part of society: the social groups without formal access to real estate mortgages - from the progressive-regressive point of view. In this sense, the notion of everyday life, for the social groups in question (or for a significant portion of them), would have/reveal a historical development in Brazil whose origins date back to, at most, the massification of housing production initiated by the military regime, with the launch of the COHABS/BNH. Therefore, everyday life develops like a spatial complexity produced from industrialization, which strengthens urban areas and makes them undergo a very spatial problem, which has been taking place over the past few years. Before the beginning of this massification (before the 1960s), the logic was that of housing produced for lodging (through rent) for workers, for laborers, for the constitution of the industry and the urban-industrial man. This prior moment would be part of a first production cycle of peripheral spaces, a moment in which production was more connected to production conditions through the reproduction of the work force.

Based on the work by Henri Lefebvre about everyday life, and taking into account that this author focuses on the French and to a certain extent North American realities, we will try to articulate what we consider to be the main elements that involve the critique of everyday life by this author with some

elements unique to the Brazilian reality, which will then constitute the necessary mediation. The author himself³² has already indicated this need, when he asks "is there, on a global scale, a homogenization of everyday and modern life? Are there growing differences?", or when he asks, regarding everyday life: "have we moved to a global homogeneity that will engender a unique and absolute system? Or will the differences and resistances be accentuated by the deconstructing of this structure?"³³ With this, we aim to address the complexity of the whole - there is a sense of colonization, organization, structuring and integration – of everyday life based on the contradictory elements and mediation that Brazilian society, as a necessary particularity, brings to the global space in the capitalist mode of production.

For the author, everyday life is about a historical product - which would once again require thinking about it based on a concrete reality - , a base, a programmed and programmable field of reproduction in the capitalist mode of production, where the State exercises its control, and space has priority over temporality. At the same time, everyday life holds the residue of this domination, which escapes it, in everyday life. Understood this way, everyday life is presented as a relation (mediation) between the universal and the particular, between the local and the global, though with aspirations of becoming a complete system. It figures among the modern productions of the capitalist mode of production.

Situating the middle classes at the epicenter of everyday life, there is a balance or levels of integration into everyday life, defined as the infra-everyday life and the supra-everyday life. But what supports this analysis, we underscore once again, is the French reality. If for Lefebvre everyday life in France is linked to modernity, the middle classes and the State, how should its development in the Brazilian reality be considered, being located in the capitalist globality? It would be necessary to consider, though not exhaustively, some features of the history of our country, which would point towards some particularities of our society in its place in the capitalist whole as one of the most unequal countries in the world, with a terrible distribution of income.

Elements from our history will decisively qualify our modernity, like the rest of Latin America, as being "constituted simultaneously by temporalities that

are not theirs", which "also incorporate dated effective social relations, traces of other structures",³⁴ reaching the forefront, when this author considers our modernity, the ideas of a fragile, difficult, hybrid, inconclusive, incomplete, threshold, anomalous, superficial and apparent modernity. The specificities of the development of private life in Brazil, which is often not separate from the moments of public life, have made us aware of processes such as bossism, cronyism, paternalism, patronage, privileging, addressed by sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, anthropologists and historians. Among the latter, we highlight Holanda,³⁵ who writes about the personalist nature of the relations of Brazilian society. At this time, there is a conflict between History and everyday life, and more than this, between Brazilian history and everyday life as an open notion. In this conflict, the important thing appears to be to not dissociate the particularities and contradictions placed against the universality of the global reproduction of the capitalist mode of production.

Though Henri Lefebvre may identify a secondary circuit with the *infra* level of everyday life, we believe, for the purposes of the debate carried out here and considering the nature of capitalism, that what is presented in the process studied here addresses not a "secondary everyday life", or less, but everyday life itself being reproduced as inequalities, in and by social inequalities, as another necessary one that is constitutive of its opposite. The most fully organized everyday life of the middle classes, in Brazil to a lesser degree and more broadly in the "developed" world. If it is true that only the State can "remove" from the absolute *infra*-everyday life the poorest within the impoverished, it does not appear to be less true that even those families who perceive the more or less significant improvements continue needing actions by the State. The absence of the State - except for isolated programs such as *My House, My Life*, more accustomed to new capitalist mobilizations/appropriations of public funds - does not lead to a guarantee of social rights, thus, does not lead to the idea that there is a "complete" everyday life. Therefore, there is a broader, biased and contradictory process in its spatial development, which produces a new round of capital reproduction through specific social groups (popular and lower middle strata) made to consume, which reveals a *certain* establishment of these people in everyday life. A *certain* creation of everyday

life was presented as a new field of real estate, financial and state reproduction. In this process, increased consumption extends to space (housing) and, when this occurs, on the level of space, there is a biased definition of the way of life, housing, which represents intensive consumption, which can amount to 50% or more of the family income for 30 years. This does not exactly assume that these families will cease to consume other merchandise (though this can occur too), but that they will probably endanger their already complicated conditions of access to education, health and urban mobility.

One could thus consider some terms that aim to contradict the ideology of progress and the "new Brazilian middle class": new poverty, broadened survival or enriched misery.³⁶ The process under way reveals an update of how, in Brazil, capital is reproduced and simultaneously major social inequalities are strengthened or maintained, converting them into vigorous reproductive sources. In this necessary and particular way, everyday life for these strata of society is realized in a contradictory fashion, as the presence-absence of the State, as a reality-representation, in which it is not social mobility that occurs but the commitment of the State to simultaneously broaden the social base of economic reproduction and maintain/strengthen historically constituted inequalities. We claim that the shape of the unequal everyday life is the same shape of everyday life for the majority of the population in Brazil, as a necessarily unequal and contradictory capitalist reproduction. This unequal everyday life has also been undergoing transformations, acquiring new elements, becoming more populated with objects and merchandise, even private land ownership for a portion of this population has occurred, but all to the extent of an economic growth without effective social development.

Is it possible to say that the relation between the strategic placement of space in exchange logic (of merchandise) and its generalization would maintain, in addition to a necessary relation with a relative mobility/circulation of private land ownership - carried out by its financial mobilization -, a relation with the colonization of everyday life through everyday life itself? For Lefebvre,³⁷ "the buyer of a "habitable" volume acquires daily time [...]". But, in the first place, it is necessary to ask: under what terms would residents of low income groups of new closed housing projects have access to the private ownership of urban

land? Therefore, in the form of financial debt (real estate financing via the Federal Economic Bank), for private land ownership, which runs the risk of not being carried out, mainly by the poorer social groups. In this process, the modalities of real estate housing improves and becomes flexible, precisely to be able to try to extract income from the lower income brackets and from the lower middle class brackets, which is broadly based on state actions, such as the *My House, My Life* Program.

Moreover, what would the role of private land ownership be - when by chance it is implemented or even on the critical path of the attempt to implement it - for the experience of everyday life? It is about the rationalization and reduction of an essential practice, that of housing, to another practice, that of habitat, which agrees more with planning the moments of everyday life in the world of consumption. And how can private land ownership aid in the implementation of separating the moments of life, schedules, norms, in sum, everyday life? By means of increasing the production of the city as private/privatizable space, the abstract identification of the possibility of housing and urban life in private spaces, developing a private awareness and individualism. Private land ownership can symbolically and concretely offer stabilization in everyday life. This way, it is central to the internalization of the fetish of merchandise, which the private conscience has extended to the conscience of everyday life, as private space ownership. Repetition finds in private land ownership its spatial formalization, being that it stops housing on the level of homogeneity, logic, the rationalization of space, instead of the differential relations that are blocked in the extension of the private and the atrophy of the public. There is a relation between private land ownership and space fragmentation, its divisibility and interchangeability (sale) in larger or smaller pieces. Private land ownership is not in itself a condition for experiencing daily life, but a need for its relative (momentary, unstable, contingent) expansion reinforces the definition of sections of the population with respect to everyday life, with all of the social inequalities being replaced on a new level.

Therefore, (possible) access to home ownership by means of private land ownership would represent an important moment in the configuration of

everyday life. A new house, fixed housing possessed (temporarily, though possessed) by a determined family, can establish, in a more definitive way, a geometric center of the world (cf. an idea by Eclea Bosi) for these individuals, based on which spatial articulations of everyday life are strengthened in a determined place. Therefore, access to private land ownership - even during the payment period of the real estate mortgage installments, even as a possession - leads to home ownership as an expectation of overcoming the temporariness of "living from rent" or in the home of relatives, the lack of a "fixed address" and what this could represent in our society. In a world in which everyday life is characterized by a structuring of the world of merchandise, consumption, houses increasingly bought and decreasingly rented or self-built would represent for certain social groups – beyond an importance for individuals and their families - a sign of definitive access to urban life - or at least a major approximation to a more structured life. Moreover, it would represent the possibility of access to a life of greater consumption. Parallel to the acquisition of housing (financial debt and new materiality), for those who can maintain mortgage payments, the development of a "foundation" for the acquisition of new merchandise emerges, new products for new needs in a new way of life, new real estate, the sensation of a new place in the world. The new house requires new objects that match, new debts.³⁸ However, this new collection of things implies, in our reality, a destruction of the urbanity supposedly acquired with a house: new distances, a new instability regarding urban services and facilities. So, what is at stake is an attempt to implement private ownership, which frequently means, in exchange, a greater instability in education, health, food, entertainment, etc.

In this attempt, there is an imitation of everyday life and a consumer life of wealthier classes, which mass-produces consumption as an appearance of upward social mobility, revealing an "enriched misery" in the terms of Debord.³⁹ It is a new poverty, materially more organized, but which continues being poor in terms of the components of social appropriation, services and urban rights, for example. But what appears disconcerting is the fact that this simulation is, in fact, a representation of a representation, in the sense of being a representation that the low-income financialized-real estate social groups make of the middle

classes, which are themselves based on the representation of wealthier classes: the rich and famous, artists, celebrities, etc. Therefore, we are faced with a second-degree representation, which multiplies abstractions and makes them more complex.

In the new popular housing projects produced by the real estate-financialized market on urban peripheries mix together, as a general rule, urban characteristics of housing projects (blocks of buildings of up to four floors) and closed horizontal condominiums (sets of duplexes). They observe equally in the duplexes or in the blocks of buildings the same homogenization and the same excessive normalization of uses. Private land ownership (at least in its momentary possession in occupying a house), in the scope of private life, can even allow for some privacy. However, in the scope of public life on the street, in the neighborhood, in the city, this appropriation is unstable due to segregation, which occurs frequently with the privatization of public spaces by building walls and sentry boxes in public spaces, treating it more often than not as a morphology of closed condominiums but which in fact is a property "that has been closed off".

The new closed condominiums/properties lead to a change in the direction of the street. It ceases to be a fully public space, open to other streets of the neighborhood and the city, and is transformed into a semblance of a street, mere circulation, a common space on the inside of a closed space. These new spaces can accomplish only some more or less anticipated changes, more or less partial experiences/conveniences. However, streets in closed condominiums (properties) distance themselves from full appropriation due to their carefully planned conception as limited, restricted and restrictive to more spontaneous socialization with nearby spaces. Seabra,⁴⁰ when referring to closed condominiums aimed at attending to the richer strata of the population (*Alphaville*), writes that "these territories in urban areas are land titles with absolute boundaries, visible in the project of the built area. Its boundaries form [...] a 'hard line', which are the contact 'zones', characterized by singular experiences of living the urban process."

These are some of the terms of a new everyday life being produced/reproduced for a population that has begun to be included in a new

universe of consumption, which includes the consumerism of space based on new real estate products, tending to exercise the *domination of social space* in the everyday life of these social groups as a means of capitalist reproduction. However, by treating it as the reproduction of socio-spatial inequalities on new levels, expropriation/proletarianization is presented as the ultimate meaning of this process.

Perspectives

The topic/problem of housing production carried out by the real estate-financial-state sectors involves, following the patterns that have been taking place, the reproduction of broader negativities, among them a greater instability of urban life - greater distances, lack of urban facilities in detriment to the "gamble" of home ownership, which accentuates urban segregation. Residents of determined peripheral spaces aim to become owners of their homes in another peripheral section farther away, promoting a spatial shift between peripheries more or less far away. The real estate financialization of poverty in urban housing in Brazil leads us to consider new processes of peripheralization, the component of a shift between peripheries, an intra-peripheral reproduction, if you will, aiming to better define the so-called C class, its misery enriched in the face of strong Brazilian inequality. In her discussions, Cibele Rizek presents a reflection on whether the transformations of Brazilian capitalism would affect class structure, pointing out that there is a set of transformations of the working class which puts forth a sociological question about the middle class. Thus, the author asks what is the C class? Is it the middle class? Is it political propaganda? Is it a working class with a better salary? In any case, there seems to be a corrosion of rights with inclusion through consumption, with private land ownership being a(n) (im)possibility, which can be achieved or not for those poorer families among the groups which have been "integrated" into new contracts of real estate mortgages. This housing space as a business worsens the urban conditions at the heart of the occasional home acquisition, considering that secured transactions and the Brazilian social context make the achievement of ownership and home owning a fragile thing. The widely

publicized "full employment" does not usually discuss the issue of what kind of employment is being talked about. In fact, they are unstable, outsourced, temporary, subcontracted etc., jobs. These new transformations carry an enormous strength in transforming ways of life, due to the scale that this process involves and the spatial shifts that they impose.

Self-building and renting are added to another possibility of housing for some segments of the less wealthy populations on the peripheries: debt and real estate mortgage. The issue is that this debt is in itself problematic for many, especially for those who have no minimal guarantee with respect to their jobs. And the way in which this debt is established spatially in the pursuit of home ownership occurs by buying a small apartment in a closed condominium which, though inhabited by families whose income profile is often not very far from residents in the surrounding area, proposes a determined socio-spatial practice founded in segregation, in the ideology that the new residents need to have the sensation of a new upward mobility or social *status*. Therefore, spatially and in its morphology, the closed condominium feeds this representation and simulation of social climbing, bringing new elements and trends to consider regarding segregation on the peripheries.

Considering the recent real estate dynamic, we have already observed a containment of the major expansion of residential launches and an increase in property stocks still to be sold, which reveals the limitations of this process. The new expansions of real estate activities are more connected to following government and financialization programs in the sector as well as in Brazilian families through the expansion of credit, which is also related to the international macroeconomic framework. Over the past few years, the crisis scenario in advanced capitalist economies of Europe and the USA directed the shift of investments to the so-called emerging markets, especially to China and the BRICS, and the financialization of the Brazilian real estate sector is partly associated to this process.

In capitalist urbanization, less valuable spaces can always be reproduced in order to achieve the process of space valuation, which makes the production of the city and urbanization assume a central role in capitalist reproduction on the local, national and global scales. But it is important to observe the

emergence, even in the so-called "central" countries, of urban assets which fight against super-indebtedness and financial and real estate expropriation which have been throwing out on the street thousands of families from the impoverished middle classes and groups from the less well-off (immigrant) classes. The constant financial crises place limits on the expansion of real estate valuation in different countries, and the "social control" of the stock of unoccupied residences has become a catalyzing object of recent urban struggles, as in the case of the Spanish movement *Platform of those Affected by Mortgages* (PAH)⁴¹.

Finally, the housing projects produced by the COHABS/CDHUS reveal housing as a habitation problem that, nevertheless, was more integrally assumed by the State, which can reinforce a stigmatization of its residents, on the one hand, but instead enabled the identification of a new agent for which one could exercise political pressure. In the process under way, there seems to be an implicit consensual project of urbanization: new housing projects express the meaning of the city produced by the capitalist market as a horizon which comprises virtually all urban space (but not without the aid of the State). Since there is an increasingly private logic in large-scale space production, the social mobilization surrounding urban improvements has become more dispersed, atomized and individualized, being a strategic process in which there is a certain decentralization of the producing agent of large housing spaces. Accentuated alienation is reproduced in the difficulty of unifying the demands promptly met by the real estate market, in this case, the housing market which, however, is not able to handle alone the housing production for the poorer social brackets, revealing its limitations. We would not rule out the idea that, in addition to good businesses, the process analyzed here is also a strategy of social demobilization surrounding the struggle for housing, with the strength of co-optation of some social movements.

On the other hand, the popular protests of June 2013 reveal that, in the country, a space of social tension and restlessness surrounding urban everyday life was created, as a possible moment of (partial) de-alienation of the deprivations and expropriations experienced on a day-to-day basis by the majority of society. From the point of view of the struggle for housing, there has

been an increase in the contradictions replaced to a great extent by the process analyzed here which produces new possibilities of mobilization. This is how the significant increase in urban land occupations on the peripheries of cities such as São Paulo can be understood, where thousands of families have been organizing themselves based on movements such as the Movement of Homeless Workers (MTST). This movement has been featuring an important revival of the urban struggle by occupying lands of large corporations, headquarters of large contractors, carrying out demonstrations by blocking important avenues, among other strategies. There is a perception (which is socialized) that the *My House, My Life* program has meant the great increase of land valuation on the peripheries and an impoverishment of urban life. In this process, the main contractors and corporations command urban policy (since they dominate the funding of the electoral campaigns) and know little or no control on the part of the State - public regulation, application of the more combative mechanisms present in the *Statute of the City* – over their stocks, which reach millions of inhabitants.

In this perspective, these resistances can mean an unblocking of what Heller⁴² defines as the "responsible human-generic activity", which is a moment in which *social praxis* is elevated to *non-everyday life* as a means of rejecting the alienation of the "mute and passive unity between particularity and genericity".⁴³ In other words, if the process presented here complicates a possible replacement of the partial and planned everyday life precisely by being increased (in the unequal terms pondered here), placing new challenges for experiencing everyday life for these social groups as the responsible appropriation and full use of time and space, the recent struggles, materialized by urban occupations, show that the possibilities of social transformation do not allow themselves to be easily appeased.

Notes

¹ This chapter is based on my doctoral dissertation, entitled *Novos espaços e cotidiano desigual nas periferias da metrópole* (New spaces and the unequal everyday life on the peripheries of the metropolis), which was defended in 2012.

