

(In)visible outskirts: the live- territory of Brasilândia from the perspective of young residents

Periferias (in)visíveis: o território-vivo da
Brasilândia na perspectiva
de jovens moradores

Periferias (in)visibles: el territorio-vivo
de la Brasilândia desde la perspectiva
de jóvenes residentes

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Abstract

This paper discusses a historical perspective of the territory of Brasilândia from the narratives of its youngsters. It intended to reflect the ways of existence of this young people constructed from territories, especially those that are forged by the invention of cultural practices in the ghettos. Through ethnographic forays into the territory, were used fragments of stories of the life of two youngsters from the north zone of the city of São Paulo engaged in cultural actions - of marginal literature soiree and audiovisual production. The juvenile narratives point out how the periphery constituted itself at the edge of the center of the city and has been configured as a living territory, and contributed to the construction of the existential territories of these young people. This spatial distribution is the brand that operates a certain youthful positioning, as if the young stigma, black and poor that place the emblem, the pride of being the periphery.

Keywords: *Young; Social vulnerability; Narratives.*

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Resumo

Este trabalho apresenta uma perspectiva histórica do território da Brasilândia a partir de narrativas de seus jovens. Pretende refletir sobre os modos de existência destes jovens construídos neste território, especialmente daqueles que se forjam pela invenção de práticas culturais na periferia. Através das incursões etnográficas, utilizaram-se fragmentos de histórias de vida de dois jovens da periferia da zona norte da cidade de São Paulo engajados em coletivos culturais – sarau de literatura marginal e produção audiovisual. As narrativas juvenis apontam como a periferia foi se constituindo à margem do centro da cidade e tem se configurado como um território-vivo, contribuindo para a construção dos territórios existenciais desses jovens. Esta territorialização é a marca que opera certo posicionamento juvenil, como se o estigma de ser jovem, negro e pobre desse lugar ao emblema, ao orgulho de ser da periferia.

Palavras-chave: Jovem; Vulnerabilidade social; Narrativa.

Resumen

Este trabajo presenta una perspectiva histórica del territorio de la Brasilândia a partir de las narrativas de sus jóvenes. Se pretende reflejar sobre los modos de existencia de los jóvenes que se constroen en este territorio, especialmente aquellos que se forjan por la invención de prácticas culturales en la periferia. A través de incursiones etnográficas, se utilizó fragmentos de historias de vida de dos jóvenes de la zona norte de la ciudad de São Paulo que se dedican a grupos culturales – sarau de literatura marginal y producción audiovisual. Los relatos de los jóvenes muestran como la periferia se fue constituyendo al margen del centro de la ciudad, pasando a configurarse como un territorio vivo, contribuyendo a la construcción de los territorios existenciales de estos jóvenes. Esta territorialización es la marca que opera un determinado posicionamiento juvenil, como si el estigma de ser joven, negro y pobre fuese sustituido por el emblema, el orgullo de ser de la periferia.

Palabras clave: Jóvenes; Vulnerabilidad social; Narrativa.

Introduction

This paper presents a historical perspective of the constitution of the territory of Brasilândia, in the perspective of young people engaged in cultural movements such as the *Sarau Poesia na Brasa* and the *Cinescadão*, in Jardim Peri neighborhood. The engagement of young people in these cultural movements and their analysis of that territory will allow us to glimpse what Milton Santos¹, a significant Brazilian geographer of the 20th century, called *live-territory*. This term suggests that the territory can only be understood when we analyze the territories from its use and when is thought along with the actors responsible for building it: *the geographical place is also the philosophical place of the discovery, since conflicting forces face each other*¹.

Although São Paulo is Brazil's economic epicenter, the development and urban sprawl locus, it retains some of the sharpest contrasts of a metropolis that is recognized by the statistics related

to violence, unemployment or underemployment and increased 'slum' growth. In the 2000s, the city had a significant number of people living in slums. According to the IBGE census², there are 6,329 irregular land occupations across Brazil in which almost 12 million people live, in slums or stilt houses. According to the same census, the Southeast region of Brazil concentrates the largest part of the population living in irregular houses. In the case of São Paulo, e.g., on the one hand in Itaim Bibi neighborhood, which has a medium and high social profile, the demographic density decreased from 116,000 inhabitants/km² to 81,000 inhabitants/km², on the other hand, in Capão Redondo, a neighborhood in the outskirts, the demographic density increased from 140,000 inhabitants/km² to 200,000 inhabitants/km². In addition, there are 892,245 households in São Paulo for an estimated population of 3,448,233 people, with almost 3 million people living in slums and irregular territories.

