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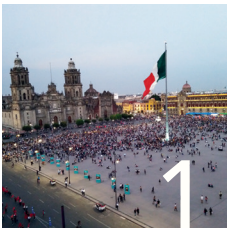


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EDITORIAL

RESIGNIFIED CITY



Manifestación
ciudadana en
Concepción, Chile;
noviembre 2019.
Foto GCB.

Resignified City refers to a new vision about the uses and image of the city that has taken place after the social uprisings of Chile and Latin America lately. The public space, streets, squares, parks, avenues and promenades have been the meeting place for thousands of citizens, expressing their aspirations and demands for a more dignified life, which certainly, remind us that the street and its architecture is also a site of conflict.

Thus, new meanings have arisen: streets and squares are renamed, questioned symbols are brought down, the iconic architecture of the established model has taken blows. The devastated city is not silent, it yells for urgent transformations.

The underlying idea here is that the city and its public spaces do not remain static and immutable, but rather take on new meanings given by their own inhabitants. In this way, in Concepción, for example, the Plaza de la Independencia, or Independence Square, became the heart and meeting point for large crowds; the Courts, a battleground; Condell Square, a meeting place for citizen organizations. Is the same phenomenon happening today elsewhere in the continent? How is it happening? Where is it happening? These are some of the questions this issue has focused on.

The urban landscape of the street, with thousands of protestors walking around the significant places of the city, the squares becoming meeting spaces for citizen councils, the choice of certain sites to outline demands, as well as the widespread feminist expressions, tell us about how political the city is. Sometimes, the claims and aspirations of the moment converge, expressed through urban art, planned or spontaneous expressions that creatively portray the intensity of the collective feelings.

In this context, *Arquitecturas del Sur*, issue 58, documents reflections and analyses about this Resigned City in the broadest of its expressions, from the architecture to the public space, from the monument to the street, aiming at sketching and delving into these urgent times that call upon us.

Pablo Fuentes
Hernández

Gonzalo Cerda
Brintrup

CIUDAD RESIGNIFICADA

Ciudad Resignificada se refiere a una nueva mirada sobre los usos e imagen de la ciudad acaecidos a partir de los estallidos sociales ocurridos en Chile y Latinoamérica en estos tiempos recientes. El espacio público, las calles, las plazas, los parques, las avenidas y costaneras han sido el lugar de encuentro de miles de ciudadanos expresando sus aspiraciones y demandas por una vida más digna, lo que por cierto, nos recuerda que la calle y su arquitectura es también territorio de conflicto.

Así, nuevos significados han surgido: se renombran plazas y calles, se derriban símbolos cuestionados, se golpea a la arquitectura icónica del modelo establecido. La ciudad arrasada no es silente, sino habla a gritos que reclaman urgentes transformaciones.

Subyace aquí la idea que la ciudad y sus espacios públicos no permanecen estáticos ni inmutables, sino cobran nuevos significados atribuidos por sus propios habitantes. Así, en Concepción por ejemplo, la Plaza de la Independencia se convirtió en corazón neurálgico y punto de convergencia de grandes concentraciones, la de Los Tribunales en espacio de enfrentamiento, la plaza Condell en lugar de encuentro de organizaciones ciudadanas. ¿Ocurre este mismo fenómeno en otros sitios del continente en estos días?, ¿cómo ocurre?, ¿dónde ocurre?, son algunas de las preguntas que se ha planteado este número.

El paisaje urbano de la calle con miles de manifestantes efectuando recorridos por los lugares significativos de la ciudad; las plazas convertidas en lugares de encuentro para cabildos ciudadanos, la elección de ciertos sitios para señalar las demandas; así como las multitudinarias expresiones feministas, nos hablan de cuán política es la ciudad. A veces, las denuncias y aspiraciones del momento convergen expresadas mediante el arte urbano, se trata de expresiones planificadas o espontáneas que retratan creativamente la intensidad de los sentimientos colectivos.

En ese contexto, *Arquitecturas del Sur* número 58 documenta reflexiones y análisis sobre esta Ciudad Resignificada en sus más amplias expresiones; desde la arquitectura hasta el espacio público, desde el monumento hasta la calle, con el objeto de retratar y profundizar sobre estos tiempos urgentes que nos convocan.

CIDADE RESIGNIFICADA

Cidade Resignificada se refere a um novo olhar sobre os usos e a imagem da cidade que ocorreram a partir dos surtos sociais ocorridos no Chile e na América Latina nos últimos tempos. O espaço público, as ruas, as praças, os parques, as avenidas e a orla têm sido o ponto de encontro de milhares de cidadãos que expressaram as suas aspirações e reivindicações por uma vida mais digna, que aliás, nos lembra que a rua e sua arquitetura também são território de conflito.

Assim, novos significados emergiram: praças e ruas são renomeadas, símbolos questionáveis são demolidos, a arquitetura icônica do modelo estabelecido é atingida. A cidade devastada não é silenciosa, mas fala alto exigindo transformações urgentes.

Contido aqui está a ideia de que a cidade e seus espaços públicos não permanecem estáticos ou imutáveis, mas ganham novos significados atribuídos pelos próprios habitantes. Assim, em Concepción, por exemplo, a Plaza de la Independencia se tornou um centro nevrálgico e um ponto de convergência para grandes concentrações, Los Tribunales um espaço de confronto, a Plaza Condell um ponto de encontro de organizações cidadãs. Este mesmo fenômeno ocorre em outras partes do continente hoje em dia? Como isso acontece? Onde isso acontece? Essas são algumas das perguntas propostas por essa edição.

A paisagem urbana da rua com milhares de manifestantes caminhando pelos lugares significativos da cidade; as praças convertidas em locais de encontro dos conselhos de cidadãos, a escolha de determinados locais para sinalizar as demandas; assim como as múltiplas expressões feministas, elas nos contam o quão política é a cidade. Por vezes, as reclamações e aspirações do momento convergem e são expressadas através da arte urbana, são expressões planejadas ou espontâneas que retratam de forma criativa a intensidade dos sentimentos coletivos.

Neste contexto, *Arquitecturas del Sur* número 58 documenta reflexões e análises sobre esta Cidade Resignificada nas suas expressões mais amplas; da arquitetura ao espaço público, do monumento à rua, para retratar e aprofundar a reflexão sobre estes tempos urgentes que nos convocam.

WORLD CUP EUPHORIA AND FEMINIST VINDICATIONS. THE PUBLIC SPACE OF PASEO DE LA REFORMA, MEXICO CITY, IN 1986 AND 2019

De euforias mundialistas y reivindicaciones feministas. El espacio público del Paseo de la Reforma, Ciudad de México, en 1986 y 2019

World Cup euphoria and feminist vindications. The public space of Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico City, in 1986 and 2019

Vanessa Nagel Vega

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Neuralgic point of demonstrations and claims in Mexico City: the Paseo de la Reforma and its Angel of Independence. Photo Vanessa Nagel, March 1, 2020.

This article was written under the postdoctoral stay, Centro de Investigaciones en Arquitectura, Urbanismo y Paisaje (CIAUP), Facultad de Arquitectura, UNAM.

ABSTRACT

The huge crowded occupation of the emblematic Paseo de la Reforma, in Mexico City, during the 1986 Soccer World Cup, with the country going through a severe economic crisis, was a real trigger for the diversification of the demonstrations in this public space. It consolidated this place as the national epicenter for the vindication of rights and social demands of the Mexicans. In the 21st century, in the midst of another crisis, this time the generalized violence against women, the Paseo is once again redefining itself, encompassing its most emblematic and tangible elements, like the Angel of Independence. In this way, monuments have become the canvas for graffiti that struggles to transcend the ephemeral by holding the current claims. This article proposes a historical review of the most powerful moments of appropriation of this public space in 1986 and 2019, using the local newspaper, *La Jornada*, as its main source of data collection. The proposed methodology offers the reconstruction of a narrative told in real time, a true contribution to understanding how the boom of the occupation of the streets in the World Cup year engrained the appropriation of public spaces in subsequent years. There is no doubt that the World Cup euphoria gave society the confidence to reclaim the streets, a situation that has been used since then and that is in force in the current feminist vindications demonstrations.

Keywords: Public space, Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico '86 World Cup, Angel of Independence, feminism

RESUMEN

La ocupación masiva del emblemático Paseo de la Reforma, en la Ciudad de México, durante el Mundial de Fútbol 1986, con el país atravesando una fuerte crisis económica, fue un verdadero detonante para la diversificación de las manifestaciones en dicho espacio público. Asimismo, consolidó este escenario como el epicentro nacional de reivindicación de los derechos y demandas sociales de los mexicanos. En pleno siglo XXI, en medio de otra crisis, esta vez de violencia generalizada contra la mujer, el Paseo vuelve a resignificarse, abarcando a sus elementos más emblemáticos y tangibles, como el Ángel de la Independencia. Así, los monumentos se han vuelto los soportes de grafitis que luchan por trascender lo efímero al mantenerse sus reclamos vigentes. Este artículo propone una revisión histórica a los momentos más potentes de apropiación de este espacio público en 1986 y 2019, tomando como principal fuente de consulta al periódico local *La Jornada*. La metodología planteada ofrece la reconstrucción de una crónica contada en tiempo real, verdadera contribución para entender cómo el estallido de la ocupación de las calles del año mundialista arraigó la apropiación del espacio público en los años subsiguientes. No cabe duda de que las euforias mundialistas ganaron para la sociedad la confianza de retomar las calles, coyuntura aprovechada desde entonces y vigente en las reivindicaciones feministas actuales.

Palabras Clave: Espacio público, Paseo de la Reforma, Mundial México 86, Ángel de la Independencia, feminismo

RESUMO

A ocupação massiva do emblemático Paseo de la Reforma, na Cidade do México, durante a Copa do Mundo de 1986, com o país passando por uma forte crise econômica, foi um verdadeiro gatilho para a diversificação das manifestações neste espaço público. Da mesma forma, consolidou este cenário como o epicentro nacional de reivindicação dos direitos e demandas sociais dos mexicanos. No século XXI, em meio a mais uma crise, desta vez de violência generalizada contra as mulheres, o Paseo volta a se resignificar, englobando seus elementos mais emblemáticos e tangíveis, como o Anjo da Independência. Assim, monumentos tornaram-se suportes de grafites que lutam para transcender o efêmero, mantendo suas reivindicações atuais. Este artigo propõe uma revisão histórica dos momentos mais poderosos de apropriação desse espaço público em 1986 e 2019, tomando como principal fonte de consulta o jornal local *La Jornada*. A metodologia proposta oferece a reconstrução de uma crônica contada em tempo real, uma verdadeira contribuição para a compreensão de como a eclosão da ocupação das ruas no ano da Copa do Mundo se enraizou na apropriação do espaço público nos anos seguintes. Não há dúvida de que a euforia da Copa do Mundo conquistou para a sociedade a confiança para voltar às ruas, situação que vem sendo explorada desde então e vigente nas atuais demandas feministas.

Palavras Chave: Espaço público, Paseo de la Reforma, Copa do Mundo México 86, Anjo da Independência, feminismo

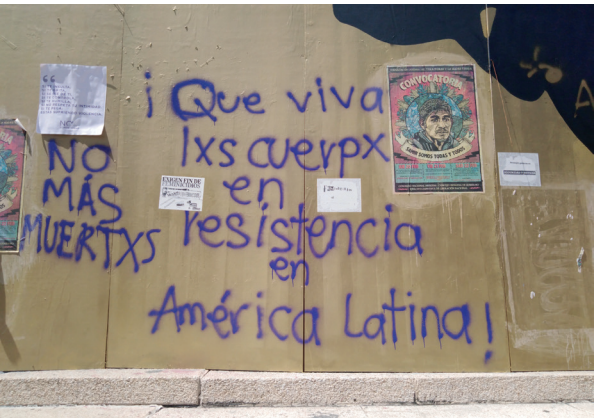
INTRODUCTION

A SUNDAY IN PASEO DE LA REFORMA

Figure 1
A Sunday in Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico City.
Source: Vanessa Nagel Vega, Vanessa Nagel Archive, March 1st 2020.



Figure 2
A Sunday in Paseo de la Reforma, Mexico City.
Source: Vanessa Nagel Vega, Vanessa Nagel Archive, March 1st 2020.



1 On July 24th 2020, the Legislative Assembly of Mexico City approved reforms to the Criminal Code that define “conversion therapies” as a crime, for going against the free development of personality and sexual and gender identity of the city’s people. This ruling represents a recent victory in the fight of the LGBTQI+ community.

A week away from International Women’s Day, Mexico City is experiencing a strange calm. With the national women’s strike coming, on March 9th, and with 5 confirmed cases of Covid-19 in Mexico, at eight o’clock in the morning on the dot, like every Sunday, the central lanes of the emblematic Paseo de la Reforma are closed. From this early hour until two in the afternoon, hundreds of cyclists, skaters, runners and walkers, alone or accompanied, transform the urban space of one of the main arteries of this megacity and its 20 million inhabitants [Figure 1]. We as Mexicans, used to stoically facing the onslaught from generalized violence, social inequality and an uncertain professional future, do not know whether, one day or the next, we will face reality on not being able to handle a sanitary emergency that still feels unreal.

For a few moments, it would seem that the city is taking a breath. The historic avenue is transformed by circulation on two wheels, sweat and endorphins. The flowering Jacarandas, a tree with violet flowers, introduced into Mexico from Brazil by a Japanese gardener a century ago, is the final ingredient of a typical block in early spring in the capital city, dressing it for the party. However, the paint on the hoardings “protecting” the iconic Angel of Independence are also purple, demanding “No more deaths” or “Long live those fighting in Latin America!” [Figure 2]. Of course, conspiracy theories abound, one of them, the “state of emergency” that shut down the city, halting the protests of March 8th and hindering the feminist protests. Thus, a hypothetical lethargy, that puts the brake on the relationship formed between citizens and their public space through protesting, would circumvent dialog between the political powers and society.

What is proposed here is to review how the citizenry has redefined and transformed its relationship with public spaces. For this analysis, some of the background behind the appropriation of this space in Mexico City is reviewed, especially Paseo de la Reforma, from its first expressions at the start of the 20th century, and especially intense ones in 1968. The period of study focuses on the Mexico 86 World Cup, which saw a true taking over of the streets, amid a serious domestic economic crisis and, in recent times, in 2019 and up to the present day, characterized by a strong impact of the international feminist movement in Mexico.

It starts from a setting that is the city, where complex social groups come together. In this way, the current sense of public refers to the social life outside the private domain and a great diversity of people who form a heterogeneous urban population. It is in the public spaces of the city where the most visible and controversial practices of the citizenry take place, namely the grievances about their political, social, cultural and urban rights (Ramírez, 2015). The goal of these is transforming the current legal framework. It is a slow process, but there have been some triumphs.¹

The public space of Paseo de la Reforma right around the Angel of Independence is considered here, more than a meeting place, a space for identification and the fight for social rights, the same ones, as decades have gone by, that have diversified until reaching the recent feminist demands. These demands, on reaching public opinion, have been constantly recorded in the daily press. For this reason, this research is based on the rigorous review of print media, made in the National Newspaper Library, at the Autonomous National University of Mexico. The reconstruction of the protests in the public space of Mexico City, let us approach one of the capital’s main arteries from the perspective of the most powerful social demands of recent years.

FROM THE IMPERIAL DREAM TO TAKING OVER THE STREETS (1913-1968)

Figure 3

Protest on August 27th 1968. Historic Archive of UNAM.
Author: Manuel Gutiérrez Paredes.
Source: IISUE/AHUNAM/Fondo Manuel Gutiérrez Paredes/Section Mexico 68/Series 52 Student Riot, Juarez Square – 27 August 1968/MGP2442_141



2 The Second Mexican Empire, led by Maximilian of Hapsburg and Charlotte of Belgium was installed after the French intervention in 1863. It would end with Maximilian executed by firing squad in 1867, on the orders of the President of the Republic, Benito Juárez.

3 In February 1913, there was a coup d'état against the legitimate democratically elected Government of President Francisco I. Madero, the initial leader of the revolution that would bring down the long regime of Porfirio Díaz in 1911. General Victoriano Huerta, the usurper, would remain in power for just 18 months, which would be followed by several years of struggles between the different sides.

4 On February 5th 1917, working rights were regulated in the new Constitution, article 123. This would last until 1923 when Labor Day was made official and an obligatory rest was decreed.

5 Another emblematic march of the students' movement in 1968 in Mexico was that of "silence", on September 13th.

6 The remembrance march for October 2nd 1968 still takes place and is held in Mexico City every year on that date, in recognition of the freedom won that year and the price paid, with the blood of hundreds of people, for the repressive regime of President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz.

The ephemeral Imperial dream of the Hapsburgs in Mexico² reached one of the most emblematic avenues of the country's capital. First known as Paseo de la Emperatriz, where by decree of the Emperor, only carriages of the Emperors and their entourage could ride along the street. It was then called Paseo Degollado, in honor of the stalwart General Benito Juárez, who would reestablish the Republic in 1867, and from the 20th century, as Paseo de la Reforma. The neuralgic hub for protests, mass gatherings, parades and civic activities, the street is recognized by its iconic monument, a winged victory, popularly known as the Angel of Independence, erected on this column in 1910 to celebrate the first centenary of Independence.

The second decade of the 20th century in Mexico, after more than thirty years of dictatorship with Porfirio Díaz, was an especially tumultuous period. From armed movements generalized in almost the entire country, betrayals between revolutionary factions, coups de état, and negotiations, in 1913³, Labor Day would be held for the first time in the country ("Hoy celebrarán", 1913). That year, the support of workers was sought to legitimize the coup's regime and, it was hoped that at least social peace would be restored. The claim for better working conditions, salary increases, eight-hour shifts and accident insurance⁴ in a country without any democratic life of interest, brought together twenty-five thousand workers around the Benito Juárez Hemicycle on the Central Boulevard. The unprecedented appropriation of the space: "was truly impressive with the immense throng piled up around the monument. Rarely had such an amount of people congregated in a public space" ("Ni odio por razas", 1913).

The postrevolutionary decades would be of consolidation for the institutionalized government, focused on driving the economy, the industrialization of the country, the literacy of rural areas and the higher education of the urban middle class. The Governments, in reality the same party reelected over and over again, impeding a true democratic transition and forming, in one way or another, a new dictatorship, also set up numerous social programs.

In several decades of sustained economic growth, especially in the period called the "Mexican miracle" (1946-1970), social demands were always present, but they had been easily broken up as:

The demands that the postrevolutionary governments had faced, had always arisen from social struggles and from unions of a given sector: farmers, miners, railroad workers, teachers, doctors, whom the State had always been able to isolate and suppress, without the political cost of these actions questioning their exercise of power (Garavito, p. 52).

The decisive moment in the use of public space in Mexico City took place in the summer of 1968. Weeks before the massacre in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas de Tlatelolco, on October 2nd, the students' movement, that had led the capital's main universities on an indefinite strike. It was a party. For the first time in history, the citizen's demand for freedom was being expressed. The demands were universal, not sectorial or union-based. Due to their generalized inclusion, the March on August 27th 1968, called to take the streets, which 400,000 people did, marching peacefully, one could even say festively, along Paseo de la Reforma [Figure 3]. It was one of the most powerful of all the protests of that short summer.⁵

Just days from the opening of the XIX Olympic Games in Mexico, on the symbolic date of October 12th, not only was there no public dialog, but one of the bloodiest crackdowns in the country's recent history had taken place. On the afternoon of October 2nd, at the Tlatelolco rally, "10,000 people were in the square; dozens, maybe hundreds died; a thousand were detained; hundreds remained in jail for over 2 years. [Thus] the Government finished off the movement, but at the same time made it unforgettable" (Pérez, 2009, p. 33).⁶

FOOTBALL PASSIONS (1986)

Although the streets were not left deserted after October 2nd, and while the suppression had not ended either,⁷ after 1968 and 1971 there was a kind of “forced” retreat of the civilian population. The sustained economic growth of Mexico the previous decades had characterized began to experience violent crises, devaluations, foreign debt, inflation, recession, especially in 1976, 1982 and 1986.

To make the crisis in the mid-80s worse, on September 19th ⁸ an earthquake of 8.1 on the Richter scale, devastated Mexico City, hundreds of buildings collapsed, and even though the final death count was never known, even though thousands are spoken about, it left the city, for years, in a state of emergency and with countless affected who lost their homes or could not return due to the structural damage and the implicit risk of collapse. Amid this crisis, the Mexico 86 World Cup was about to start.⁹ Even with the city in ruins, the event continued, leading to the most incredible reappropriation of public space, unprecedented in the country's history.

Mexico in 1986 was not just a country with its capital devastated by the September 85 earthquake, but also a country battered by economic crisis, generated especially by the fall in international oil prices, by external debt, the devaluation of the Peso against the Dollar, an increasing inflation rate, increased unemployment. That year was memorable for the closure of the Monterrey Foundry, which left thousands of workers in that industrial city in the country's northeast out of work. Even so, on May 31st, the President, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado opened the thirteenth Football World Cup at Estadio Azteca. The leader would be received with hostility by the thousands of fans. The media of the time described it as a “visceral and spontaneous response on facing the personification of the difficulties the immense majority of Mexicans were experiencing” (“Dos mil millones”, 1986). The morning editorial confirmed the “signs of an anti-authority inarticulate reaction”. Society, it was said, was “seeking channels to express their concerns and grievances” (“Los límites del desahogo”, 1986).

The same day as the opening ceremony, thousands of people from the capital spontaneously took over Paseo de la Reforma for hours around the Angel of Independence. The reporters of the period called it “a roar as if it has been contained for eons. Mexico, Mexico!” (Velázquez, 1986, p.5). At around 11 pm, more than 10,000 people had taken over the Independence monument. Among those waving flags and those who had decided to climb on the shoulders of Miguel Hidalgo's statue, one of the country's heroes, there was anger and pain.

The social phenomenon has not gone unnoticed for the analysts. In the press, they immediately began to venture hypotheses about football as the new identity of Mexicans (Peralta, 1986, p. 19). And, as in every fair world cup campaign, Mexican football was pushed up “to Olympian heights, as a triumphant manifestation responding to the obligatory statements of alienating publicity” (Cheix, 1986, p.V). The statistics were not in the national team's favor. Back in 86, in the 24 world cup games up until then, they had only won three times, with four draws and seventeen defeats. The experts, who did not encourage false illusions, only expected a good game.

Mexico's 2-1 victory against Belgium's Red Devils was a shock (“México venció”, 1986). Not only did joy pour out onto the streets, but chaos and vandalism would invade the city (Avilés & Velázquez, 1986, p. 24). The popular reaction, understood as an escape valve for the economic crisis, as a temporary measure that would last a month, or less, until the elimination of the national team, was perfectly foreseeable. Soon, the obsession contrary to all reason, the violence, the taking of the streets, would have nothing to do with the world cup, but it was “as if the honor and destiny of Mexico was

7 The episode now known as “El Halconazo” or Corpus Christi Massacre is also memorable. It took place on June 10th 1971, a Thursday of Corpus Christi, where a student protest was suppressed by a paramilitary group working for the State. The deaths were not explained and those responsible were never brought to justice.

8 Coincidentally, a new earthquake, with equally desolating consequences for the country's capital, also took place on September 19th, but in 2017..

9 FIFA's decision to give Mexico the cup, took place in May 1983. At the end of 1982, Colombia the country who had won rights to the event, withdrew, as it would not manage to meet infrastructure requirements. Mexico, in principle, had enough stadiums and experience in organizing international events (XIX Olympiad in 1968 and the 1970 World Cup).

in play" ("Violencia y futbol", 1986). The excesses would reach the national monuments, since:

As results of the party ending, the priest Miguel Hidalgo, in the monument to the Independence, saw its marble fingers mutilated and the tip of his flag was broken off, the sword of Vicente Guerrero was stolen and the book of distinguished guests disappeared; the lamp of the Altar of the Homeland was broken; the entrance to the monument was broken and someone unsuccessfully tried to open the urns where the ashes of the heroes of Independence lay" ("250 lesionados", 1986).

The social outpouring was justified. Apart from the news related to the World Cup, the front pages during June 1986 were filled with the feared moratorium, namely, the suspension of payments to the International Monetary Fund for Mexican foreign debt (Jacob, 1986, p. 1; Galaz, 1986, p. 1; Ureña, 1986, p. 1). The writer Guadalupe Loaeza, giving a voice to the Angel, would say that the thousands of fans who jumped upon and mutilated the monument, were "not celebrating any triumph, but rather were unconsciously preparing themselves for an extremely serious defeat that had nothing to do with football" (Loaeza, 1986, p. 24).

On June 7th, in their second game, Mexico would draw 1-1 with Paraguay. The Department of the Federal District, today Mexico City, having seen the excesses of the previous game, would organize celebrations in given points of the capital, with bandstands, music and sales of flags and the world cup mascot, "Pique", in all its forms. The day before, prohibition had been declared, without this deterring the uncontrolled consumption of alcohol in the streets. With the draw, Mexico was at the threshold of qualifying for the quarter finals.