² 2003: 11.

³ 2008: 134

⁴ 2008: 70.

⁵ Idem, p. 115.

⁶ 2004.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Bonduki, 2004: 93.

⁹ Idem, p. 96.

¹⁰ 2003: 31.

¹¹ Damiani, 1993; Rodrigues, 2003.

¹² 1993: 89.

¹³ A market composed by the major business corporations/construction companies of the country, which have become financialized in the past decade, carrying out operations such as the constitution of Real Estate Investment Funds (FIIs), Securitizations (Real Estate Receivable Certificates, the CRIs) and IPOs (*Initial Public Offering*), which we will not address here in any particular way.

¹⁴ This Program will not be analyzed exhaustively in this chapter.

¹⁵ We consider it important to emphasize that housing production in peripheral urban spaces is only one of the modalities (though it had gained importance) of performance of the real estate sector. It is also important to consider real estate performance in the city centers of large cities, which are frequently objects of renewal or "revitalizations", as well as their activities in areas of deindustrialization, generally better located and which house real estate enterprises for the higher income strata.

¹⁶ 2012.

¹⁷ The closed off condominium-property studied in our doctoral research, with almost 500 thousand m² of the total area and 2,400 housing units initially built by the *Bairro Novo joint venture* (partnership between the companies *Odebrecht* and *Gafisa*), which then moved the enterprise to the *Tenda* ("popular" branch of *Gafisa*).

¹⁸ Here we debase the offer/demand relation of properties and mortgages, since it is about the very well-orchestrated construction of a real estate and financial demand.

¹⁹ 1990.

²⁰ 1988.

²¹ Centrality, whether from the commercial (and services) or residential point of view, since certain valued residential neighborhoods admittedly acquire centrality in terms of consumption and concentrate real estate investments which are connected to the presence of tertiary centralities. This idea is present in our master's thesis. *A produção do espaço e as estratégias reprodutivas do capital: negócios imobiliários e financeiros em São Paulo* (Space production and the reproductive strategies of capital: real estate and financial businesses in São Paulo), defended in 2007.

²² 2009.

²³ 2011.

²⁴ The author shows that Shanghai, for example, which is the image of Chinese ultra-modernity, does not correspond economically to the dynamism that is attributed to it, despite the many businesses that exist there. She investigates a scheme of particularly political connections (a "modernity" in quotes, which is based on a centralized, authoritarian regime, with networks of influence and clients involving land ownership and the mafia directions of grandiose works of inflated infrastructures) which produce sections of the city with an ultramodern image, playing a central role in global financial investments.

²⁵ 2004: 204.

²⁶ Seabra, 2004.

²⁷ 1974: 45.

²⁸ Granou, 1974: 47.

²⁹ Idem, pp. 57-8.

³⁰ In his examination of our doctoral dissertation.

³¹ In his examination of our doctoral dissertation.

³² Lefebvre, 1972: 38.

³³ Idem, p. 87.

³⁴ Martins, 2008: 20.

³⁵ 1995.

³⁶ cf. Debord, 1997.

³⁷ 2008b: 135.

³⁸ In our research, we can see how new housing or housing in better (reformed) conditions, also means an array of new objects, a new real estate, directly connected to everyday life, which acquires new decorations, new colors (houses which move away from the grey-ochre of plaster

and exposed brick to painted, colored walls), new tastes (which come to include delivery). New objects that residents buy (in small portions) to differentiate, but which homogenize above all.

³⁹ 1997.

⁴⁰ 2004: 184.

⁴¹ Available at: <<http://afectadosporlahipoteca.com/>>. Accessed in Feb. 2014.

⁴² Heller, 2004.

⁴³ Idem, ibidem.

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The objective of this chapter is to present some elements for the current debate on the role of culture and cultural heritage in urban space production, with an emphasis on the Brazilian reality.

We begin with the hypothesis that the debate regarding the central role of both in the current business-like urban management accounts only partially for understanding the problem when the focus of the analysis is on countries such as Brazil, that is, those that have historically been placed in a subordinate and dependent position in the capitalist economy. The discussion of this "central role of culture" is worth noting, since when it is generalized to the Brazilian reality, far from clarifying these processes, on the contrary, it ends up obscuring the existing contradictions. Therefore, in this chapter, we intend to bring these contradictions to light.

The hypothesis presented here is conceptually founded on the idea that the emergence of a "heritage issue" is located in a specific time within the urban problem, that which Lefebvre¹ called the critical phase. This is a moment of crises and uncertainties, in which contradictions intensify and, in this sense, to understand these processes means, first of all, an analytical exercise in bringing them to light, exposing them.

It is within this perspective that it is necessary to consider the dual and contradictory role of heritage, much more than generalizing and adding up the processes. On the one hand, heritage is organized for visual consumption, therefore transformed, not exactly into merchandise, but mostly into the means for it, for its realization. On the other hand, by essentially being a bearer of symbols, it also opens them up to social awareness, as the author claims. Heritage is the expression of a past and it provides concreteness in order to understand it, it mobilizes collective memories and stimulates a reflection on the paths outlined on the trajectory of constructing the humanity of man. In this sense, as Weil claims,² love of the past and its witnesses, as is the case of heritage, has nothing to do with a reactionary political orientation, but on the contrary, a critical perspective of it is the necessary nourishment to consider the

transformation and emancipation of man. "Of all the needs of the human soul, there is none other more vital than the past", claims the author.³

Based on this central idea, the path of this discussion will first aim to resume some central elements of this debate regarding the role of culture and heritage in current urban management, based on key authors such as Henri-Pierre Jeudy,⁴ David Harvey,⁵ Françoise Choay⁶ and Otilia Arantes.⁷ Are we faced with the emergence of a heritage issue defined based on the claim of a "generalized patrimonialization"? The intention is to situate this phenomenon in the context of a determined moment of this urban issue, the critical phase, according to Henry Lefebvre.⁸

Afterwards, we intend to debate the status of the preservation of cultural heritage in Brazil, based on the claim of a passive heritage, a situation that is contrary to the one experienced by the generalized patrimonialization of European countries. To this end, we introduce a theoretical argument that has been rarely discussed up until now in the specialized bibliography: the idea of the unequal nature of cultural heritage in Brazil.

Finally, in the conclusion we propose, when considering the role of cultural heritage, an "interpretation against the grain", according to Walter Benjamin.⁹ This interpretation highlights the political role of heritage as that which rejects the celebrated memory, the mainstay of economic and social domination. To consider heritage against the grain means taking it as an essential element in the critical reading of the process of urban space production, refusing to treat it as a mythical or heroic past.

The emergence of a "heritage issue"

From the 1990s on, a discussion has been established on the role invested in the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage as a strategy of intervention in the central areas of large cities, in the scope of the so-called business-like strategic planning.

These restored heritages transformed into large facilities for visits and exhibitions of art, music and dance, which, as a general rule, accommodate uses connected to the so-called erudite culture, have been seen by the State and by urban corporations as capable of attracting new investments in an environment of global competition between cities or also as a central piece of a process of real estate revaluation.

One of the perverse results of this intervention model is related to the profound social change in these central areas, derived from the displacement of the poorer social groups that occupied the city center, or even, due to the transformation of land use which substitutes the residence of a local population with commercial establishments or services aimed at tourism.

Heritage has thus entered the agenda of the debate on the city and urban issues, but in a skewed way since preservation, in being used as a justificatory alibi for urban interventions of a socially exclusive and expropriating nature, has thus become associated to the process of *gentrification*. In the São Paulo capital, we can cite two examples of interventions which used the discourse of heritage preservation resulting in a high social cost: the requalification of the People's Park in the Itaim Bibi neighborhood, which eliminated the popular practices of amateur soccer¹⁰ and the recent case of Vila Itororó in Bela Vista, whose residents were removed for the restoration of a building declared a heritage site in order to establish a cultural center. This project ignored the historicity of heritage by erasing the features of the memory of the city represented in the formation of tenements inhabited by the working class.

A heritage intervention model had thus been established, which has been understood by the State and by urban entrepreneurs as capable of reintegrating it to the urban dynamic, giving it use and, therefore, presence in the daily life of the cities and which was globally disseminated based on European experiences.

However, the consequence, beyond the major social cost, is that this model of adapting heritage for merchandise for consuming culture and tourism frequently places them in the urban fabric as materialized objects, according to Menezes.¹¹ Within the scope of these projects is the hypervaluation of

architecture and artistic style in detriment to other values of heritage, mainly those which contextualize assets in their contradictory and conflicting universe of history and social processes. This ends up producing a fetishist cultural heritage, which is explained in itself, solely by technique or aesthetics.

A model that fetishizes cultural objects to exploit their commercial values consequently also destroys the essence of heritage, since it distorts its symbolic and social meaning. For Jeudy,¹² the dilemma of contemporary heritage management resides precisely in the need to exclude it from the circuit of market values to, in this way, save its symbolic value.

With planning based on European experiences and associated to new architectural and urban interventions in central areas, as Arantes claims¹³ for the cases of cities such as Paris, Barcelona, Bilbao, Lisbon and Berlin, this model evidences valuation of the area of culture, through the establishment of facilities for cultural use.

However, understanding this role represented by heritage should not be disconnected from the context of processes that have occurred in European countries and which have led to what Jeudy¹⁴ calls generalized patrimonialization. This expression is used by the author to designate a process that has the following characteristics: the priority to preserve the old façade of the buildings which led to a true standardization of the so-called historic downtown; the obsession for restoration; the constant museification of old industrial structures; preservation as a primary and founding principle of urban interventions, among other defining features. All of these aspects constitute what Jeudy called "contemporary fervor for the worship of the past" which resulted in an excess of heritage and the depletion of the stages of identification and protection, which he calls patrimonial petrification, leaving now only the task of its maintenance.

Other European authors also call attention to this same condition in which the interest for patrimony has become a defining trend. Harvey¹⁵ highlights the development, since the 1970s, of a "heritage industry" associated to a museum culture, exemplifying the case of England, in which a museum was opened every three weeks, constituting a turning point of generalizations and popularizations, but tailored to the tastes of the middle classes. Also

included in this heritage industry are superficially historical trends, whether of reconstructing past styles, or also of rehabilitating old buildings, a fact that reinforces the idea that the past has gained meaning as an object of commercialization, when what should be at stake is the critical understanding of history.

Choay,¹⁶ on the other hand, identifies in this same moment, after the 1960s, a growing interest for protecting heritage, which would have led to its numerical increase, a phenomenon he calls "heritage inflation". The author cites as part of this same process a major typological expansion, with the advent of new heritage objects, which breaks from the idea of a monument heritage linked to the dominant elite, in addition to the assets connected to a more recent history. In this sense, hangars, collective housing, workspaces connected to use and everyday life have also been incorporated, constituting what she ironically called "Noah's complex". There seems to be in the use of this expression a critique of the author in relation to the incorporation of these new patrimonies. Despite this, on the contrary, diversification is the product of a more democratic and representative perspective in relation to different social groups.

But what is essential in this discussion is understanding the context in which this generalization of preservation took place primarily in Europe, leading to the emergence of a "heritage issue". To this end, it is necessary to highlight three fundamental issues.

On the one hand, some authors point out the transformations in European society from the 1970s on, leading to the process of economic restructuring, in addition to the technological changes and industrialization which drastically reduced industrial employment rates. Based on these new conditions, in the 1990s, a debate on the new "post-industrial society" was established, in which jobs would be from this moment on concentrated on the third sector, mainly in services. As a characteristic of this new society, the reduction of the workday, its diversification and flexibility in the face of technological innovations lead to the expansion of leisure time and consequently of forms of tourism.

Choay¹⁷ refers to this process as the development of a leisure society for which a new market had opened, that of cultural assets. The author reinforces that the French State was the first to exploit and strengthen these conditions, which is reinforced by information from another French author. According to Rébérioux,¹⁸ France declared the year 1980 the "Year of Heritage" which represented an expansion of state resources for application by the Ministry of Culture, which already had a very significant endowment, she claims.

Therefore, it is fundamental to understand the role of the French State in this environment of creating a profitable market of cultural assets with strong support to use heritage sites, since these public resources resulted in the restoration and rehabilitation of old buildings. Moreover, they led to an expansion of the stock of heritage sites recognized by UNESCO, which made it one of the most highly represented countries on the World Heritage Site List.¹⁹

In this context, cultural heritage serves as a privileged field for these new forms of using free time, which progressively leads, over time, to the increase in visiting heritage sites, which have been established definitively in the itineraries of tourist agencies. This is not separate from the fact that visiting heritage sites is primarily visual consumption of an aesthetic or a style and plays an important role as generator of cultural capital, for whom, according to Bourdieu,²⁰ the indication of taste or preference represents a notable marker of social class.

This way, the growing interest in visiting heritage sites is not separate from this context of placement in the sphere of culture as a new market, considering the logic of the reproduction of merchandise, a moment which Arendt²¹ identifies as a cultural crisis. Culture is increasingly being threatened to be confused with entertainment. The original essence of cultural objects was to support the vital process of social groups and to be permanent in the world, says the author. However, from the moment in which culture is absorbed by the entertainment industry and confused with it, cultural objects become transitory merchandise, which are consumed and discarded.

Finally, there is another fundamental element that explains the conditions under which this heritage issue emerges. The stripping of historic city centers, from the 1960s, conducted by suburbanization processes, according to Ricci²² unfolded in the following years with the increase of instruments preserving so-

called historic city centers, as had occurred in Italy, through laws, research, plans, funding, pacts, alliances and fiscal incentives. Consequently, these actions and public investments promoted the idea of the return to downtown through the middle and wealthy classes, stimulated by the offer of new facilities and a dynamic and rich cultural life.

These urban interventions carried out by the State characterize an important part of this heritage issue, which emerges as an economic necessity in the face of the available investments in infrastructure in central areas. But there is also another dimension in the return to downtown which is made explicit as a new social need: in the pursuit of centrality and a lost urbanity.

This is how it is possible to understand the emergence of the heritage issue as part of a moment that Lefebvre²³ called, within the urban problem, the critical phase. It follows the implosion-explosion process of the city and the generalization of the forms of socio-spatial segregation. Such processes strip and impoverish the social reality and urban life in central areas, dissolving urbanity to the same extent in which the urban fabric expands exponentially in the form of scattered suburbs and extensive peripheries.

But the critical phase is the moment of generalizing the logic of merchandise for all instances of social life which places culture as an object of consumption and production for the market.

Therefore, the need for the city and for centrality has been recreated as an object of visual consumption through visits and tourism, which explains the role of cultural heritage in this new business-like urban management.

A passive heritage and the unequal nature of heritage in Brazil

Will it be possible to consider that, in Brazil, cultural heritage plays the same role in urban space production, as has been discussed so far, and which has been explained in a specific context, that of European countries?

We do not live in a leisure society with the increase of free time. On the contrary, we have increasingly distant modalities of work instability, work days

which have not been reduced, apart from forms of permanent exclusion from the job market.²⁴ The era of computerization has entailed new modalities of informal work, including a *cyber-proletariat*, as the author claims.

On the other hand, state initiatives of European countries invested resources and strengthened a market of cultural assets, creating cultural facilities in factories, warehouses, railway stations, among other places and established urban plans and interventions, which prioritized the recovery of façades and other such actions. These facts led Jeudy²⁵ to claim an imposed heritage order. Contrary to this, the reality of Latin American countries such as Brazil, among others in Latin America, present different questions. As Gutierrez questions:

It is possible that in first world countries, where in the last decade, the "cultural" has reached an elevated consensus and, as such, has been generating many investments in the sector (museums, auditoriums, music palaces, which are the architectural highlights of the 80s and 90s), the topic appears to be self-sustained in this new dimension of consumption. But in American countries, in addition to the prestige of these operations mirroring those in Europe and North America, the resources aimed at culture were so thin that they were only able to maintain the old facilities in operation.²⁶

Apparently, we are very far from a situation of generalized patrimonialization, in which the excesses of conservation are present in the urban reality and abound public resources for investments in culture. Much to the contrary, a set of chronic problems for preserving heritage repeat over the years: reduced technical teams to deal with research and monitoring, in addition to educational activities aimed at heritage; reduced salaries which constantly deplete the teams even more; meager economic resources for recovery and restoration, whether of historic public or private buildings, in which small owners do not have the resources for conservation; the conflict with interventions and public and private enterprises, whose development for the most part opposes the interests of preservation; the absence of an economic alternative of financial support, for small property owners who do not have resources. This set of chronic problems demonstrates the fact that cultural patrimony has not been

effectively placed on the political agenda of the Brazilian State as an issue of relevance.

We believe that the use of determined patrimonies with the role of cultural bait to leverage urban businesses does not express an emergence of the heritage issue in Brazil, but of a partial copy of a model that aims to mirror in function the prestige attributed to these interventions, as the author points out. A model conceived and managed in the general conditions that have not been fully accomplished here considering the urgencies of social issues in the face of heritage having a subordinate and dependent position in the capitalist economy.

The idea that is presented here is that, contrary to the excess of heritage, one experiences in Brazil a passive preservation which clearly expresses that neither heritage nor culture are central issues in our society. Moreover, the urban investments and interventions that exploit the valuation of heritage such as the examples in capitals such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Salvador,²⁷ are truly the expression of the unequal nature existing in the universe of cultural production and reproduction and therefore, heritage.

Inequality first occurs on the level of identification and physical and legal protection of patrimony and which explains one of the dimensions of this passive heritage.

We have not exhausted the task of identifying and protecting our patrimony, as Jeudy²⁸ claims to have been reached in Europe. In other words, many assets that could document the history of cities in Brazil have been constantly demolished, mainly in the past few years, a result of the expansion of real estate businesses. Many have been demolished without any sufficient study or understanding of its role as a document of the history of the city, which demonstrates the fragility and incapacity of public institutions who shall have custody of the heritage.