The young people population of Brasilândia presents extremely high rates with respect to the

situation of vulnerability when compared to other areas of the city. According to the 2010 Youth Vulnerability Index (IVJ), Brasilândia presents 72 points on a scale that ranges from 0 to 100 points. This level places the neighborhood in the group 5, as the highest youth vulnerability of São Paulo, which is for districts with more than 65 points. A young, male, aged between 15 and 19 years in the territory of Brasilândia denotes the risk of being murdered: there were 354.6 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants in 2010³.

Extremely populous and populated by migrants who arrived there in search of work and better living conditions, the Vila Brasilândia district or 'Brasa', as it is affectionately called by many of its inhabitants, insinuating that is a 'hot' place [Translator's note: 'Brasa' also means 'hot coal'], has many stories of struggle, and also plenty of inventiveness.

This paper is part of the doctoral research defended in 2014, which aimed to work through oral story, translated into narratives, the subjectivation processes of young people in vulnerable territories. The research was conducted in the Vila Brasilândia neighborhood in view of the commitment made since 2008 by PUC/SP (Speech-Language Therapy, Psychology and Social Work courses) with the Technical Health Supervision of Freguesia do Ó/Brasilândia district, as part of the Reorientation National Program in Health Professional Formation (PROSAUDE) of the Ministry of Health, which intensified the teaching-service integration process. One of the purposes of this Program, in addition to the teaching and extension processes, was the dialog of the lines and research projects of Post-Graduate studies with the demands and needs of the territory. In the analysis proposed here, fragments of the narratives of young people are used on two planes: in the first, to narrate the constitution of the district from their family history; and, in the second, to highlight the distinctive modes of territory appropriation in the form of aesthetic-political actions, on which life on the outskirts gains strength as an expression of micropolitics and singular mode of existence.

Methods

In 2012, as part of the doctoral studies conducted in the Post-Graduate Studies Program in Social Psychology, PUC/SP, we monitored seven subjects

engaged in distinct cultural collectives - cultural gathering in marginal literature, hip hop movement and audiovisual production - in Brasilândia and Vila Nova Cachoeirinha districts, in the Northern zone of São Paulo. It was through diary writing, interviews in oral stories and ethnographic trials⁴⁻⁵ that we were able to methodologically develop this work. In addition to the interviews, in three of these seven young people it was possible to develop an on-site follow-up in the territory of origin. Of these three, the reports of two young people will be used in this paper. With the young people that collaborate, a priority was given to the approach to juvenile experiences in the context of the outskirts, as an effort to work with the memories and narratives of the interlocutors, in view of the oral story⁶⁻⁷, which allows learning the social phenomena engendered in a story. We made an effort to know and invite young people who were developing more autonomous and self-managed cultural actions that, at this time, are not related to the actions proposed by non-governmental organizations. The speeches were organized into thematic categories after the transcription, textualization and transcreation of interviews. The categories relating to the territory and to the life on the outskirts have been selected to this paper.

Contexts and contrasts: the city by its young inhabitants

At the beginning of his narrative, Jorge explains this territory called Brasilândia to the researcher.

'From Inajar de Souza, Imirim and Deputado Emílio Carlos avenues, I'm moving towards the square called Praça Largo do Japonês, which is at the heart of Cachoeirinha District, central part of Northern region and where I, Jorge, am going to meet the researcher. Do you know exactly where you are? Don't you? So, let me explain' (Jorge).

And he starts from the photographic image, which is reproduced above, to explain his territory. He maps every point, every corner, every break, as if they composed the sheet music of his own life, which was composed in this place.

Can you see the João Dias cargo terminal? It is considered the largest cargo terminal in Latin America, it goes from that corner and it reaches, if I'm right, Francisco Morato, in Caieiras. Jardim



Figure 1. Photo taken from outside the Youth Cultural Centre (CCJ). In the background you can see the main bus terminal of the Nova Cachoeirinha District, the Avenida Inajar de Souza Avenue and the Brasilândia and Jardim Peri Alto neighborhoods. Author's personal file (2012).

Peri is right there, between this first hill, which is the Cachoeirinha, and this side. Brasilândia neighborhood starts back in that direction, across the whole forest, i.e., the Serra da Cantareira. I live right there, down from that tower on the left. Can you see that end over there? All that slum is part of Jardim Peri. Santana neighborhood is on the right. Then you can see Tucuruvi, Limão and Casa Verde neighborhoods. All this forms Brasilândia Freguesia do Ó e Cachoeirinha districts' (Jorge).