It is noticeable that the press talked about this civil act, although it went too far, of taking over the street as a true revolution. "We hadn't been out since '68, so, head to the streets to be together", the architect and urbanist Manuel Larrosa said (1986, p. 7). On June 11th 1986, in Estadio Azteca, Mexico beat Iraq 1-0, qualifying for the last sixteen. That day, on the front page of *La Jornada*, it said that Mexico was negotiating to adjust payments of its foreign debt and that there was no immediate prospect of overcoming the crisis in this six-year term ("Negocia México", 1986). The news was far from being solely of national interest, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, outlined the danger that Mexico had suspended debt payments ("Mexico, en peligro", 1986). In this context.

The special parties and rejoicing seen in the public streets and squares for the football, show that in Mexico City we needed opportunities for human relations, and public places to naturally meet up. (...) The people need them. (...) The World Cup has allowed expressing this deep social need" (Paoli, 1986, p. 5).

The immediacy of the triumph was not what mattered. Criticism of this fake national identity came, but did not permeate, could not permeate the spirit of the population beseeching not just suitable spaces to vent, but rather the necessary excuses for collective amnesia. Football, as Heberto Castillo, Representative and Leader of the Mexican Workers Party, would say, was "a very expensive drug that lasted barely a month", as, just as tends to happen in these cases, the information about "the billions that have been spent on the national team" (Peralta, 1986, p. 21), had not yet come to light.

Figure 4
The overflowing streets, more than a million celebrate Mexico's victory.
Source: Mexico National Newspaper Archive, National Autonomous University of Mexico. La Jornada Newspaper, June 16th 1986.



The millions of pesos spent on the Tri, as the Mexican team is popularly known, would be profitable at least until the last sixteen, with Mexico's 2-0 victory over Bulgaria. If there had been tens of thousands of fans who had poured out onto the streets in the group stages, victory in the last sixteen led to more than a million spilling out into the public spaces, in an unbelievable urban conquest [figure 4]. Just around the Angel of Independence, 150,000 people gathered, 50% more than the capacity of the Coloso de Santa Ursula, the name of Estadio Azteca. The festivities continued into the early hours of the following day (Meneses & Salanueva, 1986, p. 1).

The party came to an end in Monterrey, Nuevo León, on Saturday June 21st 1986. Mexico would lose the quarter final to Germany, 4-1 on penalties. In spite of rain falling in the capital, hundreds gathered in the main square ("El 4-1, 1986). The true cold shower was not the persistent rain that afternoon, but rather the front-page news of June 23rd: "Mexico is in its deepest crisis of the last 50 years" (Galaz, 1986, p. 11). On June 29th 1986, with Diego Armando Maradona, the undeniable hero of the World Cup, Argentina snatched victory over Germany in Estadio Azteca. June 30th, would wake up to the crude reality, on awakening with no World Cup expectations or a reason to continue the party.

FEMINIST GRIEVANCES OF THE 21ST CENTURY

There is no doubt that the occupation of the streets during Mexico 86 was a lasting conquest. In the second decade of the 21st century, the number of protests in the capital reached unheard of numbers. During 2017, there were at least, 2,436 marches and 58 sit-ins. Paseo de la Reforma "was the only road that remained occupied by protestors over the 12 months. 706 marches and sit-ins were recorded there" (Hernández, 2018). This was now daily life, far from representing isolated cases of occupying the street. As such, one of the most emblematic roads in the city, literally has doubled its role to attend countless demands that, day by day, are expressed in its public space. Without counting, of course, the Sporting events or commemorative parades that likewise fit in the multipurpose container that is Paseo de la Reforma.

In 2019, in the political sphere in Mexico, it would seem that gender

**Figure 5**

Protest of International Women's Day entering the Main Square of Mexico City.
Source: Vanessa Nagel Vega, Vanessa Nagel Archive, March 8th 2019.

equality has almost been reached vis-a-vis legislators in the Senate and House of Representatives. This leaves the country as one of the states with the highest percentage of female legislators in the world. There has never been as many women in politics in Mexico, in public roles. However, as the experts say, women's rights are on paper, but not in daily reality, which continues to be marked by the same-old gender inequality ("Derechos", 2019). The social malaise regarding inequality in the work sphere is exponentially growing as a result of gender violence and the unstoppable wave of femicides razing the country. Protests demanding universal rights like legal and safe abortions and stopping disappearances are also recent. One of the most powerful marches in this sense was recorded with the call of the first National Protest against Chauvinist Violence, with actions in at least 25 Mexican cities and widespread participation, more than 10,000 women, according to organizers, in Mexico City on April 24th 2016 (Juárez, 2016, p. 15).

Within the backdrop of International Women's Day, women in Mexico and around the world, claimed historic demands ("En reclamo", 2019) [Figure 5]. In our country, the two main feminist demands were the rejection of violence towards women, characterized by purple colored clothing, and the right to decide about their bodies, which has gone around the world with the image of green scarves (Xantomilla, 2019, p. 3).

If, as was expressed at the beginning of this analysis, the relations established between citizens and the public space by protesting, promote dialog between the political powers and society, it is worth asking whether, in the immediate future, the constant protests that clamor for an end to violence in a country that can no longer hide statistics, will have a positive result. On average, 10 women are killed every day because of their gender. Just like in 1986 when Mexican society temporarily vented within the context of the World Cup, within the onslaught of the economic crisis, in 2019, being fed up with a legal system that blames victims of sexual violence, and with unprecedented figures of harassment, rape and murder, a peaceful protest was transformed into anger (Bravo, 2019, p. 20). A frenetic mob, as it came through, would vandalize public transportation infrastructure and monuments, heading towards the iconic Angel, expressing there the

Figure 6
Graffiti on the Angel
of Independence
after the protest of
August 16th 2019.
Source: Andrea
Murcia, courtesy of
the author, August
2019.



paintings that appeared on the front pages of newspapers and became trends on social media [Figure 6]. The current policy is to avoid suppression, as such the use of public force to stop vandalism was avoided. While aggression towards journalists and the damage of urban infrastructure and monuments was condemned, the legitimate feminist complaints were also recognized. The images of frenzied fury are also those of anger about the raping and murder of women, along with the non-existent prosecution and impunity for assailants. The banners are symptomatic of the mood of female Mexicans: "If I don't come home someday, don't light candles, light barricades" or "If they kill me, rape me, make me disappear, destroy it all!" ("Indignación", 2019).

On the morning of Saturday, August 17th, the emblematic Angel unfurled its wings with the emotional burden of feminist demands, while an army of Mexico City workers were sent to erase the paint. An enormous wall surrounded the column. The city's Secretary of Culture immediately announced that a ruling would be passed about damage to heritage to start restoration works ("Un día después", 2019). If initially recovering the original state of the property was originally planned (González, 2019, p. 27), the importance of keeping the graffiti as a reminder of violence in the country, was very soon left clear, while guaranteeing the preservation of the historic memory of an expression that goes far beyond simple urban art, as the independent group, Restorers with Glitter expressed ("Restauradoras", 2019). For the first time, the expressions of the marches transcended the ephemeral.

It is undeniable that the paintings on the Angel, from their visual impact and their immediate circulation on social media and in the traditional press, shook more than a lethargic conscience. They also dusted off the allocated and unexercised budget, from the Natural Disaster Fund (Fonden) to cover the damages that the column of the Angel of Independence suffered during the September 2017 earthquake (Mateos-Vega, 2019, p. 8). The Secretary of Culture for Mexico City would announce that the estimate for the cost of restoration had not been made yet, but, paradoxically, the unexercised budget came to light. He said, that work would continue to make a photographic record of the paintings, as an action to guarantee the right to remembrance in Mexico City. What is certain is that the speed the monument was walled and covered with enormous scaffolding, under the excuse of structural assessment, two years after the earthquake and just a couple of weeks after the feminist protest (Vargas, 2009, p. 6) seems to apply more to a sidestep to make the monument invisible [Figure 7].

If in Mexico, in many senses, the *modus operandi* has been to make violence, the disappeared, extreme poverty and now, even monuments invisible, the feminist movement has not fizzled out. On the contrary, it seems to grow stronger every day. On November 25th, International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women, multiple actions and marches were held around the world to make people aware and to fight the atrocious hostility ranging from job discrimination to rape and harassment to femicide ("No a la violencia", 2019). Our country was no exception. A new march from the Angel to the Main Square was expected, full of life and energy, to change an unbearable reality (Gómez, 2019, p. 34).

Figure 7

Making the main monument of Paseo de la Reforma invisible.
Source: Vanessa Nagel, Vanessa Nagel Archive, March 1st 2020.



FINAL REFLECTIONS

International Women's Day on March 8th 2020, with the Covid-19 pandemic in Mexico just around the corner, 80,000 women took to the capital's streets. The demands are the same, rejection for all kinds of chauvinist violence, equal opportunities and decriminalization of abortion throughout the country, the spirit keeps a festive, necessary vindication ("Las mujeres toman", 2020; "Las mujeres mexicanas", 2020). In an unprecedented act, the Mexican Government ruled in favor of the marches called for March 8th and 9th.¹⁰ The Secretaries of State, led by Olga Sánchez Cordero, Secretary of the Interior and the first lady to hold this position in Mexico, recognized the demands as legitimate.

In this way, the country's capital is acknowledged as a space of citizenry construction, a social approach platform that has contributed to the extension of Mexico's political, civil, social and cultural rights (Ramírez, 2014). Paseo de la Reforma is characterized on being a strategic space to start transcendental changes for society, like those led by feminist groups, brought to the table of public opinion for debate.

In Mexico City, the battle for the right to protest on the streets has been long and hard. The diversification of demands, first focused on social and union struggles, later universal freedoms, passing through the euphoria of World Cup victories while the country was submerged in a profound economic crisis, to reaching those of the fight for gender equality, the public space remains the lead in the daily newspapers. For some days, at least. The inevitable Covid-19 health crisis in Mexico augurs several weeks of seclusion. It may be so, until we once again head out to the street to win back the spaces earned with the constant efforts of previous generations.

¹⁰ On Monday, March 9th, also in an unprecedented act, a national women's strike was called through social media that sought to make clear the widespread absence of 40% of the country's workforce (Beauregard, 2020).

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PROCESSES OF SIGNIFICATION AND RESIGNIFICATION OF A CITY, TEMUCO 1881-2019

Procesos de significación y resignificación de
una ciudad, Temuco 1881-20198

Processos de significado e resignificação de uma
cidade, Temuco 1881-2019

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Dagoberto Godoy
Square or the
Hospital, in
the background
the statue of
Caupolicán and the
Conun Huenu hill.
Source: Jaime
Flores Chávez.

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ABSTRACT

The social unrest that unfolded from October 2019 on saw, among its most visible expressions, the occupation of public spaces like streets, avenues and squares. The "attack" on the monuments that some associated with a kind of rebellion against the history of Chile was also extensively recorded. These events lead us along the paths of history, memory, remembrance and oblivion, represented in monuments, official symbols, the names of streets, squares and parks around the city, and also, along interdisciplinary paths to address this complexity using diverse methodologies and sources. This article seeks to explain what happened in Temuco, the capital of the Araucanía Region, during the last few months of 2019. For this purpose, a research approach is proposed using a long-term perspective that makes it possible to find the elements that started giving a meaning to the urban space, to then explore what occurred in a short time, between October and November, in the logic of the urban space resignification process.

Keywords: city, signification, resignification, social unrest, Temuco

RESUMEN

El estallido social desencadenado a partir de octubre de 2019 tuvo, entre sus expresiones más visibles, la ocupación de espacios públicos como calles, avenidas y plazas. También fue profusamente registrado el "ataque" a los monumentos que algunos asociaron a una suerte de rebelión contra la historia de Chile. Estos hechos nos conducen por los caminos de la historia, la memoria, el recuerdo y el olvido, representado en monumentos, símbolos oficiales, nombres de calles y plazas de la ciudad. También por senderos interdisciplinarios para abordar esta complejidad con metodologías y fuentes diversas. El presente artículo busca explicar lo ocurrido en Temuco, capital de la Región de la Araucanía, durante los últimos meses de 2019. Para ello se propone una aproximación investigativa desde una perspectiva de larga duración, que posibilite encontrar los elementos que fueron significando el espacio urbano, para luego explorar lo ocurrido en un tiempo corto, entre octubre y noviembre, en la lógica de los procesos de resignificación del espacio urbano.

Palabras Clave: ciudad, significación, resignificación, estallido social, Temuco

RESUMO

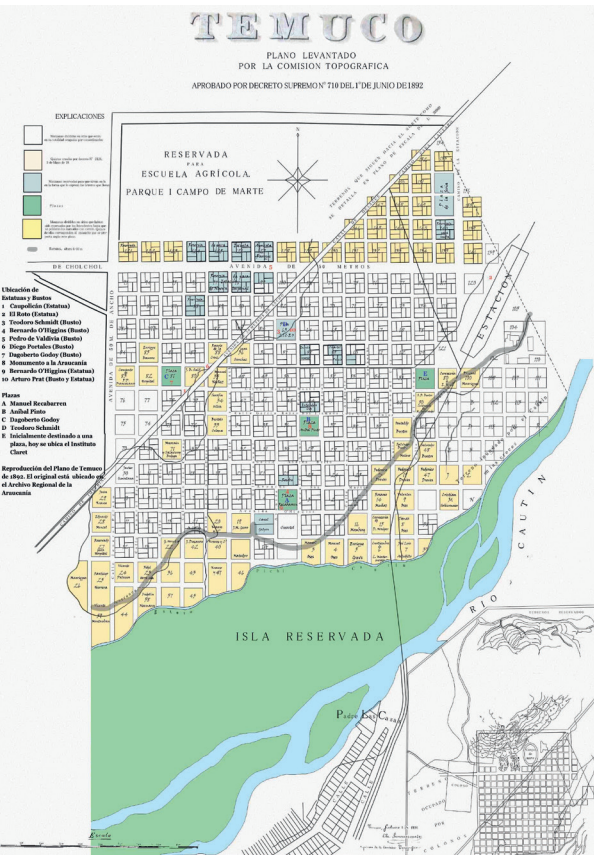
O levante popular desencadeado a partir de outubro de 2019 teve, entre suas expressões mais visíveis, a ocupação de espaços públicos como ruas, avenidas e praças. O "ataque" aos monumentos que alguns associaram a uma espécie de rebelião contra a história do Chile também foi amplamente registrado. Esses fatos nos levam pelos caminhos da história, da memória, da lembrança e do esquecimento, representados em monumentos comemorativos, símbolos oficiais, nomes de ruas e praças instaladas na cidade. Também por caminhos interdisciplinares para abordar essa complexidade com diversas metodologias e fontes. Este artigo procura explicar o que aconteceu em Temuco, capital da região da Araucanía, durante esses meses. Para esse fim, propõe-se uma abordagem de pesquisa a partir de uma perspectiva de longo prazo que permita encontrar os elementos que foram significando o espaço urbano, para então explorar o que ocorreu em um curto tempo, entre outubro e novembro, pela lógica dos processos de ressignificação do espaço urbano.

Palavras Chave: cidade, significado, ressignificação, revolução social, Temuco

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT OF THE CITY IN ARAUCANIA

Figura 1
Copy of the Temuco 1892 Plan. Own preparation based on the original which is located in the Regional Archive of Araucanía.



We understand the city as a human community and “architectonic materiality” that has been built by its inhabitants over generations; therefore, as bearers and holders of meanings. In this sense, we must suppose that cities are permanently unfinished realities and constitute “authentic archives of memory” that can be read like a text (Colom, 2016). For this reason, it is necessary to know their history, their forms of social and economic organization, their urban story and the stories that tell us how they came to be what they are. The city, understood as a materialization of ideas, values and interests over time, is evidence of a dynamic processes that needs to be broadly viewed and analyzed (Colom, 2016). Its monuments, written and spoken records of association made it possible for the city to extend the scope of human activities beyond its physical boundaries, to project them towards the past and the future. This capability to transmit a complex culture from one generation to another continues to be the maximum “gift” of cities (Mumford, 2012). On the other hand, the city defines “the culture of living”, which is at the center of the tension between “project and experience”, and brings together whoever undertakes urban planning with the subject who inhabits the space; between what planners have wanted it to be and what the people have made of it. The tension between the two basic principles in the constitution of urban centers, on one hand the willingness to form the city as a structure set into a place and, on the other, the impressions that daily life stamps on the spaces where this takes place (Llorente, 2015). Thus, “the foundation of a city is the historic result of a decision about the use and organization of a space” (Colom, 2016, p. 122), and its development, a tension between the “urbanist planners” and the people’s living.

In Araucanía, the cities arrived with the Spanish Conquistadores. From that moment, and until the present, it is possible to identify three moments. The first, concluded with the Mapuche uprising that started in 1598 and the destruction of the seven cities of the South. In the second, the cities remained in ruins, a kind of long-lasting milestone that is remembered with the advance of the Chilean State to the south of the Bio-Bio river, in the mid-19th century. This marks the start of the third moment, where the military occupation projects appeared in strategies where the forts played a fundamental role in the Mapuche military defeat, as the germ of cities that would control the population, the territory and that would activate the economy were set up (Saavedra, 1870). Between 1862 and 1883, around forty towns were rebuilt and founded. The Mapuche resistance was intense (León, 1981; Pinto, 2015). One of the last expressions of armed Mapuche resistance was the general uprising of 1881; they attacked Temuco, among other forts. On this occasion, the main sanction was the setting up of Cholchol Fort “right at the center of their loss, as a constant threat so that always refrained the thought of rising up” (Memoria Ministerio de Guerra, 1882, p. 186). As in the past, the city came to mean a space of punishment, the Mapuche military defeat imposed the consolidation of urban centers as spaces of domination and organization of a new territoriality.

In 1877, the military had identified “a place called Temuco” as a strategic point to locate a fort. When the troops advanced on the Cautin River; they had this information and, on February 24th, 1881, the engineer Teodoro Schmidt started the topographical works, drawing up the barracks and some avenues, founding the town. Later, the engineer, Fiebig, completed the work, outlining the streets and the Main Square or *Plaza de Armas* (La Mañana, February 24th, 1917). Years later, in 1892, the engineer, Christian Sommermeier drew up the first known urban plan for Temuco [Figure 1]. The construction of the future city implied cutting down trees and digging to remove their roots; refilling, channeling and projecting streets that, to begin with, were more like tracks leading to other forts (Arellano, 1931).

TEMUCO, THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE PUBLIC SPACE

Pablo Neruda (1985) stated that “Temuco is one of those pioneer towns with no past, but with hardware stores”. The task set out upon by the national and local elite was to build a story about the past; the city itself with its architecture, streets, squares, and sculptures was built in a space for this purpose. It is also important to see the context the foundation was produced in and the first years of Temuco's life, a moment where a large part of its street names were stamped out and, in this sense, the 1892 urban plan constitutes notable evidence of the historic story they sought to build as, although it is true that the name identifies one street in particular; an overview gives us the possibility to establish their story.

Until 1887, Temuco was under the control of military authorities. That year, the Provinces of Malleco and Cautín were created, passing to have the political regime of the rest of the country, which implied having civilian authorities appointed to administer the provinces and people elected for the city government (Flores, 2019). In the first years, the neighbors had arbitrarily baptized the streets based on local events or circumstances, Quebrada de los Puestos (Puestos gorge), Calle del Canal (Canal street), Calle de la Lora (Parrot street), Los Tres Robles (The Three Oaks), la Vega Larga (Long Meadow), etc. Schmidt observed the need to assign them official names, proposing to the Intendent those of the important military men and politicians in the Occupation of the Araucanía Campaign (Arellano, 1931). The suggestion was not taken, as it is seen in the 1892 plan, where the names of the military men who took part in the Independence, the War against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation and the War of the Pacific were imposed. In this way, the names of General Prieto, General Freire, General Blanco, General Carrera, General Las Heras, Admiral Lynch, General Lagos, Arturo Prat, General Bulnes, General Aldunate, General Mackenna, General Cruz, General Zenteno, O'Higgins and San Martín were expressed. The political work was represented by Antonio Varas, Luis Claro Solar, Manuel Montt and Diego Portales. In 1897, the Municipal Council agreed to name a 50-meter avenue José Manuel Balmaceda, popularly known as “Calle Ancha” or Broad Street, and the name of Caupolicán to the avenue that crossed in diagonal; Manuel Rodríguez to the first street to the north of Portales, Lautaro to the second and Miraflores to the third (La Frontera, April 27th 1897). Thus, Temuco's streets contributed to the construction of a historic memory of the Chilean nation state of the 19th century, where Caupolicán and Lautaro alluded to the indigenous presences in the times of the Conquests.

Liisa Voionmaa (2005), in her study on public sculptures in Santiago de Chile, mentioned that in the modern nation, commemorative, emblematic and numismatic monuments play an essential role in their symbolic construction. She added that, although the political history of a nation is formed by ideas, it is the “images and symbols expressing them” that constitute the public vision where a people recognizes their own identity. For Voionmaa, the common citizen generally registers the “official symbolism” passively, not noticing all the affective burden that these obvious signs of collective identity hide. There, the strength of the symbol would take root, as the national flag that acts on people even though they ignore it. It is precisely the affective load that is conceived as the “living basis of the symbol”, which nourishes the feeling of belonging over time. However, its effectiveness is not manifested “with the same strength in daily life as it does in extraordinary situations” (Voionmaa, 2005, p. 48). Likewise, not all public spaces have the same capacity of maximizing the visibility of the symbols (Salgado, 2010).

By the end of the 19th century, the square would be the favorite place to install these symbols, this had “lost functionality in benefit of monumentality”

Figure 2
Inauguration of the statue of Caupolicán in 1939.
Source: FOERSTER, R. & MONTECINO, S., 1988, p. 149.



1 From these squares, two still have the name given in the first years; Recabarren, located in front of the Tucapel Regiment, place where the fort that founded Temuco was placed. The second is Anibal Pinto. León Gallo meanwhile, as of 1965, was called Dagoberto Godoy, in homage to the first Chilean aviator who crossed the Andes mountains in 1918. It is also known as Hospital square, on since it is located in front of this institution. In the block set aside for the "School", according to the 1892 plan, a new square was set up, initially called "of the Apple Tree". Later it took on the name of Brazil until 1942 approximately, when it was changed to Teodoro Schmidt and for some years now it has been popularly rebaptized as Lautaro Square. The urban expansion at the beginning of the 20th century created the Dreves Neighborhood, which considered a square called Bismark towards 1916; 18 de Septiembre (September 18th) in 1940 and Dreves today.

2 Hereinafter, ASCMT.

3 Was the first and one of most influential Mapuche organizations during the 20th century.

(Rojas-Mix, 2002, p.176). In these, bandstands were built, gardens designed, and statues installed. This is the context and concept of city present in the occupation of Araucanía. Its squares would not follow the colonial functionality, but rather the monumentality of modernity. In 1892, four squares were planned for Temuco, later one would be occupied by the Claret Institute, the others: Manuel Recabarren, Anibal Pinto or de Armas and León Gallo. They were developed following the planners' designs, the ideas, and financial capacities of the council.¹

Stimulated by the celebration of Chile's centenary, in 1909, Temuco's Municipal Council discussed the proposal of the Directive Committee about the Monument to the "Ancient Arauco" (Acts of Sessions of Temuco's Municipal Council, July 5th, 1909, p. 431).² This work, which would be located in Anibal Pinto square, was "in remembrance of the Generals who intervened in the civilization of the indigenous territory" (Ovalle, 1912, p.97). According to the sketches, General Cornelio Saavedra held a prominent position, but a conflict arose: the relatives of General Gregorio Urrutia said that he should occupy the main position due to his brave actions in the occupation of the territory. Another project supported by Sociedad Caupolican Defensora de la Araucanía,³ sought the approval by the council "to the agreement of the National Celebrations Committee to place the monument of the "Araucan Race" in Anibal Pinto Square" (ASCMT, September 1st, 1910, p. 12). Both initiatives were never materialized. However, they reveal the willingness of different efforts to intervene in the history of the city. 16 years later, the idea of a "Monument to Araucanía" was returned to, some money was even paid to the sculptor Virginio Arias for this (ASCMT, August 28th, 1926, p.44). But there was little further progress, and then the economic crisis of 1929 hit and the parties to celebrate the city's 50th anniversary were marked by the austerity of the time.

By 1934, the Araucan Federation demanded to the Sociedad Caupolican, information about the "status of the work to erect the monument to Caupolican" (Foerster, R. and Montecino, S., 1988, p. 142), an example of the willingness of Mapuche organizations to monumentalize the heroic past through the figure of Caupolican and, in this way, occupy a standout place in the urban space. Five years later, the mayor informed the Municipal Council that Manuel Pereira, of the Santiago Fine Arts Academy, had offered to the council "a reproduction in white cement of the original sculpture of the 'Caupolican' standing on Santa Lucía Hill". The authority added that actions had been put in process and a Temuco local would gift this monument without this implying any expense for the Corporation. "The triangle of Caupolican Avenue with Montt and Carrera" was proposed for its location (ASCMT, August 28th, 1939, p. 182). On November 26th, 1939, the statue was inaugurated and the Araucan Corporation prepared a concentration where "Venancio Coñuepán and José Cayupi were the speakers in an act which more than 1,000 Mapuche attended" (Foerster, R. & Montecino, S., 1988, p. 128) [Figure 2]. Nicanor Plaza's Caupolican, beyond being a work of art destined to perpetuate the memory of the "last of the Mohicans" (Zamorano, 2011, p. 89) in Temuco, was resignified by the Mapuche organizations who had had a leading role in its installation. Accidentally destroyed in 1985, fifteen years went by until the figure of Caupolican would be raised in the same place. This time, the stanzas of Alonso de Ercilla inspired the regional sculptor, José Troncoso, to create a Caupolican with a tree trunk on his shoulder. Financed by Fondart and with the support of the Regional Museum of La Araucanía and the National Indigenous Development Corporation, it was inaugurated on December 5th 2000 (El Diario Austral, December 6th, 2000).