Even though the Commitments of Brasília and Salvador have recommended the creation and operation of organizations of heritage preservation in different channels, such as states and municipalities, since the beginning of the 1970s, the difficulties in consolidating these works in a large number of Brazilian cities is a widely present reality. Not only because not all

municipalities have even created a protective organization or legislation, but also because in those that have created them, the pressures of political and economic interests hinder actions to be carried out in full. It is about a contradiction that occurs due to the fact that despite the heritage sites having a daily presence in the social fabric of the city, which would make their preservation more rational on the municipal level, it is precisely on this level of power that heritage sites are more vulnerable to investments of real estate interests or elite landowners who aim to guarantee their store of value in the city, interests that are often aligned with the operation of municipal public authorities.

Not even the much talked about placement of heritage preservation on Master Plans, due to provisions by the City Statute, has been capable of countering these economic interests which maintain a close connection to political authorities. In practice, the heritage order and the duty of memory, which Jeudy²⁹ addresses, have decidedly not been implemented here.

In some cases, only social organization and mobilization, by means of creating associations in defense of heritage, have been able to prevent some demolitions of heritage sites. We must cite, in the city of São Paulo, the emblematic cases of the Movement for the Fine Arts Cinema, of the SOS Quarteirão Itaim Movement and the Movement for the Repossession of the Peru Cement Factory, three major mobilizations that put in check the paths of the policies of preservation in the state of São Paulo.

In the Fine Arts Cinema, the recent outcome, which resulted in the project of resuming operation of the cinema broadly missed the point of the work by organizations of municipal and state preservation, being the result of the mobilization of members of the movement together with the Municipal Secretary of Culture. The heritage organizations, on the contrary, positioned themselves frankly against the preservation due to their understanding that this instrument did not guarantee the continuity of use. The preservation of this cultural and affective heritage of the population in the greater Brazilian metropolitan area moved residents from all corners of this extensive urban fabric and placed new challenges for considering and understanding the public policies in this area. These policies were confronted by social movements and

not by the public institutions who were responsible for its care, another contradiction to be pointed out.

As a need to overcome these difficulties of a local action, the municipalities frequently appeal to the request for protection in the higher courts, together with state and federal organizations, which in large part is innocuous. The result of a way of seeing and building heritage that is essentially European and French, that is, working on a view of heritage that should be exceptional and monumental and supported by the majority of cases with a so-called "architectural value", most of the time the narratives produced by preservation officers disregard these requests based on the famous argument that property is only of "local interest".

In our understanding, this is perhaps one of the great myths created on the inside of the practices of preservation organizations, serving as a constant justification for refusing that which is aesthetically or architecturally considered worthy of prestige. Regarding this, Rodrigues reminds us that, in the higher law of the country, there is nothing that governs the protection of cultural heritage, or any reference to these levels of interest for purposes of preservation.

We must point out that this cultural heritage is Brazilian, with no need to discuss "heritage sites of exclusively state or regional interest" or of "exclusively municipal or local interest", as some authors prefer. This ends up providing unreasonable arguments to justify the omission of the federal and state preservation organizations in the face of systematic cultural dilapidation that has been practiced in municipalities, which the arrogance of some technicians considers "uninteresting" from the heritage point of view. It must be emphasized that this position has no legal, much less constitutional, support, thus contributing to transforming residents of small, poor cities into second-class citizens, without the right to memory.³⁰

The unequal nature of heritage in Brazil originates in the election of what should and what should not be elevated to the condition of collective heritage, a process which prioritizes formal, aesthetic, stylistic and architectural values. As a result of this, the heritage ensemble especially mirrors the presence of the economic, political and religious elite, leaving aside determined social subjects, as is the case of urban and rural workers, the indigenous and blacks, laborers

and farmers. Not even the establishment of new postulates proposed by the Federal Constitution of 1988, which superseded the idea of a heritage linked to the memorable facts of Brazilian history, that is, a celebratory and not very critical view of the past, can change the typological configuration of the heritage set, historically concentrated in places of power: the mining cities of Minas Gerais, or the capitals of Colonial and Imperial Brazil, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro.

It was precisely the critical view of the need to broaden representativeness of heritage to all corners of the national territory, thus recognizing the existence of an unequal map of heritage in Brazil,³¹ which led Iphan to propose, from 2007 on, a working strategy aimed at broadening the heritage stock in a way to better distribute the presence of the public organization all over the country.³²

The second dimension of the unequal nature of heritage in Brazil that needs to be emphasized is expressed through the public actions aimed at its valuation. In other words, it is in the unequal public policies that centralize and channel resources to the conservation and restoration of *determined* types of heritage sites, leaving a large number of others without any attention and public action.

Cases such as the Luz neighborhood in São Paulo, Pelourinho in Salvador, the Recife neighborhood, Praça 15 in Rio de Janeiro, do not enable generalizations to the collective heritage nor conclude anything about the central role of heritage and culture in our country. On the contrary, by adding up this universe based on some isolated cases, the existing contradictions of State action and the unequal nature of the policies are obscured. In the same neighborhood as Luz, the state government spent voluminous resources on the requalification of historical buildings such as the State Pinacoteca, the Júlio Prestes Railway Station, the Sorocabana Warehouse and the deops BUILDING, in addition to the investments on the Luz Station with the creation of the Portuguese Language Museum. These are the highlights of a new use that is desired for the region. Contradictorily, we find in a state of penury and deterioration the Economizadora Vila, one of the rare existing examples today

of a serial production of housing projects, on the part of mutual societies, characteristic of the beginning of the 20TH century.

The absence of public investments and initiatives in relation to these heritage sites, representative of worker and laborer life in the city, can be related to the argument of an absence of touristic appeal of this heritage site, contrary to the major cultural facilities for visits. However, the importance of maintaining and preserving a heritage site should not be tied to the possibility for tourism, entertainment or visits, but to the importance that these objects have for understanding the city in its historical perspective.

Moreover, it is necessary to question in the Brazilian case a model of preservation that has been imposed as the only option, constituted based on the implementation of major facilities connected to the erudite culture, such as showrooms, museums and cultural centers. According to Menezes³³, this process has been reinforcing a cultural use of culture, instead of understanding the universe of culture as an integral part of social reproduction and the everyday life of cities. The case of implementing a cultural center in the Itororó Vila, previously mentioned here, offers an excellent example of this. Instead of projects that incorporate the preservation of heritage to everyday life, for the dimension of living, for example, experiences of new cultural facilities are reproduced as if culture were a separate and superior level in relation to everyday life.

Recalling Gutierrez,³⁴ it is necessary to break from this imported model and recover heritage attending preferably to social needs, since in a Latin American context of profound social inequality and drastic need, as part of our heritage of the colonial past, the preservation of cultural heritage should be projected in the perspective of a social commitment.

Final considerations

Just as it was possible from a perspective that poses problems for the unequal nature of heritage, questioning the generalization of its central role in space production in the Brazilian reality, a similar analysis can be performed

with respect to the universe of culture. Establishing a central role of culture means balancing and giving a generalizing nature to a universe that is essentially unequal. According to Lefebvre,³⁵ it is the ideology of the State or culturalism that fabricates the official thesis of the coherence and uniqueness of culture, under the command of a determined way of seeing and producing culture.

However, it is not just about considering culture in its dimension of diversity or plurality of social groups, but also about looking at it in the context of inequality. The perspective of the debate presented here was such that by addressing heritage and culture in societies such as the Brazilian one, one cannot disregard the existing unequal relations in the universe of cultural production and reproduction. They were and are profoundly characterized by that which we carry as an economic-social heritage and which fundamentally differentiates us from other societies, as in Europe, where culture and heritage have reached another level of participation in economic and social life.

It is not possible to have a comprehensive interpretation of culture in Brazil, taking into consideration that, in this universe, there are erudite expressions that receive incentives and plentiful state resources (symphonic orchestras, for example), as well as an urban and peripheral culture without any support from the State surviving autonomously (with recitals held in bars in the southern region of São Paulo, for example). Establishing a central role of culture in Brazil would be like declaring the invisibility of these groups of cultural producers, such as the invisibility of their cultural expressions and manifestations.

Therefore, the inequalities that are presented on the cultural level are part of the same process in which social inequalities and the hierarchy of cultural capitals are produced and reproduced, that which places the erudite in a position above popular culture. It is part of the same social ranking that places intellectual labor above the forms of material labor. As Chauí recalls,³⁶ though the distinction between popular and erudite culture is really the expression and consequence of the social division of classes, it is conceived as a qualitative difference.

The perspective from the context of inequality does not accept the generalization of a central role given to culture and heritage in the Brazilian reality. On the contrary, it leads to emphasizing the existing contradictions within public policies and institutional practices of preservation, moments in which determined choices are made. That which preserves and restores reflects a type of past and society that one wishes to perpetuate in time. Omissions and forgetfulness are the result of a political construction of the past.

This is why heritage retains a political and strategic role in the city as a possibility of looking into the past from another perspective that is not the officially celebrated history. Even in relation to the heritage sites made into monuments by this unique model of preservation, it is always possible to critically assess them based on the proposal by Benjamim,³⁷ brushing history against the grain. The luxury and ostentation exhibited in many of the small preserved palaces relative to the golden age of the coffee economy in São Paulo, for example, contrast with the near absence of preservation of residences for urban workers. Moreover, the interpretation in this perspective against the grain allows us to pose a problem for this past, as well as for the present, that is, for policies of preservation.

Even more evident is the political role of heritage when it appears as a result of social struggles in the city. From the pioneer example in São Paulo, in the 1970s, that of the Caetano de Campos Normal School, which resisted the threats of demolition for subway construction in the Republic, to the most recent one, the Fine Arts Cinema, whose plans would substitute it for a department store. What is seen in these cases is heritage as a document of an urban dynamic and everyday life in the city, which incorporates it to collective memory and becomes an object of demand and struggle for social groups.

In this case, the struggle is expressed as the resistance to that which Carlos³⁸ called amnesic space production. It results from the transformations that are imprinted on the city in the perspective of its modernization and which are produced in the logic of a homogeneous space, adapted to the needs of capital reproduction. This amnesic space produces estrangement since it is produced from the destruction of urban references, or those that embody the

past moments experienced collectively and which are in the foundation of an identity relation between the residents and the places in the city.

Notes

- ¹ 2004.
- ² 1996.
- ³ Idem, p. 418.
- ⁴ 2005.
- ⁵ 1992.
- ⁶ 2001.
- ⁷ 2000.
- ⁸ 2001; 2004.
- ⁹ 2011.
- ¹⁰ Scifoni, 2013.
- ¹¹ 1992; 1996.
- ¹² 2005.
- ¹³ 2000.
- ¹⁴ 2005.
- ¹⁵ 1992.
- ¹⁶ 2001.
- ¹⁷ Idem.
- ¹⁸ 1991.
- ¹⁹ Scifoni, 2006.
- ²⁰ 2013.
- ²¹ 2009.
- ²² 2012.
- ²³ 2001; 2004.
- ²⁴ Antunes, 2006.
- ²⁵ 2005.
- ²⁶ 1991: 126.
- ²⁷ Such as those carried out respectively in Luz, Praça 15, the Recife and the Pelourinho neighborhoods, according to studies by Beatriz Kara José (2007); Lia Motta (2000); Rogério Proença Leite (2007) and Márcia Santana (2004) .
- ²⁸ 2005.
- ²⁹ Idem.
- ³⁰ 2009: 27.
- ³¹ Rubino, 1994.
- ³² Vieira Filho, 2011.
- ³³ 1996.
- ³⁴ 1991.
- ³⁵ 1991.
- ³⁶ 2006.
- ³⁷ 2011.
- ³⁸ 2001.

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Transformations and resistance in urban centers

Glória da Anunciação Alves

It is a common fact today that we are made aware of actions that transform central areas, on a wide range of geographical scales, in order to better qualify them to fulfill the new roles of command and reproduction of the capitalist productive system.

Transformations emerge with a variety of different names which, while they justify their needs, they also contribute to concealing conflicts that are established regarding the appropriation of space. Therefore, expressions such as revitalization, requalification, revaluation, refunctionalization are used to justify transformations in areas understood as their necessary opposite: run-down, empty, deindustrialized, abandoned and dangerous.

It is not about a mere play on words, but about how creating a general consensus and acceptance regarding these words lead to the approval, in most cases without question, of actions by public authorities and/or private initiatives on a determined space, which are characterized as necessary in order to requalify these spaces, especially in traditional city centers. The issue that is not contemplated, and which we consider to be fundamental, is: what are the implications of this process? The foundation of the capitalist system is inequality. Therefore, we are talking about a process whose actions tend to benefit only some groups, thus promoting, in capitalist countries such as Brazil, a bitter socio-spatial segregation process that affects populations with less purchasing power.

It has been shown, for example, that historical city centers, and here we take downtown São Paulo to illustrate the issue, from the 1980s on, have become dangerous, violent places, which should be avoided. These characteristics, associated to traffic congested with vehicles, also reinforce the idea that they scare off investments from this area, which would be allocated to new central areas presenting the qualities of fluidity and speed of products, information and people. This would be the result of new and modern communication systems that would be installed there and to relative proximity, given their geographical location, since these kinds of central areas are located

near major highways, such as the freeways bordering the Pinheiros and Tietê Rivers.

Building this general consensus on the part of the State associated to private initiatives dissolves the conflict that is established in this area, namely, the struggle between the right to property, in this case, one of the foundations for capitalist reproduction based on space, and the right to be used by the population, who regard this space as a possibility of fulfilling the experience given by the right to housing, work and other needs that emerge in daily life. It is about the conflict that is established between the logic of that which is conceived and that which is experienced. As Lefebvre claims,

[...] on the part of Logos, there is a rationale that is constantly asserted or reasserted: organization styles, aspects of industrial businesses, systems and attempts to systematize everything, here and there. On the one hand, the forces that tend to dominate and control space come together: businesses and the State, institutions and incorporated businesses. On the other hand, there are forces that tend to appropriate space: the various ways of self-managing territorial and productive units, the communities, the elite who want to change their way of life and try to overtake institutions and parties.¹

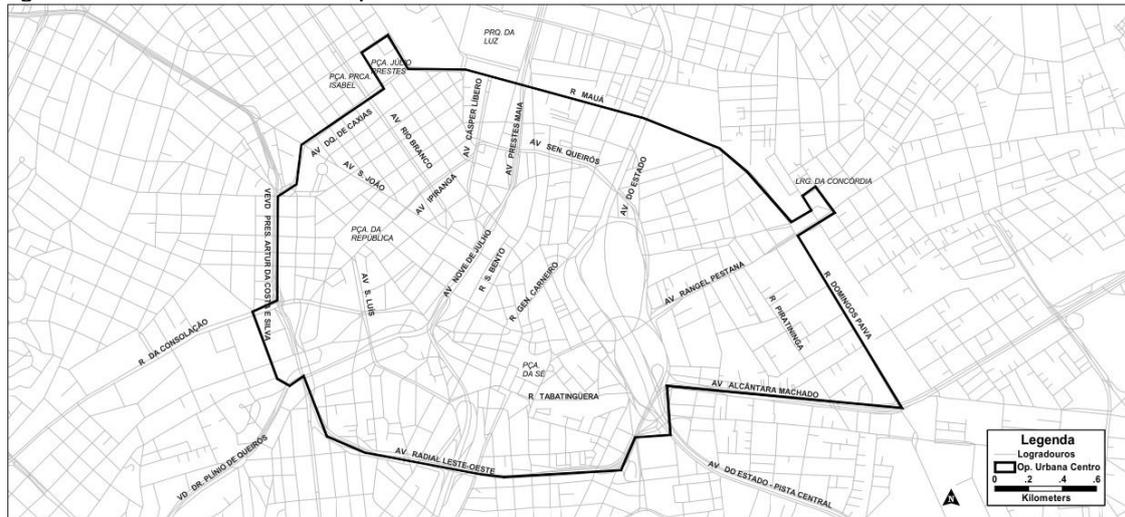
What we aim to discuss in this chapter is the process of introducing these actions as well as their implications in light of dialectical thought, assuming Lefebvre's work as a theoretical foundation.

The process of valuation/devaluation/revaluation

Starting with the city center and especially the so-called traditional/historical city center, in which the downtown Urban Operation was carried out (figure 1), we have repeated claims that reinforce how much the area is run-down, dangerous and driving away investments. Therefore, there is a need to transform it in a way to make it more attractive again for private investments (in the real estate and service sectors, which are preferably modern, advanced and commercial).



Figure 1 – Downtown Urban Operation



Designed by Danilo Cardoso

This same area, until the mid-1950's, was called *A Cidade* ("The City"). In popular vernacular, this is how this part of the city was known by most of its inhabitants, and especially, those who lived precariously in areas in which services were scarce (transportation, health, basic sanitation) which are part of urban life: those who lived in what was characterized at the time as the periphery. This precariousness contrasted with what geographers at the time called the city center, a term that reached Brazil through references from French studies.²

Precisely because it concentrates various elements of life related to political, economic, social, cultural dimensions, the area of the city, which today we call the historical/traditional city center, in the 1970s³ was understood as a place of possibilities, for opportunity, for work, which was all concentrated, in contrast to the periphery, which was characterized by scarcity/absence of city life, since they were places in which only the most basic aspects of life took place. Therefore, downtown can be understood as the unique centrality of the city. According to Lefebvre, centrality is expressed

[...] as an area with a strong density of activities linked to increased rates of circulation, though the needs and demands that determine this circulation are of different natures and intensities.⁴

If unique centrality was a characteristic of the 1970s, today we can no longer make this claim, since reality presents a picture in which we have

multiple and polycentralities.⁵ It is a dialectical process, since the attribute of centrality that was unique and which forced a great value to be placed on space in the central area, on the other hand, also promoted, together with the process of real estate speculation in other areas of the city, a movement of real estate devaluation⁶ of this central area and, at the same time, a valuation process of other areas.