He describes the territory as a starting point, reference and anchorage to initiate this narrative 'journey'. Each piece, in its own time, starts to reveal the plots in a long process lived, crossed by many other stories - the story of the neighborhood, the stories of violence, the many family and friendship stories, the history of the cultural gathering of the neighborhood, called *Sarau da Brasa*. The tortuous lines that draw the itinerary is the bridge found by Jorge and connecting his story to the story of Brasilândia. But, shortly beforehand, Jorge already says what people hear and say of the place in which they live.

'Perhaps you already know some stories from here, but only about the bad things that happen. Violence, murders, criminal activities. People don't say good things about this place!' (Jorge).

The rapid geographical expansion, with the urban growth of populations from the center to the outskirts, took the state government to create administrative zones to be able to face the problems. São Paulo is also bordered by the surrounding cities, forming what we call the Metropolitan Region (RMSP). As São Paulo is the place of work, many of these surrounding cities are turning into 'dormitory cities', from where people move to the epicenter, and return only at the end of the day.

São Paulo is composed of 96 districts, which are distributed among the following areas: North or Northeast, Northwest, East, Southeast, South, Southwest, West, and Center. There are thirty-one boroughs, which are divided by the districts of the city. Together, the North and Northwest areas are responsible for almost 2,100,000 inhabitants. Brasilândia and Vila Nova Cachoeirinha districts are two of the 96 existing districts, and are located in the North and Northeast of the city.

Brasilândia district is situated in the Northwest region, with an area of 21 km². The demographic density of this territory is 126.15 inhabitants/km². This district is bordered by the districts of Cachoeirinha, Freguesia do Ó, Jaraguá e Pirituba, in addition to Caieiras. The district is located in an area of environmental preservation, since it is covered by the Cantareira State Park. Brasilândia neighborhood composes one of the neighborhoods of this district. It is estimated that the local population is approximately of 264,918 inhabitants². The predominant housing type is the *favela* (masonry) and housing state (COHAB). Jorge tells how Brasilândia was created and notably became, today, an important district of São Paulo.

"When my father came to Brasilândia, it was still being subdivided, since as here was an old farm, that is to say, many farms made up this area. The owner was a gentleman called Brasília. Hence the name, Brasilândia. He was the one who started to subdivide and sell this area. (...) If you visit Brasilândia, you'll notice many differences in this territory. I live in the exactly place where the neighborhood emerged, the oldest part, the subdistricts work there. But there are the surroundings, the new neighborhoods, such as Damasceno and Vista Alegre, which people claim to be the 'back row' of Brasilândia" (Jorge).

The territory was like this before, with its hills and shacks, vegetation and landscape:

And today, the city looks like this, between hills and alleys:



District of Brasilândia - main districts: **Brasilândia**, Jardim Guarani, Vila Penteadado, Jardim Paulistano e Jardim Maria Elisa II, Jardim Damasceno.

Figure 4. Brasilândia district map and photo of Brasilândia neighborhood (2000).

If on the one hand São Paulo has been considered the epicenter of the developmentalist and economic optimism of the country, on the other hand, the poverty fostered by the social inequality has been reproduced on this neoliberal dynamic, reflected in the unemployment and violence rates and in the fragmentation of urban territory. Jorge points out how the working class has been at the mercy of the guarantee of rights in view of the low investments that are made in these vulnerable areas. As well as this arrival of the state government in the communities and slums of Rio de Janeiro, recently we could notice the implementation of Pacifying Police Units (UPP's) that intensified even more the social monitoring of people at the expense of a public safety universalizing speech in these marginal territories. In the face of the symbolic and material needs in which the life of a specific population is

shaped on the outskirts, Jorge is wondering: to whom the State serves?

‘The State has never done anything here. It’s been a while since I don’t believe that the State represents us, and I don’t think the State is there to represent us. So, what should we do? Meanwhile, all hell is breaking loose here!’ (Jorge).

According to Caldeira⁸, the rules that organize the urban territory are basically patterns for social differentiation and separation. Such rules may vary culturally and historically, revealing the principles governing public life and also indicate how social groups interrelate with the urban space.