In 1940, the statue to the Roto Chileno (Anonymous hero of the Battle of Yungay) was approved and installed in the small square in front of the Railway Station. It was a copy of the one in Yungay Square in Santiago (ASCMT, September 23rd, 1940, p. 96-96). However, by 1950, the main square still did not have a monument and the 70th anniversary was approaching. With this in mind, the Council discussed, in several sessions, the acquisition, location and meaning of the statues in the city. Everything began with the materialization of a commitment taken on the previous year, to honor Teodoro Schmidt with a monument that would be located in the square that bears his name (ASCMT, April 24th 1950, p. 4). In the session, it was remembered that the previous year an unsuccessful money collection had begun to acquire a bust of Bernardo O'Higgins. It was criticized that "this was a simple copy whose intention was to be sold to all the cities in the country. It has been thought that it was better to acquire a work with greater artistic merit and not a block (sic) of bronze sold 'in bulk'" (ASCMT, April 24th 1950, p. 4). In addition, the issue of its location was addressed: some proposed Anibal Pinto square, others opposed, alluding that a work of "greater artistic merit" was required there. In this same session, it was stated that money had been deposited to raise a monument to Captain Daniel Rebolledo (ASCMT, April 24th, 1950, p. 5).⁴

The session of July 24th was particularly interesting regarding the location of the city's monuments, whether those that were under debate and those that would be acquired in the future. It began with a report of the Beautification, Public Squares and Urbanization Commission, that had proposed that the bust of O'Higgins was placed in Recabarren square, that of Teodoro Schmidt in the square bearing his name, leaving Pinto Square for the monument to Araucania, and that new moments that were raised, were located on Balmaceda Avenue, considered as the main street of Temuco (ASCMT, July 24th, 1950, p. without number). It was then opened to the floor and the debate focused on the location of the bust of O'Higgins. Some of the representatives said that the Intendent of Cautin and the Commander of the Tucapel Regiment, following the indications given by the Ministry of Defense, requested that this bust was placed in Anibal Pinto Square, opinion that was shared by the Mayor. However, several of the representatives marked their opposition, saying that it could not be placed in that square, because the bust had no artistic value. In addition, that "arms" were just one aspect of society and the council had to consider them all. They argued that they were the ones who had the right to decide on its location, in spite of the existing pressures. This debate put the forces marked by the militarism of the past and others of a civil nature that looked to the future of the city, one against the other. The military past and present constituted a stamp that had marked urban design, its architecture, and the monuments that gave it meaning. This was present in the discussion about the location of the bust of O'Higgins, beyond the artistic value. What the Army was interested in was being at the center of *Temuquense* (from the city of Temuco) life and memory, and not being displaced to a secondary role.

It seems that the winds that blew towards the mid-19th century were not supportive for the Army's position, although the bust was installed "provisionally" in Pinto Square, for the celebration of "O'Higgins Week" (ASCMT, August 14th, 1950, p. 4).⁵ The idea of the council was to improve the appearance of the city and for this reason, they agreed to acquire four cement sculptures offered by the Fine Arts Museum (ASCMT, August 14th 1950, p.4). This offer of the Museum fell within the cultural dissemination program that was being developed. For this purpose, "The Echo", "The Chueca Player" and "The Boy of the Fountain" were chosen (ASCMT, September 25th, 1950, p.4). In the spirit of improving the image of Balmaceda Avenue, the construction of the "Skating

4 Captain Daniel Rebolledo was a soldier who actively took part in the War of the Pacific, standing out because of his courageous action of placing the Chilean flag on top of Solar Hill. He died in Temuco on January 20th, 1908. Currently, the Army's Non-Commissioned Officers School bears his name.

5 Its definitive location was Recabarren Square.

Figura 3

Bust of Teodoro Schmidt located in the square bearing his name. This is the work of the sculptor Blanca Merino and was inaugurated in February 1951. Photograph: Jaime Flores Chávez.



Figura 4

Monument to Araucania located in the city's main square, called Anibal Pinto Square or the Plaza de Armas. This is the work of José Troncoso and was inaugurated in June 1990. Photograph: Jaime Flores Chávez.



6 The plaque on the pedestal says: "Homage to the Spanish Colony, Pedro de Valdivia in the IV centenary, Temuco 25-XII-1953".

Rink" was approved (ASCMT, November 13th, 1950, p. 8-9) and the installation of a "reflecting pool", works that would be inaugurated, along with the monument to Teodoro Schmidt [Figure 3], during the city's 70th anniversary celebrations (ASCMT, December 28th, 1950, p. 3). Two years later, the bust of Pedro de Valdivia was installed, at the intersection of Balmaceda and Prat streets.⁶

For a couple of decades, the Main Square had, as a central ornament, a water fountain and two lions. Once the economic crisis of the 1980s had passed, and six years before Temuco's centenary, the council ordered a Monument to Araucania. The work of art, a joint creation of Guillermo Merino and José Troncoso, was inaugurated on June 1st, 1990. There are five characters represented in it: the Spaniard from the times of the Conquest is Ercilla, in his left hand he has a rolled scroll, brings writing the Chilean is the soldier of the "pacification"; the Mapuche, symbolized in Caupolicán, is the version of a "brave warrior"; A Machi (Mapuche leader), perhaps a little disoriented, makes a call out to the south; the foreign colonist sowing "randomly" is the only one working. In this sense, the monument constitutes a synthesis of our national-regional public memory, uniting the stereotypes that, at the time, would be shared about the past [Figure 4]. It is possible that the work was not what those who had proposed installing the Generals of the occupation or the "Araucan Race" had imagined in 1910. With 80 years having gone by, the "official" memory and history had been building this image of the past. On the other hand, the monumentality and artistic sense (this is a large unique piece) had listened to the voices of the 1950 Council, but not their view to the future facing the old and new voices that were raised with the arrival of democracy. By the end of the dictatorship, could the council sessions have listened to the voice of the Mapuche, that of the women, the working-class sectors, and others? The result shows that the military presence of the time, unlike 1950, had been imposed.

In the last decade, two new monuments have been installed in the city, financed by the Autonomous University of Chile. A statue of Bernardo O'Higgins was donated for the celebration of Chile's bicentenary, which was placed in Recabarren Square and in 2015, on the 25th anniversary of its foundation, the statue of Arturo Prat, that replaced the bust of the founding father in Teodoro Schmidt Square. In their inauguration, the Rector of the University said "We believe that monuments symbolize a great deal, they symbolize culture, they are examples to follow, definitively they beautify the city and we hope to be able to contribute to Temuco with other monuments in the future". The Mayor thanked the donation, stating that this sculpture "will allow raising the image of Arturo Prat and that the eyes of the Temuquenses and visitors recognize his value, courage and patriotic spirit". (Diario Tiempo 21, May 20th 2015).

THE SOCIAL UPRISING, THE INTENSIFICATION OF RESIGNIFICATION

Figura 5

Statue of
Caupolicán, the
head of Dagoberto
Godoy tied by a rope
hanging from his
hand.
Source: [https://
www.eldesconcierto.
cl/2019/10/29/
video-manifestantes-
decapitan-busto-de-
militar-y-ponen-
su-cabeza-en-las-
manos-de-estatua-de-
caupolican/](https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/2019/10/29/video-manifestantes-decapitan-busto-de-militar-y-ponen-su-cabeza-en-las-manos-de-estatua-de-caupolican/)



7 Initially, some media informed that it was the head of Pedro de Valdivia, making the scene even more dramatic, impacting and symbolic.

The social uprising that unfolded as of October 18th, 2019 had, among its most visible expressions, the occupation of public spaces like streets, avenues, and squares. The “attack” on the monuments was also widely recorded and debated on. Some associated these to a rebellion against history or a certain kind of history. Our strategy of placing them in a long-lasting perspective leads us along the roads of history, of remembrance and of oblivion. Alongside turning to the classics and the important Works of Pierre Nova about The site of memory, Maurice Halbwachs, who addressed the “collective memory”, and Jan and Aleida Assman regarding the “cultural memory”, we believe that the idea of “spaces of commemoration” might help this purpose.

For Astrid Erll, cultural memory is the interaction of the present and past in socio-cultural contexts (Seydel, 2014, p. 205). This leads us to the term of “remembrance culture”, which allows emphasizing the “heterogeneity and plurality of versions of the past the coexist in the space of a Nation-State” (Seydel, 2014, p. 206). This would be the most suitable concept for “post-canonical” societies and larger spaces. These collective memories would form a space of memory inside the Nation-State, with these “remembrance spaces” being configured at domestic and international levels. Seydel states that:

“diverse memories compete inside a Nation-state to become the hegemony, so the state is a kind of battlefield where diverse versions of the past are negotiated and imposed. This approach seems particularly intriguing in multi-ethnic countries with a fragmented past, that is the result of asymmetric constellations of power. In post-colonial contexts, there are hybrid remembrance practices and, in the last few decades, ever more rebellious representations about the past have entered circulation” (Seydel, 2014, p. 207).

In addition, today there are devices that allow the articulation of growing forms of versions of the past, where latencies of the memory are manifested that previously could not reach a large number of people, by means of independent film, the Internet, performances and scratches of diverse groups and social movements (Seydel, 2014).

Temuco was not untouched by the social uprising. In fact, it seems that it was here where the busts and statues began to be brought down on October 29th, within the “Mapuche March”. The names of the streets were not the focus of the protest, but other urban symbols were, like the recovery of square names and the destruction of monuments. The image that remained etched in the minds of everyone was the head of Dagoberto Godoy painted in red, hanging from a rope tied to the hand of Caupolicán⁷ [Figure 5]. That day, this scene, and the demolition of the busts of Pedro de Valdivia and Diego Portales were broadcast live to the entire country. These images were disseminated by television, radio and the written press, as well as spreading on social media.

On November 14th, the Diario Austral of Temuco informed that, during the march in remembrance of the “death of Camilo Catrillanca, masked men” brought down the statue of Arturo Prat. Although the views focused on Prat, on the other side of the square, the bust of Teodoro Schmidt had also been brought down, as the photographs that accompanied the news show [Figure 6]. Two days later, the press broadcast a communique of the Chilean Navy that “gratefully thanked the efforts of the Police to rescue, clean and restore the statue of Arturo Prat Chacón”, stating that the statue had been sent to the Naval Command in Valdivia. (El Diario Austral, November 16th, 2019).



Figura 6
After the statue of Arturo Prat and the bust of Teodoro Schmidt were brought down, they were used as part of the barricades erected in downtown Temuco. Source: <https://www.soychile.cl/Temuco/Sociedad/019/11/14/625093/Manifestantes-derribaron-estatua-de-Arturo-Prat-en-Temuco.aspx>

Figura 7
Two photographs show the Mapuche vindication and the social uprising. The first, the bust of Pedro de Valdivia is stepped on by protesters. The Kaskawilla and the cell phone form part of the scene. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wbJ4bi-eg8L>. The second photograph, installation of a banner where symbolically, the name of the Teodoro Schmidt square is changed for Leftxaru Square. Source: <http://www.laizquierdadiario.cl/Cambio-de-nombre-a-Plaza-Lefxaru-Lautaro-ex-plaza-Teodoro-Schmidt-una-deuda-historica>



8 Initially, some media informed that it was the head of Pedro de Valdivia, making the scene even more dramatic, shocking, and symbolic.
9 We are referring to the photograph of Susana Hidalgo that she published on Instagram on October 25th, 2019, which quickly went viral.

On November 19th, in an act called by the Temuco Plurinational Popular Assembly, Teodoro Schmidt Square was symbolically renamed Leftxaru (Lautaro) Square. On this occasion, Ana Llao said that “today more than ever (there is) the need to recover the spaces, considering that we are in Mapuche territory”; the press report outlined the “symbolic importance of removing the colonizing, genocidal and murderous figures; under the cloak of historic figures who instilled the logics of impunity that today are repeated without trial and punishment for the guilty”; returning to these “symbolic claims as a sign of invalidity for these patriotic figures”. The Mapuche leader asserted that it was “time to post the statues of our martyrs... (and) rename several places in the region.” Then, Marcelo Catrillanca, the father of Camilo Catrillanca, spoke, suggesting that it was not the idea to accept the government’s proposals and “that although the canvas is symbolic, the participation of the Mapuche people and more sectors of society is important” [Figure 7], recognizing the youth as a key player in the uprising (La Izquierda Newspaper; November 22nd, 2019).

“Remembering and forgetting are the two faces, or rather, the two different processes of the same phenomenon: memory” (Erll, 2016, p. 10), but in some way, they are also part of history, in the understanding that its construction, research and writing, imply a selection of what we want in history and, therefore, an “intended forgetting” of what we believe is not relevant or is dangerous to narrate. Processes of this nature are more evident in territories like Araucanía, where “communicative memory”, in the language of Jan and Aleida Assmann, is active, and “cultural memory” makes itself felt. The usurpation of land is a generally shared truth, while the statue of Caupolicán or the bust of Pedro de Valdivia constitute objects and images “available to be reused, operated as records and catalysts that permanently reestablish group memory.” (Dolff, 2010, p. 32). It is possible that these “remembrance cultures”, in Erll’s language, of what has been and what is present in the streets of Temuco, in the Mapuche marches of the past and present, is “competition” of diverse memories within the Nation-State, is what has been occurring from the city’s very foundation, expressed in the attack on Temuco’s fort in 1881; the naming of the streets Caupolicán and Lautaro in 1897; the proposal in 1910 of Sociedad Caupolicán Defensora de la Araucanía of raising a monument to the “Araucan Race” in the main square; the installation of the Monument to Caupolicán in 1939, that was rebuilt, as a new version, in 2000; the demand to rename Teodoro Schmidt Square as Lautaro, one of the most recent symbolic acts happening just a few months ago. All of these are a sign of the “adaptation”, “negotiation” and “resistance” of other versions of the past, in the long term.

In this dispute for memory, on placing identity symbols that “commemorate” for themselves and for others, the social uprising was the right moment to install the Wenufoya (the Mapuche flag) in the national iconography.⁸ It was the corollary as a sign of identification of the Mapuche nation domestically and internationally. Created in 1992, its first outing happened that year in the context of a Mapuche march, strongly suppressed by the police “in a moment of calm, a Wéken, standing on the chassis of a parked pick-up truck... lifts the official flag up with his hands” (Wéken, 2012). As the years have gone by, this flag has been popularized. Every year more were waved in the indigenous marches held in the different cities of Araucanía and the country. For the social uprising, its use went beyond Mapuche hands and demands, becoming one of the distinctive icons of the different protests around the country. In one of these events, the Chilean flags that wave in front of the Municipality of Temuco were lowered and the Mapuche flag was raised in their place. But, without a doubt, one of the most symbolic images of the uprising captured, in the city of Santiago, a crowd of people on the statue of General Baquedano and on top, the wenufoye⁹, waving. Were the “Chilean people” giving a new meaning to the Mapuche flag?

CONCLUSION



Figura 8

Caupolicán Ave-
nue in Temuco. In
the foreground,
the busts of Diego
Portales and Dago-
berto Godoy without
his head, which had
been hung from the
arm of Caupolicán,
October 29th, 2019.
Source: <https://temucotelevision.cl/web/2019/10/29/temuco-marcha-mapuche-se-desarrolla-con-danos-al-menos-a-dos-monumentos/>

Figura 9

Pedestal where the
bust of Teodoro
Schmidt was loca-
ted in the square
bearing his name. On
the front, a bronze
embossment is seen
with the image of
Teodoro Schmidt with
a theodolite and at
his feet, a Mapuche
woman seated. The
bust was brought
down on November
14th, 2019.



On October 29th, November 14th and 29th, 2019, downtown Temuco was the scene of a series of protests that channeled Mapuche demands: that of history and recognition, this time concentrated in time and place. As they had done since the beginning of the 20th century, they marched along the streets playing their instruments, rallying in *Mapudungun* (their language) and carrying placards in said language. The media informed through formal channels, and the cell phones of protesters took photographs and made videos that were spread through social networks [Figure 8].

139 years earlier, Temuco had been founded, the expression and holder of the hegemonic discourse of the Chilean Nation-state, which can be seen in the naming of its streets, squares and the monuments that were installed. It is possible to classify the latter in three groups: Pedro de Valdivia, Bernardo O'Higgins, Diego Portales and Arturo Prat, correspond to the idea of the national pantheon. On another plane, we find the busts of Manuel Recabarren, Teodoro Schmidt and Dagoberto Godoy, more closely linked to the history of the city, in the understanding that the first one founded it; the second outlined its streets and then lived there until his death; and the third, born in the city, became a "national hero", on being the first to cross the Andes by plane. For its party, the "Hellenized" statue of *El Roto* (Ivelic, 2001) defends the victorious people in the War against the Confederation and the War of the Pacific, and in the case of the statues of Caupolicán, beyond the aesthetics of the two versions, it was possible to see the resignification and appropriation by the Mapuche organizations of 1939, as well as the protests that went beyond the Mapuche in October 2019. Its strategic position in the urban radius of Temuco makes it part of "zone zero". The Monument to Araucanía, placed at the heart of the Main Square, constitutes a kind of synthesis of the national-regional public memory.

Finally, in this long-term view, we can identify six moments in the signification and resignification process of the city of Temuco expressed in its monuments. The first, for Chile's centenary, the emergence and debate of the idea of a "Monument to Araucanía"; the second, at the start of the Frente Popular period, with the installation of the statues of Caupolicán and *El Roto*, a kind of inclusion of the alternative in the urban space; the third, towards the mid-20th century, with the organization of the monumental space, the identification and hierarchization of places and statues. This is the moment when the busts of O'Higgins, Schmidt and Valdivia were installed, and the idea of reserving the Main Square to the Monument to Araucanía was consolidated; 1981, the year of the city's centenary, the bust of Portales was installed and a new impulse to the Monument of Araucanía was given, which ended up being materialized in 1990; the fifth, 2010-15, the reclaiming of the nation's heroes, with the statues of O'Higgins and Prat; finally, October-November 2019, the protests against the "official" memory and history through the destruction of some monuments, a sign that shows the importance and urgency of the debate on the resignification of the urban space in line with past, present and future times [Figure 9].

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CONFRONTED MONUMENTS: NEW ROLES FOR HERITAGE IN THE FACE OF SOCIAL DISAGREEMENTS

Monumentos confrontados: nuevos roles para
el patrimonio ante los desencuentros sociales

Monumentos enfrentados: novos papéis do
patrimônio diante das desavenças sociais

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Intervention of the
statue of Francisco
I. Madero, work of
the author Javier
Marín.
Photograph taken
during the march
on 8 March 2020 in
Mexico City. Yúmari
Pérez, 2020

ABSTRACT

The attacks on monuments —street art¹, mutilations, being brought down— that have been seen around the world recently, cannot go unnoticed by heritage academics. It is a phenomenon that heralds the obsolescence of ideas and theories adopted so far on heritage and its conservation. Throughout this work, reflections are made about heritage as cultural heritage, explaining how commemorative monuments differ from historical monuments, a topic that comes under the limelight when talking about museification and petrification of heritage. To give context to this phenomenon, three attacks on monuments are addressed the march of November 8th, 2018 in Santiago de Chile, when people brought down statues in the US and England within the Black Lives Matter movement and the #NoMeCuidanMeViolan movement, in Mexico. The reflection considers the motivations behind these actions against heritage, the reactions of hegemonic groups and, more than anything, the resignifications and redefinitions that are taking place or could take place, as a result of all this, about cultural heritage.

Keywords: monuments, cultural heritage, restoration theory, social movements, memory

RESUMEN

La agresión a monumentos —pintas², mutilaciones, derribos—, que se han visto recientemente en todo el mundo, no puede pasar desapercibida para los estudiosos del patrimonio. Es un fenómeno que anuncia la obsolescencia de ideas y teorías adoptadas hasta ahora sobre el patrimonio y su conservación. A lo largo del trabajo se reflexiona en torno al patrimonio como herencia cultural, y se explica cómo los monumentos conmemorativos difieren de los monumentos históricos, un asunto que adquiere centralidad cuando se habla de museificación y petrificación del patrimonio. Para situar este fenómeno en la realidad, se abordan tres situaciones de asalto a monumentos —la marcha del 8 de noviembre de 2018 en Santiago de Chile, el derribo de estatuas en EUA e Inglaterra dentro del movimiento Black Lives Matter y el movimiento #NoMeCuidanMeViolan en México—. La reflexión es en torno a las motivaciones que llevan a estas actuaciones sobre el patrimonio, a las reacciones que se generan de parte de los grupos hegemónicos y, más que nada, en cuanto a las resignificaciones y redefiniciones que se van dando o pudieran darse, a partir de todo esto, sobre el patrimonio cultural.

Palabras Clave: monumentos, patrimonio cultural, teoría de la restauración, movimientos sociales, memoria

RESUMO

O ataque a monumentos —pinturas, mutilações, demolições— recentemente vistos em todo o mundo, não pode passar despercebido aos estudiosos do patrimônio. É um fenômeno que anuncia a obsolescência das ideias e teorias até então adotadas sobre o patrimônio e sua conservação. Ao longo da obra, é refletida sobre o patrimônio como patrimônio cultural, e é explicado como os monumentos comemorativos se diferenciam dos monumentos históricos, questão que adquire centralidade quando se fala em museificação e petrificação do patrimônio. Para colocar este fenômeno em realidade, três situações de assalto a monumentos são abordadas —a marcha de 8 de novembro de 2018 em Santiago do Chile, a demolição de estátuas nos Estados Unidos e na Inglaterra dentro do movimento Black Lives Matter e o movimento #NoMeCuidanMeViolan no México— o último é tratado de forma mais extensa. A reflexão gira em torno das motivações que levam a essas ações sobre o patrimônio, das reações que se geram por parte dos grupos hegemônicos e, mais do que tudo, quanto às resignificações e redefinições que estão ocorrendo ou que poderiam ser atribuídas a partir de tudo isso no patrimônio cultural.

Palavras Chave: monumentos, patrimônio cultural, teoria da restauração, movimentos sociais, memória

1 We use the word street art throughout the text to refer to free painting, considered illegal, that is made on the surfaces of properties and sculpted monuments located in public spaces. In some countries, this is a synonym of graffiti, murals and tags.

2 Utilizamos a lo largo del texto la palabra pinta para referirnos a la pintura libre, considerada ilegal, que se realiza en las superficies de inmuebles y monumentos escultóricos ubicados en espacios públicos. En algunos países es sinónimo de graffiti, pintada y rayones.

INTRODUCTION

Monuments are, essentially, elements that safeguard the past to pass on a message to the present. Their role is to prevent yesterday from being crushed to dust as time goes by, keeping a sense valid in the now, while adding an inherent aesthetic, so that the idea of beauty is transmitted by rocks and metals and that they teach society about the past. However, there is a moment where these qualities of the monument itself change their meaning for society and questions arise about their relationship with this heritage. The issue of why this “now monument” was created, in another time and society, needs to be constantly raised to face the current social settings and their problems, to validate its meaning and sense of identity or become an object and subject of the manifestation of discontent.

This metamorphosis in the society-heritage ties is manifested in many of the monuments that form part of the urban setting, in the public space, which from a point of view of political philosophy are associated with the *public sphere* or the coming together of people that oversee the exercise of power and speak out about matters concerning common life (Delgado, 2011), as this allows a space of generalized visibility. The aggression against heritage as a means of protest for the injustices each nation endures is not something new, but it had not been triggered with the power and manner that was seen in the last year.

It has been seen, in these forms, that heritage plays a new role, becoming an event, by the acts in themselves, or a background that acts as a support to make the demands expressed by those seeking this visibility, evident. This use of heritage also becomes a limiting factor to communicate the legitimacy of protests, because of the way the official media presents these events. The dilemma is where to lead this discourse, to the middle ground or to the radical extremes. For that reason, it is worth questioning what the meaning of heritage is and where this meaning comes from, to reflect whether there is a new role taken on by monuments, and if they can be considered useful artifacts to state, present and make the messages emerging from today’s societies, evident.

HERITAGE, MONUMENTS, AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS

The meaning, scope, interpretation, and limitation of heritage are matters for permanent discussion which are being grounded in changing positions, seeking to adapt to the prevailing winds of the social situation.

It is said that heritage is intrinsically linked to the more pressing challenges humanity is facing, since a collective representation is sought through it, which compels questioning what the ideals of this representativity are, who are presenting and limiting them, what heritage is and is not and how it can be used. Cultural heritage is a means of social cohesion, that can be used in some societies as a political tool, as social recognition and as an element of combat, used to build and resignify identities. But, what happens when this memory is no longer important, when it falls by the wayside and thus the memorable artifact stops being a means of identity, a sign of belonging?