This process makes it such that various activities that were previously only found downtown are now found in other new centralities. With technological development, mainly with respect to new information networks, many public services have been decentralized and several can be accessed today via the internet, which eliminates the need to go downtown, as the older folk would say.⁷

Since it is a dialectical process, we can say that we have in the central area a valuation/devaluation/revaluation triad of urban land, with the latter term being essential for carrying out the movement of capital reproduction.

The City Center, which had previously seen higher prices for urban land, now with the multiplication of centralities, multi and poly, associated to the change in profile of the users of commerce, which focuses predominantly⁸ on the lower income classes, sees the price of urban land lowered, when compared to the new centralities, such as Berrini, Nova Faria Lima, among others.

We cannot forget a fundamental element in this process: private property on urban land. Though apparently devalued, the whole area is composed of innumerable land owners, buildings that participate in the process, but which, like owners together with businessmen from the real estate sector, establish a limit on the devaluation process. This limit is fundamental for building a general consensus on the need for social and economic transformations in the area in question such that socio-spatial changes are proposed as fundamental and necessary for society as a whole.

But what limit is being referred to? We are not referring here to average market values of the city, though these data are available⁹, but to the height of building the need for economic and social revaluation of the area. It is

interesting to note that, regarding social revaluation, it implies attracting strata of society that had distanced themselves from the area over the decades (with respect to housing as well as existing commerce and services). On the other hand, attracting this population would require a strategy of building the idea of safety, in driving away the strata of society with little or no purchasing power, who in the media are, as they have always been, blamed *a priori* for the lack of safety downtown. The existing prejudice is reinforced, and as previously observed by Chauí,¹⁰ poor workers are seen as threats since they are “[...] considered ignorant, behind the times and dangerous, and so the police are authorized to stop any worker on the street, demand their work permit and arrest them for investigation”.

These ideas are built on facts that have actually occurred in the city center such as theft, robbery and places downtown that concentrate drug users, for example, in the Santa Ifigênia region called Cracolândia ("Crackland") by the media. These facts also occur in other areas of the city,¹¹ however to reinforce developing the need to transform the area in question, these occurrences are magnified and exploited to the point where the idea of danger in the city center is propagated and incorporated into common sense without question.

Built on the consensus of decadence, abandonment and danger, there is thus the opportunity, in conjunction with the State and private initiatives, to strategically promote changes and transformations in this area in order to make it more attractive to new investments, enabling capital realization and reproduction. Though it appears to be a recent process, according to our studies, this area has undergone major transformations, after the Plan of Avenues De Prestes Maia, since the 1980s.

However, there is no denying that from the 1990s on (20TH century), with the Urban Operations, the intensity and speed of the transformations have increased.

Urban Operations are presented as being of an exceptional nature in the face of existing urban norms. The first one put into practice was the Urban Operation of Vale do Anhangabaú,¹² which opened up the possibility of building above that which is established by law (until then the performance coefficient was 4), based on the payment of a permit for the right to build through the

created land instrument (in this case the performance coefficient could, in some cases, reach 7) in order to create appeal for private investments.¹³

Though public power has demonstrated interest in transformations - investing in the requalification of the Vale do Anhangabaú based on its remodeling, creating the São João Boulevard, redesigning the Vale by building a large park where the lanes of the Prestes Maia Avenue were (which went underground) – the 150,000 m² of negotiable land were not attractive, at that time, to investors. During the first three years of the Urban Operation, only 13% was used.¹⁴ It is worth noting that it went into effect during the administration of Luisa Erundina (1989-1993), who had in her proposed (though not approved) Master Plan the establishment of a Special Zone of Social Interest (ZEIS, acronym in Portuguese). The idea was to make use of part of the raised funds with the land created, through the paid permits, to promote/restore the houses located in the ZEIS. Low support from investors ended up not generating enough funds for the development of a housing program in the ZEIS.

Though one can still say that the Vale do Anhangabaú Urban Operation did not achieve its objectives, from the municipal perspective, it served as an experience for others which, from that point on, began to take place in various parts of the city.

If initially, like in the case of the Downtown Urban Operation, the discourse reinforced the need to requalify areas considered run-down, other operations were proposed and carried out, even without being concerned with a discourse that promotes social consensuses. In the case of the Faria Lima Urban Operation, well-studied by Carlos,¹⁵ the intention was very clear: to guarantee the establishment of an axis of economic development in the southwestern sector of the city. In this Operation, the paid permit was formalized with the sale of Certificates of Additional Construction Potential (CEPACS, acronym in Portuguese), whose funds raised would be spent on the Operation itself, representing a possibility to minimize housing deficits for the populations with less purchasing power. In other words, there was nothing in the project regarding the possibility of thinking about ZEIS in this valued area of the city or in any other part of the city, since the raised funds were spent only on the area itself where the Urban Operation was carried out.

There are, then, at least two forms of discourse that can be used for Urban Operations: one which emphasizes the need for the requalification of areas considered run-down and/or which have suffered a process of deindustrialization and which build a consensus for the need for renewal; and another which highlights the need to maintain innovation to remain competitive. Though there are different discourses, the proposals for intervention are very similar and tend to reinforce and strengthen previously existing socio-spatial segregations.

Socio-spatial segregations, according to Carlos,¹⁶ are one of the foundations of urban space production and, according to the author, they represent what is negative about the city and urban life. Negative, since, according to Lefebvre, urban life could have the potential to gather/confront/recognize differences and, in this sense be a condition for renewed humanism and democracy.¹⁷ Urban segregations are more than the separation of different subjects in space. Its content also includes, without excluding spatial separation, socio-spatial deprivations of many different kinds, namely: denial of or difficulty in physical mobility¹⁸ due to the precariousness of public transportation and, in many cases, the inability to pay for it¹⁹. This apparent physical immobility corroborates social immobility, since, without many resources, access to housing, for example, often occurs on the limits of survival. As one of the contents of urban space production is guided, at least in Brazil, by private property of urban land, the impossibility of access to areas with greater urban social wealth, such as public equipment and services (running, treated water and sewage collection, access to electrical power, quality public schools, quality public health, green areas, leisure areas, culture and sports, banking services and others), forces people to live in areas without these goods and services, which in general, are far from the previously established centralities where, in addition to this social wealth, there is also a concentration and possibility of jobs.

Until the 1980s, these areas which concentrated the populations with less or no purchasing power were called peripheries and many studies were carried out aiming to explain the production of space based on the downtown-periphery relationship, the latter understood as a precarious place. Today, the

possibility of continuing to explain spatial production based on the downtown-periphery relationship is highly questioned. In our view, it continues to be explanatory, but today has new content. Over the course of the process of space production/reproduction, the so-called peripheries of the past have acquired new content, including the establishment of centralities in these areas. Of course, we have to discuss that the establishment of centralities is a process that is part of the simultaneous reproduction of capital and daily life. Though these different dimensions of the process are not separate, based on each one of them we have the reinforcement of a specific characteristic of the process. In order to be more didactic, we highlight the characteristic of each one of the dimensions, though always pointing out their indissociability.

The establishment of centralities as an attribute of space from the perspective of capital reproduction in our society takes place, invariably, in a hierarchic and specialized manner. Centrality is fragmented in the city and homogeneous regarding the establishment of some forms. This tendency imposes changes on people's daily lives, based on the social group to which they belong.

To understand centrality based on daily life takes us to secondary centralities (if we think about a hierarchy of centralities). We will discuss the centralities that emerge from the so-called peripheries of the city, which, until the 1980s, were devoid of most of the social wealth produced in the city, though they concentrated a large population of workers with low purchasing power and saw in these peripheral spaces the possibility of purchasing/owning/occupying/building their housing. We cannot forget that living in these spaces is not an option for this population. It was the possibility expressed by the strategies of real estate speculation that led to the horizontal expansion of the city/metropolitan area.

These spaces, until the 1990s, were recognized and called peripheries, areas far from the city center, with a concentration of the population with low purchasing power and where life was generated by the precariousness of all the social goods and services. Therefore, over the course of the production/reproduction process of these spaces, centrality is understood as the concentration of services/goods/commerce/population which became

established due to the need for survival of the very population residing in these spaces. On the roads with heavier traffic, where there are bus stops, residents with some resources end up being able to manage a bar, a grocery store, a bazaar, a beauty salon (generally in the house of the hairdresser), a place for religious worship. In other words, we have the beginning of a process of establishing a local centrality, which begins to concentrate people and attract, on this scale, more local businesses and thus, concentrating even more people.

On the other hand, we also have, from the 1990s onward, a major technological development (mainly with respect to the use of communications and computer systems), redemocratizing the country and strengthening popular movements. By the end of this decade and the beginning of the 2000s, some of these areas concentrated a large population and had local commerce, turning into a place for building large department stores, banking agencies and institutional services (many of them obtained based on popular pressure and demands), being characterized as a centrality of the city, though still peripheral.

Therefore, apparently, the characterization of the periphery as a place of precariousness and the city center as a concentration and synonymous with centrality falls apart. Only apparently, since, if some areas are no longer characterized this way, others are being established as peripheries and precarious places. This means that new peripheries are being produced in the more traditional sense of the expression, regarding a fragmented, discontinuous, though permanent, process of producing peripheries.²⁰

At the same time, areas considered peripheral, for example Itaquera, Jardim Ângela, Artur Alvim, in the city of São Paulo, have become centralities, though they are peripheral. They concentrate the essential for carrying out a good part of daily needs, mainly those linked to daily consumption²¹, with the arrival of larger investments (stores such as Casas Bahia, Ponto Frio among others from the Pão de Açúcar group, for example) in this region. However, in these areas, we do not have a large number of jobs, making the population move daily to other regions to work, and not even the more sophisticated services linked to the use of state-of-the-art technology, computerization (ranging from the production of *software* and *hardware*, to publicity and computerized medical services) and which require a greater deal of specialized

work. This attribute of centrality, in turn, ends up favoring the process of increasing property and rent prices, such that part of the residents that live there are no longer able to remain in those spaces, having to move to new peripheries which are established on the edge of the metropolis.

We also have the perspective of maintaining centralities with greater emphasis on capital reproduction. In the centralities already established and hierarchically understood as City Centers, for example the historical city center of São Paulo, we find actions that aim to requalify the space such that it can be attractive for new investments in the area. Most likely, requalification projects²² lead to the expulsion or driving away of low income residents, passers-by (those who use the space in passing) and users of the then-local commerce, whose predominance, at least before the construction of requalification, is aimed at popular low income commerce²³.

But what is the nature of these areas, mainly in the sense of housing, to which these residents go, after having been driven away from the central area? Many of them lived in tenements and saw in this type of housing the possibility of not only living (in the sense of having shelter), but also of having a better quality of life in the city, according to statements by residents²⁴, since by living in tenements, they would not need to spend time or money on transportation, given that, the majority worked²⁵ and/or lived downtown. The residents questioned the point of having one's own home in the Tiradentes City,²⁶ for example, if the job or living conditions were, as they said, in the city.²⁷It was not worth it to go through more than four hours of transportation daily or spend money on it only to endure more sacrifice.

But this type of resident, and/or user of the area, is an obstacle to capital reproduction, which in moments of crisis, have in space transformation/reproduction a possible way out for the crisis of capital accumulation.

The little investment by the State and private initiatives in the central area - since most of the funds (public as well as private) were being invested in the southwest corner of the city -, associated to the lack of preserved buildings - mainly those occupied by residents with little purchasing power - makes the

panorama that is publicized of the city center to always be associated to areas considered run-down.²⁸

Built into daily life is the idea of danger and abandonment of the central area which, turned into common sense, allows for proposals for its "requalification" or "revitalization" to be seen as necessary to eliminate danger and guarantee the safety of urban dwellers, especially in this area.

It is with this discourse that the Urban Operations (UO) carried out in the city center (UO Vale do Anhangabaú; UO Nova Luz) are based on adding to this possibility of attracting investments and elevating this part of the city in the project of establishing the City of São Paulo as a global city, though hierarchically below cities such as New York and London, for instance.

During the term of the Nova Luz Operation,²⁹ the discourse on decadence and danger was supported by the actual existence of an area which concentrated *crack* users on its streets. This situation, I insist, is real, but presented as the only one in the region, made the area come to be known as Cracolândia ("Crackland"). Therefore, the Nova Luz Operation appeared, to the eyes of society, as a possibility to eliminate the situation.

Despite the fact that drug users do exist in the region, it was also occupied by low income workers who, in part, lived in the tenements of the area. Since it was publicized that there were *only* drug users, the option chosen was to demolish several blocks,³⁰ clearing the area of run-down buildings as well as drug users. In the end, who would be against destroying abandoned buildings that were occupied by drug users? Accompanied by the news shown in the media, the images always revealed the knocking down of different buildings. Regardless of the street, the caption was always the following:

Employees of the São Paulo City Hall initiated the demolition of abandoned old houses on Helvétia Street, in the city center of the São Paulo capital. [...] Properties, located in the region known as Crackland, where police enforced the operation, served as a shelter for drug users.³¹

It is interesting to observe that, in the beginning of the paragraph, there is an indication of the street where the action was carried out, but afterwards, a generalization of the situation is made, suggesting that properties in this region

where the urban operation was being carried out served as a shelter for drug users. The strategy for promoting the general consensus was given.

Even though the socio-spatial reproduction process tends to be under the aegis of the capital, it does not occur without conflict, in other words, without interference from actions of the daily life of the population which frequently resists based on their occupancy of the space.

In the specific case of the Nova Luz Operation, though under the coordination of the city of São Paulo in partnership with private initiatives, the operation was combined³² with other actions in the area, under the responsibility of the state government of São Paulo.³³ In case it was carried out according to the proposals³⁴ by the municipal/private initiatives, the operation would lead to major morphological, social and economic transformations. When it had begun, its perimeter basically included the area of low income residents, areas with drug users, popular commerce and, in general, buildings that presented a low state of preservation. The development of the project, though, led to alterations and the local merchants of Santa Ifigênia Street started to question the implementation of the urban concession which allowed for the private initiative to indicate the areas of interest for expropriation, including the ability to alter the Perimeter of Declaration of Public Utility. In the view of these people, the traditional commerce of Santa Ifigênia was threatened and major changes could occur in the daily life of the local merchants and residents.

What emerged from that point is a series of actions that questioned the project as a whole: demonstrations, occupations and preventing the occurrence of public hearings, which could legitimize the required (by law) popular participation in the project. Associated to these popular initiatives, there was also a change in the municipal administration that went from DEM (until then allies with PSDB) to a mayor from PT. In 2012, the Court suspended the operation recognizing that there was not enough social participation necessary for the project to be carried out.

In this sense, though the actions for capital reproduction have more strength in spatial reproduction, the process is dialectical and resistance and counterpoints to this reproduction are present in urban life, which, according to Lefebvre,³⁵ “presuppose gatherings, confrontations of differences, knowledge

and reciprocal recognitions (including in ideological and political confrontations) of ways of living, of "standards" that coexist in the City".

¹ 1986: 451.

² The expression *o centro da cidade* ("city center") appears for the first time in Brazilian geography in the study by N. L. Müller, more specifically in the article "A área central da cidade", (The central area of the city) in the collection organized by A. de Azevedo entitled *A cidade de São Paulo* ("The city of São Paulo"), which was published in four volumes by AGB in 1958. In that same period, Milton Santos defended and published (1959) his doctoral dissertation, supervised by Michel Rocherfort.

³ We consider the 1970s to be a reference, since it was during this time that a major expansion of the periphery took place. Until the 1950s, we had the suburbs, which were morphologically composed of land with space for a house and a garden area or fruit trees, and it was a place of survival, though with the possibility of upward social mobility. On the other hand, the periphery is morphologically characterized by small plots of land (125m² or smaller) and is a precarious place to live, according to Martins (Espaço & Debates, 2001).

⁴ Lefebvre, 1978: 218.

⁵ According to Sposito (2013: 74-5), with special reference to Lefebvre, multicentricity refers to "the establishment of more than one area of concentration of commercial activities and services in the cities, influencing the relative loss of strength and importance of the main city center". On the other hand, polycentricity is connected to "more recent dynamics, such as the appearance of large commercial and service areas, which profoundly redefine the spatial structure [...]".

⁶ Some authors (Müller (1958); Huet (2001)) claim that there has been, since the 1950s, a loss of social and moral values as well. This is a view of class that we do not corroborate.

⁷ Of course, there are limitations to this claim. Late taxes, renegotiations, keep demanding physical presence in specific areas of the city, in general in the City Center of São Paulo.

⁸ We talk about predominance, since downtown there is still commerce and specialized services, but numerically the presence of commerce and services that reach the lower income classes is much higher.

⁹ These data are made available by GESP, 2010.

¹⁰ 1989: 57.

¹¹ The most violent areas of the city are in the southernmost part of the city.

¹² The Urban Operation was created based on Municipal Law 11.090 of September 16, 1991.

¹³ Alves, 2006.

¹⁴ São Paulo, 1996.

¹⁵ 2001.

¹⁶ 2013: 95.

¹⁷ Lefebvre, 2001: 7.

¹⁸ **São Paulo Metropolitan Area - daily trips by main mode of transportation and monthly household income**

2007 numbers in thousands/Values in reais in Oct/2007

Mode of transportation	Up to \$760.00	From 760, to 1,520	From 1,520 to 3,040	From 3,040 to 5,700	More than 5,700	Total
Subway	145	559	842	483	194	2,223
Train	83	318	289	85	40	815
Bus	1,079	2,900	3,610	1,162	283	9,034
Charter	39	112	219	118	26	514
School	127	391	502	211	96	1,327
Car	393	1,315	3,371	2,960	2,342	10,381
Taxi	5	14	23	87	24	721
Walking	2,063	4,680	4,199	1,232	449	12,623
Others	3	20	20	14	4	61

Source: <http://www.metro.sp.gov.br/metro/arquivos/OD2007/sintese_od2007.pdf>.