The author points out three patterns of social and spatial segregation that have emerged throughout the 20th century in São Paulo. The first, from the end of the 19th century and through the 1940s, was established from the population concentration

in small areas, where the segregation took place by the type of housing, the famous tenements, which are emblematic in the central area of the city. The second urban form, named by her as center-outskirts, lasted from the 1940s until the mid-80s. In this stage, different social groups were separated by large distances: middle and upper classes were concentrated in central neighborhoods with good infrastructure and poor people were pushed to the extremes, the outskirts, with poor or non-existent survival conditions. The third pattern occurs mainly from the early 1990s and overlaps the previous one. In this pattern, different social groups are increasingly close, though separated by walls and security technologies, tending not to circulate or interact in common areas. Naming them as *fortified enclaves*⁸, they are the main instrument of the new pattern of spatial segregation. These are enclosed spaces, monitored, where life happens within the walls, justified by the fear of violence and violent crime.

Frúgoli⁹, in the midst of a sociological reflection on the occupations of territory of São Paulo, points out how the urban interventions, at the end of the 20th century, articulated by business interests, led to the expansion and dispersal of this centrality to other neighborhoods, thus intensifying the inter-relational conflicts.

According to the author, the urban modernization is based, historically, in its early days, in Paris in the second half of the 19th century, whose industrialization process was followed by population growth, and fueled by a huge influx of sloppy farmers that became part of the urban crowd, in a city that suffered large scale interventions. The new constitutions of the urban crowd were ripped by other urban architectures, responding to new industrial capitalists' orders, putting down the popular neighborhoods dominated by so-called "dangerous classes".

Jorge reveals how the Brasilândia became a territory marked by processes of spatial segregation and vulnerability:

(...) people use to say that: some people who lived in Barra Funda, Largo da Batata, Largo da Banana neighborhoods, mainly black people, poor people, started to be pushed to the outskirts. There was a land division project that Mr. Brasília was conducting here. Those who could pay for it would pick a land lot, and those who couldn't afford it, would occupy a land lot, that was the motto. And that was how my father came here, by occupying a place

and not by paying for it. (...) By the year 2000, the census indicated Brasilândia as one of the districts with the official largest black population. It is related to the fact that people moved from the city centre to the outskirts. Brasilândia just got bigger and bigger' (Jorge).

This has been the story of the composition of physical spaces in Brazilian metropolises, which, to a great extent, "pushed" the group of workers, the working class, who lived in the central regions to the peripheral regions of the cities. In these places, the poverty pockets started to be shaped in what we call today as slums or communities. The *absences* are also the historically paradigmatic representation of this physical space, which is also symbolic and heterogeneous, according to Silva¹⁰. However, among researchers who study the slums, there is a consensus that this space, beyond its geographical borders, is a diverse and dense place, in which many events took place and also where other relationships are based on the territory.

Jorge, while narrating on his own territory, explains how the neighborhood was formed at the expense of the processes of exclusion and marginalization of the working class, further fragmenting the urban crowd.

The land division in Brasilândia took place in 1947, from an ancient site from the Brasília Simões family. Subsequently, he sold the land to Empresa Brasilândia de Terrenos e Construções that until recently explored the sale of the land lots. The first residents of the land lot came mainly from popular houses and tenements that were situated in the city centre and which were demolished to make way for the São João, Duque de Caxias, and Ipiranga avenues, during the term of the Mayor Prestes Maia. That was how the story of a neighborhood marked by exclusion and abandonment¹¹ started.

Wacqüant¹² called this process narrated by Jorge as *ghettoization*, making the ghetto an instrument for *encasement* and *ethnoracial control*. In Brazil, the conceptual similarity occurs through the slum¹⁰, community or outskirts¹³ concepts, referring to a space that is not only geographical, but also affective, social, cultural, political and with a sense of belonging, constituted in the way people, who are in these places, are produced as subjects.

Although there are distinctions regarding the formation of the Brazilian outskirts and the American ghettos, there are aspects that bring these places closer when they are studied. Wacqüant¹²



points out the *stigma, coercion, spatial confinement and institutional encapsulation* as the elements to analyze this ethnorrational space. It is also a spatial form of “collective violence built on and by the urban space”¹³.

“I remember when we were younger, when we had to look for a work, when we were looking for some job, look for something to make money, that we had to say that we lived in the Freguesia do Ó. If we said that we lived in Brasília, we wouldn’t be able to get the job. That’s because there is a reputation that those who live in the *Brasa* are criminals! And that would increase our chances when compared to people who said that they lived in Brasília. Naturally, when they searched our zip code they would notice that we didn’t live in Freguesia do Ó. Also, other silly things, such as buying a wardrobe and the company refused to deliver, just because the address was on Brasília neighborhood’ (Jorge).