Heritage, as it is known, is a polysemic definition that acquires particular meanings depending on the setting it is used in. For UNESCO, the organization that works as an international forum for the discussion and dissemination of education, culture and science, cultural heritage is simultaneously a product and a process “that provides societies with a flow of resources that are inherited from the past, created in the present, and transmitted to future generations for their benefit” (2014). Under this dynamic concept, distant from the rhetoric of nostalgia for the past, it is possible to understand heritage as a means and, at the same time, as a living process, contrasting with views that insist on characterizing it as something immovable. The proposal is to move towards another conception of cultural assets, whether tangible or intangible, to stop seeing them as vestiges of a time gone by that have to be conserved in an alleged ideal model, and much less when we talk about

living manifestations, that are continuously reproduced in a concurrence of permanent formation.

It is through significant heritage manifestations that people remember and recognize their belonging to a social group and a community; although cultural identity is not just one, but rather multiple, and always relational and contextual, that is to say, dynamic and procedural (Marcos, 2010). Heritage, a kind of social symbology to uphold and pass on collective memory, is formed by the representative assets of each society. And it can be said that these heritage assets hold a triple dimension: physical, social and mental, namely, material and symbolic.

The word *monument* and the acceptance of *historic monument* refer more to a stratified idea of cultural assets, they precede the current concepts of heritage. In the 19th century, and still even in the mid-20th century, the notion of *monument* would refer to material assets of the past that deserved to be preserved. Françoise Choay, in her emblematic book, *L'Allégorie du patrimoine*, presents the direct relationship that monuments have with memory, which she identifies with its Latin root: *monumentum*, derived from *monere*, to notice, to remember. Thus, the monument can arouse, through emotion, a living memory, an invoked and summoned past. In the end, it is any artifact that helps a community remember itself so that the future generations remember people, events or beliefs; it acts on the memory, mobilizing it from affectivity; it evokes a past that far from being just any past, it is one that has been chosen with vital purposes, in the means that it acts to invoke the identity of a community (Choay, 2007).

Alois Riegl, in his already hundred-year old work, *The Modern Cult of Monuments*², focused on establishing the difference between monument and historic monument. The first one he defined as an intended creation, that arose looking to satisfy certain practical needs or particular ideals. Meanwhile, the historic monument is an unintended creation (Riegl, 1903). Following the Rieglian theory, Choay agrees in the characterization of the historic monument: "it has not been initially wanted (ungewollte) nor created as such; it becomes so a posteriori, from the converging views of the historian and aficionado who choose it from the mass of existing buildings where monuments represent a small part" (2007).

Regarding the conservation and durability of *monuments*, the same author talks about forgetting, disinterest and obsolescence, which end up leading to their disappearance. She also refers to the voluntary, negative destruction, which occurs for religious, political, or ideological reasons. In contrast, historic monuments, despite or perhaps because they are assumed as such by imposition and a posteriori, receive other guarantees for their conservation and permanence: "On the contrary, in the means it is inserted in an unchanging and definitive place in the objectified whole and immobilized for knowledge, the historic monument demands, following the logic of that knowledge and, at least in theory, its unconditional conservation" (Choay, 2007). This idea is useful to approach a first explanation of why the deliberate aggression towards certain historic monuments causes so much consternation: it is perceived as an unacceptable act, because it unnerves the certainty that historic monuments are immutable lasting assets, historic references of an objectified past, whose existence is conditioned to their own material integrity.

Questioning the exemplary and petrified idea that heritage is often characterized by, it is somewhat uncomfortable for the majority, and also for hegemonic groups and, for specialists of the past or for broader sectors of society, that see in those monuments a means of identity. At all times, the ruling is the almost unidirectional conservation. This is an issue that causes exaltation, as cultural heritage permanently and in infinite circumstances is presented as being

2 This work was published in 1903. In it, the definitive concepts and principles about monuments are summarized, as they were understood in the 20th century.

in danger of disappearing, creating great concern: tourism, urban development, mercantilism, widespread media, among others.

Nowadays, heritage should be thought over; not just as a State-imposed hierarchical structure, but rather as cultural heritage that does not necessarily need to be protected, but as one that should be understood from its initial sense, an element that represents society of a period, but also of what it has gone through. It is in this way that the values deposited in heritage cannot be permanent and unchanging, and now less than ever; when it is constantly given new meaning due to the great influence of tourism, trade, migration and mass media (Arizpe, 2000).

In this way, the monument seeks to be cultural heritage, starting by bringing together exceptional values and collective identity, that are fixed in a material matter. This connection forms part of cultural identity, that can be defined as a set of values, traditions, symbols, beliefs, and forms of behavior that act as cohesive factors in a social group (González-Varas, 2014). These traits, to continue in the present, should be linked as an ideological concept in current society, but in this process of association "the re-reading and resignification of history and memory decisively intervene" (González-Varas, 2014), which initially work to form a national doctrine, but also have an influence in the identities of marginalized groups which, in some cases, start to become the majority. It is in this moment that the symbolic meaning of the monument may lead to confrontation.

CULTURAL HERITAGE FACING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In recent times, aggression towards heritage assets, particularly historic monuments, arises as an ever more widespread globalized phenomenon, as part of acts of protest of given social groups which have been wronged by the State. Certainly, in many cases these are acts of vandalism, but there are other aspects to which attention must be paid, trying to understand them in their basis rather than the form, before making the go-to opinion that these behaviors are wrong.

The media coverage of these events follows a pattern that tries to emphasize the street art and threats to the integrity of the monuments, instead of reflecting and reporting the reasons behind the event. Headlines like, for example: "Street art on historic monuments are an attack on everyone, said Gutiérrez Müller (Revista Proceso, August 27th 2019)"; "Neglect, street art and hawking jeopardize the cultural heritage of Oaxaca" (El imparcial, July 31st 2019); "Social uprising: Marches, vandalism and destruction in Chile demanding Sebastián Piñera resigns (Miami Diario.com, November 10th 2019)". These headlines and their content also prefer to focus the reader's attention on the visual effect, disregarding other aspects that, from a viewpoint of human rights, are more transcendental: the demands of a society, the reasons behind the march, the demands pointing to abuse and injustice.

This is a phenomenon that has been growing around the world, with greater clarity in America and Europe. Possibly there is no longer a country that does not have street art and destruction on and to its *historic monuments*. This is an outcome of globalization, a process which, as García Canclini explains, is based on neoliberalism, which tries to globally and uniformly impregnate all spheres of social, political and cultural life of current societies (2009), with regrettable outcomes for the wellbeing of an immense majority of citizens, who are left marginalized in poverty and excluded from social welfare. The social standoffs are one of the results of the neoliberal system we live in. Economic inequality and thus, social inequality, are present in the everyday life of our contexts. How do we protest? How do we get the hegemonic groups and leaders to turn around and see the discontent, the abuse, the violence? From people marching naked to slogans written on walls and floors or sculptures being brought down, the citizens' demands seem to have more weight where they are more visible and become more meaningful, on many occasions their connotation is clearly provocative.

THREE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CONFRONTING THE MONUMENTS

Figure 1

Fire at Pedro de
Valdivia University.
Reuters 2019.



Among the many protests that have attacked monuments, ones that have been multiplying in recent years, we have chosen three that we will present and discuss below. Two of the movements that we will speak about are particular to the Latin American context: Chile and Mexico; and a third arose in the USA, with a special kind of echo in other Anglo-Saxon countries. These consider three widely known, recent and iconic movements regarding attacks on monuments as a result of social movements. We will not go into great depth on their description or characterization, nor it is interesting to reconstruct the events, since what is sought is understanding this phenomenon from the conceptualization of cultural heritage and its conservation, as well as from our point of view, as social players. Far from agreeing with the painting and other adverse actions against the integrity of cultural assets, or with any other act of violence, what is looked for is starting a discussion that endorses building positions that, as a union and society, lead us to question the role of heritage in the context of today's conflicts, possibly setting out new notions and definitions thereof and the new role these could have or that they already have in today's societies. The comfortable and functional idea that heritage is a source of identity, recognized and meaningful for all, is in crisis.

In Chile, on October 18th 2019, a social uprising was sparked, by a profound discontent among Chilean citizens, triggered by an increase in Metro tickets, which shed light on feelings of abuse, arising from an economic model that does not create a fair society. On Friday November 8th, a march gathered in Plaza Italia, located in Santiago de Chile and, despite there being many joyful people, acts of vandalism like looting returned; the campus of Pedro de Valdivia University, in a heritage building built in 1915 was also set alight [Figure 1]. The Rector of UPV, Rafael Rosell, reported that the place was vandalized from the afternoon onwards and he lamented in a video about what he interpreted as a "gigantic loss" for Chile and for "Chilean higher education", which in his words violated "the right" to study. In this discourse, it can be deduced that the authorities guilefully use the idea that heritage means and matters equally for everyone, as if the loss of a building would mean the violation of the right to education that, said in passing, was the main issue in the protest.³

This march fostered the citizens pleas on the streets, demanding conclusive profound changes in areas like health, education, and pensions. In the graffiti, one could read "remove the bourgeois press", "stop lying", "it's not 30 pesos, it's 30 years", demands captured both on heritage buildings and on government buildings. In this case we must ask ourselves, is there a sense of appropriation of cultural heritage, or is this the best canvas to protest because more minds are reached, because it touches more people, and if not, it surely makes them more uncomfortable. Nobody will make graffiti, street art or destroy the façade of their own home to complain, they would do it to their opponent. Does it then mean that protesters do not see these buildings as their own? Does their label as heritage assets say nothing to them? Do they interpret them as representations of the State and its policies? Do they see them as a sign of the inequality they are suffering?

According to news reports, from the start of the social uprising in Chile through to January 2020, 329 monuments were damaged, especially in Santiago and Valparaíso, sculptures in streets and squares used as canvas for the demands: "The works almost disappear behind the dozens of markings, spray-painted murals or attached elements". In La Serena, a city to the north of Santiago, the protestors burned and brought down a sculpture of Francisco de Aguirre, the Spanish 16th century conquistador; to place on the same pedestal a sculptured bust, using provisional materials, of an indigenous Diaguita woman, who they called Milanka.

In another context, the bringing down and mutilation of sculptures has been the main manifestation of the *Black Lives Matter* movement, which gained

3 <https://actualidad.rt.com/actualidad/333079-perdida-gigantesca-incendio-universidad-chile>

Figure 2
The statue of Edward Colston having been brought down is thrown into the river, in Bristol, England. Photo: Ben Birchall/Press Association, via Associated Press. New York Times 2020.



Figure 3
Graffiti on the Column of Independence during the march of August 16th, 2019, in Mexico. City. Photograph: Santiago Arau (2019, courtesy of the author via Twitter



4 El Universal published the headline “Angel is being closed for restoration, not because of the graffiti. The restoration of the main monuments of Mexico City coincided with the graffiti made during the “No me cuidan, me violan” (They don’t look after me, they rape me) protest, Suarez del Real clarifies, the following day”

great strength after the murder of the African-American man George Floyd, on May 25th 2020, at the hands of a police officer in Minneapolis. Once the videos of the shameful criminal act became public, widespread protest began. People talk about up to 26 million Americans heading out to the streets. This is the largest movement of the history of the United States (Larry Buchanan, Quoctrung Bui and Jugal K. Patel, 2020). A few days later, on June 7th in Bristol, England, the bronze statue of Edward Colston, a 17th century slave-trader, was brought down and thrown into the river. After this, dozens of statues associated to slavery and colonialism were decapitated, brought down, or burned. In the United States, on the day to commemorate the end of slavery, another wave of protests against racism took place, painting and bringing down the statues of the country’s founding fathers [Figure 2].

Finally, the feminist movement #NoMeCuidanMeViolan (#They-Don’tLookAfterMeTheyRapeMe), which has caused great commotion in Mexico and has stood up and confronted the status quo that defines cultural heritage, which is assumed as untouchable and which everyone must respect. The first march of this movement took place on August 12th 2019 in several cities across Mexico, and four days later a second march was held, which brought thousands of women onto the streets in Mexico City to protest against gender violence and the abuse they have endured from authorities when they ask for help. This march had as a distinctive element, the throwing of pink glitter and paint onto monuments located on public streets. During the protest, the Column of the Angel of Independence was covered with phrases like “‘Femicidal’ Mexico” and “It will not fall, we’ll bring it down” [Figure 3]. A day later, the Column was closed off and its surroundings boarded up. The Capital’s Government and the Federal Culture Secretariat informed the beginning of restoration works for structural damages caused by the 2017 earthquake as the reason behind the closure and boarding up, a maneuver that clearly sought to remove visibility to the protest and its consequences.⁴ The press, both the more conservative and the liberal press, built up a discourse where women were no longer the victims but the aggressors, vandalizing the heritage. The march had included blocking off Insurgentes Ave. and breaking the windows and painting Insurgentes Metrobus station, but nothing was condemned more than the graffiti on the Column of Independence.

REFLECTIONS

The attacks on monuments in these three cases arise amid different contexts and for different reasons. An overall reflection about them helps understand and confirm the wear and tear that ideas about heritage that States, academia and a large part of society up until now had been adopting, have experienced. It may be that these concepts had never acquired the stability needed to face such drastic swift changes like those current societies are experiencing.

In the case of Mexico, the Column of Independence, colloquially known as the *Angel*, is one of the most emblematic monuments and sites of the Mexican capital and has been used for a long time as its logo. It is transformed, when necessary, into a place for festivities of all kinds, political rallies or protests and forms part of the Mexico City "brand", which just like other cities of the world is built under a commercial approach. In this idea, Mexico City adopted some years ago, the emblem "una ciudad con angel" (a city with angel literally, a play on words with angel also meaning charismatic).

"The Angel", just like other contemporary commemorative monuments, at the time of its inauguration (2019) was imposed with an idea of nation, starting from a selective past and it was defined as a *historic monument*. Considering this, it has become an objectified, petrified asset, whose conservation and permanence started to be unquestionable and greater than any other social interest or need. Among other options, the protest chose the Angel as the target of aggression on being a relevant artifact for everyone, in one way or another it could be described as a provocation, a daring act that broke through what was supposed to be untouchable.

As Enrique Florescano explains, the heritage of a nation is not a given fact, but rather a historic construct that involves the interests of the different classes that make it up (1997). It is because of this particular artificial nature of national heritage that the strategies to define it, conserve it and broadcast it commonly fall within an act of simulation, as if the classes and social and ethnic fractures and of other types did not transcend heritage and its historical prestige and meaning (García Canclini, 2009). And not all heritage assets are significant for everyone, although this may be sought, because in fact these are different and unbalanced means of social appropriation.

The attitudes and positions that highlighted and criminalized graffiti on the Angel are proof, paradoxically, that heritage is an artificial creation, an imposition and instrument of homogenization. Among other statements, that of Beatriz Gutiérrez Müller, the honorary president of the Consulting Council of the new National Historic Memory Coordination and wife of the current President of Mexico stands out: "It may be the case of the greatest injustice in world history, but that building or that door is everyone's heritage. Therefore, this is an attack on everyone, regardless of how fair or valid the protest is, whenever it may be, whatever century it is." (Proceso, 2019). The same thing happened in Chile, regarding the destruction of the sculpture of Francisco de Aguirre, the conquistador. The official line fell into the discourse of heritage as being a representative asset of one and all: "As an Institution, we regret the damage to the heritage and monuments. These are public common property that are part of a collective legacy, history and memory that is undrawn or lost" (El Día, 26-10-2019), where the basis of the matter, the legitimate demands are distorted and it offers, in itself, a literal rhetoric: the destruction of a historic, imposed and artificial monument, signifying a past that today is repudiated, to install in its place, an allegorical object, that reclaims the idea of monument in its original sense: that of commemoration and memory that is of interest for

Figure 4
Statue of Christopher Columbus located in Christopher Columbus Park in Boston, Mass. US, decapitated by the "Black Lives Matter" movement. Photograph: Joseph Prezioso / AFP / Getty Images



a social group. What is the problem? Why did bringing it down cause so much commotion?

It is worth asking the extent to which the destruction of this and many other sculptures can really transcend the fight against racism and the underlying colonialist thinking in broad social sectors, although it is undeniable that their removal is implied in a reconstruction of the political history of every nation, given that any statue-monument placed on the streets or squares of a city cannot be interpreted in the simplicity of an ornamental object, but rather as linked to the political thinking of those who installed it, and its material permanence is conditioned to the validity of that thinking and the possibilities of its overthrowing.

We ask then, can a monument be revalued, from certain interventions? It can even be talked about with a before and an after, with the monument itself being a factor to provoke change. It assumes a process and a result, as it is simultaneously a production, a transmission and a reproduction process. The destructive actions that many statues have experienced could even be seen as interventions that reinvent and resignify the historic monument: decapitated heroes, pedestals with names and historic events that have nothing on them, sculptures covered with slogans. These new sculptural versions can be connected to the concept of counter-monument, created by James Young regarding those monuments that look to remember crimes and genocides (1992); it seems that some are taking on this role. [Figure 4].

Facing all these events and the confusion and uncertainty they provoked, the Glitter Restorers movement in Mexico must be highlighted. While conserving their critical and supportive position with the female victims, they released a proposal. This movement appeared regarding the street art on the Column of Independence. It is group formed by almost 600 female architects, historians, art historians, archaeologists and experts in heritage restoration, who issued a communique to ask authorities to not remove the graffiti until attention had been paid to the gender violence problem in the country. Among their arguments, the high social, historic and symbolic relevance of the street art stand out, providing the possibility of a change in the discourse, differentiating the art from the reports, which should be documented in detail by professionals, in order to emphasize and keep alive the collective memory about this event and its causes. Their proposal includes requesting their professional colleagues to not take part in the removal of street art, until the Federal Government implements the actions needed for the solution, that is to say, guaranteeing the safety of women in Mexico (Restauradoras con Glitter, 2019). This group came to be, to a great extent, due to the strong media trend that focused on the street art and not on the basis of the demands, despite their message: "both the columns and the pedestals were left painted with messages against sexual violence and chauvinism". The group says that the street art is a justified sample of desperation on facing the systematic inaction to resolve violence that women suffer and that, in this case, happened with the legitimate appropriation of a symbol in a desperate moment.

Governments, as Thoreau mentions, are the means chosen by the people to carry out their will, although they are likewise susceptible to causing abuse and harm before the people can intervene (2014), which is why in the reactions against social injustice, it can be said that the true error is not reacting. Given that heritage is a representation of the institutions and, therefore, the State, this has been interpreted and used as a means to communicate the demands of injustice, because what is desirable is not growing a respect for the law, but for justice, men first and citizens second

Figure 5

Generalized claims during the feminist protests and marches in Mexico City, where it is noted that the life and integrity of women is more important than the monument, statue, or wall. Also, the intervention of the statues of Francisco I. Madero, work of the author, Javier Marin, who on Instagram stated: "Good! That's why it was installed without a pedestal, so that the 'Father of Democracy' was part of the social and democratic protests. Hopefully, it will be left like that, as testimony of this protest." Photos: Twitter 2019 and Yúmari Pérez, 2020



(Thoreau, 2014). Therefore, it would be unthinkable that the notions and relationships about and with heritage were fixed and beyond the demands of society.

Sectors of contemporary society no longer seem to be identified with the intentions of the past, at least not for those who have not been privileged by it. We must bear in mind that not all monuments are about history, but rather about a given version of history. The value the monument itself has to keep memory and the presence of the past alive in the present can come into conflict if it is not accepted or if its acceptance is controversial. The controversy that this type of actions against the heritage causes, premeditated or otherwise, is so strong that it goes beyond what could be reached. It is for this reason that the reflection and discussion of the role of heritage in the social disagreements of today is forced. [Figure 5].

The importance of the cultural heritage of a community, of a people or of a nation, or thinking that it is possible to act against its integrity without confrontation arising, cannot be denied, but the fact that these transgressions occur, which are mainly collective acts, contradicts the ideals of the current State, calling to understand that the norms or principles holding these up are no longer valid for society, or at least for a part of it. Probably, if after all these disagreements, progress is achieved in human rights and civil matters, these interventions will be remembered as historic. The documentation and records of the demands, when analyzed and interpreted, will become the material needed to build a society where cultural heritage played a transcendental role as the active leading actor of a determining moment.

The social uses of heritage go hand in hand with the transformation processes of society and its players can make changes in their materiality and thus convert the cultural assets into resources. Depending on the temporality, social meanings change, as the heritage models operate as culturally-created symbols that are susceptible to manipulation (Marcos, 2010). It is because of this that it can be thought that the monument in this new stage of life, should be a social recipient, a space of new appropriations, where the protest takes place, where traditional methods of conservation have a space and a new meaning, like the slices of prospection and registry of the

art, so that these are presented as focalized messages, that permanently form part of the monument's history, reassuming this commemorative value that they were created for, as a new layer that helps facilitate the memory or avoid oblivion.

Finally, we must then remember that the conservation of monuments, by public or private institutions, is a phenomenon that is part of modernity (González-Varas, 2014:17), which is why the institutional position, from academia and conservation, is essential to interpret and intercede in these issues. We understand that this is not a simple matter, and we are not so ambitious as to provide a solution when the civil protests cross with cultural heritage, but we do wish that these topics, although they cause misery, are managed, as these are real scenarios we have to face. It is necessary to have a supporting view, so that this heritage, in its active role, in its dynamic process, in the conversation it has as part of society, can be handled from a horizontal point of view and more than as specialists, as members of society.

We leave the door open and the invitation to rethink heritage, not in a binary manner, but rather as the actor of change, with its intervention perhaps being the path towards the transformation of society. That this is not an empty act so that all monuments end up this way, but rather a reflection about the appropriation of our heritage.

"Let the walls say what society silences".

Popular saying

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TERRITORIAL DISPUTES AND THE COLLECTIVE RESIGNIFICATION OF THE HABITAT. NOTES ON THE PRODUCTION OF THE COMMON FROM THE CASE OF PARQUE ESPERANZA, CORDOBA, ARGENTINA

Disputas territoriais e resignificação coletiva do habitat
Notas sobre a produção do comum do caso do Parque Esperanza, Córdoba, Argentina

Territorial disputes and the collective resignification of the habitat. Notes on the production of the common from the case of Parque Esperanza, Cordoba, Argentina

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The eviction of Barrio Parque Esperanza.
Source: Facebook of Jóvenes al Frente

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ABSTRACT

Cities today are going through a process that deepens socio-territorial inequalities based on the advance of the spatial materialization of financial capitals and the appropriation of urban territories as a profitability strategy. However, diverse social groups dispute the spaces that this capital captures through collective strategies of resistance and by raising awareness, highlighting the dimension of "the common", giving the exercise of the collective, the collaborative and/or community-based senses. This article aims at analyzing and interpreting the resistance of the residents who have socially produced their territories from the common in the face of expulsion strategies derived from speculative real estate processes, within the framework of the particularities assumed by this dispossession process in the metropolitan region of Córdoba (Argentina). In particular, we present the analysis of the Barrio Parque Esperanza case, which when faced with a process of judicial eviction from its neighborhood in 2018, has stood its ground for 14 months in a process of collective resistance and negotiation with the provincial state towards making the right to land and housing effective. The epistemological approach recovers the idea of the dialogue of knowledge proposed by the southern and decolonial epistemologies, since it seeks to recover the experiences from the perspective of the players in their own territories, looking to contribute with knowledge to demonstrate a specific social reality situation characterized by processes of fragility and, at the same time, with potential to boost the production of the habitat from the common.

Keywords: Territory, social inequality, social conflict, habitat, social organization

RESUMEN

Las ciudades actuales se caracterizan por atravesar un proceso de profundización de las desigualdades socio-territoriales en función del avance de la materialización espacial de los capitales financieros y la apropiación de los territorios urbanos como estrategia de rentabilidad. Sin embargo, colectivos sociales diversos disputan los espacios que el capital captura mediante estrategias colectivas de resistencia y visibilización de sus problemáticas, poniendo en relevancia la dimensión de "lo común", dado el ejercicio sentidos de base colectiva, colaborativa o comunitaria. Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar e interpretar las resistencias de los pobladores que han producido socialmente sus territorios desde lo común frente a las estrategias de expulsión derivadas de procesos especulativos de la tierra y negocio inmobiliario, en el marco de las particularidades que asume este proceso de desposesión en la región metropolitana de Córdoba (Argentina). Particularmente, presentamos un análisis sobre el caso de Barrio Parque Esperanza, que frente a un proceso de desalojo judicial de su territorio barrial en el año 2018, ha resistido durante 14 meses en un proceso de resistencia colectiva y negociación con el estado provincial hacia la efectivización del derecho a la tierra y vivienda. El acercamiento epistemológico recupera la idea del diálogo de saberes propuesto por las epistemologías del sur y decoloniales, pues interesa recuperar las experiencias desde la perspectiva de los actores en sus propios territorios, en busca de aportar conocimientos para evidenciar una situación específica de la realidad social caracterizada por procesos de fragilidad y a la vez, potencialidad para abonar a la producción del hábitat desde lo común.