According to the study *Origem e Destino 2007* ("Origin and Destination", São Paulo: 2008), household income is the main variable in the rate of mobility. According to the data presented, the populations with a household income in 2007 of up to \$760.00 were those which had the lowest rate of mobility, while the highest rate of mobility was with respect to walking and in second place was the use of public transportation (more specifically, the bus). It is worth noting that, according to this same study, walking is considered when the motive is for school or work, regardless of the distance, or more than 500 meters for other reasons that are not school/work.

¹⁹ Studies by Rocha (2000 and 2007) show that on the periphery, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century, in the São Paulo metropolitan area, when workers received assistance for transportation in the form of vouchers, transportation vouchers, many workers did not use the bus, walking instead, and then used the transportation voucher as a currency exchange accepted primarily by businesses on the periphery in exchange for various kinds of products.

²⁰ In a field study carried out in 2012, in the southern zone of São Paulo, in the region of Parelheiros, the dream of a resident interviewed was to be able to return to live in Jardim Ângela.

²¹ A story published in the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper on August 10, 2007 entitled "*Project is launched to increase public space and decrease violence*", highlights how the opening of a Casas Bahia franchise, a home appliance department store, helps to accelerate the economic development of the area and, from our perspective, alleviates the anxieties of the population who end up having more access to the consumption of goods and products. Source: http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/dimenstein/cbn/m_sp_100807.shtml, accessed on April 13, 2014.

²² As previously mentioned, there is a variety of terms to designate the need for transformations. In many documents from Urban Operations, such as the Vale do Anhangabaú Urban Operation, the most used term is revitalization.

²³ In the case of São Paulo, for example, it is about popular clothing stores (Torra Torra, Scala, Marisa among others), shoes, and even department stores such as Lojas Americanas. Moreover, and precisely due to the large number of low income people, there is an enormous number of street vendors who sell a wide variety of products.

²⁴ Pereira, 2009:26-7.

²⁵ Many of those who reside downtown survive on formal or informal employment or are autonomous, without a job or living off of the selective collection of materials in abundance in the region (from cardboard, to aluminum cans as well as electronic waste) or even begging.

²⁶ It is a district of the City of São Paulo which concentrates a large number of housing projects, with more than 40 thousand housing units, built in the 1980s, in large part by the São Paulo state government. It is around 35 km from downtown São Paulo. Since most of the jobs are outside of their area, forcing the residents to make major daily commutes, it is considered a bedroom community.

²⁷ It is emblematic that the residents refer to this region as the City. It seems to be a place of possibilities, while the peripheries hold the precariousness of life.

²⁸ We claim that this is the most publicized term that characterizes the central area as dangerous, abandoned, a place to be avoided, according to the media, since it is likely to be occupied by drug addicts and social outcasts.

²⁹ In 2012, the Nova Luz Urban Operation was interrupted by court order which suspended it due to the fact that there was no popular participation in its development and realization. With the suspension, the demands of the local residents and businesses were met who saw themselves as being threatened by the implementation of the Urban Operation.

³⁰ It consisted in tearing down buildings under the argument that they were abandoned, a refuge for drug users, leaving plots of land clean and empty for new building proposals.

³¹ Available at: <http://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2012/01/19/prefeitura-de-sp-recolhe-2100-toneladas-de-entulho-na-nova-luz.htm> (January 19, 2012) accessed on April 14, 2014.

³² During two municipal administrations, there was a link between the State (PSDB) and municipal (PSDB/DEM) governments.

³³ The Renovation of the São Paulo Pinacoteca, Creation of the Museum of the Portuguese Language, Renovation of the Luz Station, Creation of the São Paulo Hall.

³⁴ For more on this operation, see Pereira, 2009.

³⁵ 2001: 22.

The conflict between capitalist private property and the indigenous use of the metropolis

Camila Salles de Faria

We are experiencing a capitalist commercial globalization of the world, in which we privatize and sell everything from merchandise produced by man, including knowledge and space, to elements of nature, such as living things, water, air and land. However, this globalization is not absolute, much less homogeneous,¹ since, as a trend, it reveals disputes and resistances. In this sense, based on a reading by means of Critical Geography, this chapter² aims to reveal the conflict between the two different logics of occupying the metropolis of São Paulo, in which subjects produce different spaces, though they are not isolated spaces. This conflict is established between the capitalist logic founded on the private ownership of land and, consequently, on the process of commercialization, profit and accumulation of wealth, and the indigenous logic, in this particular case that of the Guarani people,³ which is carried out through the use and appropriation of their lands based on their culture.

It is about the conflict between capitalist private ownership of land and the right to its use by the Guarani,⁴ expressed in the "having" and "using" relation. This is because "having", in the capitalist logic, is presented as a condition for "using". In other words, use is dependent on the product relation (buying and selling) and, thus, on private capitalist ownership. In fact, it can happen that a subject has and does not use it, and just the same, becomes richer by selling it, for example. However, there is also exclusivity of use, since what one owns, others cannot use.

Therefore, with the capitalist private ownership of land, use can only be translated into monetary terms, such that access to land is restricted to those who can or cannot pay. Rather than using it for free, it is exchanged. This way, the entire social process translates into exchange value, turning private ownership into a structuring element of society, capable of pointing out the social position of individuals and, as such, producing unequal spaces.

In the capitalist logic, land belongs to the owner who bought it or who came to own it privately, and in the indigenous logic, it belongs to their divinity (*Nhanderu*), according to Guarani cosmology, which created it and ensured that they live on it.

In the metropolis of São Paulo, this conflict is historically present in the expropriation and "fencing off" processes of indigenous spaces, aggravated by the scarcity of urban space in addition to the continuation of the peripheralization process. Peripheralization is characterized by the fragmentation of land, the result of it being transformed from rural to urban, enabling its valuation and real estate speculation.

Currently, this conflict has been revealed in the metropolis by means of the presence of six indigenous Guarani villages, composed of approximately 1,400 Indians (Sesai data from 2013) and two located in the northeast region (Tekoa Ytu and Tekoa Pyau) and four in the southern part of the city, passing its border to São Bernardo do Campo (*Tekoa Tenondé Porã*, *Tekoa Krukutu*, *Tekoa Eucaliptal* e *Tekoa Guyrapaju*), in the areas corresponding to the districts of Jaraguá and Parelheiros.

The Guarani indigenous expropriation process in São Paulo in the 20th and 21st centuries

The expropriation process has been presented historically as being associated to the process of exploitation, and inherently infused with violence, which is expressed "not exactly by the means and methods employed, but by all of the social, political and economic damage resulting [from them]".⁵

Martins discussed the expropriation process of farmers in Brazil:

The expropriation of workers by the capital creates the social conditions such that this same capital moves to the second round, the other side of this capitalist reproduction process, which is the exploitation of the same worker who had already been expropriated. He will not have to sell his work force to the capitalist, according to the rules of the market.⁶

Harvey analyzed, based on an interpretation of Marx, the development of various processes in the act of primitive accumulation, in which he highlighted the role of the State, since it renews itself and remains to this day.

There is the commercialization and privatization of land and the violent expulsion of farmer populations; the conversion of various forms of the right to land ownership, whether common, collective, by the State, etc, in exclusive rights to private ownership; the suppression of the rights of farmers to common (shared) land; the commercialization of the work force and the suppression of alternative (autochthonous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial and imperial expropriation processes of assets (including natural resources); the monetization of exchange and taxation, particularly of land; the sale of slaves; and usury, the national debt and ultimately the credit system as a radical means of primitive accumulation.⁷

The components of these processes - mainly expropriation, accompanied by exploitation and violence - have similarities to what happened to the Indians, since it also deprives people of their lands, a foundation which constitutes the entire process even in the face of the specific characteristics of each space and in different moments of history.⁸ Therefore, the interpretation of the expropriation process is revealed by means of land privatization, that is, the constitution of capitalist private ownership of land. Considering that, in Brazil, and specifically in São Paulo, it occurs through the private expropriation of public lands, as will be discussed below.

Therefore, they were forced out of the land - a means of production and survival -, promoting the "so-called cleansing of properties, which consists of sweeping them clean of people", banning their use, and forcing them to sell themselves, or better, the only thing that they have which is their work force to guarantee their existence. At the same time, the few usurpers turned the land into private property and as keepers of their domain, transformed it into "capitalist business".⁹

However, there is a difference in the expropriation process with respect to farmers, mentioned earlier. This is because for the Guarani, the land is not only a means of production, but is an integral part of the indigenous identity, expressed in the man-nature relationship founded in their culture. Considering

that they are not interested in "any land", or "any place", but that which belongs to their people, that is, where they lived or have lived or even that which was revealed in a dream.

Moreover, we point out that the expropriation process of the indigenous people did not result only in the immediate exploitation of their manual labor, as in the case of the farmers. When they were forced out from their land, for the most part, the Guarani occupied other lands and in many cases were subject once again to this process and moved repeatedly. This situation caused an exacerbated reduction of their lands and obligated them - in another historical moment - to exchange or sell their manual labor for their survival.

In this first moment, also in the 20th century, their work on the farms of the non-Indians was exchanged for protection of their land, or even for a piece of land to live on. This also occurred with the Guarani in São Paulo at different times.

When Mr. Joaquim and his family, founders of the *Tekoa Ytu* village, located in the northeast of the city, went to work as caretakers in Itapecerica da Serra. They did so "without ever being paid, since the owner said that they were doing a favor by giving them shelter". Or even in the 1970s, in the Eucaliptal village, situated in the southern region of the city, when Mr. Gumerindo (now deceased) and his family "worked on the eucalyptus plantation for a white man who claimed ownership of the area (called Paulo), in exchange for protection for them to live there."

Another example, in the same period, took place during the development of the Barragem village (also called Morro da Saudade and currently *Tenondé Porã*), also located in the southern region, when some Guarani families were living under the Socorro bridge, in the Santo Amaro region. They were invited by Yasuico Kugo (whom they called "Japanese") to live in an area in Parelheiros, which the Guarani used as an important connection with the Guarani villages on the coast. The Guarani worked for this "Japanese" man on the vegetables and greens farm, though they did not receive a salary or even any money, only other products (foods, such as beans, rice, etc.) However, the indigenous people say that this Japanese man returned to his country of origin and left them with the land document, which guaranteed its use and protected

them from the pressure by the non-Indians, who would appear claiming to be the owners of the area and requesting their removal.

However, the exploitation of Guarani indigenous manual labor was also renewed, with the added component of compensation, which was then paid by means of daily allowances or by establishing positions inside the village resulting from public policies.

This way, it became a common practice for the non-Indians to present themselves as the supposed "owners" of the areas of Guarani occupation and thus "allow" the Indians to use it, with the intention to later acquire the documents for effective ownership and then remove them from there.

Instead of falling out with the Indians, the speculators would propose, during the 1940s and 1950s, an alliance and protection in exchange for being recognized as the owners of the land they occupied. This agreement lasted for many years: the title of ownership meant nothing to the Guarani, since, in their own way, they used the land exclusively; the forests of Serra do Mar - until then were rich in fauna and flora. For the alleged owners, whose greatest interest was obtaining the land ownership titles for later speculation, the situation seemed even more advantageous, since the Indians transacted the ownership of these lands for these 'owners'. From the 1940s on, all of the Guarani land became objects of this type of agreement.¹⁰

This process reveals signs of the constitution of capitalist private ownership, which took place through the privatization of public lands. Only in these cases, the Indians used the land, and thus, they guaranteed its possession and afterwards, its domain - that is, the title and private ownership in fact - for those who did not use it. However, conflicts occurred when this "alleged owner", already with the title or requiring theirs, threatened the Guarani. In addition to this, there are the activities of the land grabbers, more than one of them showing up on the same land and claiming to own it.

This same fact occurred in the southern region of the city, in the Barragem village as well as the *Krukutu* village, as the Indian Manequinho claims:

"The region at the time was a distribution of space in the time of the settlers. So, those who were able to keep the lands and deeds, did so. Some parts went to two, three owners. It was complicated. So, we don't know who was in fact the owner. The Japanese man said he was a real estate agent, but since many people said they were the owners, we didn't really know."¹¹

In the same vein, in Jaraguá, where *Tekoa Pyau* is, it was used by the indigenous of *Tekoa Ytu* for harvest. At first, the owner consented to the use by the Guarani, which started to change at the end of the 1980s, with the regularization of lands occupied by the Guarani and their transformation into Indigenous Land¹², since, with the demarcation as Indigenous Land, only improvements were compensated and not the land itself.

This is what happened in the M'boi Mirim village, also in the southern region of the city, when, in the 1960s, some Guarani families moved to the area upon being invited by Father José Seskewicius, for a property of the Archdiocese of São Paulo. According to the Indians, the father told them it was a "Guarani area", in which Indians had previously lived. Therefore, some families left other villages from the southern region and went to this area, where they began planting species they used. After 20 years, however, with the arrival of Father Vitor, this religious man began to disagree with the actions of his predecessor, since he reclaimed the right to ownership of the land and announced the expropriation of those who had been using it. It is worth noting that the Guarani refused the proposals of moving away from the place. However, in 1986, the eviction became a reality, with the pretext of "a fight between the son of the chief and a white resident of the region", and a possible retaliation on the part of the non-Indians. Father Vitor "with surprising willingness advocated the move of the Guarani to the village of Jaraguá, taking even the roof tiles of the house where they lived".¹³ Though they wished for the move of the Indians to be definitive, this did not happen. They returned to the village, though they were once again taken by the father to another, more distant one, on the coast, the Silveira village. Therefore, the M'boi Mirim village was not demarcated with the others of the State of São Paulo in the 1980s, even with the desire of the Indians to remain in the village, a feeling that remains until this day in conversations with the elders.

Similarly, this occurred previously, in the 1950s, when André Samuel dos Santos and his family founded a village in Jaraguá, and they were also invited by non-Indians to move there. After some years, under the pressure of conflict with the non-Indians, they left the area, and went to another Guarani village. As Guáira, son of André Samuel, described:

"The land there had many owners, they had some three or four owners, everyone wanted to be the owner, I only know that it was a problematic area and one of the men who said he was the owner took us there. Only later when we went there did we find out that there were these problems."¹⁴

In general, historically, the Guarani did not fight to stay on the land; they left and came back whenever possible. This also happened in this part of Jaraguá in 2003, when other Guarani families went to live there, which resulted in the process of repossession and removal of the Indians.

However, from the 1980s on, there has been a change in this context and the regularization of their lands has become a struggle, which emerged to guarantee their rights, with demarcation as a possibility for using their lands based on their culture. Concomitantly, the threats increased, either being made in fact or through the insecurity brought on by the repossessions.

According to what happened in *Tekoa Pyau*, in the northeast of the city, in which the Indians suffered constant attempts at expropriation, by means of legal proceedings of repossession which have lasted up until today. Pointing out that the area was used for farming for the Guarani of the *Tekoa Ytu* and after their physical demarcation in 1990, the legal proceedings began for the removal of the Indians. Before this, a man who was allegedly the owner of the land went to the area and demanded the removal of the Indians, as told by José Fernandes, founder of the village.

"this old man arrived [...] Pereira Leite, [who said] 'no, this here is mine; now we have to do everything, we're going to the police'. Then I said 'no, I'm not going'. Then he said like this, 'do you have the papers for the land that you bought here?'. I said 'no, I don't have them, but I'm also big, see'. Then I showed him my document as a chief. Then he went away".¹⁵

The intimidations continued. After a few months, Pereira Leite sent a lawyer with the same intention of removing the Guarani from the area, which later became an act of repossession.

"in 1996, Pereira Leite filed a suit for repossession and, accompanied by the Military State Police of São Paulo, tried to remove the resident Indians from the area. Having been warned, the Federal Public Prosecutor in São Paulo mobilized the Federal Police, who removed the Military Police from the area and began the process against Pereira Leite".¹⁶

Pereira Leite, in his testimony in 1999, declared that he was not aware of the existence of the indigenous village demarcated in that region, despite their proximity and being separated by only one street. Again, in 2003, he filed a new suit for repossession. Concomitantly, in 2002, Manuel Fernandes Rodrigues and his wife, filed a suit for repossession, and guaranteed they were the owners of the same location.

It is worth noting that not all the existing villages in the metropolis of São Paulo suffered the expropriation process, some were vacated as a result of the way of life of the Guarani, that is, characterized by their mobility and by their relations with other villages.

Another component of the expropriation of the Indians present in the 20th century was masked by the discourse of transfer in favor of the Guarani, having as an example the removal and the various attempts at forcing out the Indians from the villages of the capital to the villages on the coast, claiming the "risk" with the proximity to the city.

A similar strategy has been used ever since the formation of the villages in São Paulo in the 16th century, when the colonials and Jesuits directly occupied the indigenous lands, as well as forcing them out, through captures organized by the pioneers, to occupations called villages. However, this process recreated the Indians who continued to live in family groups would constantly flee to the existing forest and/or as a worker on the lands of the non-Indians and then later, started to fight for the right to regain their lands.

This strategy continued in the beginning of the 20th century, with the creation of the SPI (Indian Protection Service) and the formation of the Indian

Stations, where "Indians were brought together", while the non-Indians possessed and privatized the lands traditionally occupied by the Guarani. Afterwards in the 1980s, this strategy on the part of the FUNAI technicians was used again, which characterized the places inhabited in the capital as important stopping points for the Guarani who moved through the area. They would visit their relatives, between the countryside (Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, particularly) and the coast and thus suggested that only the villages on the coast were regulated, promoting policies of attraction and "awareness raising of the advantages" of vacating their villages in the capital (Barragem, Krukutu, Jaraguá and M'boi Mirim) and moving to the coastal villages. This did not occur and the FUNAI/SUDELPA agreement was created afterwards.

However, one can see that the feeling of freedom has dissipated, since one commonly hears from the elders, statements such as "before we were free, but not anymore", referring to the fences and signs "entry prohibited, private property" on lands that had always been used for hunting and gathering, for example. There has been an expansion of capitalist private property, founded on the idea according to which "barbed wire fences everything in".¹⁷ In this process, not only the fences, but the walls mainly stand out in the landscape of the metropolis, and protect and restrict access as well as contact of those inside with those outside. And based on this logic, everything is fenced in, even the indigenous lands.