The criminality that many young people are exposed also imposes restrictions at the time of looking for a work, indicated by Jorge as a daily issue to be faced. The place where you live says, beforehand, who the subject is and punishes him in face of poverty conditions regulating who should or should not be part of the formal job market.

During a long period, the urban studies of sociological or anthropological character on São Paulo, focused on the social processes generated in the outskirts, which determined the outskirt characterization of urban space. A number of research focused on this urban context, addressing the city as a variable of the capitalist production relations⁹.

The outskirts - and, especially, its social movements through non-existent urban equipment - would be par excellence the geometrical place of urban poverty and exclusion, where social contradictions, arising from the model of expansion of the city, would be more visible and sharp⁸.

The offset of the popular class takes place to the extent that other economic investments, such as the expansion of the real estate market, intensify in the metropolis. A false speech and social representation of this territory are disseminated, thus obscuring the processes of vulnerability increase and more and more postponing investments.

When analyzing the context in the Northern region, Fábio, Another young man that was interviewed, pointed out that:

“This region is crazy. People use to say that the Northern area is rich, that there are no slums over there. They say it, because they don’t walking around on it. There are people here who are suffering a lot. Humble people, migrant people, rednecks, people who came here have suffered a lot. Because this is also a way to make invisible the issues of the same people in a particular region, and then you favor other housing policies that are not related to urban reform’ (Fábio).

When we articulate the African-American ghettos analysis with the Brazilian outskirts it allows us to distinguish the relationships that are established between ethnic agglomeration, urban poverty and segregation. It also makes it possible to point out the role of the ghetto or the outskirts as symbolic incubator and source of production of an crystallized identity or source of production of a certain subjectivity¹⁴.

The Ghetto, as a product and instrument of a power of a group, meets two facets, to the extent that it performs opposite functions to two distinct groups, establishing an asymmetrical dependence relationship between them.

As for the dominant group, the reason for the existence of this instrument is to confine and control, creating what Max Weber¹² called as ‘excluding fences’ of the dominated group. As for the dominated group, the ghetto becomes an instrument for integration and protection, freeing them from the contact with the dominant group and also encouraging the community collaboration and building within this sphere restricted to the relations created by them¹². According to this author, ‘the isolation imposed with respect to other areas leads to the intensification of social exchange and cultural share within the area’¹².

Concurrently with this idea of closing to external areas and opening to the internal area, Frúgoli⁹ also identifies two social processes that subvert the constitutive logic of São Paulo, through the use of the territory and the effects it causes. On the one hand, the migrant proletariat, people who are here and move to the city centre looking for a work, contributing with their labor to the economic growth of the city; on the other hand, they are prevented from living properly, being pushed to the outskirts.

(...) “Did you know that things happen that way, in this format, in the ghetto. This is the space of the possibility, as well as the space of the occupation, the



spontaneous architecture. And also the space where relations are simulating new cultural fronts (...) the spaces on the outskirts are the possible spaces for us. When I go to the Peri, I believe that this is the region that I see many possibilities. We already know how the other places are' (Fábio).

For the young people, the ghetto also expresses the space of the possibility, and of the creation of survival strategies. They take these spaces as true territories of meetings, coexistence, sociability, reproduction and reappropriation of the home culture, being marked since childhood, meaning and recognizing them as territories of existence:

"Another thing that has always marked my memory from childhood was a candomblé worship place, which until today is on a house over there in the Peri. I was fascinated with it. It was on the path that my family took on weekends to go fishing in Mairiporã' (Fabio).

"There was a place here called Catimbó, which was the home of the nucleus, where Rosas de Ouro samba school is located today. This samba school was born here in Brasilândia. As a place where black people used to make percussion songs and sing samba. (...) My father used to take me to these places, my mother took me to other places and I was growing up, and enjoying being here, recognizing myself and being recognized in this place (...) I like this place here in São Paulo, there are good firmament and macumba worship places. It makes me like here more and more' (Jorge).

Pastorelo¹⁵ reports that "from the 1970s, during military dictatorship, distinct claims movements begin to proliferate in the region". From the Church, the Brazilian National Labor Front, the student movement, these groups involved teachers, political activists, movement leaders, priests, religious and apostolic people who initiate a resistance struggle and confrontation with right-wing groups that controlled the region. That was an appropriate moment for the development of the entire political formation process of Brasilândia.