Palabras Clave: Territorio, desigualdades sociales, conflicto social, hábitat, organización social

RESUMO

As cidades de hoje são caracterizadas por atravessar um processo de aprofundamento das desigualdades sócio-territoriais em função do avanço da materialização espacial do capital financeiro e da apropriação de territórios urbanos como estratégia de rentabilidade. Entretanto, diversos grupos sociais disputam os espaços que o capital captura por meio de estratégias coletivas de resistência e visibilidade de suas problemáticas, destacando a dimensão do "comum", dado o exercício de sentidos coletivos, colaborativos e / ou comunitários. O objetivo deste artigo é analisar e interpretar a resistência dos moradores que produziram socialmente seus territórios a partir do comum diante de estratégias de expulsão derivadas de processos especulativos de negócios imobiliários, no quadro das particularidades que assume este processo desapropriação na região metropolitana de Córdoba (Argentina). Em particular, apresentamos uma análise sobre o caso do Barrio Parque Esperanza, que frente a um processo de despejo judicial em 2018, resistiu por 14 meses em um processo de resistência coletiva e negociação com o governo regional em direção à efetivação do direito à terra e moradia. A abordagem epistemológica resgata a ideia do diálogo de saberes proposto pelas epistemologias do Sul e descoloniais, pois interessa recuperar as experiências da perspectiva dos atores em seus próprios territórios, em busca de fornecer conhecimento para evidenciar uma situação específica da realidade social caracterizada por processos de fragilidade e, ao mesmo tempo, potencialidade para fertilizar a produção do habitat a partir do comum.

Palavras Chave: Território, desigualdade social, conflito social, habitat, organização social

INTRODUCTION

Cities have been characterized since their founding on being spaces that have gone through power-based conflicts, as these are geographical and social concentrations resulting from a socially defined surplus, appropriated by a minority group in detriment of the majority (Harvey, 1977; Signorelli, 1999). Far from lessening this asymmetric condition around urban built-up areas, in recent decades conflicts about the access, use and appropriation of the city have become more evident since the “property boom”. In this regard, Harvey (2019) claims that the great flows of capital are invested in the housing market and infrastructure projects, which has resulted in “accumulation by dispossession” processes, generating many conflicts related to the capture of valuable land, occupied for years by low-income populations which, in most cases, ends with their expulsion towards sectors with greater vulnerability.

Within this context of unequal dispute for the appropriation of urban space, Rolnik (2018) states that the accumulation strategies of the 21st century are related with the financial view that the economy and politics have taken on, whose spatial materialization is confirmed through the production of “landscapes for rent”, starting from the configuration of novel resignification processes of urban territories from a logic of urban extractivism (Svampa & Viale, 2014, Vázquez Duplat, 2017). This logic generates frictions and disputes with “landscapes for life”, firstly as a real estate business and secondly, as a place for the reproduction of daily life.

The new “landscapes for rent” in Latin American cities are installed in specific sectors of these, identified as residential and consumption spaces for the elite and middle-classes (for example, shopping centers, “design” services and stores, enclosed high-rise units, gated communities, etc.) which often break down the historic or socio-cultural fabrics, appropriated and recognized by their inhabitants, becoming new boundaries, regarding the “landscapes for life”, many of which are built from the logic of survival, from material needs and desires for prosperity, produced with limited resources and on the available land (outskirts, environmental risk areas, etc.) (Rolnik, 2018). Clearly, this dispute and conflict for the appropriation of land is unequal, and it is not just expressed as material and symbolic boundaries, but rather through the expulsion strategies of the inhabitants, classified as informal or illegal, starting from the economic, political and judicial mechanisms that facilitate it.

These accumulation processes, through the dispossession or expulsion of working-class sectors in the region's cities, have been addressed in the field of urban studies from different approaches. Some have focused on the territorial transformation and gentrification processes of certain areas of the city (through the renewal of the historic center, revitalization of certain slums, new large urban projects, etc.) and the consequences these had for their inhabitants, being driven away from the area as a result of property development pressure and the increase in the costs of the residence (Janoschka, 2016; Salinas, 2017, Vázquez Duplat 2017, 2018). Another line of analysis refers to how in this context of the deepening and polarization of inequalities, diverse social groups fight over the spaces that capital captures, through collective strategies making their problems and resistance visible (Casgrain & Janoschka, 2013; Pérez & Matus, 2017, Elorza & Morillo, 2017, among others). It is especially interesting to look at the work of Gutiérrez, Aguilar, Navarro Trujillo & Linsalata (2016), dedicated to the study of “Community networks and the shapes of politics”, where they give credit to the category of “production of the common”, starting from the study of other possible means of organization and reproduction of social life, that are more satisfactory regarding the forms of existence imposed by the modern capi-

talist world, in the experiences of autonomy of indigenous, working-class and peripheral urban communities.

The emergence of “the common” is then set out, as a productive analytical category to explore the processes of capital capture over the means of production and reproduction of life in the context of a political economy of global financialization, specifically in the social production processes of the habitat of working-class sectors who live on the fringes of large cities.

Not unconnected to this city production process, strategic sectors of the Cordoba Metropolitan Region (Argentina), crystalize this articulation around the dispute for the appropriation of the territories in a rent/life key. Spaces on the outskirts that, up until two decades ago, had no or limited urbanistic value, reason why they became accessible to working-class sectors (through lotting, social housing neighborhoods and land appropriation strategies), that begin to be resignified and disputed by property development companies to produce new urban developments for high-income sectors (gated communities, towers, office and shopping center complexes, etc.).

Alongside the absence of habitational public policies aimed at the working-class sectors, in recent years a series of conflicts have arisen around collective appropriation processes of the land and the social production of the habitat (Elorza & Morillo, 2017), judicially resolved with eviction orders of the different communities¹. It is worth highlighting that these processes saw different fighting and resistance strategies used by the inhabitants and social organizations in defense of their lands.

Considering all this, the idea is to analyze and interpret the resistance of the inhabitants who have socially produced their territories from “the common” facing the expulsion strategies, derived from land and property development speculation processes, in the framework of the particular aspects that this dispossession process assumes in the Cordoba Metropolitan Region (Argentina). In particular, we present an analysis of the case of the Parque Esperanza Neighborhood² which, on facing an eviction process from their neighborhood in 2018, characterized by a violent procedure, has resisted for 14 months in a cause of collective resistance and negotiation with the Provincial State towards the fulfillment of the right to land and housing.

METHODOLOGY

This is an interpretative work developed using a qualitative type methodological strategy. The epistemological approach recovers the idea of the dialog of knowledge proposed by the southern and decolonial epistemologies, as it is interesting to recover experiences from the perspective of players in their own territories, seeking in this way to gather knowledge that is useful not just to demonstrate a specific situation of social reality, but also to support its transformation with useful tools for the affected communities.

The empirical approach is a case analysis, the community of the Parque Esperanza Neighborhood, as this experience of the habitat's social production allows recognizing the tensions in the logics in city production, making inequalities in land appropriation control strategies visible, along with the activity and capacity of working-class sectors towards building life reproduction processes.

The methodology strategy used comprised, on one hand, the analysis of secondary sources (academic works, news reports) for an approach to the production process of this land before the eviction. On the other hand, we made a survey and mapping of the organization and use of the chapel space, as a place of residence in the post-eviction process, and semi-structured interviews with the adults of the families who came together

1 For example, in the Comechingones communities in Cuesta Blanca, Villa La Maternidad, Nuestro Hogar III, among others.

2 The analysis and reflections of this article are recorded in the extension project “After eviction: socio-organizational strategies towards the fulfillment and land and housing rights”, under the direction of Susan Andrada and co-direction of Cecilia Marengo, with the participation of professors and researchers from the Faculty of Social Sciences (Elorza Ana Laura & Cuella Silvina) and the Institute of Housing and Habitat Research (Mattioli, Denise; Brunelli, Alejandro & Alvarado, Monica), from the Faculty of Architecture, Urbanism and Design, of the National University of Cordoba.

to get land and housing rights³. This universe is made up of 9 families who live in the chapel and another 15 who have developed other habitational strategies awaiting an effective response from the Provincial Government of Cordoba.

We start from the assumption that the social production experiences of the habitat from the senses and practices of the territory as a "common", represent the activity capacity to dispute the means for the production and reproduction of life in suitable material conditions, as guarantees for the provision of a worthwhile life, facing the capture the state-capital makes of the lands in times of economic and political financialization. For this purpose, we return to the ideas of "production of the common" (Gutiérrez Aguilar, 2016, 2017), "struggles for the common or making common" (Navarro Trujillo, 2015) aiming at dismantling the dual, binary and hierarchical concept that capitalist and patriarchal modernity assigns to the spheres of daily life, with the social production processes of the working-class habitat being the boundaries that avoid the total capture of the cities by finance. In this sense, the interviews looked to retrieve the senses around the construction of the habitat from the common, to nourish this aspect of analysis from the specific experience of the case.

RESULTS

The origin of the Parque Esperanza community started around 2014, when what was unused land was taken over by families that came from different neighborhoods of the city of Cordoba, land that was next to the Ciudad de los Niños social housing development, located in the municipality of Juárez Celman in Cordoba's Metropolitan Area. At this time, most of these families were renting housing or rooms, shared homes with other households, or were women escaping gender violence situations who did not have a home where they could live with their children. As such, taking over this land meant the possibility of having their own lot to build not just a housing solution but a way to escape situations of violence.

The habitat's social production process was rich in terms of the collective construction of a place to live with a family and community-base, on a "vacant lot" without utilities. The habitational units were self-built with wood and nylon and a few with concrete. Collectively, a community space was built where different actions took place to promote a space for meeting, organization and solidarity (glass of milk, community lunches, and festivals) and a housing cooperative was set up (called "12 de Junio"), as a strategy to formalize and consolidate the organization, looking to prepare a housing project.

It is worth mentioning that the work done experienced disputes regarding land appropriation, as one sector of the occupied land belongs to a construction company, Urbanor S.A., which had projected building a gated-community there. Another sector belongs to the Provincial Government of Cordoba. This conflict was taken to court, representing ongoing pressure of eviction. In addition, the inhabitants reported that over the four years of living on the land, they endured sustained threats and repressive actions, for example, people from outside the neighborhood threw stones at their houses and one was even burned down, or that they had police controls all day long.

After several years of frustrated negotiations, facing the demand of land expropriation by the inhabitants and the social organization, on June 1st 2018, the community (148 families) was evicted in a police operation, in a very violent procedure that violated human rights. The constructions were razed by bulldozers and only some families could collect their belongings (furniture, clothing, documentation, etc.).

As a response to the vulnerability of these families, the Provincial Government proposed an individualistic approach, with a meagre subsidy so that

3 The interviews were made in the period between April and October 2019.

LIVING IN THE CHAPEL: PLACE OF RESISTANCE AND THE SPATIAL RESIGNIFICATION OF THE CONFLICT

they could solve their housing situation. Some families accepted, even though acknowledging the proposal's limitations. Others, a group of around 44 families, as a resistance strategy to face the subjugation of human rights, occupied a chapel building located in an adjoining neighborhood, Parque Norte, that same afternoon. This action stemmed from the difficulties of using any habitational strategy under the terms set out by the Government, but also as a way of collectively continuing with the negotiations for a definitive housing response that would include all the families, from a community perspective.

In August 2019, an agreement was signed with the Provincial Government to award 33 lots in the San Javier neighborhood, on a site that was not yet urbanized (no utilities, streets or subdivision of lots), so their possession would take place in a period of one year. To continue with the resistance, some families decided to continue living in the chapel.

As we mentioned, the site of the chapel is located next to the site they had taken over and were evicted from. Initially, 44 families decided to resist there. However, despite efforts to keep the entire community united in the fight, as time went by, the number of families in the chapel dwindled. This was associated to the difficulties that the living space imposed for handling basic needs; also, to the loss of hope regarding a response about the hand-over of the lots by the Government, as no concrete progress about their awarding could be seen. It is worth highlighting that the daily production and reproduction of these families got even harder, within the country's economic crisis and also with the suspension of the food donations that they received, which represented an important contribution to ensure daily meals.

Some families developed different habitational strategies, like sharing houses with other households (many of them also located in working-class settlements or sectors, they rented rooms, or wooden huts, etc.) where they managed to get a place to live, even though without escaping habitational precariousness (situations of overcrowding and deficient sanitary conditions), tensions and conflicts stemming from the length of time in a reduced space.

A group of 9 families (29 people in total) continued to live in the chapel and put into practice different organization strategies for the space, to be able to inhabit it. Although it is in a good condition and has basic utilities, the function it was created for (religious ceremonies) is not compatible with living, even less so for a significant number of people who had to adapt, not just to the reduced and atypical conditions of the space, but to sharing daily life, seeing their privacy and family dynamics affected. In this sense, the strategy built up consisted in establishing differentiated spaces for each home, dividing the indoor area of the chapel for five families and the remaining four located in the surrounding free space, in units/huts.

Inside the chapel, the subdivisions were made with 2 m high wooden panels, leaving minimal habitational units with surface areas of between 15 and 20 m² approximately. This inevitably led to situations of critical overcrowding, lack of suitable ventilation and sunlight. Likewise, it must be mentioned that these reduced spaces are used not just to rest (sleep), but also to cook, eat, bathe, etc.

The habitational modules organized inside were made using the dry process, with wooden side panels and sheet metal or wooden roofs, covered with tarpaulin and nylon as a barrier for insulation. In other words, none of these units have effective thermal insulation and secure conditions for climatic events (heavy rain, hail, wind). On the other hand, regarding the



Figure 1 and 2
Space of the chapel
inhabited by the
families.
Source: Denise
Mattioli (2019)

surfaces of these modules, they are formed by a single space of approximately 20 m², which is another reason why overcrowding is seen.

From this condition, it is seen that the habitational characteristics both of those who live inside the chapel and those living outside are extremely precarious [Figure 1 and 2]. By surveying the characteristics of the building, it has been confirmed that the premises do not have thermal or acoustic conditioning that meets habitational requirements (for example, the lack of insulation in the sheet metal roofs generates situations of intense heat or cold, representing risks for the health of those living there). The electrical system inside the chapel is deficient and insufficient for such a demand, which creates another unsafe situation, with a fire recorded on the electrical panel due to the overload of the original installation, caused by the increased consumption.

In addition, the building has just one bathroom, where the sewage system quickly collapsed, rendering it useless. Added to this, the water available for human consumption, according to testimonies of those interviewed, is dirty due to the lack of tank maintenance. The Provincial Government, in response to the demands related to the critical sanitary situation of these families, installed eight chemical toilets on the site, which are shared by all the people. It is worth mentioning that the drainage of these toilets is done weekly, generating situations of risk due to hygiene conditions (transmission of diseases), which is aggravated in spring or summer by the high temperatures. These are toilets so they do not have showers. As a result, this aspect is resolved in a very precarious manner by each home, through the redistribution of the water provided using hoses or containers (pots and buckets).

Aside from the habitational modules, an orchard and a meeting area to hold collective activities were set up in the vacant spaces, while a sector of the chapel is used exclusively to store food, medicine and the furniture they have been able to recover from the eviction or from donations received. There is a square on one side of the chapel, which is used by the families as a community meeting spot. The activities of the organization are held in this space (like assemblies, community lunches), as are those with other institutional players like, for example, photography workshops, the orchard, brick production, etc.

The families, regarding living in the chapel, describe the precarious living conditions they have experienced there: *“The chapel, although it is a temporary living space makes daily life difficult. The toilets are in a bad way, there is overcrowding, noise, we feel the heat or the cold, but even so, I prefer being there because things don’t solve by themselves”. “... it is very difficult being here with the kids, it gets so cold, so hot, we’re tired of it...”*. As

those interviewed mention, keeping up the fight for land in this resistance around the chapel, lets them not just be accompanied and contained in moments of weakness, tiredness or uncertainty about the future, thus overcoming the difficulties they go through, and that they have been subjected to ever since the day of the eviction.

A year on from the eviction, they organized a press conference to publicly report the serious socio-habitational situation of the evicted families and the non-compliance of the agreement made with the Provincial Government regarding the awarding of lots, but it was also a space to acknowledge the learnings built up in the habitat's production process over those 4 years, regarding the strength of collective work, the abilities of the organization and how they created bonds through a sense of belonging and solidarity.

NOTIONS AND SENSES ABOUT THE PRODUCTION OF THE COMMON

Starting from interviews held with the families that continue the resistance process and activism for the rights to land and housing, notions and senses about the experience of the common in the habitat's social production are recovered. From a material aspect, the self-produced land (neighborhood and housing) was characterized by the precarious conditions for the reproduction of life (wooden huts, connections to deficient utilities, etc.). However, the recognition of the effort invested and the sense of "one's own" configure the subjectivities regarding their neighborhood, which was taken from them through the eviction, just as some of them express: *"we heard about this neighborhood from friends and we came here because we need to have a concrete place to live that is ours..."; "we had a room made of concrete and a kitchen, dining room and a bathroom made of pallets and compressed cardboard. They demolished it and we got out the clothing, odds and ends, the beds... We lost everything. We had hope of staying there"; "when I went to see the neighborhood, I fell in love, it was very quiet, I could build a room and install a kiosk, it was my source of work and income, with the eviction I lost it all..."*

Recovering the collective aspect of the habitat's production process, from a comprehensive notion of the land not just as a place of residence, over a year after having suffered the eviction and the loss of their place to live, a strong attachment is seen towards the experience of the community they have had, *"we had community days on Saturdays where we shared lunches, chatted and thought about how to improve the neighborhood, we built a community room between us"; "we went through very hard moments together, when they said they were going to evict us and we organized actions so that the entire society knew about our fight"*.

These assessments show bonds of mutual trust, support and help that make social reciprocity and collective support possible, even under adversity. We consider that these senses are those which the persistence of the current organizational structure are built upon, generating spaces for the production of the common as the space to gather for meetings and assemblies, the community orchard and in the current resistance to achieve the rights to land and housing.

In this sense, expectations regarding the resolution of this conflict that the group of families express, revolve around the recognition of a dignified treatment as subjects of rights and of the joint demands for land and housing, that make the reconstruction of the Parque Esperanza community in a new place, possible. And in this direction, they develop a series of actions to set this in motion, like the ecological brick manufacturing project run by a group of women to build the new community center and the work done with the different public bodies.

DISCUSSION

4 Sousa Santos (2016) recovers the dual and fragmented perspective of social reality when reflecting about contemporary cities, cities where two cities coexist, the metropolitan (where the right to the city is guaranteed) and the colonial (those condemned members of the city, i.e. the city of the excluded). There is an “abysmal line” between both which is not physical but symbolic, and that is represented by the forms of modern domination: capitalism, colonialism, and patriarchy, which operate in a joint and articulated manner.

Figure 3
Exterior of the chapel in the Parque Norte Neighborhood of the city of Juárez Celman. Source: Denise Mattioli (2019)



In tune with the context of globalization, the control of the city's production by global finance and the growing participation of the figure of the financier in property developments reinforces the binary and hierarchical conception. Landscapes for rent and landscapes for life, which Rolnik (2018) speaks about, emerge as results of a fragmented and asymmetric handling of social reality. Following the southern and decolonial epistemologies, this fragmentation goes back to the ontology of modern rationality, which crystalized over 500 years, the colonality of power, of knowledge and of being (Quijano, 2000; Lander, 2000; Santos, 2009; Maldonado Torres, 2007) from the setting up of the colonial regime with the Laws of the Indies and that gets updated currently in the urban-territorial planning with the division of roles, the large urbanistic projects and infrastructure works, fragmenting the territory and its communities.

In this framework, the dual conception of the cities (center/outskirts; private/public; closed/open; city/countryside; etc.) responds to a particular design of the modern world that legitimizes capitalist and patriarchal order, placing the individual and capital before the collective and common (common natural goods like natural resources, public spaces and institutions). In this sense, the distinction that Rolnik (2018) makes about the consolidation of landscapes for rent in detriment of landscapes for life, may be understood under this logic of separation: the first associated to the formal city (of white elites, of colonizers and American-born people who joined forces with the elites) and the second with the informal city (of working-class sectors, self-produced on the outskirts), in a clear asymmetric power relationship, as the first element of the binomial is the one with the power of enunciation and the latter is subsidiary or subordinate to the rulings of the former⁴.

Rolnik (2018) gives the landscapes for life a trait of transitoriness, as these are latent spaces to be captured by the landscapes for rent towards the expansion of the financial capital and clarifies “there they evict, displace and we see the megaprojects, widespread mega evictions of all kinds of ties and ownership of land that is not individual registered property” (p. 244).

The commercialization of nature throughout history consolidated the dis-possession of the means for the production and reproduction of life; in the contemporary extractivism processes, the colonial principles of appropriation of lands are also updated, in terms of the supremacy of private property

facing possession, as an essential element for the reproduction of life of working-class sectors. Thus, the absence of title deeds of working-class sector lands is key in the dispute for their control and appropriation, and the evictions recorded on the outskirts of the city reinforce the extractivist nature of the production processes and the accumulation of real estate capital in sectors that previously were not under dispute.

The emergence of socio-spatial (in)justice in cities, which for a long time was assumed, naturalized, and experienced in a hierarchical, fragmented, and sexist manner; today is debated around the paradigm of common and communal. This is because, in most cases, the social relations that produce the common tend to emerge from the concrete cooperative work of self-organized human collectives that weave articulated collaboration strategies to face common problems and needs and to, thus, guarantee the reproduction and care of the material sustenance (Gutiérrez Aguilar; Navarro Trujillo & Linsalata, 2016).

The social movements in the urban space account for the disputes for land, housing and the city – its streets, neighborhoods, public spaces, monuments and institutions – questioning the collective imaginary to rethink means of access, uses, appropriation and enjoyment of these. Facing this issue, feminist urbanism (Muxi, Casanovas, Ciocoletto, Fonseca and Gutiérrez, 2011; Perales, 2014) demands recovering the city as a space for cohabitation, the relationality facing a city that is not neutral, but a space of tension, where well-defined powers are under dispute, reproducing the asymmetries of gender, class, race, educational level, cultural level, etc.

We could infer that the production of the common also generates a kind of “attachment”, as we mentioned above, with the idea of “one’s own”. This form of “attachment”, Rolnik (2018) says, is essential in terms of claiming presence, rights and disputes of senses and resources by the working-class sectors, who allege “the permanent conflict in the city, in the dispute for urban land and the city for life, compared to the urban land and the city for capital, for profits” (p. 249).

For the case we are analyzing, the resignification of the presence is materialized not just by recreating the community in another physical space – the chapel –, but also, graphically with banners, signs and regular protests in the center of the city to keep the conflict from losing public resonance and from diluting without resolutions from the State [Figure 3, 4 and 5].

Figure 4
Wooden huts located on the available land around the chapel land.
Source: Denise Mattioli (2019)



Figure 5
Reappropriation of
the common space of
the chapel. Source:
Denise Mattioli
(2019)



Continuing on this line, Navarro Trujillo (2015) uses the idea of fragility to describe diverse collective experiences in urban contexts, which have been emerging in recent times to resist the capitalist plunder and to recreate a social self-determining community to guarantee the reproduction of life. The political aspect, in this sense, is a relevant factor in the working-class socio-organizational processes and it is driven by what is considered as common – access to land – and in common – collectively. Thus, a very important component in the political aspect of these experiences, as a capacity to give form to sociality, is the production of collective decision and determination, which includes the starting up and experimentation of organizational forms, methods, procedures and ways where making the common is organized, where deliberation takes place and where a resolution is made.

The history of the Parque Esperanza neighborhood and its production from collective processes represent ways and means of building the habitat from the common, where senses and strategies dialog to sustain practices towards the reproduction of life in material, symbolic and political terms. A process characterized by the fragility before the asymmetries of power, but whose reconfiguration was possible post-eviction, through the strategy of inhabiting the chapel, as a means of collective resistance until achieving the resolution of the conflict. This means that constructing the common was organized to satisfy a need that is both individual and collective, in other words, shared by the organized social collective.

The collective resolution of temporarily living in the chapel meant the resistance to completely dissolving the community organization. We must remember that the subsidy device contributed to social conflict and collaborated towards breaking up the collective organization. The binary logic of the state-capital acted by weakening social cohesion, taking advantage of the vulnerability on facing extreme shortage situations, putting against each other, within the organizations, their capacity to form and act. The chapel as a material and symbolic landmark, acquired a central role in the conflict, since it not only worked as a site for contention to overcome daily life, but that over time, was resignified to work as a space for assembly, education and training, of visibility, and for other purposes. The classic role of a chapel, which is to be sporadically used to bring the congregation together, is put in a crossfire for the disputes for the city and transformed into a home, a neighborhood and a trench, resignifying this space and opening up to new significations given by a particular context. This landscape, albeit austere and, of course, atypical, allowed sustaining the material basis for the production and reproduction of life for the families, on facing abandonment by the State.

CONCLUSIONS

The city, as we have seen throughout this work, is intimately dependent on the rulings of the capital, and that at the same time reproduces a hierarchical, dual, fragmented and excluding structure, disputed by diverse social sectors, who recover forms of common production. We have analyzed this process using the terms of Rolnik (2018) as spaces in dispute between landscapes for rent and landscapes for life, from the case of the collective organization of the Parque Esperanza Neighborhood community in the origins of their setup and after the violent eviction that led to the temporary relocation in the chapel.