This situation was aggravated to the extent to which the process of peripheralization intensified in the Paulistana metropolis and the lands were becoming fragmented and commercialized into plots, leaving the Indians "fenced" in their villages on the periphery or even in being forced out for the commercialization of their lands. This process is characterized by the increased population as well as the expansion of the urban fabric. However, the peripheralization process did not end. That is, there are currently glebes for indigenous use, though still not regulated (approved), and likely to be fragmented. Therefore, there is a trend towards the expropriation of the Indians through the process of peripheralization.

Moreover, the "fencing" process of the indigenous spaces reveal a juxtaposition of the different logics on the periphery, revealing that the periphery

in the metropolis is not homogeneous, since the Indians do not isolate themselves and, contradictorily, "live" on the periphery. In this sense, there is a sum of the present social relations, but¹⁸, at the same time, it can exhaust the physical-natural potential from the outside in of the indigenous land.¹⁹

However, since every process of expropriation is based on capitalist private ownership of land, some observations should be made about this foundation.

The constitution of capitalist private ownership of land in São Paulo

The constitution of capitalist private ownership in São Paulo occurred in two ways: through the concessions of urban lands of the city councils and through land grants, which today amounts to the periphery of the city. Both belonged to the Portuguese Crown, and thus, were governed by specific legislation and regulation, which imposed on the Colony an attempt to reestablish the model of the Portuguese system, which

took possession of the Brazilian territory by acquisition, that is, by right of conquest. For this reason, all "discovered" lands came to be considered virgin land without any prior landlord or cultivation, which enabled the Crown to transfer them to third parties, with the purpose of ensuring colonization.²⁰

Therefore, the Portuguese Crown distributed the lands of the Brazilian territory as if they were "empty", focused on the process of colonization and, with this, the expropriation of the Indians, who were not familiar with the property system to be implemented.

"The modern European colonization created, in this sense, the availability of lands for commercial capital, even if in doing so it was necessary to force out, kill or subjugate the Indians who were found there", according to Silva.²¹ The urban lands, denominated "granted plots" or "granted lands", were divided, granted or sold to private parties by the City Council through grant letters. Similarly to what happened with the vacant lands, which originated the objective of common use for the inhabitants and urban expansion, which were

inalienable lands used for pasture, plantation, logging, gathering wood. In other words, they were intended for "use by the people" or for "public use and common benefit".²² These lands of common use, however, were being expropriated privately and unduly used, such as, for example, through walls built which prevented transit and paths.²³ In addition to this, there is the fact that there was no clear demarcation of the vacant lands until the mid-18th century in São Paulo, which often overlapped with the land grants.²⁴

The Land Law, n° 601, of 1850, which, though representing a sign of the formalization of capitalist private ownership, with the purpose of concessions through land grants and the possession of untitled lands and the absolutization of buying and selling as a way of obtaining the title, presented differential treatment for urban lands. In fact, the urban lands were not sold in public auction, the concession process continued except that it was by means of emphyteusis and renting, and the direct rule of lands remained with the City Council and the Church. However, the public use domain, guaranteed by emphyteusis (leasing on a permanent basis) could be sold, by paying the *laudemium*. This way, the "concentration of power in deciding the transfer conditions of lands from public to private domain and the preservation of public spaces, in the hands of few individuals" continued. The imprecision of the norms and the agreements guided by private interests collaborates towards the privatization of lands.

Concession by Grant Letter lasted until 1893, being that in this period, according to Brito, there were intense complaints of land fraud of city property, involving "figures strictly related to public authorities", and which became a legal demand for many years while they were being "partitioned, sold, without legitimate property titles, by the alleged dealers".²⁵ The "system formally adopted by the Council for making concessions, was the same one adopted by the land grabbers, also because the largest ones were strictly connected to the authorities of power".²⁶

Meanwhile, for the rural lands in São Paulo, the current peripheries, the form of concession took place by means of land grants, which gained different components and specific legislations from the Portuguese model. Thus, in

Brazil, the system founded the estate structure guided by large properties without the need for production or proper ownership. Moreover, there was difficulty in demarcating the granted land, due to the imprecision of the size and location, which enabled this system to not be absolutized, favoring the occupation of small farmers of untitled lands and indigenous groups.

Another characteristic of the system was commercialization, which occurred ever since its origins, in addition to the fact that until the 17th century the legislation allowed for the concession of more than one land grant per person.

However, it is important to observe that between 1822, the suspension of the concession of land grants and the implantation of the Empire, until 1850 (when the Land Law emerged) there was a legal vacuum from the point of view of the legal appropriation of land, a period denominated by some jurists as the "ownership regime" or the "golden years of the landholder", characterized by the large possessions. Reinforcing this process, there were the land grabbers who falsified the titles with a date from 1878. Both landholders and land grabbers, supported by local policy, guaranteed the legitimacy of the expropriation of lands in São Paulo, until 1929.²⁷

According to the author, the landholders registered large stretches of land with the objective of "carving them up and selling them". "The landholders sold the land as if they were legitimate owners, with deeds passed from hand to hand. After some time, if the buyer discovered the scam, he alleged good faith and the court would frequently be favorable".²⁸

In sum, until the 20th century, the city did not have control over its untitled lands, located in its urban fabric, and the private expropriation of public lands continued, as Monaco revealed,

The sum of the Paulistano untitled patrimony transferred, through the institute of legitimacy of ownership, totaled 2,672,860,24 m². A portion corresponding to 40% of this area, refers to smaller plots, with a maximum area of 500 m², therefore not conducive to incorporation and represents 90% of the requests filed and administrative processes. 5,748 families were benefited this way (...) At the same time, 50% of the total area transferred, that is, around 320 acres of plots with a surface area of over 1

thousand m², therefore favorable to incorporation, were distributed to a little over two hundred petitioners, in a process explicitly related to real estate speculation. Among these, 10% of the petitioners received glebes with a surface area larger than two acres which, together, amounts to 30% of the total amount of Paulistana untitled lands transferred to private property.²⁹

This way, the private ownership of land in São Paulo is revealed as one of the dimensions of a social order historically founded on institutionalized and formally recognized inequality.³⁰ Primitive accumulation took place based on the private expropriations of public lands, which was replete with privileges, characterized by the exchange of favors, through a clientelist process³¹ and, thus revealing its concentration. This means that the history of private expropriation in São Paulo is also characterized by land grabbing. By understanding that land grabbing is not just a piece of paper (a false title),³² but that "every illegal action aimed at transferring public land into goods for third parties constitutes land grabbing or fraud",³³ one can observe that later on this practice came to be legalized.

This consequently reveals the formation of the private ownership of land as a constitutive part of modern capitalist development in Brazil, understood as being unequal and contradictory, and based, ever since its origin, on its rental nature. And among its main contradictions, there are the different forms of private expropriation of land and, consequently, the act of concentrating the capitalist private ownership of land as a process of concentrating wealth and capital.³⁴

According to Carlos,

property as a foundation reveals in its origin an inequality that is realized as a relation of power, that is, by the separation and differentiation of the groups and classes, based on the spaces they occupy in the production process of social wealth. In the same vein, she delimits their space in the distribution of wealth itself, bringing light to the conditions of property which sustain the relations of domination and expropriation of the human world.³⁵

For Marx,³⁶ "In each historical epoch, property has developed differently and under a set of entirely different social relations". In this sense, the author

discussed the different forms of land ownership - among them, the tribal and modern -, presented the social relations of each moment and identified that, previously, property was mobile, that is, it was understood in the same way as owning animals and even slaves.

However, one can observe that the constitution of capitalist private ownership in Brazil incorporated the components of property existing at that time, characterized by inequality and by the concentration of wealth.

Marx also revealed the restriction of use for private property, through the forest legislation in the mid-19th century, in Prussia, which prohibited logging in areas of other owners, making it theft, a crime.

It is about sanctioning the illegal expropriation of wood and other forest products by the massively impoverished farmers, to the extent to which this expropriation is not only for purposes of the immediate consumption of wood, but its sale (wood for heating, firewood, thus being a highly sought-after raw material).³⁷

Wood (or even firewood, fallen wood), upon being placed in the process of commercialization, also becomes private property, and with this, its use (as what usually happens for the removal of firewood, for example) is restricted to its owner. Moreover, the author clarifies that this whole process was regulated by the State.

Marx showed the contradiction of private ownership, which, upon constitution, produces at the same time the owner and the non-owner. However, "to stifle the scandal of this monstrous private expropriation of natural and social wealth, the dominant discourse promises to make them all owners",³⁸ which masks the conflict, the violence and mainly the expropriation process.

However, one observes that the expropriation process is frequently not accomplished completely, but brings its opposite, resistance. According to Martins, "the level of expropriation went so far that it ended up producing a political reality which is resistance".³⁹

The Guarani resistance in the 20th and 21st centuries in São Paulo

The process of indigenous resistance reveals different components and strategies in the conflict for the struggle for land, thus questioning the tendency to homogenize the specifically capitalist logic of space production, which aims to destroy specific characteristics. Faced with this process, there is a possibility of differences. It is worth noting, however, that resistance is not a "clear", "clean" moment without contradictions within the analysis process.

It can be understood as

an act of conservation, the voracious defense of an integrity threatened by destruction. It is also an act of insubordination. [...] Do not give up. Do not give in. [...] It is not for resignation, but for obstinacy, in a kind of non-negotiable refusal.⁴⁰

It can also be understood as a mixture between conversation and invention, of negation and affirmation, which is not reduced to a nostalgic and victim-centered view of the subjects.⁴¹

One of the components of the resistance is persistence, since "each moment involves moments or elements from the past",⁴² but it is not about a crystallized past, it incorporates new components.

The resistance, understood as permanence, reveals the survival of the Indians in the face of the continuous process of expropriating their lands, guided by their existence and by the increase of the Guarani population present in São Paulo in the period analyzed.

Another component of the resistance process is a result of the use and expropriation of the lands occupied by the Indians. Therefore, use holds dimensions of existence, the meanings of life, and this is why it is the direct result of the materialization of their culture, based initially on the rituals and the interpretation of the world through myth. In this perspective, the relation of mobility and immediacy with nature stands out, thus revealing resistance as contrary to the hegemonic capitalist logic of occupation.

Mobility is expressed by the social relations that the communities have with other Guarani villages, which involve activities of agriculture, gathering, hunting, weddings and other rituals, or even in the pursuit of the Land Without Evil. This fact means that the Guarani villages of São Paulo, for example,

cannot be considered in an isolated way, seeing that the population maintains a network of social relations between them and with the other Guarani villages from the south as well as from the coast and the countryside, maintaining a circuit of exchange, often permeated by the system of kinship, in which visits stand out, which can last for months or even years.

The mobility of the indigenous can be understood through the formulation of the spiritual leader José Fernandes, according to whom "the Guarani are not a stone that stays in one place". As such, one moves within the village itself or even the position of the things in the house, according to Paulina: "my father said that we have to change the position of the bed every week otherwise we have to leave".

In the relationship between the villages, according to Ladeira⁴³, a symbolic and practical relationship of what they call the "original world" is preserved. Therefore, the Guarani conception of territory, denominated by the Indians as Yvyrupa, involves the distribution of the villages in regions in Paraguay, Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, constituting the sea as its border, in addition to this territory involving a cosmological meaning, in which the sea becomes the obstacle which, when transposed, gives access to the "land without evil" (Yvy Marãey). As a place, the Land Without Evil would be located in the middle of the ocean or after crossing the ocean, which led to the migrations of the Mbya in pursuit of it, defining today the Guarani territory and the concentration of villages near the sea.

The journey of the Guarani to the East was not due to the pressure of enemy tribes, or to the hope of finding better conditions of life on the other side of Paraná; or even to the desire to more intimately join with civilization - but exclusively to the fear of destroying the world and to the hope of entering the 'Land without Evil'⁴⁴.

One can initially claim that the moment of resistance can be understood through the permanence of the moments of life guided by the Guarani culture. Whether due to the existence of the rituals and myths, that is, what they call *nhandereko*, which can be understood "according to our customs", "our way of life" which involves the land, culture, tradition and the language.

The relation of the Indians with nature appears to be a component of their resistance, as a moment of the use and expropriation of their lands. This is because nature is the indispensable material foundation for their social reproduction, that is, their livelihood and survival. It is about a relationship of belonging, in which nature is part of Indian life, that is, part of their world, of their cosmos and this is why man belongs to it. There is no assumption of superiority of one with respect to the other. What exists is a deep coexistence and respect, expressed in acts ranging from prayer to going fishing, hunting and gathering. This way, the means of relating to the nature of the indigenous populations contains, simultaneously and intrinsically, its preservation. One does not separate nature from life, because that is where we find the survival of the community. This is why these people, in general, need greater stretches of land to carry out the social process of their reproductions.

Therefore, there is a profound difference in the relationship of the non-Indians with nature, who see it as something external, to dominate or even deny. In this sense, the man "armed" with technology opposes nature, dominates and destroys it, but then uses that which is destroyed, produces the "natural resource" and privatizes it. Now it belongs to him as private property, which limits its use and appropriation. Therefore, nature, permeated by the logic of capitalism, is no longer nature and transforms into natural resources, capable of being commercialized, that is, a product.

In this sense, resulting from the importance of their lands a form of struggle is revealed, expressed in the resistance of the Guarani in the process of recovering their lands, once expropriated by the capitalist logic of space production.

The recovery emerges as a product of the struggle for land faced with the new condition of the indigenous existence, its transformation which brings new relations and not just the transposition of the old ones. The recovery is the possibility of regaining the indigenous use of land for its physical and cultural reproduction. As such, it is the negation of the commercial logic imposed by capitalist private ownership, which can be understood through the reoccupation of their lands, by means of forming new villages and the process of demarcating indigenous lands. But at the same time, since it brings contradictions with this

process, this use can be guaranteed by the acquisition of lands resulting from the reparations of large infrastructure constructions (with Rodoanel Mário Covas being the main one of the metropolis) which affected the villages, and thus the way of life for the Indians.

The interpretation from the perspective of Critical Geography, therefore, reveals an analysis of the struggle for land by means of the expropriation, resistance and recovery triad.

This path of the analysis of the struggle for the land is carried out in "three terms and not two. A relation between two terms is reduced to an opposition, a contrast, a conflict".⁴⁵ It is necessary to consider that the terms - expropriation, resistance and recovery - are moments of the process, in which the second term denies the first one, but is also achieved through it. This is because "opposition does not coincide with suppression, with pure and simple abolition, with destruction"⁴⁶ -, and, in this sense, the third term unites and supersedes the existing contradiction in the previous two. In other words, "the third term is aimed at the first opposing the second one, therefore opposing the opposition, opposing the limitation of the first term".⁴⁷ In this sense, it contains development as well as practical actions,⁴⁸ which guides the project capable of keeping alive the elements which sustain the struggle of the Indians for land.

Therefore, it is not about isolating or even absolutizing each moment - however, here they were presented separately - since the moments need to be understood as a process, which are full of contradictions.

Notes

¹ Bensaid, 2004.

² This chapter is part of a doctoral research project, funded by CNPq and supervised by Arioaldo U. de Oliveira, which supersedes it (in the Marxist sense - *aufheben*) taking components from previous research and technical studies, through their incorporation, by maintaining past discussions, and presenting new debates on current issues.

³ We point out that the Guarani people are not the only indigenous people present in the metropolis. The last census in 2010 revealed the city of São Paulo to be the fourth absolute largest self-declared indigenous population. In 1991, there were 4,690 Indians, from 18,692 in 2000 and 12,977 in 2010.

⁴ According to international convention, the names of indigenous people do not receive plural marking nor do they begin with a capital letter.

⁵ Sampaio, 2011: 52.

⁶ 1980: 56.

⁷ Harvey, 2004:121.

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- ⁸ Marx, 2006.
- ⁹ Idem.
- ¹⁰ Ladeira e Azanha, 1988: 7.
- ¹¹ Pimentel, et al, 2010: 139.
- ¹² At the end of the decade, an agreement was signed between FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation) and SUDELPA (the Superintendent of Development of the Paulista Coast) of the São Paulo government (Franco Montoro/PMDB) to demarcate the Indigenous Lands in the State of São Paulo. Silveira, Boa Vista (in Ubatuba), Rio Branco (in Itanhaém), Itariri (in Itariri), Jaraguá, Barragem or Morro da Saudade and Krukutu, (in the city of São Paulo).
- ¹³ Ladeira and Azanha, 1988: 36.
- ¹⁴ Pimentel, et al, 2012: 111.
- ¹⁵ Harvey, 2008:57.
- ¹⁶ Idem, p. 39.
- ¹⁷ This idea founded on the issue of "fencing indigenous lands" present in *There is no land for planting this summer*, by Martins.
- ¹⁸ See the decision by the Minister Ayres Britto in the Raposa Serra do Sol Trial. Available at: <http://www.conjur.com.br/dl/Voto_Britto_Pet3388.pdf>.
- ¹⁹ Castro de Oliveira, 2006: 92.
- ²⁰ Abreu, 2011: 543.
- ²¹ 1996: 27.
- ²² Abreu, 2011.
- ²³ Glezer, 1992.
- ²⁴ Ribeiro, 2011.
- ²⁵ Brito, 2006: 105.
- ²⁶ Idem, p. 106.
- ²⁷ Silva, 1996.
- ²⁸ Idem, p. 206.
- ²⁹ Monaco, 2004: 133.
- ³⁰ Brito, 2006.
- ³¹ Monaco, 2004.
- ³² The term for land grabbing in Portuguese, "grilagem", initially comes from a practice of falsifying by aging documents. Recently elaborated, they were placed in a closed box with crickets. Weeks later, the false documents would have stains on them with the feces of the insects, in addition to the presence of small orifices on the corroded surface and borders. All of this to supposedly indicate the action of time and make the document appear legitimate for ownership.
- ³³ mpfda, 2000.
- ³⁴ A theoretical foundation that has been developed in joint research with Arioaldo de Oliveira.
- ³⁵ 2011: 47.
- ³⁶ N/d: 132.
- ³⁷ Bensaid, 2007: 15. [This translation is the result of a joint reading and debate with Sávio Augusto de Freitas Miele].
- ³⁸ Bensaid, 2007: 59.
- ³⁹ 1980: 31.
- ⁴⁰ Bensaid, 2001: 29.
- ⁴¹ Proust, 1997.
- ⁴² Lefebvre: 1988: 117.
- ⁴³ 2008.
- ⁴⁴ Ladeira, 1988: 19.
- ⁴⁵ Lefebvre, 2000.
- ⁴⁶ Lefebvre, 1981: 243
- ⁴⁷ Lefebvre, 1988: 34.
- ⁴⁸ For Lefebvre (1988: 113), "the third term is the practical solution of the problems projected by life, on the conflicts and contradictions borne of practice and experienced practically. Overcoming is situated in the movement of the action, not in the pure time of the philosophical spirit".