The housing policies have always been as an issue to be resolved. Caldeira⁸ notes that the urbanization pattern of large cities has always been linked to public transport system based on buses. Therefore, the occupation of marginal territories and their expansion only became possible after the opening of new avenues for the public transporta-

tion that enabled the movement of population from the center to the outskirts. The irregular, random and illegal real estate speculation has contributed to create a distinctive type of occupation of territory, in which lots located in the "middle of nowhere" were sold and inhabited by poor people.

The region turned out to be gradually occupied by migrants from the Brazilian Northeastern and miners who headed to São Paulo in search of new job and work opportunities. Few housing investments were made in these regions, usually in the form of task forces and housing state, with the private initiative controlling the entire process of urbanization and real estate exploitation.

Jorge brings to memory the family moves between the North and the East regions, which occurred during the term of Mayor Erundina, in the 1980s. As his parents were connected to the trade union movement, they were awarded with a home for their own family on the eastern edge of the city. However, difficulties became even more serious, as, although they had fulfilled their dream to have their own house, they lacked minimum conditions to inhabit the place, such as sanitation, potable water, public transportation, electricity, public phone, schools, and hospitals. Such infrastructure, through the provision of public services, was only introduced during the democratic period and under political pressure from the inhabitants of the outskirts.

'At that time, Erudina was the Mayor and responsible for São Paulo'. There were the famous community joint efforts and my mother ended up being awarded with a house, I mean, with a plot of land on the East side of the city, right there on Guaianases. We left the house that old lady, in Brasilândia and we headed towards the community joint effort. We received the construction material of the own people who were building the homes (...). The situation in Guaianases was quite difficult. The community joint effort was still being organized. Therefore, there was nothing, no asphalt or sanitation. I remember that for a long time, I don't know exactly how long, we had no water or sewer. There was only one tap, which was a few blocks away, and it was a collective tap that people used to get water. We lived in this place for a while, I was three to four years old (...). I went crazy when I compared that place (Guaianases) to Brasa. The reality there was pretty different. There was only two rooms in our house there. At least we had one extra room here in Brasa' (Jorge).



Such difficulties, associated with the separation of his parents, meant that Jorge would return with her sister to Brasília. Although he lived in conditions similar to that of Guaianases, in Brasília he had a stronger community network, which was able to face the issues of everyday life.

Caldeira⁸ also reveals that the residents of the outskirts have always been overlooked by the fact that they never had any kind of funding to build their own homes. That's because the few programs aimed to poor people whether had requirements

that they couldn't meet or were quickly redirected to the middle class, such as the National Housing Bank of Brazil (BNH).

In this way, the workers who lived there ended up gradually building their own homes, through a long-term process. First, the residents bought the land lot, and then they built a room, then another and so on. It is common to find half-built houses in the outskirts, because the townhouses expand as the need arises.



Figure 5: Photo of the back of the house of one of the young employees of the study, in Jardim Antártica. We can see in this image the shacks still made in wood and other in masonry, typical buildings in the outskirts. Author's personal file (2012).

However, it is not only poverty and vulnerability that fed people who live in the slums on a daily basis. The ethnographic path through alleys and narrow streets of the North region allowed to

discover, from the perspective of young people, other modes of production of subjectivity - that subjectivity provided by cultural agenda and that forge a live-territory.

Youth cultural agenda: a live-territory

Culture, as aesthetic-artistic-cultural expression, has been a way usually used by “marginal” cultural collective linked to the social movements of the outskirts. They forge other ways of addressing daily difficulties and serve as tools of enunciation of the unsaid, the unutterable, and the invisible. When asked on what is a cultural gathering on a bar at a rough area, Jorge explains:

[...] it's a space where you put the microphone, turn it on and organizes who will speak, and what people will do. When someone goes there for the first time, we, from the collective, are keen to go and talk to the person to get to know him/her. That's our purpose, we don't get any money. The person who owns the bar is the only one who gets some money. A bar at rough area, on regular days, do not sell as much beers as they sell when we have a cultural gathering (Jorge).

The *Sarau Brasa* is organized since 2008. He also participates in the ‘*Literatura Periférica*’, a social and cultural movement that emerged in the 2000s with the goal of bringing culture closer to the population of the slums. Today there are many cultural gatherings that are organized in various regions and districts of São Paulo. They allow young people to move around the city, to establish new connections, to expand the discussions about the youth experience in the outskirts and to express the vulnerability and violence experienced in their territories. An inventive form of youth resistance. Drums and the orality are resources used to call the public attention to participate in the cultural gathering, rescuing the ancient traditions of ancestors.