The experience of struggle and resistance of this community saw multiple tensions, both on the plane of disputes and power relationships, revealing the fragility of these experiences. But the production of the habitat from the common also allows contributing to the analyses about the social production of the habitat, the capacity of the working class of urban territories to form and act as collective strategies for the reproduction of life in material, symbolic and political terms, constituting the access to the right to land in a vindicative process, from which demands for land and housing are collective. This collective drive is what ensures the reconstruction of the entire Parque Esperanza community at a new site.

In epistemological terms, the debate agenda that these social vindications show is the possibility to make socio-spatial readings that retrace the binary and dual paths that have been instituted as pillars of social reality in favor of contemplating the diversity of the ways of being, producing and signifying territories and spaces; matters related to the idea of the common. From this aspect of the production of the common, following Rolnik (2018), the idea of the right to the city, argued back in the '60s, allows rethinking it again when facing the events that are experienced in the 21st century cities as a "floating platform" of the articulation of both social and state-capital movements, where the asymmetries of power are crystalized, as the social movements proclaim their use as a space for life and the state-capital as a space of control and profit. The incompatibility of these spheres puts under the limelight the politic dimension of the cities as territories of conflict that are always moving and rearticulating, resignifying them.

Addressing the problems of the working-class habitat, incorporating critical theoretical frameworks like those that the southern and decolonial epistemologies provide, collaborate to reflect about the asymmetries in the key historical aspect of colonial domination, as they offer horizons to rethink the social reality from the perspective of the common, all of which translates into contributions for the decolonialization and de-patriarchalization of the hegemonic knowledge about cities.

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THE CIVIC POTENTIAL OF THE CAMPUS: FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF SANTA CATARINA AND DEMOCRACY IN THE CITY

Potencial cívico do campus: a universidade federal
de santa catarina e a democracia na cidade

Potencial cívico del campus: Universidad Federal
de Santa Catarina y la democracia en la ciudad

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The central square
of the campus and
the city.
Fountain: Authors

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ABSTRACT

This article advocates the potential space for promoting public democratic environments. In recent decades, public university policies in Brazil have provided an expressive shift towards more inclusive campuses. On the other hand, the growing urban commercialization has significantly reduced diversity within the city's public areas. This study aims to highlight the relevant role that university campuses can play in providing civic areas for the city and to evaluate the spatial characteristics that facilitate democratic gatherings. In 2019, the Federal University of Santa Catarina's main campus was the stage of several events to protest against the government's reduction of the education budget. The study starts from the recognition of the university areas that house students from more diverse areas of study. Subsequently, university community assemblies have been registered within this area and their spatial attributes have been analyzed. More flexible and permeable spaces on the buildings' ground floor influenced these choices to gather and confront ideas. These findings point to solutions that go against current practices, aimed towards more protected entrances. Furthermore, they suggest directions so the university reduces its boundaries, inviting the city into its open areas through buildings that offer free services to its citizens.

Keywords: Public space, university campuses, citizenship, social infrastructure, democracy

RESUMO

Este artigo defende o potencial do espaço físico para promover ambientes públicos democráticos. As políticas públicas das universidades nas últimas décadas no Brasil proporcionaram uma mudança expressiva em direção a campi mais inclusivos. Por outro lado, a crescente comoditização urbana reduziu significativamente a diversidade nas áreas públicas da cidade. Este estudo tem como objetivo destacar o papel relevante que o campus universitário pode desempenhar para fornecer áreas cívicas à cidade e avaliar as características espaciais que facilitam os encontros democráticos. Em 2019, o campus sede da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina foi palco de vários eventos para organizar uma resistência contra a redução do orçamento federal da educação. O estudo parte do reconhecimento das regiões universitárias que acolhem estudantes de áreas de estudo mais diversas. Posteriormente, assembleias da comunidade universitária no campus foram registradas e seus atributos espaciais analisados. Espaços mais flexíveis e permeáveis no térreo dos edifícios influenciaram essas escolhas para reunir e confrontar ideias. Essas descobertas apontam para soluções opostas à prática atual, voltadas para entradas mais protegidas. Além disso, os resultados sugerem orientações para a universidade reduzir suas barreiras, convidando a cidade a suas áreas abertas através de edifícios que oferecem serviços gratuitos aos seus cidadãos.

Palavras Chave: Espaço público, campus universitário, cidadania, infraestrutura social, democracia

RESUMEN

Este artículo defiende el potencial espacial para promover entornos públicos democráticos. Las políticas de las universidades públicas en las últimas décadas en Brasil han proporcionado un cambio expresivo hacia campus más inclusivos. Por otro lado, la creciente mercantilización urbana ha reducido significativamente la diversidad dentro de las áreas públicas de la ciudad. Este estudio tiene como objetivo resaltar el papel relevante que puede desempeñar el campus universitario para proporcionar áreas cívicas a la ciudad y evaluar las características espaciales que facilitan los encuentros democráticos. En 2019, el campus principal de la Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina fue el escenario de varios eventos para organizar una resistencia contra la reducción gubernamental del presupuesto educativo. El estudio parte del reconocimiento de las regiones universitarias que albergan estudiantes de áreas de estudio más diversas. Posteriormente, se han registrado asambleas de la comunidad universitaria dentro de esta región y se han analizado sus atributos espaciales. Los espacios más flexibles y permeables en la planta baja de los edificios influyeron en estas elecciones para reunir y confrontar ideas. Estos descubrimientos apuntan a soluciones opuestas a la práctica actual, orientadas hacia entradas más protegidas. Además, sugieren direcciones para que la universidad reduzca sus fronteras invitando a la ciudad a sus áreas abiertas a través de edificios que ofrecen servicios gratuitos a los ciudadanos de la ciudad.

Palabras Clave: Espacio público, ciudad universitaria, nacionalidad, infraestructura social, democracia

INTRODUCTION

Founded in 1960, the campus of the *Federal University of Santa Catarina* (UFSC, in Portuguese) is one of the few public spaces that has survived the pressure of tourist exploitation and commercialization in Florianópolis. It is from the lands of the UFSC and its 40,000 students, that we seek to address the democratic potential of the public university in the promotion of the Brazilian citizenry, Dober (1992) confirming that the design of the campus is a civic art that echoes with meaning for the current generation.

The relevance of universities when facing anti-democratic positions is well-known in the country. The student movements have always been prominent and are based in the physical space of the universities for the organization of their movements. We believe that considering academic territory as a structure independent from the cities does not contribute to a suitable characterization of the university as a social infrastructure and as a civic space. The insertion of the campus in the urban context, offering services to the community and promoting the diversity of gatherings, materializes uses that go beyond its main role. We also work to make clear the civic prioritization in the construction of cities that correspond more to the social needs, than to the imperative mandates of the capitalist system's profit.

At the end of the second decade of the 21st century, contrary to opinions that the current protests are limited to publications on social media, in 2019, the role of the public space was restored as the setting of contemporary democracy. The public protests, that appear in the pages of Brazilian history books, got new records of the occupation of the streets and squares in movements which, although organized online, were inspired by previous generations, uniting their voices in defense of the rights already been won.

The complexity of the events narrated in this chapter of Brazilian history means that this is a task far from understanding and suitably theorizing this period. Within this period of time, this article starts by reviewing the democratic role of a university campus in the urban fabric. It is about re-asserting the relevance of the campus on facing increasingly more volatile scenarios, and focused on the accumulation of capital that takes form in the spaces of cities. In scenarios where the civil potential of cities enters more and more into conflict with the commercialization processes that affect them (Harvey, 2003; Brenner et al., 2009), the role of the campus as social infrastructure is resignified.

Parkinson (2013) says that democracy is nourished by specific types of physical spaces for its performance. Political tolerance tends to be associated with the coexistence of groups with contradictory standpoints and diversity tends to reinforce the perception of the possibility of plausible debates between different points of view (Sunstein, 2018). There are spatial arrangements that amplify or silence behaviors that defenders of democracy consider valuable. This work sought to recognize what the spatial and programmatic characteristics are, that differentiate and elevate a territory to a democratic level, using the UFSC campus as a laboratory of analysis. How can the university campus be an active territory in the promotion of more democratic cities? How are these locations set up? How, in general, can the spatial layout of a building/university space amplify the democratic action of a population?

BRAZILIAN CONTEXT

Facing a 91.6% growth in the offer of undergraduate courses in Brazil between 2003 and 2013 (Brazil, 2013) and the affirmative actions that flourished in the universities, the last decade was marked by a set of critical moments that shook the structure of the ideals of public education in the country. The June days, as the protests that took the streets in 2013 were named, opened a scenario of popular discontent from different ideological perspectives, that culminated in a complete change of the national political direction.

From a proposal to modify the Federal Constitution (Brazil, 2016), which imposes a great reduction in public expenditure over 20 years, through to the economic agenda of President Jair Bolsonaro, elected in 2018, essential investments like education and health became the goal of the political group that took over the country. Against the containment measures of resources destined to public universities and scientific production, the crowds came back to occupy the main cities in a series of marches opposing the announced setback for historic social achievements.

These movements were amplified by the mobilization capacity on the social media. The feelings expressed online are connected through real concerns, of real people in the same human experience that is demanded in the calls of online events (Castells, 2015). Despite the networks, it is necessary to ask what the characteristics of the physical places and groups of people in the protests that began digitally, but that are supported in urban spaces, are. The lack of public spaces to exercise citizenry and democracy in the cities means that these events begin where the most politically committed groups are. The idea that democracy depends on physical space, in many ways contradicts the current orthodoxy of democratic theory and broader political science, and the problems of the built space are almost entirely off the radar of those studying politics (Parkinson, 2012). There is coercion for public universities to reduce investment, while the demand for the public services being offered and the pressure for performance and production increase. Democracy depends, to a great extent, on the availability of public places, even at a time that is supposedly so close to the Internet and online communication. Starting from the interpretation that university grounds are an integral part of the cities, it can be said that, in the current situation of resource shortage, the spaces for democratic action are at risk.

THE CAMPUS

Up until the first half of the 20th century, Brazilian universities and colleges were built in isolation before later being elevated to the level of a university structured under a more unified body. Brazilian campuses, inspired by the American model, tend to be spaces for teaching away from urban centers, with the campus being the materialization of this ideal. According to Chapman (2006), the history of the institution is found on the campus: where it was set up, what was built and what happens there. The geographic boundary between a campus and a community is a history built on how separated or integrated the university's administration has chosen to be. In Brazil, there was a careful adaptation to the intended and permitted types of sociability within universities. Barros (2017) states that this became clearer in the forms of sociability common to the American campuses and that, however, it went against the efforts of the Brazilian dictatorship to suppress the protests of students and faculty members, watched carefully when the opposition to the regime was the issue at hand.

The university's territorial project in Brazil, led by the Government after the 1964 Military Coup, was predominantly based on economic efficiency, organization, and control over users. The "Comprehensive Planning Manual for the University Campus", published in 1970 by Rudolph Atcon, one of the most active American consultants in the agreements between Brazilian and American Governments, is considered as the main document to define the

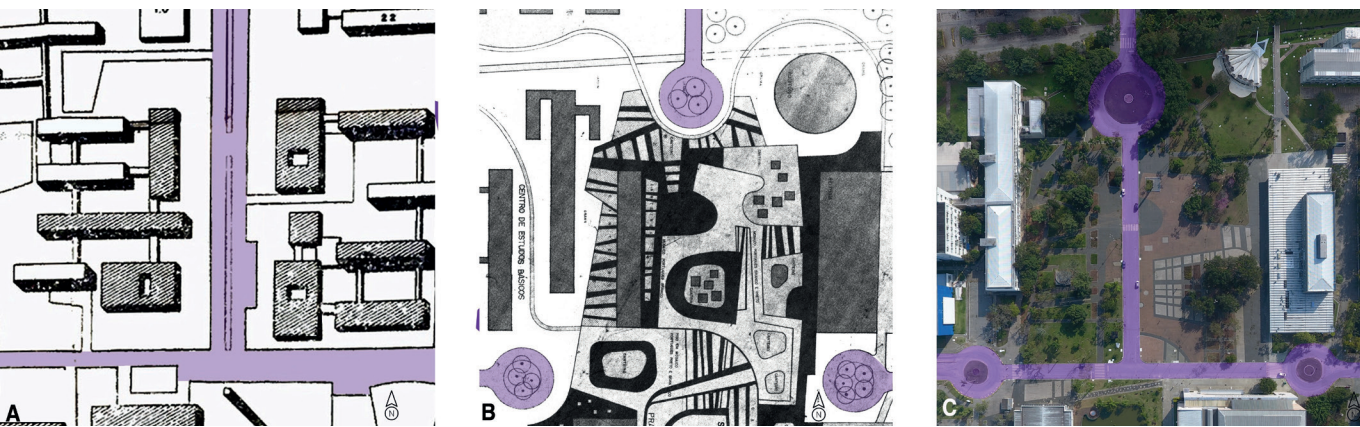


Figure 1
A. Plan of 1957;
B: Project of 1970
for the Citizenry
Square; C. Campus
in 2019.
Source: UFSC file
adapted by the
authors

set of ideas responsible for the characterization of campuses after the 1968 University Reform (Buffa & Pinto, 2009).

The first campus site Master Plan, approved in 1957 and partially implemented, was prepared by the architect H lio Duarte and the engineer, Ernest Mange (Teixeria, 2009). The general conceptualization and specialization of sectors, the road network and the drainage channels were built and have remained unchanged, consolidating their image on the campus. Meanwhile, between 1957 and the second plan, from 1964, some of the buildings that we will look at were built, namely, the Primary Education Center (CCE, in Portuguese) in 1957 by Paulo Macedo and Adroaldo Pereira; and the Rectory (1959), by Felipe Gama D'Eca and his team (Teixeria, Yunes, Souza, Sans o & Godoy, 2014). These plans and buildings are inserted in the modernization and ongoing improvement context of construction techniques that the capital of Santa Catarina went through then, with a certain limitation of local technical workforce.

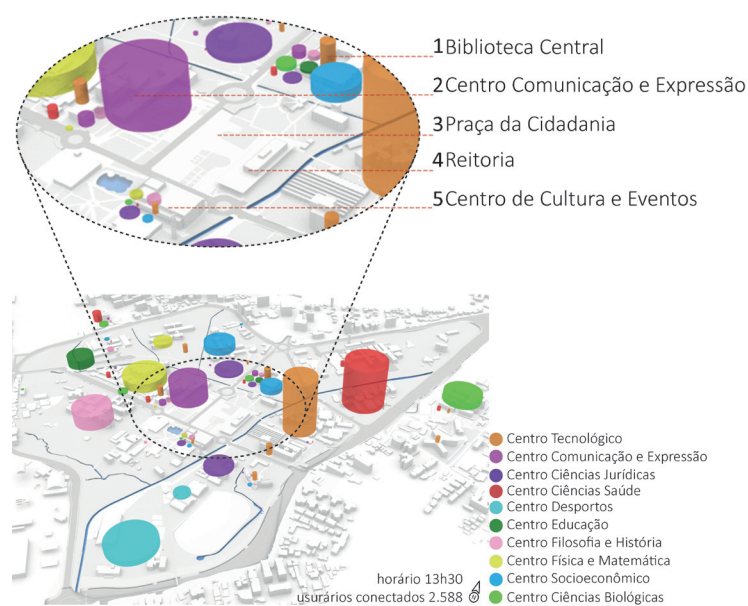
In 60 years, UFSC's structure has progressed, segregated from the city, strengthening however, the central aspects of the campus. The *Pra a da Cidadania* or Citizenry Square [Figure 1], a landscape design of Roberto Burle Marx in 1970, is an urban landmark where most of the events that rescue for the university, its democratic nature as a public space, take place. The debate that permeates through academic theories and the practical reality of the social infrastructures requires, therefore, a reappraisal of UFSC as urban property and the legal compliance of its social role.

METHODOLOGY

This article was prepared starting with the exploration of a quantitative analysis of daily life on campus and in its urban context, followed by the evaluation of a temporal framework based on the qualitative observation of the public protests that took place throughout 2019. To assess the daily dynamics of the Campus, a demographic mapping was made of the meeting points using data obtained from the connection of undergraduate students' mobile devices to the wireless network (Wi-Fi) linked to the Eduoram service, available for the international academic community. The authentication data, through which the previously registered user safely accesses the Internet, has been stored for the last 10 years.

In 2019, we obtained significant indicators of the effects provoked by the functional division and territorial segmentation on campus, which allowed us to confirm which parts had a greater integration among undergraduate students from different areas. It was seen that, on the outskirts of the campus, there was less integration between students from different teaching centers. In the central areas, following the results that we will present later, a more expressive integration was confirmed. These results highlight the fragmented dynamics of the campus and reinforce the campus as a civic space, capable of improving the academic and community-based integration.

Figure 2
Dynamics of Wi-Fi connections in the UFSC Citizenry Square (3) and surrounding buildings: Library (1), CCE (2), Rectory (4) and Culture and Event Center (5).
Source: eliminated for dispatch



In Figure 2, the connections of the students are represented with groupings by teaching centers, around Citizenry Square. With the results of these daily dynamics, we look to demonstrate through the 2019's gatherings, how urban design helps promote meetings and the civic role of the university.

The spaces where gatherings took place on campus were analyzed in greater detail, starting from the consideration the Wi-Fi study and the relevance of the diversity of meetings for the promotion of more democratic spaces has made. In this way, the most significant gatherings were seen, regarding numbers in the central part of the campus, considering their programmatic characteristics and their spatiality. The analysis of the meetings was done through the observation of the dynamics of people on the campus' grounds. Meetings published on social networks and on the UFSC official online pages, calling the community to the face-to-face meeting to defend public education in the country, were assessed.

Besides the central area, other locations in the other parts of the campus, where events took place in the indoor hall of the classroom blocks or outdoors, were quickly examined. The choice of the events analyzed was based on the geographic location in the campus and the groups of people connected to them.

Later, at a city level, the concerns of the academic community overflowed, that led to protests and marches on the main avenues in the Florianopolis central macro-region, resulted in a short narrative about how the architectonic and urban design also has an impact on the campus boundaries.

RESULTS

CAMPUS MEETINGS

This synergy between the virtual space and the daily life of the university campus awoke the interest of face-to-face academic meetings in the densification of the democratic debate. Bringing the historic context of UFSC in tone with the political scenario presented in the then current federal administration in 2019, the lines that follow provide an opportunist narrative of some of the protests that took place in the university over that year, whether on campus or, from it, throughout the entire city of Florianopolis.

On campus, the events that took place around Citizenry Square, the main democratic and integration space for meetings at UFSC, were intentionally highlighted, set out on a map located on the ground floor of the existing buildings [Figure 3], listed from 1 to 6. Illustrated from the observations, the

Figure 3
Indication of the meetings that took place in Citizenry Square (3) and surrounding buildings: Rectory (4), Culture and Events Center (5), Cohabitation Center (6) and CCE (2)
Source: Authors

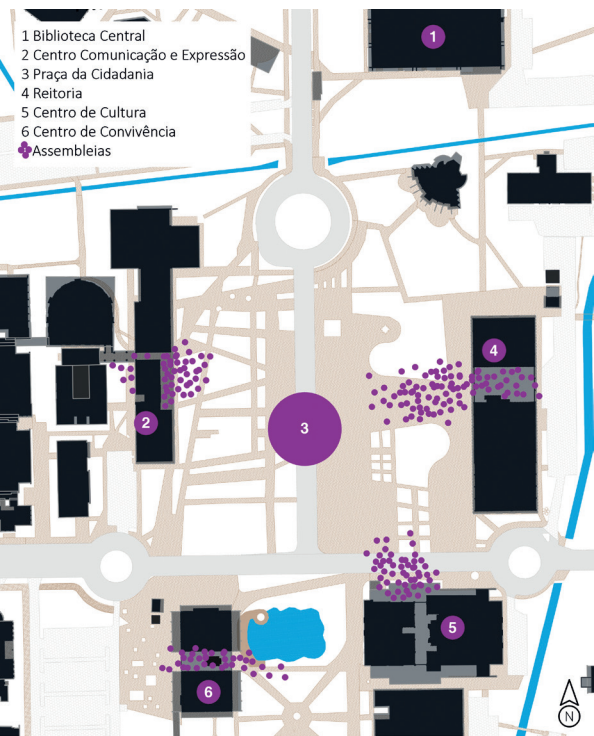


Figure 4
Student meetings in Citizenry Square, 2019
Source: Marcelo Ferro; B-F. UFSC



crowds of people during the events and the buildings related to them are shown in purple.

The architectonic makeup and landscaping that Citizenry Square forms, was designed to house the civic nature of the academic community. However, it happens that throughout the university's development, the economic resources destined to spaces were scarce and, as a result, the square lost part of its urban sociability potential, corroborated by the predominance of cars parked on the road that runs through it.

Figure 4A is a record of the gathering that took place on September 10th, 2019, with students from around 70 undergraduate courses supporting the General Students Strike. The magnitude of the scale of Citizenry Square, its topography and its centrality on campus are factors that contributed to the event taking on a large scale, bringing together people from different sectors, taking up once more the role originally considered by the landscaper: Conceived during different times within the campus' history, the Rectory in 1959 and the Culture and Event Center in 2004, are also part of this setting and demonstrate in their different typologies, priorities regarding opportunities for gathering.

Until 2004, the Rectory's auditorium [Figure 4B and Figure 4C] was the main space for cultural events that brought the entire community together. The protests that took place in the Rectory throughout the university's history, confirm that its architectonic setup, aligned with the ratio of continuity and permeability with the outdoor area (*Citizenry Square*), reinforced by the ground floor of the building and through the glazed panel that marks it out, provide opportunities for these events to continue having this democratic nature of free access until today. The Culture and Events Center is responsible for the evident barriers between its main space – the auditorium located on the higher floor– and the outdoor area, limiting the events to the preset capacity of the main hall. The circulation areas on the building's ground floor have a significant unevenness compared to the square and a linearity that complicates their use as a meeting point, abruptly distinguishing the semi-private nature of the inside from the outdoor public space.

The meetings of the University Council, held in 2019 in this auditorium and open to the entire academic community, including the units off the central campus, illustrated the capacity restrictions the building's setup provides, fact that led to the division of events with the occupation by the people of *Citizenry Square*, who watched the debates on the screen installed there, limiting them to a merely passive and spectator-like participation.

Other buildings form the Central Core and are a constant setting for protests, including artistic and cultural activities. The Meeting Center, closed years ago awaiting remodeling, expressed signs of abandonment and deterioration in the idleness of its areas. With the events of 2019, the students mobilized to occupy this building, recovering its original role in student life. The Community Center has a hall at the square level, closed with a glazed panel at both ends, which allows a continuity between indoor and outdoor use.

The CCE [Figure 5A] has an area of pilotis on its ground floor with a direct link to *Citizenry Square*, expanding it. Although this space has a linear setup just like that in the Culture and Event Center, the continuity of the ground floor and the lack of elements to enclose it, favor the chance of gathering and sheltering the students. The building has always had an integrating pedagogical role in the study plan, being one of the few of this nature in the university.



Figura 5
A. CCE;
B. Technological
Center
Source: Authors

The open areas in other parts of the campus gained a new appearance when they were used as a site for debate and knowledge exchange starting from these movements in 2019. This yearning for inhabitable spaces became even more notorious in the episode of Figure 5B, where students from the Technology Center blocked vehicle access in the area. This movement was called “come to the square”, reconfiguring the space used daily as a parking lot, despite the great potential the people have to stay there.

TO THE CITY

The actions of the gatherings broke barriers on campus and aggravated a new view to the democratic potential of the built-up area UFSC is inserted within. The concerns of the region's students and public education workers spread onto the streets of Florianopolis and sought their space in the city. On the historic day of May 15th, 2019, almost 20,000 voices reached *Citizenry Square*, calling civil society to join them in the defense of education, bringing groups from different organizations, set up beforehand on social media at a national level.

From the center of UFSC towards the commercial and foundational center of Florianopolis, little by little a crowd was formed which walked an approximately 10-kilometer-long route [Figure 6]. The design of the itinerary, that stemmed from a meeting with other educational institutions, brought a reflection about the public spaces along this route, inspired in the analysis made here about the campus'-built space.

The crowd used important routes as a starting point. Lauro Linhares Street has been, since the foundation of UFSC, the main access road to the campus on foot. With the expansion of the university and the resulting demographic densification of the surroundings, the route became predominantly commercial

Figure 6
Route taken on May
15th 2019.
Source: Google
Maps adapted by the
authors





Figure 7
March 15th 2019.
Source:
A – Authors;
B – Dhiancarlo
Picini;
C – Leonardo Thomé

DISCUSSION

in nature alongside private services. This street is currently limited to insufficiently-sized sidewalks that come into conflict with the cars that enter the buildings and whose standard architecture restricts the possibilities of meeting with the internal areas of the buildings.

Apart from this road / commercial typology, that is repeated in other parts of the route, it is worth highlighting *Beira Mar Avenue* [Figure 7C], a place of easy access and connection between the Center of Florianópolis and the UFSC Campus. A tourist attraction renowned for its proximity to the sea and road infrastructure, the predominantly residential road has buildings whose ground floors have a limited relationship with the sidewalks alongside them. Despite this distance, it is one of the main public spaces for protests of the city's inhabitants, which have been occurring since June 2013.