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Resistances in the contradictory production of urban space

Fabiana Valdoski Ribeiro

The contemporary urbanization process places before us a theoretical and practical challenge with respect to the understanding of recent components of urban problems, particularly that of a country on the periphery of capitalism. One of them refers to the forms of resistance intrinsic to the expropriations resulting from the hegemonic processes for accumulation, which, in the development of the strategies for dominating space through capital entails the generalization of socio-spatial segregation.¹

In Brazilian urbanization, the link between socio-spatial segregation and resistance in urban space acquires different nuances when compared to other countries, precisely due to the specific characteristics of the historical, social and political development of our society. Among the particular aspects that we would like to highlight, there is inequality, which takes place mainly by establishing the private ownership of land and building social relations which are reproduced under the auspices of authoritarian relations. They comprise a core of reproduction in a society that naturalizes² exploitations, expropriations, hierarchies, poverty, repossessions and is clearly expressed in the current landscape of cities. These components produce an urban space that has transformed into a continent that favors the advancement of global strategies of capital by producing, contradictorily, an intimate relation between the archaic and the modern.

By considering this particular characteristic of Brazilian society in relation to the movement of accumulation and to the strategies for superseding the contradictions of capital itself in the 20th century, we claim that space production increases inequality and is expressed in the generalization of socio-spatial segregation as a condition and product of capital reproduction.

It is in an urban space characterized by this inequality that more than 80% of the Brazilian population³ resides. This set of inhabitants is subordinate to the norms of control over the use of space promoted by subjects who exercise a dominance over it and who, based on the private ownership of wealth, reduce or prevent the appropriation of space for the majority of urban

dwellers. In the face of such definitions, we ask ourselves how to find the resistances in a society of an authoritarian nature, in which expropriation has been naturalized and the appropriation of space by urban dwellers has been increasingly reduced. This is the issue that we intend to develop over the course of the chapter, as a possible path in considering the relation between space production and resistance. To this end, we piece together the formation of private land ownership in Brazil, the generalization of socio-spatial segregation, the emergence of resistances and the transformation of the demands of urban social movements into public policies.

Initially, we suggest two assumptions. First: as Lefebvre points out,⁴ hegemonic strategies tend to employ the logical form as an instrument of planning and action, with connections and representations originating from a need for coherence to overcome barriers and contradictions, but it is the latter that evidence a dialectic relation in which the logical circle and rifts remain. That is where the negative is located, that is where the resistances are. Second: by understanding that there is a conflict between the strategies of subjects in space production and the contradictions produced, we develop the idea that there is a power relation. As Foucault claims,⁵ this power relation is not in a position that is external to others (property, economy, knowledge, etc.), but in a position that is intrinsic to them. Since incessant struggles and confrontations are contained within it, this means that resistance, as one of the definitive terms of the power relation, visible or otherwise, is present as a constituent of relations in general, whether in daily transgressions, in groups and organizations or in occurrences which undermine practices and thoughts. However, it is not pure, if on the one hand, it places spatial contradictions on another level, and on the other hand, it can ratify foundations of capitalist space production.

Therefore, we understand that resistance, as part of the rifts and intrinsic to the power relation, is a permanent socio-spatial practice in the capitalist city. We intend to point out some of its possible components in the contradictory production of urban space in Brazil and, at the same time, contribute theoretically to the construction of this notion from a geographical perspective.

With this objective, we focus our reflection on the (2000s) period in which part of the demands of the urban social movements presented in the document of the Nation Forum for Urban Reform were transformed into public policies. We further develop the topic with the transformation of the demand for security ownership into a policy of land regulation of social interest in a slum located in the southern region of the city of São Paulo - Nova Guarapiranga. This situation is marked by the promulgation of the City Statute (2001) and by the implementation of the Ministry of Cities (2003).

At this time, resistance strategies changed and the demands that sustained them equally transformed with the emergence of new conflicts in the urban space. Even though the spatial contradictions, such as the expropriation and domination of space, gained much deeper characteristics, concomitantly, those involved in the framework of the institutionalization of demands emerged, thus perpetuating some of the resolutions of capitalist space production.

The achievement of security ownership by means of a public policy indicates how resistances in urban space elevate contradictions to another level, since they are not carried out in a pure manner and, contradictorily, they can carry foundations that legitimize a future expropriation. On the other hand, they are indispensable for questioning the current urbanization, to the extent in which they produce a space of conflict in which the subjects involved come together, creating the opportunity for gathering and a new process of awareness.

Socio-spatial segregation and resistances in Brazil: The role of private ownership of land

We have arrived in the 21st century with Brazilian cities stamped with inequality, characterizing the history of our urbanization. On the one hand, we have concentrations of wealth interconnected with the most dynamic global economies and, on the other, morphologies that reveal the full exploitation of the city residents. In 2010, the IBGE - The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - indicated that 6% of the country's population was living in slums. In

other words, more than 11 million people occupied areas that legally did not belong to them and they lived in precarious conditions. This data signals the continuous relation between the impossibility of access to urban land and the daily acts of transgression to live and survive through land ownership.

Since the acceleration of the production of the urban fabric in the 1960s and 1970s, and the rapid increase in precarious morphologies such as slums, daily transgressions have increased. Urban social movements appear to be connected to the struggle for housing, public transportation, health centers and other public facilities that engender new forms of resistance to the violent expropriation and repossession of the residents. They also assertively express a resistance to the political authoritarianism in effect not only in the relations of the Military State, but also on the other levels of social relations, revealing the relations of favors, assistance and absence of rights. As Martins claims,⁶

What brings together extreme wealth and extreme poverty, in this country, is the fact that the wealth of the few has been produced by the limitless exploitation and violent expropriation of the many, unprotected, who do not even have the possibility of demanding the legal enforcement of the few social and individual rights recognized by law.

In this context, the urban social movements, the entities of class and supporters of urban struggles gathered the demands into one document. It was transformed into a framework of operation for the following decades of the subjects who repeatedly registered complaints of inequality and demanded Urban Reform. Guided by the multiple struggles that emerged, the central point of the demands of this reform was access to urban land.

In Brazil, the resistances, whether rural or urban, brought attention to the formation of private ownership of land as a foundation of inequality, mainly through the constant removal of those who could not afford the new costs of living. An increasingly higher number of people were subject to removals when the area was considered among the recent economic centralities that emerged. São Paulo, at an increasingly intense pace resulting from industrialization and the rapidly developing real estate sector, promotes a history marked by many removals captained by the local public authorities. Indispensable for the

valuation of space, the emergence of new infrastructure led to the disappearance of neighborhoods, tenements and slums in strategic areas of the metropolis.

Notably, for the slum dwellers, the instruments of defense from the private ownership of land were used with full legal force, transforming the issue of housing into a police or social welfare matter. This way, there was an exacerbation of the authoritarian relationships of a power that reproduced inequality and also managed the forms of resistance by the residents, such as the struggle for security ownership.

As a possible struggle in order not to be forced out, security ownership affronted the core of a rentier capitalism⁷ by trying to ensure that the inhabitants stayed in the area, thus presenting a recurring land conflict in Brazilian cities. This conflict reveals how in the history of the formation of private property, this represented an instrument of domination over space.

The debate on the private ownership of land in Brazil is not new, but we resume some aspects to develop a hypothesis that it is the foundation of the process of socio-spatial segregation, an objective expression of spatial inequality. Since it is unique to the capitalist movement to produce the free laborer, Brazilian society, in its historical process, went about dissolving the various forms of ownership existing until the point in which wealth belonged to a restricted social group. One of the restrictions occasioned by this process is the one regarding land, whose acquisition could only happen based on buying and selling⁸ and, thus, followed the global movement of expanding capital. Therefore, land, as an objective condition of reproduction for the laborer, is placed in the circuit of accumulation and, above all, is transformed into a foundation for capitalist reproduction in the country by means of land income.

The milestone for transforming land into merchandise was the year 1850, with the promulgation of the Land Law. However, this process did not constitute an immediate rupture, since it was already being managed over the course of the preceding decades with the guarantees of property rights and credit protection. What happened in 1850 was just a formal rupture establishing its legal representation such that land was no longer accessed by means of donations in order for the mechanisms of buying and selling to be implemented.

With this backdrop, the forms of preventing land use were being elaborated, at the same time in which it was transformed into a profitable business, in the countryside as well as in the city. Land ownership by farmers, residents of the outskirts of the cities or former slaves was not recognized. This situation guaranteed one of the most central means of production - land - in the hands of a small portion of farmers, transforming it into an economic attribute of relevance. This situation placed the country in a trend of globalization by signaling the first steps towards putting space together with the objects for capital reproduction. However, in addition to the transfer of wealth, it was necessary to set up a web which, by preventing access to the means of "land" production, also subjugated the laborer, who now presented himself as the owner of the work force, therefore, free in this recent statute. As Martins summarizes,⁹ "capitalized income in the slave was transformed into capitalized territorial income: *in a regime of free lands, labor had to be conquered; in a regime of free labor, land had to be conquered.*"

As unique to the movement of private ownership, the transformation of territorial income led to the subordination of labor in relation to capital in the process of integration to the economy. To the extent in which it was built this way, capitalism was consolidated with territorial property as a foundation of its expansion. The legislation over land continued upon being given the guarantees for doing business with them. The consequence of these facts is the prevention of access to land for laborers without resources, managing and regulating the forms of use. Thus, a dominance over space which determined differences regarding the possibility of appropriation was in effect.

Territorial ownership, by being capitalized, was transformed into private ownership. This resulted in the root of Brazilian inequality, which is currently is expressed through the generalization of socio-spatial segregation. Brit confirms this institutional condition of inequality given by legal action in the moment of instituting private ownership by saying that

The ownership of land has thus been revealed as one of the most significant dimensions of a social order historically founded on institutionalized and formally recognized inequality, whose persistence, in Brazil, has surpassed the boundaries of a slave society.

Institutionalized inequality because in colonial Brazil, civil rights were restricted to the white minority, of European origin, even on the legal level.¹⁰

As the country became urbanized, the relations of ownership were transposed, enabling farmers to plot large glebes, with a new very profitable and lucrative business emerging, thus perpetuating inequality. In the absence of the possibility of using some land, whether for labor or for living, this situation prevented access to other forms of wealth due to the subordination of the laborer in the former condition.

The initial purpose of the human work force, aimed at accomplishing their immediate needs for pleasure, dissipated with expropriation by introducing private ownership. This nature of property in Brazil has been established as a major resource for reproducing the maintenance of the relations of production, due to the absolute power given to owners. Brito claims that,¹¹

The political role assumed by land ownership, together with the situation of the work force, is presented as the historical core of this persistence, as the driving force of the contradictions that define modernization in our society, in which the process of capitalist expansion, whether regarding the urban, or the rural, has enabled 'Brazilian transformism', a form of conservative modernization, or a productive revolution without a bourgeois revolution.

As presented, in this movement, space enters a circuit of merchandise and property exchange by those who have the means of production, transforming due to exchanges, in an instrument of subordination of men who possess only their work force as an equivalent in order to be introduced into the world of consumption. Space has become the object of accumulation of capitalist reproduction and a possibility for mitigating the contradictions of this unique accumulation. Therefore, it has been transformed into the privileged place of strategic actions for maintaining the reproduction of relations of production.¹²

Faced with these determinations, many conflicts have also been established between owners and non-owners. Resistance emerged as a minimal need for survival, as an action of preservation¹³ in which land ownership was the driving factor for conflict. Conflict was generalized and, with

the advance of urbanization, new formal (legal) mechanisms were elaborated to try to defend the owners and a few others to minimize confrontations, such as the instrument of adverse possession in the Civil Code of the 20th century repeatedly used in the struggles for agrarian reform.

In the objectivity of this process, the landscape of the cities were resigned unequally while the land conflicts, in the countryside as well as in the cities, became more pronounced. Brazilian society was developed in this contentious situation, with space also having a subordinating work force.

Therefore, this reality will be resigned to resistances in the urban space, presented to society between the conflict of private land property and its possession. Possession is an act of use, of the appropriation of space for living life, even if it is under conditions of extreme precariousness. It is transformed into the confrontation of private property, thus, to the foundation that legitimizes expropriations, preventing access to the wealth produced, that which is transformed into power to submit work.

Therefore, struggling to own land in Brazil is of a different nature when compared to other countries due to the type of formation of land ownership, which today is the basis for the most advanced processes of accumulation. This condition produces a significant amount of non-owners who built the "the possible forms", such as slums and their more than 11 million residents.¹⁴ This is the struggle for possession, which is presented as a resistance and stretches throughout the recent history of urbanization. Within it, we learn the forms of transgressions, such as the occupation of lands or buildings by families, even the resistance captained by organizations, such as movements for housing. We also perceive the flexibility of the resistance in the face of the strategies that were continually reproduced to guarantee ownership, with ambiguities, contradictions, limitations and challenges, but which built the opportunities of an area of conflict characterized by the possibility of meeting for a collective recognition in the awareness process.

By starting with the idea that private ownership is the foundation of capital reproduction, we highlight the role of productive land, since, through numerous mechanisms, it subjects the inhabitants of the city and guarantees the reproduction of inequality. On the other hand, we also perceive the core of

our society is the separation/division of the laborer and the product of his labor, considered not only in the sensible, material aspect, but also in all of the relations achieved over the course of history, such as those of a subjective nature. This division has consequences on all levels of life, mainly that which manages the processes of resistance: the recognition of others due to the identity gained through the appropriation of space.

From the point of view of the process of urban space production, this necessary separation for capital imposed by fragmentation emerges as socio-spatial segregation, in which a way of life is imposed based on the recognition of abstract identities in detriment to closer relations. At a certain level, segregation was carried out by the wealthy strata that each family or resident has. On another level, according to the instruments of representation, from the signs of each society, an abstract identity is built with the rejection of the other. Therefore, a critical reflection is necessary with respect to this process, presenting the implications resulting from its generalization.

We know that the strategies of class compose a mosaic of segregations, not only of non-owners, but especially, of the different income strata, generalizing this process in the city. The resulting implications are many because, at the ultimate limit, it is the denial of the city that this process brings in its scope. As Botelho claims

Socio-spatial segregation is increasingly present through the processes of real estate valuation and fragmentation, homogenization and hierarchy of urban space. The inhabitants of the cities are not only forced out of their more valued areas, but also the city itself in what Henri Lefebvre called "urban positivities."¹⁵

Socio-spatial segregation transforms into an important process for reproduction on all levels and dimensions of society because it is necessary to divide, separate, prevent the use of, break ties with non-productive social relations, to interact with and, subsequently, reproduce the specifically capitalist relations. Segregation affects the economy by forcing out those who are considered barriers to the homogenization of space. On the political level, segregation fragments to dominate, by preventing the gathering and production of a space of social interactions for acts of politicization and, socially, it

impoverishes the material and immaterial life of the inhabitants of the city, including them precariously and imposing on the experience a social relation based on the logic determined by private ownership and consumption.

Socio-spatial segregation, separation, fragmentation is "stealing" time and space from the urban dwellers of the opportunities of politicization.

Segregation is thus a way that has been strategically elaborated by knowledge and accomplished in practice by political powers to dominate space, and this way, try to prevent disputes, actions organized by the population, and consequently, it has a political nature that reinforces the centralization exercised by the center of decisions.¹⁶

The meaning of segregation, first and foremost, is based on the separation of socio-spatial practices, which we can consider a political form of segregation preventing social interactions for building resistances to the process of making urban laborers miserable.

As such, the historical component reveals the city in terms of segregation as a strategy of class and power which, by being carried out, separates and implodes the city as a center for social interactions. Therefore, segregation has a strategic meaning: the separation of the socio-spatial practices in the city, aimed at social reproduction which, by delimiting a space for each one, covers up the conflict.¹⁷

However, segregation contains the negative as something intrinsic to a game of relations in which strategies are present. Segregation, in turn, carries the negative in the unchanging life. The dialectic relation between segregation and resistance is discovered in the moment even when conflict emerges.

Therefore, in Brazil, the urban social movements emerged as the unchanging logical trend of space production, placing at the center of the resistance the issue of access to urban land, first questioning the repeated removals of the residents from parts of the city that were part of the productive circuit and, subsequently, requiring a housing policy from the State. These demands were constantly being rejected by public authorities, though others were slowly being introduced from the 1980s on.

Pressure from organized groups, the increase in poverty and a new movement of the global economy led to a phase of redirecting the spatial

strategies. The transformation of the demands into public policies began, a fact that brought new contradictions. On the one hand, the management of poverty directed by global institutions began, which used the demands elaborated in the process of resistance to compose discourses legitimizing the actions with purposes opposed to those promoted by the resistance itself. On the other, the subjects involved in the processes of resistance began discovering the recent strategies based on the results of applying the demanded policies, whether due to the impossibility of maintaining what had been achieved, or to the non-applicability of the public policy elaborated. This is the background of the contradictory context, which reveals resistance as something constant in the capitalist city, in a continuous process of recreating strategies to not succumb to the new trends of dominance over space.