Initially, given the difficulties of people to understand how the cultural gathering work, the *Sarau da Brasa* group invents and creates the walking literature, which went through the alleys and narrow streets of the bar where the event would happen, beating drums, singing and dancing African traditions, as if it was a procession.

At first, this scene was interpreted by residents as something associated to some religious entity. Gradually, people started to participate in the procession, joining the bandwagon and participating in the cultural gathering. In this way, the bar at the “rough area” becomes also a culture point, a meeting place of people of that locality willing to sing,

to recite their own poetry, to express their sufferings and to show solidarity with the joys.

More and more, such marginal cultures have been absorbed not only by the local community, but transnationalizing them, crossing national borders, when the stigmas are replaced by the construction of new spaces of recognition and belonging to the urban youth culture.

“(…) if, before the ‘outskirts’ were visible only as a place of infamy (several violence, crime, drug trafficking, etc.), now this place began to expose a scenario in which artistic-literary-cultural-sports inventiveness are disseminated with productions that come out of it. It would seem that this is an expression of multiple singularities in connection, performing movements in proliferation that are crossing borders. The *mise-en-scène* of a popular art seems to produce peculiar developments in the subjectivity of its inhabitants, which develop other postures in the face of countless difficulties and dilemmas produced by the insistent poverty and misery condition”¹⁶.

The atypical spaces in which cultural activities of the outskirts happen also report the absence of cultural public policies in the territories of the slums and communities. However, this fact is not a barrier to such performances anymore. The bar of the “rough area” for the collective of the *Sarau da Brasa* is a meeting point and a place for culture, where sociabilities are constantly being produced, there is also an exchange of knowledge in which ideas are not imposed, but are built, produced and reproduced to the extent that other ways of being and doing things in the world are experienced. When Jorge and other young people of the *Sarau da Brasa* use the marginal literature as a way of life that is embodied in the outskirts, they forge a way of collective resistance against the inequalities and the stigmata.

As well as the *Sarau*, the *Cinescadão* is a collective action to promote cultural events in popular audiovisual, promoted by the Associação *Fábrica de Gênios*. This association is the result of the combination of other cultural collectives, the *Fabicine* (*A Fantástica Fábrica de Cinema*) the hip hop groups *Ca.Ge.Be* (*Cada Gênio do Beco*) and *Esbomgaroto*, which produce cultural activities for affirmation of identity through the production of popular audiovisual. The main mission of the Association is to promote and contribute to the forma-

tion of culture of children, adolescents, adults and young people, in view of ensuring cross-sectoral public policies and breaking the violence cycle.

Fabicine was created in 2005, in Jardim Peri, in the Northern zone of São Paulo. Since then, everything is moving around aesthetic-political actions to produce popular videos. Such actions, which were made possible by the young people, were voluntary, without any financial resource to help in the audiovisual production. As of 2006, the Association began to participate in cultural public notices (VAI - Program for the Appreciation of Cultural Initiatives in São Paulo) and created the Sapocine film society. With financial resource supported by the municipal Secretary of culture, it was possible to acquire the equipment needed for practical experiments and audiovisual production.

[...] Then we started to create a relationship mediated by audiovisual. Because unlike other records, audiovisual brings another language, even if someone makes his point, if he thinks about it, with his own choices, once something is said and recorded, you have another form of documentation (Fabio).

Although aesthetic interventions occur in Jardim Peri, Jardim Peri Alto, Jardim Peri Novo and Jardim Antártica, they are not restricted only to the local public and do not prevent the young people who are there are to cross other urban borders with urban mobility.

In addition to producing workshops for children and young people using audiovisual resources, the Association organizes urban and cultural interventions related to music, plastic arts, photography, production, fruition, dissemination and popular audiovisual display, in addition to producing events and cultural demonstrations, newsletters, and release of activities that were conducted in various locations of Brasília and Vila Nova Cachoeirinha districts.

In these conversations here on this area, we thought in strategies to create an audiovisual connection in the city from the achievements and cultural actions related to the cinema and video that these groups conducted, since large areas of audiovisual information were being created. What we did was thinking and creating audiovisual centers in the city and we tried to integrate the exposition agenda. And that's how everything began. Vanice was one of the people who started this audiovisual project here in the Northern region, in Brasília, with the people

from the Arroz, Feijão, Cinema e Vídeo'. Within our experiences, we were able to make people coming back to school and, instead of audiovisual instructors, today we have teachers (Fabio).