Finally, the May 2019 march headed to *XV November Square*, the main democratic setting located in the center of Florianópolis. Throughout the city's 346-year history, the neighborhood continues being one of the few places where the most traditional commercial activities are concentrated, from establishments facing the street with direct dialog with open spaces, contrasting with the appearance of shopping centers where the relationship between public and private spaces is more abrupt and controlled. The intense daily occupation and circulation of people makes the square and the entire urban setting around it as civic landmark, having held important events throughout history. It is important to mention that the projects for this region (Gaspar et al., 2017) associate, through urban marketing initiatives, the label of "Creative City" to Florianópolis with possible effects of an increase of inequalities and the homogenization of the public space (Gotham, 2005; Schöllmann, et al., 2000).

It is seen that these events indirectly provided a reinvention of the use of the campus and the built-up area it is inserted into, bringing to a fore latent experiences of gathering and debate in different periods of history. Although Wi-Fi data demonstrated that the fragmentation designed in the campus still exists, the analysis of gatherings demonstrated their potential to offer the city its civic nature.

Regarding the built architecture, it was found that the programmatic characteristics that the 2019 protests formed, have spatial and temporal persistence. These depend and are supported mutually in buildings whose program is predefined. Despite this determination, there is still a relation of interdependence and continuity between the boundaries of the buildings. To these aspects, the size of the buildings and their implementation on the campus is added.

One of the most substantial works that illustrates this scenario is the Rectory, whose main access and ground floor hall have continuity with the use of *Citizenry Square*, the setting of historic democratic episodes. The environment that shapes the hall, for example, has suitable dimensions to hold large meetings, inviting those who are passing through to stay. However, the Culture and Event Center does not have a typology that encourages the continuity of the gatherings that take place in the square, limiting its use to closed events.

The open events, like academic meetings and artistic performances, are more common in the CCE, given its central location and the direct relationship between the square and the pilonis. About a decade ago, these events started to be controlled due to pressure from the administration, who felt uncomfortable with crowds of students, constantly asking to close this area of the building to stop their protests.

The resumption of cultural activities in UFSC is related to the fact that the campus can offer more services and civic, rather than commercial, spaces. The university has the possibility of having this attitude, with free services that show off a space that the city gains from the university, so that the campus has more diversity and can take on this role for the congregation of people. During the narratives of the meetings, this demand was made clear on requiring new spaces that promote this exercise beyond Citizenry Square, mainly connected to the green areas, as simulated in Figure 8, integrating the campus with the city through the reclassification of the streams. Having as connectors, buildings that house the free services offered to the community and the square as a meeting space, a new road within the campus can turn it into an attractive connection junction for the free civic action of the entire city.

For Lefebvre (1996), excluding groups and individuals of the city is also excluding them from civilization, if not from society itself. The appropriation of the campus by the neighbors reinforces this civic nature and the role the university can play in movements that promote diversity and reduce inequalities. The initiative of the students to disseminate the knowledge produced, from inside the university spaces towards the city, heads in this way. From the political context of 2019, and aiming at demonstrating to civil society the importance of scientific production and converting them into an ally in the defense of public education, the "UFSC in the Square" movement arose, made up of students from different areas, who structured presentations in the squares of the main neighborhoods, transforming those spaces into real classrooms.

It is necessary to consider the structural change that Brazilian public universities have been experiencing for over a decade. Since the implementation of affirmative action programs in 2008, UFSC has been assisting a growing number of people in vulnerable economic situations, black and indigenous, collaborating to get a less segregated demographic scenario (Passos, 2015). UFSC has changed and is, albeit moderately, less elitist. However, the architecture of its spaces has not kept up with the democratic potential of the campus.

Designing campuses that promote the civic nature and the community construction must be a priority in the circles related to public education, even with limited resources (Klinenberg, 2018). These latent issues arise in exceptional ways, like what was said about the parking lot, where the recovery of the space for private use drove its reinvention. But this attitude has always been in the heart of universities, like when, opening their physical territory to the community, UFSC significantly extends the offer of services related to health, culture, and leisure.

Figure 8
Proposal of the integration of the campus with green areas.
Source: Own preparation



CONCLUSION

The conflicts and contradictions are reproduced in the city and on the campus and are healthy in democratic societies. However, when guided by dichotomies that cross debates on the matter, leading to the interpretation of the campus as a place unconnected to the surrounding urban setting, there is mutual damage. These conflicts, for example, can be illustrated with the different opinions about how the UFSC campus must be administered and the firm opinions about the decision to open it to the community or close it with gates at weekends and at night.

We start from the understanding that the university campus is considered by its size as social infrastructure (Klinenberg, 2018), where the collective decision-making is reinforced by its spatiality that allows this posture to reach the urban domain, breaking through the physical and ideological limits of the University. It must be kept in mind that the apparent "neutrality" of the infrastructure, as discussed throughout this work, brings with it a much deeper message than the facilitation of a specific activity. These places merge with the problems of the scale and complexity of democratic societies. While the search of metaphorical conceptions of the public space is a valid effort, and one that has contributed greatly to the conceptions on democracy, Parkinson (2006) states that it is shame that the physical role of spaces has been ignored in these works. He says that the public space is essential for democracy and that ignoring this fact has toxic consequences for the democratic health of society.

The reintegration posture of the campus must be active, since the only obstacle there is, is not just the almost antithetical nature of the term campus in opposition to the city, in the same way that some characteristics are essential so that the campus is not a space set apart from the city. Especially, in the buildings built over two decades ago or with a relevant integrating role, there is an attribute of continuity between indoor and outdoor spaces. There is space for indeterminant programs, for informal appropriation and, mainly, a lesser dependance of the commercial facades that almost exclusively extend to an appropriated sidewalk. The maintenance of spatial arrangements and characteristics that we have mentioned is fundamental so that the campus supports not only the democratic performance of its community, but also so that it is increasingly more capable of supporting external protests.

When we approach protests that leave the building area, they head to squares in the immediate surroundings and then leave the campus towards the city, we reinforce the statement that some types of physical spaces are inseparable. Regarding democratic performance, among many other aspects that form the good qualities of the buildings, the inside and outside are a continuum. The diversity that a campus with buildings and free areas that are welcoming and permeable for all citizens, like the case of UFSC, facilitates, brings invaluable benefits for a university that reflects on the future of society. The road the protests took on leaving the campus towards the city is a strong sign of how we can strengthen the entry of the city to the university symbolically, as it represents the manifestation and physicality for future interventions that reinforce this intersection. Likewise, a city whose citizens contribute to these reflections, through participation in a mutual support and collaboration network in the university, reinforces its civic and democratic nature.

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IT'S TIME TO (RE)DEFINE: SPATIAL INTERVENTION TO MAKE THE KAINGANG VISIBLE IN THE CITY OF CHAPECÓ

É HORA DE (RE)TORNAR: Intervenção espacial
para visibilização do povo Kaingang na cidade de
Chapecóç

Es hora de (re)hacer:
Intervención espacial para hacer visible a la gente
de Kaingang en la ciudad de Chapecó

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Traditional
structures to
work with crafts,
references for the
project. Source:
Photograph by
Fernanda M Dill

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ABSTRACT

The Kaingang indigenous population has inhabited the space that comprises the heart of the municipality of Chapecó-SC, State of Santa Catarina in Southern Brazil, since before the formal foundation of the city. However, due to the urbanization process, this community has seen its history and relationship with the city made invisible by actions, originating mainly from the government. In order to contribute to the transformation of this context, a system of free spaces for intercultural dialogues was prepared collaboratively with the indigenous community, which proposes to tell the history of the city from the perspective of its traditional people and to redefine urban public spaces through spatial interventions at different scales. The methodological strategies adopted include bibliographic research, exploratory visits, oral history reports, a poem of wishes and participant observation, valuing the role of the Kaingang community in the design process. This paper presents the results of this project and highlights the possibilities for historical and cultural valorization through urban interventions. It is believed that spatial actions can re-signify both the places and the human interactions resulting from the experience of these spaces.

Keywords: Kaingang culture, cultural identity, urban intervention, city history, free space system

RESUMO

A população indígena Kaingang habita o espaço que compreende o centro no município de Chapecó, Estado de Santa Catarina no Sul do Brasil desde antes da configuração formal da cidade. No entanto, devido ao processo de urbanização, tal comunidade teve sua trajetória histórica e sua relação com a cidade invisibilizadas por ações oriundas principalmente do poder público. Para contribuir na transformação desse contexto, foi elaborado, de forma colaborativa com a comunidade indígena, o projeto de um sistema de espaços livres para diálogos interculturais, que se propõe a contar a história da cidade a partir do olhar de seu povo tradicional e ressignificar espaços públicos urbanos através de intervenções espaciais em diferentes escalas. As estratégias metodológicas adotadas incluem pesquisas bibliográficas, visitas exploratórias, relatos de história oral, poema dos desejos e observação participante, valorizando o protagonismo da comunidade Kaingang no processo de projeto. O presente artigo apresenta os resultados desse projeto e evidencia as possibilidades de valorização histórica e cultural através de intervenções urbanas. Acredita-se que ações de ordem espacial podem ressignificar tanto os lugares quanto as interações humanas decorrentes da vivência desses espaços.

Palavras Chave: Cultura Kaingang, identidade cultural, intervenção urbana, história da cidade, sistema de espaços livres

RESUMEN

La población indígena Kaingang habita el espacio que comprende el centro en el municipio de Chapecó-SC, Estado de Santa Catarina en el sur de Brasil, desde antes de la configuración formal de la ciudad. Sin embargo, debido al proceso de urbanización, dicha comunidad tuvo su trayectoria histórica y su relación con la ciudad se hizo invisible por acciones originadas principalmente por el gobierno. Para contribuir a la transformación de este contexto, se elaboró un sistema de espacios libres para el diálogo intercultural, en colaboración con la comunidad indígena, que propone contar la historia de la ciudad desde la perspectiva de sus pueblos tradicionales y redefinir los espacios. audiencias urbanas a través de intervenciones espaciales a diferentes escalas. Las estrategias metodológicas adoptadas incluyen investigación bibliográfica, visitas exploratorias, informes de historia oral, un poema de deseos y observación participante, valorando el papel de la comunidad Kaingang en el proceso de diseño. Este artículo presenta los resultados de este proyecto y destaca las posibilidades de valorización histórica y cultural a través de intervenciones urbanas. Se cree que las acciones espaciales pueden ressignificar tanto los lugares como las interacciones humanas resultantes de la experiencia de estos espacios.

Palabras Clave: Cultura Kaingang, identidad cultural, intervención urbana, historia de la ciudad, sistema de espacio libre

INTRODUCTION

The urbanization of the city of Chapecó, located in the eastern part of the state of Santa Catarina in Brazil, was marked by an ongoing process of disrespect, violence and actions to make native communities invisible, just like most of the country's inland cities. The historically built path, that involves the city and the indigenous *Kaingang* people, is reflected in the present, as by walking through it, there are countless symbols of the colonizer's triumph and the absence of any indigenous references, except for those of the Kaingang's descendants, who resist and return to their traditional land.

Currently, most of the urban population of Chapecó do not recognize the Kaingang people as the native inhabitants of the territory, disregarding their culture and disrespecting the specific aspects of their way of life, giving grounds to a feeling of discrimination and rejection towards indigenous peoples, who still today look to renew their relationships with their traditional land. Facing this context and starting from the demands of the *Kaingang* community, dialog and reflections about a possible spatial intervention in the center of the city began in 2016, aiming at developing, through a collaborative design process, a system of free and public urban spaces that consider the foundations of the *Kaingang* culture and that, at the same time, promote the interaction between the indigenous peoples and the surrounding society. In short, spatial intervention proposals were sought, to revive the *Kaingang* culture in the city's daily life, to provide knowledge about the history of places from the perspective of their traditional people and to promote recognition and respect for cultural diversity.

This article looks to explore the possibilities of historic and ethnic valuation, as well as the resignification of places in the city through spatial interventions. For this, the methodology adopted for the project had, as a goal, giving a voice to indigenous peoples and valuing the memory of the *Kaingang's* elderly in the preparation of proposals. It is believed that, to think about and rebuild urban meanings, it is necessary to understand the free or built spaces as potential cultural communicators. As a result, we begin with a brief theoretical discussion about culture and identity from both a human and spatial perspective. Next, the methodological resources adopted in the research to understand the Kaingang people and the relationship between the Kondá people and the city of Chapecó, are explained. Finally, the resulting project is presented and discussed, based on its potential to make the Kaingang culture visible, and the resignification of urban spaces that may contribute to improving intercultural relationships in the contemporary city.

In this study, it is understood that culture must be thought of as a matter of ideas and values, a collective mental attitude (KUPER, 2002). The values, cosmology, moral principles, the way of life, the spatial organization and aesthetic, are expressed through symbols, characterizing the culture as a symbolic system, that is to say, it refers to all learned behavior; all that does not depend on genetic transmission (TYLOR, 1958). Culture is understood as a potential tool for collective identification, where the way of life of a group establishes limits with other societies and these interactions materially produce the physical space, reflection and identity of the cultural context they belong to (DILL, 2019).

This trait of collective identification linked to culture means that the question of identity is broadly discussed in social theory and, also, in the areas of knowledge used to understand space, to the extent where the appropriate territory is an expression of the cultural identity. Architects like Amos Rapoport and Simon Unwin argue that both architectonic and urban spaces have identity, which is closely linked to that of their users and/or designers, revealing identification and attachment to their cultural context. On thinking about identity in terms of traditional societies, Giddens (2002) highlights that they

have veneration for the past, where the symbols are valued on having experiences of generations and tradition as a means of handling time and space; thus, the identity of a people is directly linked to its historic construction and to the history of the spaces where their forefathers lived. In contemporaneity, the so-called identity crisis is discussed, as a result of globalization and the homogenization of the ways of living and thinking about the world, where identities are being decentralized, displaced and in some cases, fragmented. It is thought that, starting from critical reflection, this observation allows building an identity mosaic, where the identities and not "the" identity, whether collective or individual.

It is perceived that identity, as well as culture, is established in the relationship with the other. The identification in contemporary society appears like the representation of what you want to be, to seem or to be part of. In this context, where rules for human relationships emerge, it is essential to understand the role of the place and the territory, as a setting for these interactions which, on occasions, are compound and contradictory. The place transcends the limitations of the geometric space, as through social relationships, the groups give them a value (TUAN, 1983) and, complementarily, the territory represents the relationship of affinity with the historically built geographical space, the basis of the social and cultural relationships established over time. Thus, in the interaction with the space, different ethnic groups build meanings and relationships that may, from the influence of the place, soften or reinforce ethnic boundaries. The identity of the place is born in the construction of these meanings. In architecture and urbanism, the place's identity is defined as a substructure of human identity that incorporates knowledge about the world the individuals live in, considering memories, ideas, social relations, feelings, attitudes, values and preferences about the different environments they are inserted within (PROSHANSKY, 1983).

The creation of the place is not exclusive to architectonic or urbanistic planning, since the people continuously confer meanings to spaces (UNWIN, 2013). In the case of the *Kaingang* communities, the indigenous importance is seen in the demands not just for space, but also for participation in the design process, guided by the intention of cultural strengthening (ZANIN & DILL, 2016). These factors facilitate the identification of the user with the place and "[...] maybe the idea of collective involvement is the most important aspect of thinking about architecture and urbanism as the identification of the place (...)" (UNWIN, 2013, p. 23). Given that places house human relationships, they can influence behaviors and provide experiences related with cultural recognition and valuation.

In this context, the free public space is a key element of the urban landscape and structure. It makes the relationship between materiality and society possible, looking to qualify social interaction as a support (MAGNOLI, 2006, p. 241). Streets, squares, yards, gardens, parks, avenues, among the most common kinds of free spaces, form the system of free spaces of every city and it is this system that integrates it and makes the interface between private places and the urban network permeable. Thus, free spaces are understood as structuring elements, which are built as meanings, systemically, and are not sustained just on themselves, but in the relationship with the other places that constitute the urban landscape. It must be highlighted that spatial urban intervention projects, especially in the public sphere, play an important social role in the extent that they carry out the intentions of their designers and are committed with the group whose demands they intend on addressing.

Understanding the relationships between identity, cultural valuation and open spaces and trying to bring them closer, is the undercurrent behind this work, as it is from the proposal of integrating open spaces in Chapecó that the aim is to bring the *Kaingang* culture into the limelight.

METHODOLOGY

Considering the complexity that the analysis of the culture of a group and its relationships with the territory implies, the research adopts a qualitative approach to understand and explain the socio-spatial dynamic. The table of Figure 01 defines the specific goals proposed for the project, as well as the methodological strategies considered to reach them.

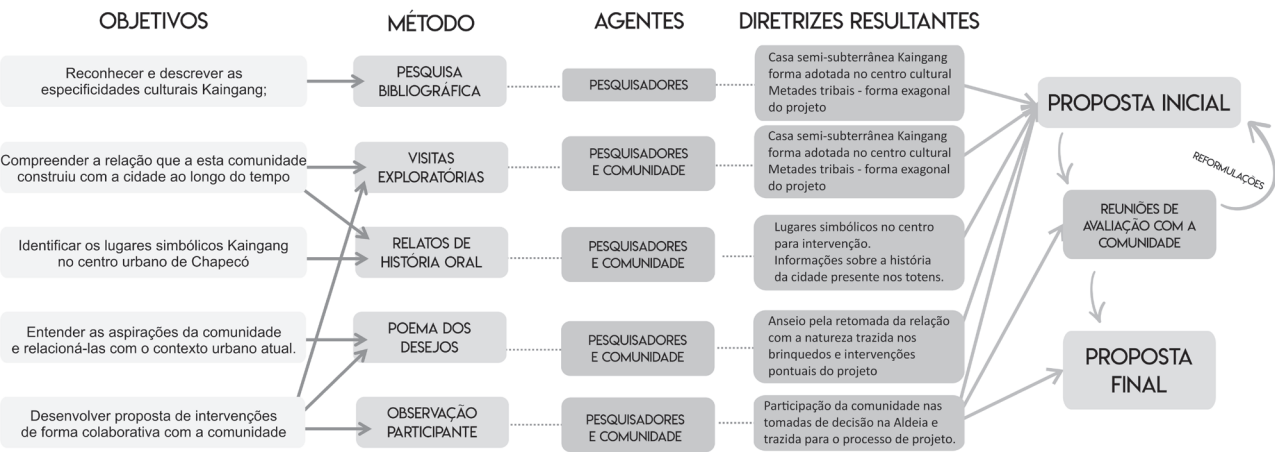


Figure 1
Project goals and research methods adopted.
Source: own preparation

Bibliographical research: This was done with the goal of providing theoretical support for the analysis of field data, comprehension and description of the *Kaingang* traditional culture, as well as the history of the city of Chapecó.

Exploratory visits: These represent the first approaches with the subject of study and may be recorded through drawings, notes and photographs (REINGHANTZ et al. 2008). The goal was to understand the relationship established between indigenous people and the territory of the city center; and later, enable the participation of the communities in the preparation of the spatial intervention proposal.

Oral accounts: This is a practice of grasping accounts electronically, looking to collect testimonies and to promote the analysis of social processes of the present. Starting from an initial project and in the choice of the group being researched, the records became documents based on the history of the present, or living history (MEIH, 1996). The attention focused on identifying symbolic places for the community in the center of the city and in understanding the cultural specificities of the *Kaingang*.

Wish poem: Developed by Henry Sannof (1991), this is a group dynamic where the researcher asks the users of a given place to describe or express verbally, or through sketches, their needs, feelings or wishes related to the building or setting analyzed. The method was used with an approach on idealized spaces; in this way, a form was given to the participants, that contained an open phrase, "Our ideal town would be like...", who spontaneously answered through sketches and writing. Thus, the spatial elements observed in the representation of the ideal township could be contemplated in the spatial proposals for the center of the city.

Participating observation: It starts from the premise that grasping a specific social context can only be done if the observer can submerge into and beco-

RESULTS

THE KAIKANG OF THE KONDÁ PEOPLE AND THE HISTORY OF THE CITY

me a member of the social group being researched. According to Mann, it is an “[...] attempt to place the observer and the observed on the same side, making the observer a member of the group to live what they experience and work within their system of reference” (MANN, 1970, p. 23). Only then can the relationship between the spaces and meanings attributed by the group, in daily life, be understood.

After adopting these strategies, the guidelines that generated the first project proposal were defined, which changed from the dialog with the community until reaching the final proposal. From these experiences, apart from the project built collectively, more information and knowledge than expected appeared, information that without the coexistence and dialog, possibly would not have been discovered and that was essential to think about spaces with an intercultural nature.

The indigenous *Kaikang* inhabit the southern and southeastern regions of Brazil, from the state of Sao Paulo to the Rio Grande do Sul. They are part of the Macro-Jê linguistic line and, together with the *Xokleng*, who live in other areas of the same state, they form the *Jê-Meridionalis* group (JUNIOR, 2010). Tommasino and Fernandes (2001), describe the Kaikang as a group, above all, established from a social dualist, patrilinear, exogamic and matrilocal organization. That is to say, there would be two groups of kinship lineage, transmitted by the father to the descendants, where marriages always take place between individuals belonging to opposite halves and, after the wedding, the groom will move in with the bride's parents.

In origin myth collected by Telêmaco Borba (1908), there is a summarized version of the Kaikang dualist cosmology: the cultural heroes Kamé and Kairu produce not just the divisions among humans, but also the division among the living beings of nature. The members of the halves are also differentiated through body paint or markings [Figure 02]. As Nimuendanju says (1913), the Kamé represented themselves through long markings, vertical stripes and the Kairu, had a round marking. “(...) the Kamé is made with pine tree sawdust that is burnt and then dampened. Those of the Kairu group are made like blood-soaked wood” (KRESÓ, 1997, p. 82). Thus, the colorings of the groups are defined in the following way: Kamé-black, Kairu-red-

Regarding the local context, shortly after the political emancipation of the city of Chapecó, the persecution of the indigenous people intensified, keeping them from occupying the city. As of 1927, some local authorities began to request new measurements in these territories and, when the space was already under the jurisdiction of Santa Catarina, the possession of these areas also began to be reclaimed by authorities who acted on their own behalf (CAMPOS, 2004).

Figure 2
Graphology Kaikang
— Kamé and Kairu.
Source: own
preparation



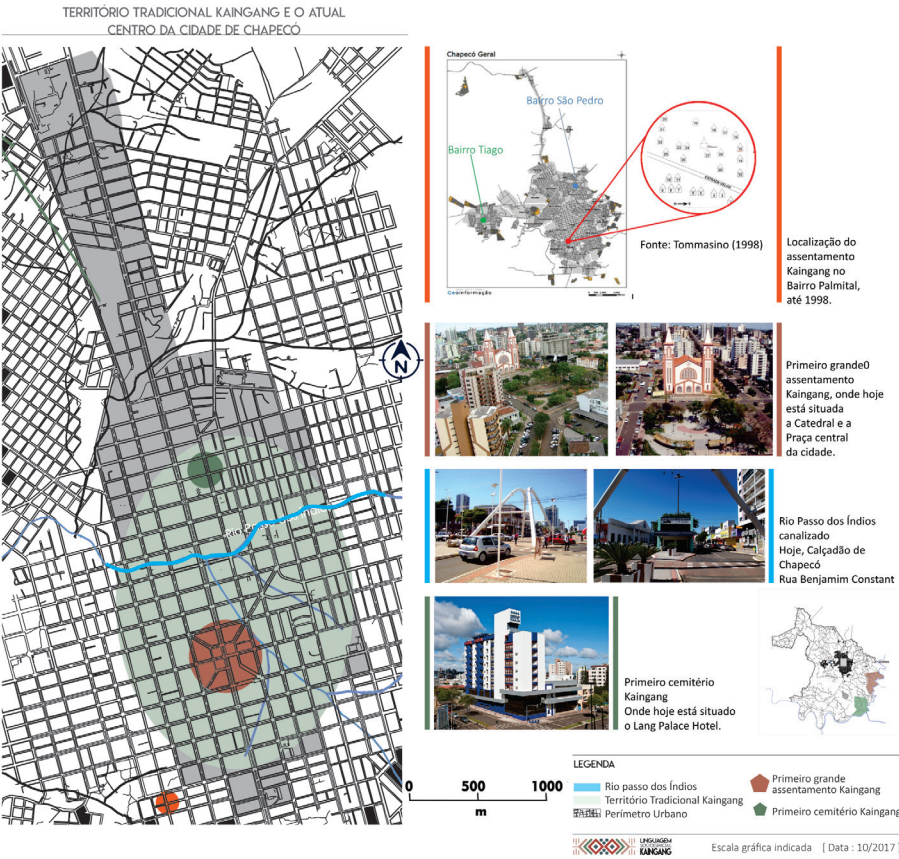
In the mid-20th century, with the construction of Chapecó city, the indigenous peoples continued to be disrespected and evicted from their lands. The city housed a large native population, formed by two large distinct groups: the first, comprising families who lived in neighborhoods of the city that adapted to the new culture imposed at this time and who became almost invisible. The second group, a more extensive one, comprised families who resisted and formed a kinship relationship based on the preservation of the culture, thus building the peoples of the city (TOMMASINO et al., 1998). These were visible and provoked varied reactions among the urban population, with all the accumulated prejudice against indigenous people unfolding, becoming a social problem. This population represented an estimated total of 64 families and 212 people.