Specifically, the struggle for security ownership continued in full swing, even with obtaining the regulatory frameworks of land regulation of social interest. The frequent removals were renewed under the aegis of spatial discourses, which played with the valuation of space based on the terms of the urban crisis that we are experiencing. They are discourses that range from the economic level, with removals to make space for the international circuit of events, or those related to the environment and lack of leisure. Therefore, a new component emerges in the contradiction of the appropriation and domination of space: the use of elements that generate or compose the resistances in the urban area (with the quality of appropriation) are at the core of the elaboration of a legitimacy in favor of a strategy of dominance.

These spatial discourses renew the mechanisms of defense of private ownership, at the same time in which, on the level of reality, they increase socio-spatial segregation. The resistance strategies, in turn, became re-elaborated.

The constant resistance in the urban space: experiences in the Nova Guarapiranga slum

The resistance in the Nova Guarapiranga slum, located on the margins of the dam of the same name in the southern region of São Paulo, allows us to develop a reflection on the movement presented above. As a product of the process of socio-spatial segregation due to the profound expropriation of the residents at the end of the 1970s, the "magic balloons" emerged,¹⁸ a first kind of resistance.

This part of the city has a specific characteristic related to issue of water and environmental resources, and so, will be the object of interventions of the State guided by global policies.

The urban social movements and transgressions were also, and continue to be, superseded prominently by the environmental issue. Before, the lack of attending to the population was justified precisely by the fact that they are living in an area with water sources and today, this condition, used in other ways, legitimizes the removal of inhabitants who have already been living in these neighborhoods for more than 30 years.

From the point of view of the metropolis as a whole, the area of the dams, and specifically that of Guarapiranga, is considered an extension of the axis with the highest valuation in São Paulo - the southwest vector. As a very attractive specific characteristic for the trend of incorporating a new moment of valuation, the area has elements rare for the city, such as a broad green leisure area, a portion of high standard plots, an important road, all inherited by a failed project from the 1920s (Guarapiranga Plot and its leisure complexes). In renewing the mechanisms of the valuation of space, these aspects transform the margins of the Guarapiranga into a coveted object for businesses involved with space. Parallel to the strategies for this intention, the residents began another phase of resistance to the advancement of the segregation process, to the extent in which this advancement reveals how achievements over the years can collapse.

During the water supply crisis of the 1990s, a policy for improving the Guarapiranga Dam was introduced with resources from the World Bank (Guarapiranga Program), which aimed to improve the quality of the water by promoting the mitigation of the type of occupation of urban land. Improvements in infrastructure were planned in the center of the existing slums (*urbanization*

of the slums), as well as land regulation of some of them. These subprojects were contemplated based on the numerous mobilizations that the residents and the social housing movements in the southern region had carried out since the 1970s, averting the constant onslaught of removals. As participants in the urban struggles, the residents of Nova Guarapiranga participated in the project, one of the models of intervention of the sanitation program, receiving infrastructure improvements, which solved part of the material instabilities.

Even though the improvement gained emerged under the policy of space with the implications of valuation, the residents still remained in the area. However, the instrument considered effective against potential removals and which guaranteed security ownership was a title for the land where they lived. This title - a concession title for public land¹⁹ - was only granted in 2008, by means of a policy of land regulation of social interest.

In the 2000s, with the promulgation of the City Statute and the Provisional Measure 2220/2001, some managements more coordinated with the social movements began to use legal tools for accomplishing certain demands, such as security ownership. The municipal authority of São Paulo is one of them, regulating a group of slums in 2003 which, for the most part, were being threatened with evictions. Even with many changes in the continuity of the application of this policy in the following administration - Gilberto Kassab - a number of slums received titles in 2008 and among them was Nova Guarapiranga.

The title represented one more achievement for the residents, though it carried a greater weight than the previous ones, since it represented a legal recognition of ownership. The effect of the title led to the dissolution of the image of the residents as invaders and placed them as equals. Despite the limitations of equality legally granted by the concession title and the consequences for the continuity of life based on it, the families felt, for a brief moment, some peace in the face of the repeated removals. However, since living in the city is a constant process of resistance, there is the challenge of continuing to reproduce life in the face of the general movement of space production, in order to keep up with the payments as a legal resident, as well as

to deal with new integrations of portions of space to the latest strategies of valuation.

Therefore, the residents of Nova Guarapiranga were faced with new possibilities of expropriation. After the regulation of the slum, a new fact occurred, demonstrating the processes of segregation in space production when a part of the city is at stake for real estate valuation, even in a place that has undergone a policy of land regulation.

Hence, after the land regulation, the Secretary of the Environment of the city proposed a project of environmental protection and leisure composed of a large linear park along the edge of the Guarapiranga dam, formed by a complex of six parks interconnected by one bicycle path. According to bulletin by the Mayor, the conception of the project is the idea of "annexing new areas to these parks so that, together, they would be transformed into a single park which surrounds this entire part of the dam, thus forming the so-called 'Beach of São Paulo'."

Established as an integrated action and entitled *Operation Water Defense*,²⁰ the project began in 2007. However, it was in 2008 in which the design of the linear parks was formulated, which transformed into one of the strategies to prevent irregular occupation on the margins of the dam, in a space policy called "Revitalization of the Guarapiranga Boardwalk".

The public authorities began implementing this space policy to various lands located on Robert Kennedy Avenue, currently renamed Atlântica Avenue, through actions of expropriation,²¹ a concession of use for licensing of the park in an agreement with the EMAE and the incorporation of areas already belonging to City Hall. Their strategy was built fundamentally on the composition of a spatial discourse based on a critical aspect of the process of urban space production and which, currently, is one of the anomalies produced by the contemporary urbanization process, the environmental issue and the scarcity of leisure areas.

This policy transformed the environment into an alibi to legitimize the practice of appropriating areas for specifically capitalist private ownership, such as neighborhoods, constituted decades ago, as well as to justify the

repossession of lands belonging to City Hall where low-income and titled residents were located. The priority, as presented in the excerpt from the Official Government Newspaper, is the commercial activities "compatible" with "sustainability", but clearly mediated by commercial relations, such as businesses and clubs associated to the landscape of the dam.

This enterprise by the public authorities renewed the forms of socio-spatial segregation encompassing not only the residents benefiting from land regulation, but also private ownership and areas of the old clubs, by substituting this morphology with the complex of parks.

However, we can consider that the consequences of these actions were carried out in a more perverse manner than those who struggled to continue in a more valued area such as this part of the Guarapiranga dam. This is because the continuous efforts and the dispute over the representation of space in the slum were constant over the course of the lives of the residents.

In this process, the "conformism and resistance" of the residents of the area emerged. The resistance is permeated by ambiguities inscribed in the discourse of the slum leader who, at the same time in which he agreed with the project to revitalize the Guarapiranga boardwalk, he deeply criticized this space policy.

The title of the area represented for the residents the moment in which the struggles for housing culminated in a period of almost three decades. Having the urbanization and regulation of the slum, seen as improvements in the area of housing, practically created a satisfaction for allowing one to enjoy the work employed in the house and the practice of resistance, which permeated most of the residents. This meant the possibility of living in a neighborhood with better infrastructure. This was the occasion in which they were no longer apprehensive about being removed, with which they had always been threatened, as well as the opportunity of broadening the uses that could be done on the house. This conflict revealed the house as a use value for its inhabitant and removal from it meant a loss of the appropriation of the hard-won housing.

Considered a strategy of space valuation, legitimized and justified by the spatial discourse of the environment and leisure, space is homogenized, attributing to it the conditions that place it once again in the circuit of production. Simultaneously, by recovering a determined unit of property fragmented in order to execute the policy of space, we arrive at a fragmentation of social space which, in space production, was weaved over the course of the practices carried out in the intertwining of the experiences of the residents. One is resigned in this experience to an example of the urban crisis as an impossibility of appropriating the produced space.

It is the title of concession of use that currently does not allow for the implementation of the Atlântica Park, one of the parks of the complex. It has been transformed into an instrument for the negotiations surrounding a housing solution. However, in the conjunction of the forces among the subjects involved in the conflict, in October of 2011, the affected residents were no longer in pursuit of a housing unit. Now, they were negotiating for compensation for the properties and an alternative for those who had more than one family in their residences.

Therefore, Nova Guarapiranga appears in the reflection as a process in which a constant struggle is revealed of the people to keep living in the city. Remaining in an area means constant transgressions and resistances, since the mechanisms of expropriation are inherent to capitalist space production. Therefore, the situation of space in relation to the city is intimately related to the effective realization/maintenance of a demand. To be located on the continuity of the valuation axis is a challenge, because the metamorphosis strategies of the morphology to integrate it into advanced circuits of urban businesses are constantly being re-elaborated.

This is why, on the level of space, the immediate, and socio-spatial practice, a real and material foundation of the realization of space-times, are revealed as actions of those institutions that compose a distant (world) order. This socio-spatial practice reveals the component of life in its conformism, transgressions and resistance. Therefore, the socio-spatial practice is constantly permeated by transgressions. Transgressions, understood in the terms presented by Henri Lefebvre, is considered a revealing element of the

impositions and expropriations over the residents, who need this at all times in order to keep reproducing their lives. The resistance takes place under distinct aspects in each country, according to their historical development. The mechanisms of expropriation, exploitation and repossession produce a distinct socio-spatial practice in the social and political struggle for space. As proposed by Lefebvre, "To change life', 'to change society', this does not mean anything if there is no production of an appropriated space."²²

As such, we claim that, by carrying out the socio-spatial segregation process, resistance to it is present as a negative process, forming a contradictory unit in which the strategies of each subject are built in a way that they implicate each other. Resistance by the residents, whose purpose is the non-productive use of the city, is confronted with class strategies (by capitalists and the State), whose objective is to transform space into something productive, outlining this way, the contradiction between the domination and appropriation of space.

Resistance as a struggle for space is transmuted into a confrontation against the logical trend of specifically capitalist urban space production. In other words, it carries questions about continuous homogeneity that is meant to be imposed on the space by means of new morphologies, which intend to reproduce a sociability guided by the fragmentation and unequal distribution of wealth and power.

The component of social contradictions (expropriation/domination) develops into spatial contradictions due to the importance that space production has taken on these days. The conceptions of the projects to be implemented in the cities contain a purpose and are involved in the games of the subjects who try to guarantee their interests. On the other hand, in space, these conceptions clash with the level of the experience in the struggle for remaining in the space of life by means of transgressions and resistances.

From this perspective, we begin with the idea that resistance is a social and spatial relation. It emerges as a contradictory unit in relation to the process of socio-spatial segregation. In view of this, it assumes, at least, the conflict of distinct subjects and purposes for the appropriation of space, in addition to necessarily being linked to a specific place.

This conflict results in processes of resistance by the residents who are affected by these strategies. Since the strategies of dominating space are many and resistance is a practice built around the conflict, we highlight that the quality of the resistance contains a flexibility and mobility acquired from the different contexts of the confrontations that have taken place, due to the intertwined relation with the actions of the subjects implicated. In this direction, resistance is a movement, a socio-spatial practice, an active action. Therefore, we understand that it is carried out with the specific characteristics of each area, according to the relations of the centralities constituted in the areas of the city, the practices experienced at this level, the differences given by the constitution of the concrete identity of the subjects involved in the plans of the resistances.

Hypotheses about the relation between resistance and space production

By exercising dominance over space through the determinations of the private ownership of land and the employment of the authoritarian relations of Brazilian development, the forms of expropriation have produced cities immersed in the generalization of socio-spatial segregation. However, this fact did not represent an absence of conflicts and resistances in the continuous reproduction of space, but meant that the resistances that erupted (and erupt) are determined by these relations and, especially, those immersed in multiple ambiguities and contradictions. The experience in Nova Guarapiranga opens up a possible path for reflecting on the force of the private ownership of land in the subordination of those who live in the city, as well as the temporariness of the achievements over the process of the resistance. This perspective places us against how resistance is an obligatory part of the socio-spatial practice for those who live in a capitalist city.

Considering the above and based on the struggle for security ownership, we will contribute some hypotheses about the relation between resistance and the capitalist production of space.

- Resistance is always present as intrinsic in the processes of the clash of strategies. In the capitalist city, by the way in which space

is produced, in which socio-spatial segregation is a condition for reproducing and maintaining relations of production, resistance is an obligatory act;

- The practices of resistance are many and conform to the existing conflicts. It can be constituted by the simple act of violating laws and norms, or even by participating in broader organizations;
- Resistance is permeated by ambiguities and contradictions, since it is related to the process of awareness. The latter is not linear and is built by means of the relations established between the subjects involved in the conflicts, who also carry contradictions. These conditions are established based on the history of a country or a nation. David Harvey, in his book *Spaces of Hope*, warns us about the fact that

The task of active politics, in Marx's view, is to seek transformations of social relations in the full recognition that the starting point of political action rests upon achieved historical-geographical conditions.²³;

- The action of resistance demands a mobility in the city in order to come together. It can be a spatial practice that promotes, in that moment, the experience of leaving the oppressive chains that "confine" them to a place. For confronting policies coming from a distant order that is not only carried out in the area, the need to know the experience of others becomes fundamental in order to compose the counterarguments. This spatial practice is very different from that of the mobility provided by work (work-home) relations, in which subordination is implicit. There is a process of knowledge and recognition that moves the awareness of the conflict and the conditions of inequality. The demands constitutive of the resistance make them clash with the State and, this way, they can recognize the institutions and their operations. Resistance, as a socio-spatial practice, places the contradictions of society on another level;
- Resistance carries questions about the continuous homogeneity

that is meant to be imposed on space by means of new morphologies which intend to reproduce a sociability guided by the fragmentation and unequal distribution of wealth and power. Resistance as a struggle for the appropriation of space reveals the hierarchy of spaces in the city.

- It is the action of resistance by the residents that produces the space of conflict, often nebulous since it is permeated by relations of alienation and fetishization of space. But it is only and merely for the resistance to expropriation, exploitation and repossession, in which the moments of experiences of the residents are built, in which the confrontation is transformed into a moment of understanding inequality and building renewed strategies of resistance. As Bensaid points out,

based on the implementation and activation, every reactive resistance converts into declarative and affirmative. It invents the answers. It exploits the removals. It transforms the victim of an injustice or an offense into an actor of his own drama. From a pure object of passion, he is converted into an agent of his own struggle.²⁴

- The resistance carried out by the residents of the city is profoundly linked to their experience, and it is through this politicized social life that the possibilities of awareness of the processes of space production and the deconstruction of the representations of it can occur. The everyday practice of struggling for space reveals the layers of expropriations that prevent appropriation. As Bensaid claims, upon citing Françoise Proust, one only discovers why one resists by practicing resistance. Resistance undertaken by social subjects carries with it the potential for a creative and transformative capacity, which may or may not be realized.

To the extent in which one builds a reflection in which there is an intention to unveil spatial contradictions, we open up the possibilities of revealing the strategies that reproduce and maintain the relations of production under the ties of private ownership. At the same time, we want to replace the

emphasis on the possibilities of transforming the relations, which produce space in social processes, by means of the opportunities that practicing resistance replaces for society. Resistance is an obligatory practice in the capitalist city and carries with it relations that, in the underground, engender others. They are often not within our sights.

Notes

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² Telles, 2001.

³ IBGE - 2010 Demographic Census. Available at: <www.ibge.gov.br>. Accessed in Feb. 2014.

⁴ 1973: 16.

⁵ 1990: 89.

⁶ 1994:160.

⁷ Martins, 1998.

⁸ "Free or potentially free laborers - confront all objective conditions of production as alien property, as their own non-property, but at the same time as something which can be exchanged as values and therefore to some extent appropriated by living labor." (MARX, K. *Formaciones económicas precapitalistas*. México: Siglo veintiuno editores, 2004, 119 p. , pp.98)

⁹ 1998: 32, our emphasis.

¹⁰ Brito, 2006: 30.

¹¹ Idem, ibidem

¹² Lefebvre, 1973.

¹³ Bensaid, 2006: 29

¹⁴ IBGE, 2010.

¹⁵ 2005: 13.

¹⁶ Ribeiro, 2007: 18.

¹⁷ Carlos, 2006: 56.

¹⁸ It is about a format of shacks that the occupants made to resist the constant removals that City Hall carried out. One of the reports by the first residents accounts for the fact that this was a form of occupation for which they would not be forced out for invasion of property. By quickly building a wooden shack and placing basic objects that represent a house, they transformed the situation of illegality with a criminal connotation into a social issue. This prevented the removal of the residents by the municipal guards.

¹⁹ The titles granted were CUEM - Special Use Concession for Housing Purposes and CDRU - Concession for Right in Rem Use.

²⁰ PMSP, Diário Oficial, 4/6/2010: "With the purpose of revitalizing the Guarapiranga boardwalk, the City Hall of São Paulo and the State Government created the Operation Water Defense at the end of 2007, when the public authorities began recovering the invaded lands and removing clandestine plots that occupied areas of environmental preservation."

²¹ According to City Hall, "The area was appropriated to broaden the municipal parks which are part of the Program for the Revitalization of the Guarapiranga Boardwalk, a partnership between the State and City Hall which has been establishing parks, bicycle paths, protective fences and boardwalks along the edge of the Guarapiranga dam. This is in addition to the other 700 thousand m2 of green areas which were appropriated and in agreement with the Metropolitan Company for Water and Energy (EMAE) to the City Hall of São Paulo for the establishment of parks in defense of Guarapiranga". City Hall appropriates the land on the margins of the Guarapiranga dam. Available at: <<http://www.sampaonline.com.br/reportagens/golfcenter2010nov28.php>>. Accessed on: June 20. 2010.

²² Lefebvre, 2006: 49.

²³ 2004:164.

²⁴ Bensaid, 2000: 35.

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