Sarau da Brasa and Cinescadão, as well as many other collectives from the outskirts that work through art and culture, are instruments that focus on the existing knowledge-power logics producing a reversal of subjugation, vulnerabilities and violence that are part of the daily life of these young people. As indicated by Freire Filho, "everyday life conceptualized not only as a space of subjection and alienation, but as a platform for fomenting and expressing resistances micropolitics"¹⁷.

As related by Nascimento e Coimbra¹⁸, youth people are organizing and creating new ways to work: producing collective micro-organizations and solidarity networks that do not use the welfarism, which is so in vogue in the modern world; forging micropolitics changes in the actors and in the scenarios where they play, resisting to homogenizer standards and behaviors, as a way of (re)existing, producing new subjectivities, new territories, another production of life.

In this scenario of broader socio-cultural transformations, new places are built for the young people who organize themselves around the culture. We saw how the experiences of both the marginal literature, expressed through the Sarau da Brasa, and the hip hop movement and the popular audiovisual provided by the Cinescadão, produce powerful inventions in the live-territory of the outskirts, triggering subjectivation processes and new social places. In this territorialization, the stigma of a young, black and poor gives rise to the emblem¹⁹ and pride of being from the outskirts. Such territorialization is part of Jorge's skin, as if his body included the extension of the geographic space. "Brasa" was tattooed on the back of his right arm as a mark that indicates and recognizes him as a subject of this place. The Sarau, as collective narrative policy, produces another inscription of the neighborhood, which goes beyond the stereotyping.

Others are not so visible, however, are enunciable, and write their own story, as well as the story of their neighborhood. He says:

"I had the idea of tattooing the name of my neighborhood in my left arm on the literature group. This makes us feel like going to the Sarau da Brasa. It is also a tribute to my neighborhood. When we said

that we lived in Brasilândia, there were several things on the person's head, they would think that you were from a thief to a good crook. People use to say such things when talking about Brasilândia" (Jorge).

Conclusion

When analyzing the many contemporary youth demonstrations in Latin America, Arce²⁰, points out that the 1970s and the 1980s highlighted the young people from the slums, from popular areas and neighborhoods. These places, taken by the afro-descendant movements, for example, as a form of recreation and cultural resistance, built new thresholds of ascription of identity, new references to the young of the outskirts. However, the irruption of these expressions presented in a social environment defined by the global increase of violence, which led to recurring stigmatization on youth movements, especially against those conducted by popular class segment.

In Brazil, the cultural peripheralization is marked by funk and hip hop movements, which emerge from the urban popular culture in the mid-1970s²⁰⁻²¹⁻²²⁻²³⁻²⁴. Dictating a new youthful lifestyle in the poor communities, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, this new collective "brand" highlights the image of the poor kid from the slums and all the political dimension of these movements that contest, through music, dance and graffiti, the contradictions of society that only has few offers of spaces and opportunities for these young people, who usually are segregated, inferiorized, or silenced by the hegemonic system²¹.

For young people who live in it, the outskirts are not just a geographical connotation, as it also refers to a territory of existence, in which identities are constructed and reconstructed on a daily basis, where there is a continuous and accelerated production of subjectivities. Its effects are shown in the lifestyles, in aesthetics²⁴ and in social and affective bonds. They express through music, poetry, dance and drawing, the life and the local and global violence and forge other public spaces. These are modes of resistance/existence; fight strategies that also make up a aesthetic-political action.

However, it is important to indicate that culture alone can't handle macropolitics and structural processes by which the vulnerability processes are produced. Following Dayrell²⁴, we understand that significant changes in the lives of these young as-

sume wider support networks, with public policies that ensure space-time and multiple subjectivities production, so that young people can be truly part as subject and citizen, with full rights to live. And, on the other hand, it is important to keep evaluating from different perspectives the senses of this territorialization.

Rizek²⁵ wonders if there is a homogenizer model of poverty sociocultural management, to the extent that cultural expressions start to set a new way to think and to manage it in their territories, in the context of insertion, inclusion, "self-esteem", antidote and distancing from violence and drugs. It would be important to ask if the so-called "youth" strategies and policies don't combine target audiences and agents, associated work and artwork as subjects and objects of the same capture process, of elision and the delegitimization of the conflict.

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