The Kaingang describe the city of Chapecó as their traditional land, where they hunted, gathered and also where they buried their dead (TOMMASINO, 1999). The land of their forefathers, according to stories of the community's elderly, coincides with the current city center, revealing why the Kaingang of Aldeia Kondá insist that the city of Chapecó is their traditional land.

Based on the reports of the Elderly from Aldeia Kondá and Tommasino's anthropological report (1998), the following map was prepared [Figure 03], where the city center in 2019 is seen as the original Kaingang territory: The Passo dos Índios river, currently channeled, represented an important meeting space for the group, the first great settlement, where the Matriz Church and the Coronel Ernest Bertaso Square are located and the Kaingang Cemetery, where today an important hotel of the city is located.

Starting from the research made, considering the pre-existence in the urban center of the city and with the participation of the Aldeia Kondá community, the project's guidelines were set and later, the intervention proposal was prepared, whose goal is valuing the city's history and allowing intercultural dialogs in the present day.

Figure 3
Kaingang traditional land in the center of Chapecó.
Source: Own preparation from the oral accounts of the elderly from the Aldeia Kondá community and from Tommasino (1998)



INTERVENTION PROPOSAL IN THE URBAN CENTER

Considering the research done, the community's demands and the symbolic places for the indigenous people in the city center were identified. Starting from the analysis of the public spaces in the city center and the Governing Plan, green areas, appropriated squares, and urban vacant plots were found, which were considered as potential intervention areas.

Four scales of intervention were proposed, which constitute an ethno-historic route in the urban center, as shown in Figure 04. The colors mark the different scales of intervention considered from the route defined, as is described below.

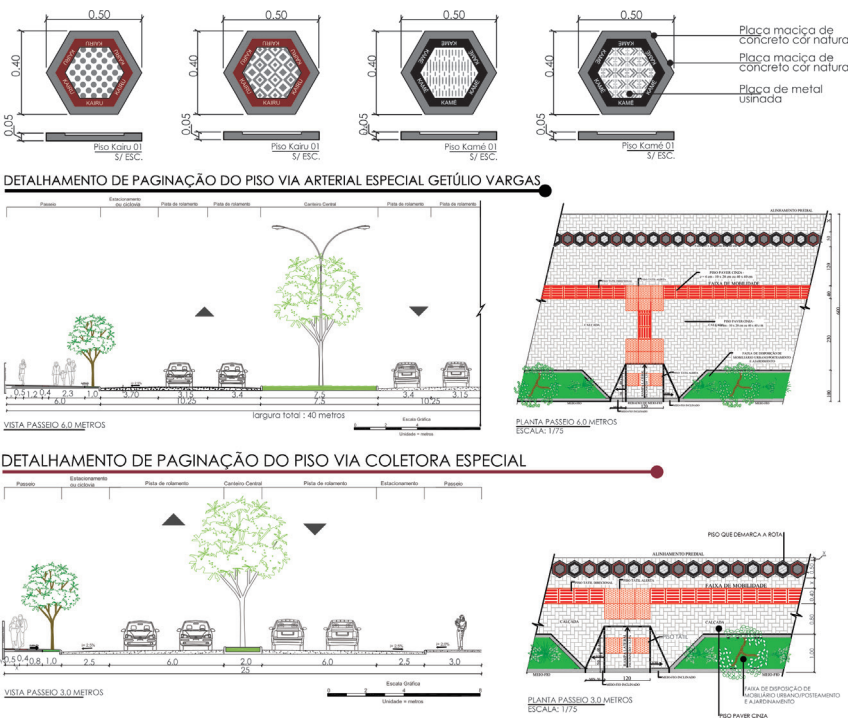
The route is based along Getúlio Vargas Avenue with two detours, that are detailed below. The formal makeup of all the scales of intervention is based on a hexagonal shape, chosen to balance the straight lines (identification elements of the Kamé tribal half) and the circles, or closed shapes (identification elements of the Kairú half), considering the complementary duality of the Kaingang culture. To mark off the route, a signed paving was proposed. Its design was inspired by the tribal halves of the Kaingang people, as detailed in Figure 05.

For each type of path, the floor's position was defined considering the width of the sidewalk and the design defined for the tactile floor in the Master Plan. Figure 05 shows the profiles and plans of the route's main two paths.

Figure 4
Intervention proposal – Free space system.
Source: Own preparation

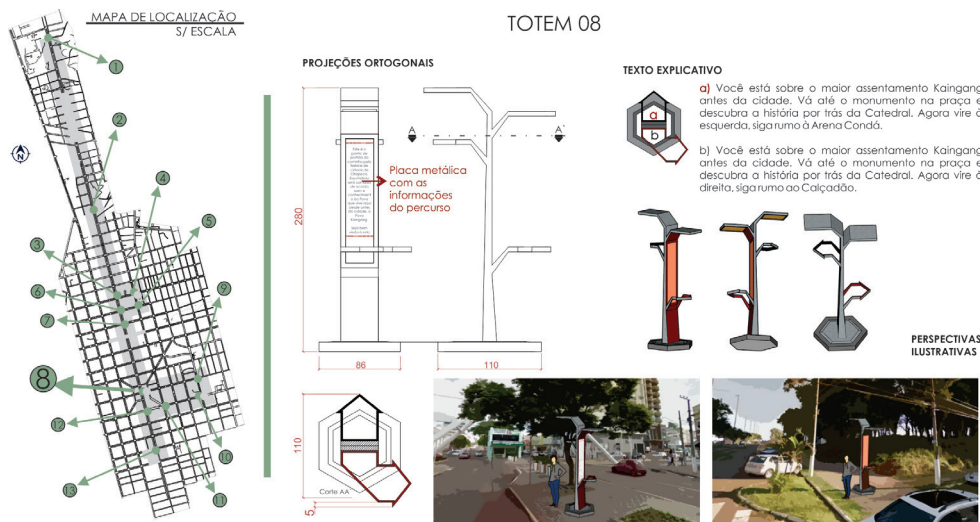


Figure 5
Route's floor markings.
Source: Own preparation



LANDMARKS

Figura 6
Totems – connectors.
Source: own
preparation



SINGLE AND LINEAR INTERVENTIONS

The symbolic places, essential to understand the city's history, stop being invisible and gain a leading role along a linear park, playgrounds, monuments, and urban visual communication, as seen in Figure 07.

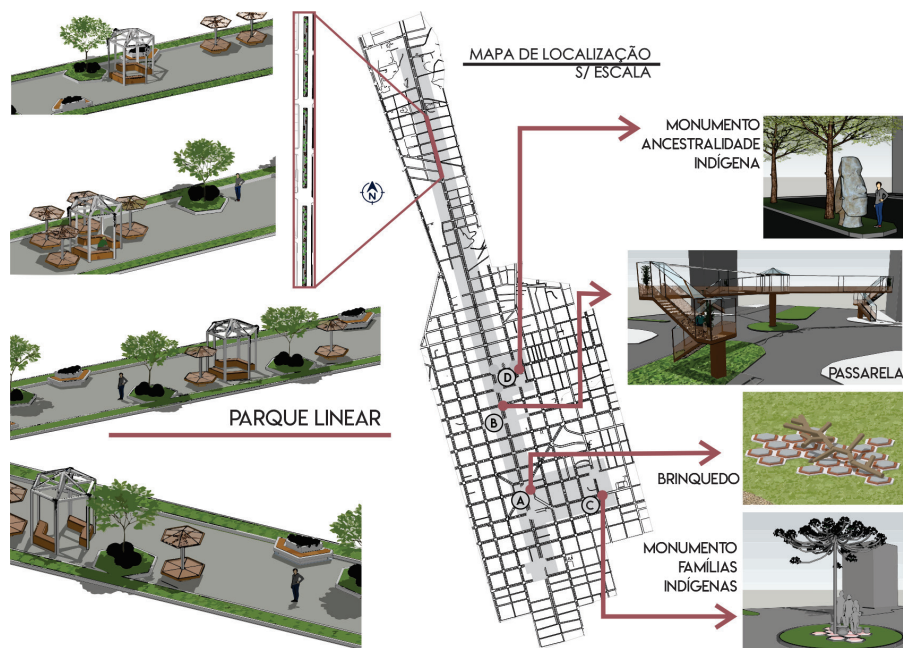
The linear park in the middle of the city's central avenue, a site that has already been consolidated and appropriated by the population, with the intervention will allow social interaction for the neighbors and the historic knowledge of the territory. Setting up this area through landscaping, urban fittings, and visual communication transforms the landscape which, from the changes, gains bush-lined beds, meeting spaces with benches and vegetation coverage that provides the spaces with shading.

One of these places is identified as point A in Figure 07. The place where Coronel Bertaso Square and Matriz Church are found, was the first Kaingang settlement. The elderly say that the church was built with gold that the Jesuits stole from the natives. In this way, a playground is proposed for this square, that seeks to make the social exchange between indigenous and non-indigenous visible, by simulations of elements of nature where these exchanges took place, as a reference to the indigenous infancy and to the games with the tree branches.

At point B, one of the busiest traffic intersections of the city, a set of railings is proposed, referring to the bridges the indigenous people built to cross rivers or dangerous places. The goal was to offer the users a new experience for crossing, considering a place to stop and contemplate. The materials proposed include the natural raw material of the ancient indigenous constructions, giving priority to the wooden covering and the use of some species of vines.

Finally, at points C and D, monuments are proposed. At point C, the Kondá Arena is located, whose monument must represent the indigenous families, who resist until today, despite members of their own people turning against them in favor of economic and political interests. At point D, the first warrior chief of the Kaingang people of the region is buried. As the location indicated is exactly where the Hotel Lang Palace stands today, the intervention proposed is a monument that refers to the importance of ancestors for the *Kaingang*.

Figure 7
Linear park
and specific
interventions.
Source: own
preparation



STRUCTURING OF PLACES

This is the greatest scale of the planned intervention, that comprises architectonic and urbanistic works, the creation of free spaces, urban fittings, and visual communication. Three structuring sites are evaluated [Figure 8].

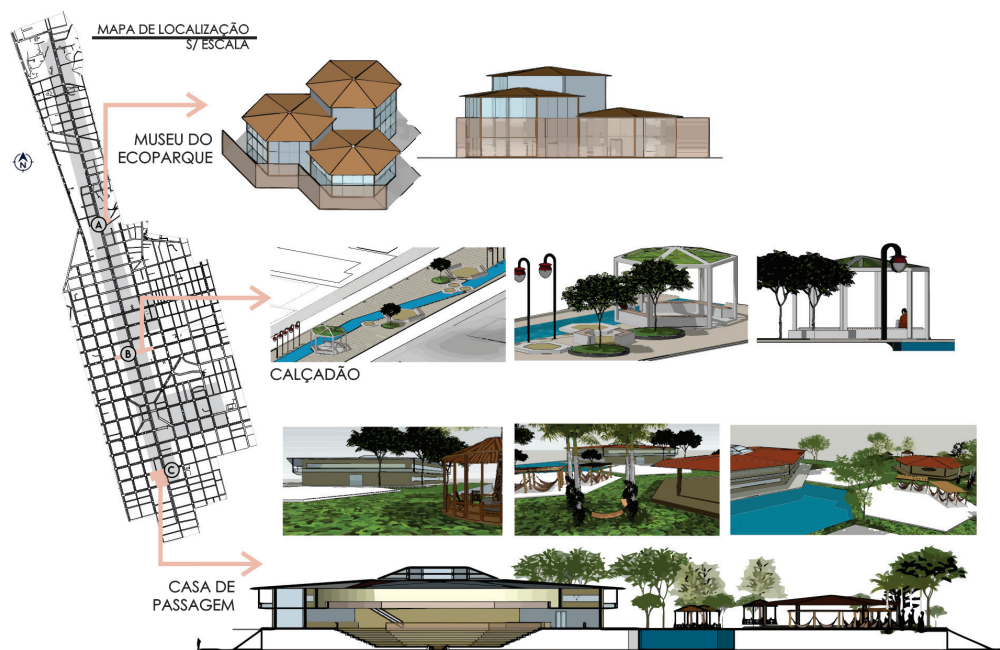
In the Ecopark (Point C), it is suggested to build a Museum of Indigenous History, built using three hexagonal structures. Each one of the towers will be responsible for housing a historic moment of the city from the perspective of the Kaingang. Tower 1 will house archaeological artifacts of the indigenous people in the region. Tower 2 will tell the story of the city's urbanization process, where indigenous peoples who occupied the entire central urban area, saw their territory devastated and their area reduced to less than one block of the city. Finally, Tower 3 will tell about the contemporary Kaingang culture and its relationship with the current city; therefore, it houses artisanry and the tools used by the Aldea Kondá community.

On the Benjamin Constant boulevard (Point B), where the now channeled Passo dos Índias river is found, reference is made to its existence in a reflecting pond that marks the route of the Boulevard. Social interaction, contemplation and open-air market places are created, leading the urban hub into a space where people walk through and remain in contact with nature and, through visual communication, can get to know a little more about the city's history.

Finally, the urban vacant land (Point A) leads to a square that is open to the community, which has a shelter and the Kaingang Cultural Center. The breakthrough architecture present in the setting, rescues the traditional knowledge, using semi-buried structures, covered with woven and earth-buried straw sections.

This area responds directly to the demand of the Aldea Kondá community and provides the indigenous peoples a point of support in the city. For visitors, it provides the opportunity to try typical foods, see traditional dances, hear lessons from elders, learn about the language and the Kaingang culture and, especially, the possibility to resignify this space through the respect of diversity and cultural valuation. The proposal was built together with the community and was presented to other indigenous leaders of the region, who, on feeling represented in the spaces created, accepted the project and fight for its viability and materialization.

Figure 8
Structuring of
places.
Source: Own
preparation



DISCUSSION

It is understood that the creation of the place is not exclusive to the architectural and urbanistic planning, but rather an association of this with the uses and meanings that people assign to spaces in an uninterrupted manner; that is to say, the place arises from the interactions and dialogs between human and spatial aspects. In the proposal presented here, the collaborative process behind its development and the focus on the valuation of a historically marginalized traditional community, allow a new view of these urban spaces, until now marked only by interventions that symbolize European colonizers and cultures. It is thought that these proposed interventions can resignify the urban center and promote human interactions based on the recognition and respect for diversity.

There are historically built relations between places and the cultural identities of the groups who occupy them. It is possible to see the space and perceive through it, the cultural representation of its people. With a sensitive attentive view, marks of appropriation or abandonment of spaces can be perceived, and this information can tell so much about the history of a community, their places, and their culture. No form of spatial intervention can be thought out without considering how this change alters the social and cultural dynamics of the people involved in this space. Through planned places, it is possible to confirm, value and respect the cultural values of a people. On the other hand, when the wishes of the community involved are not heard in the design process, there is the risk that, through the materiality of the architecture and urbanism, the entire community is denied the right to be and live in the world in the way of life they believe in.

With the development of the proposal, both through its results and the route followed to reach them, it became evident that the spatial products designed by architects and urbanists can and must value the cultural context these are inserted within and the specificities of the communities involved in the process, taking onboard their importance and social responsibility. In collaborative design processes, that consider interdisciplinary and horizontal creation methods, there is a possibility to affirm, from the planned spaces, the cultural diversity, their adhesion to a local context and the commitment for futures increasingly marked by plurality. It is worth mentioning that this project was made with the community. This collaborative construction made it possible for the community to appropriate the proposal in the design phase and support its mobilization, demanding from public authorities, the subsidies that allow its implementation.

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WHEN THE SOUL OF THE CITY HAS
AN ADDRESS:
THE *PRAÇA DO AVIÃO* (CANOAS,
RS, BRAZIL) AS A TERRITORY OF
IDENTITIES, INTANGIBLE HERITAGE
AND CULTURAL PEDAGOGIES

Quando a alma da cidade tem endereço:
a Praça do Avião (Canoas, RS, Brasil) como território
de identidades, patrimônio imaterial e pedagogias
culturais

Cuando el alma de la ciudad tiene una dirección:
Praça do Avião (Canoas, RS, Brasil) como territorio
de identidades, patrimonio inmaterial y pedagogías
culturales

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Upper view of the
Praça do Avião and
its surroundings.
Source: Tony
Capellão

Article based on a research project and disserta-
tion by Jairo AV SCHUTZ, Pedagogies and cultu-
ral representations associated with the Praça do
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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses meanings produced and attributed to a public space of the city of Canoas, RS, popularly referred to as “Praça do Avião” or Aviation Square, a reference not just for the city and its people, but also for the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil. It is based on the research titled “Pedagogias culturais, representações e identidades: a Praça do Avião, patrimônio cultural imaterial de Canoas, RS” (Schutz, 2019). In the last one hundred years, inhabitants, citizens, outsiders, politicians, the military, governments, the press and organized civilian social movements have given multiple meanings and representations to this square, making it evident that it is in no way stable or immutable, but under an ongoing permanent and dynamic transformation and, becoming a territory of conflict. Methodologically, an analysis from the field of Cultural Studies was applied, taking as artifacts, documents and images from collections in local archives, libraries and public organizations, publications in both digital and analog media, in addition to on-site observations. The militarization process of the urban space of Canoas was a key element in the historical narrative, built through marked interventions by the Brazilian air force, *Força Aérea Brasileira* (FAB), with *Praça do Avião* as its symbolic epicenter, especially during the second half of the 20th century, with far-reaching consequences until contemporary times. The analysis focuses on the explanation of the circulation and negotiation of representations and recurring identities, associated with this immaterial cultural heritage, and its role in the context of pedagogies linked to it.

Keywords: *Praça do Avião*, urban space, cultural heritage, urban heritage, cultural identity

RESUMO

O presente artigo aborda significados atribuídos a um espaço público produzido e transformado em referencial para Canoas, RS, bem como para a Região Metropolitana de Porto Alegre, RS, Brasil: a Praça do Avião. Apoia-se de modo especial na pesquisa intitulada *Pedagogias culturais, representações e identidades: a Praça do Avião, patrimônio cultural imaterial de Canoas, RS* (Schutz, 2019). Nos últimos cem anos, habitantes, cidadãos, forasteiros, políticos, militares, governos, imprensa e movimentos da sociedade civil organizada produziram múltiplos sentidos e representações associados a esta praça, deixando evidente tratar-se de um espaço de modo algum estável ou imutável, mas em dinâmica e permanente transformação, acima de tudo, um território de conflito. Metodologicamente, aplicou-se uma análise do campo dos Estudos Culturais, tomando como artefatos documentos e imagens de acervos em arquivos, bibliotecas e órgãos públicos locais, matérias publicadas em mídia impressa e digital, além de observações in loco. Central na narrativa histórica construída foi o processo de militarização do espaço urbano de Canoas, por intervenção da Força Aérea Brasileira, tendo como epicentro simbólico a Praça do Avião, especialmente durante a segunda metade do século XX, com decorrências profundas até a contemporaneidade. A análise privilegia a explicitação da circulação e negociação de representações e identidades recorrentes, associadas a este patrimônio cultural imaterial e seu papel no âmbito de pedagogias a ele vinculadas.

Palavras Chave: *Praça do Avião*, espaço urbano, patrimônio cultural, patrimônio urbano e identidade cultural

RESUMEN

El artículo aborda significados producidos y atribuidos a un espacio público de la ciudad de Canoas, llamado popularmente *Praça do Avião*, una referencia no solo para la ciudad y su población sino que para la Región Metropolitana de Porto Alegre, RS, Brasil. Está embasado en la investigación bajo el título “*Pedagogias culturais, representações e identidades: a Praça do Avião, patrimônio cultural imaterial de Canoas, RS*” (Schutz, 2019). A lo largo de cien años, habitantes, ciudadanos, forasteros, políticos, militares, gobiernos, la prensa y movimientos organizados de la sociedad civil han producido múltiples significados y representaciones sobre la plaza, lo que demuestra no ser ella estable ni inmutable, siguiendo en transformación dinámica y permanente, presentándose como territorio de conflicto. Metodológicamente, se realizó un análisis desde el campo de los Estudios Culturales, tomando como artefactos documentos e imágenes de colecciones y archivos locales, bibliotecas y agencias públicas, artículos publicados en medios impresos y digitales, además de observaciones in situ. El proceso de militarización del espacio urbano de Canoas fue un elemento central en la narrativa histórica construída bajo la destacada participación de la *Força Aérea Brasileira*, con la *Praça do Avião* como su epicentro simbólico, especialmente durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, con profundas consecuencias hasta el día de hoy. El análisis está centrado en la explicación de la circulación y negociación de representaciones e identidades recurrentes, asociadas con este patrimonio cultural inmaterial y su papel en el contexto de las pedagogías a él vinculadas.

Palabras Clave: *Praça do Avião*, espacio urbano, patrimonio cultural, patrimonio urbano e identidad cultural

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1
The Plane Square
Source: Jairo Schutz
Jairo, Ricardo Rieth



Figure 2
Placement of the
Airplane monument,
having in the
background the old
INSS building
Source: Photo
01289 - Municipal
Historical Archive
Collection Dr.
Sezefredo Azambuja
Vieira



The public space is of a collective possession, destined for common use, like streets, squares, parks, avenues, among others, where inhabitants and visitors move around freely. These can be open or closed spaces. Many of these places, sometimes forgotten by civil servants, are either designed to satisfy individual instead of collective wishes or are built giving privilege to cars and not to pedestrians. Rethinking these spaces, adapting them to the needs of the current inhabitants, or simply resignifying them, is the role of architecture, necessary for them to have new appropriations.

This article is fundamentally based on the research called *Pedagogias culturais, representações e identidades: a Praça do Avião, patrimônio cultural imaterial de Canoas, RS* (Cultural teachings, representations and identities: *Praça do Avião*, immaterial cultural heritage of Canoas, RS) (SCHUTZ, 2019). Its goal was to specifically research the practices, uses and representations of Santos Dumont Square, commonly known as *Praça do Avião* or Aviation Square, in Canoas, RS [Figure 1]. It has a privileged location, located alongside the BR-116 highway, one of the busiest highways in the country, with the backdrop of the old *National Social Security Institute* (INPS in Portuguese), already a landmark when the monument was inaugurated until today, as the *Basic Health Unit*, that is found in the same building [Figure 2].

In 1958, this space was already a square, gaining a greater importance in 1968, when it received a monument: an English warplane, a *Gloster Meteor*, donated to the council by the Brazilian Air Force, after being retired in 1966. The square is mainly associated to the presence of the Air Base and of the military in the city. Passersby are permanently warned or reminded about the presence of Air Force officers in the city.

Canoas is part of the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre, in Rio Grande do Sul, with 323,827 inhabitants and a surface area of 131.1 km², according to the 2010 census of the *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics* (IBGE in Portuguese), and since the founding as an urban settlement, which began in 1871, the city has some marked phases in its social imaginary. "Vacation city", "commuter city" and "industrial city" are three characterizations proposed by researchers, with the second being the most recurrent and remembered. Municipal urbanization took place based on the transformation of large pieces of land of the *Fazenda do Gravataí*, acquired by wealthy families in Porto Alegre, who built their summer homes there (JAEGER, 2018, p.14). Little by little, it abandoned its agricultural and vacationing role, becoming a commuter and industry city. The march of urbanization brought homes and neighborhoods without a suitable planning. The urban subdivisions, awoken by the interests of the merchants, were quickly installed (PENNA, CORBELLINI & GAYESKI, 2004, p.23).

If the square is the town's stage, the lead of its own shows, then it is a public meeting space, built for and by the society, infused with symbols and meanings, key landmarks in the formation of paths, of coming and going, of arriving and leaving, concentration and spreading. A pedestrian space – a representative stage of the cultural and historic dimension of the city (FONT, 2003, p.5).

Civic acts, demonstrations, protests, practices and marches of entities, gatherings of religious groups, popular celebrations and school visits occurred and continue to do so there, defining the territory and its ties, thus being subject to defense. These practices reflect diverse contents and means of spreading knowledge, in other words, they correspond to cultural teachings. They teach cultural practices beyond formal education spaces, that guide, set up and govern bodies, that propose to subjects, ways of being and acting within a network of meanings that connect culture and power (ANDRADE; COSTA, 2015). This territory, through the senses and

METHODOLOGY

Figure 3

The Plane Square,
the BR-116 and its
surroundings
Source: Canoas City
Hall -2019



representations attributed to it, becomes a landmark, an anchor for different groups and the for the urban community as a whole. Observing and crossing through the fabric of this network implies an attempt to understand that place as a territory formed dialectically by spatial and cultural dimensions. A place that transcends its physical structure, while supporting a torrent of meanings.

We aim at verifying how the production, mediation, circulation and consumption of representations, by the different subjects and groups involved, and the multiple senses attributed to *Praça do Avião*, are constituted, manifested and can be analyzed, understanding this whole set as immaterial cultural heritage, through the practices carried out there, from the 1960s to the present day. Which representations are associated to the plane, that rests on a concrete pedestal and has had the starring role in the square between 1968 and 2019?

To make this document-based research, combined with observations, notes and later analysis from different viewpoints, information was gathered from texts, books, magazines and newspapers of the *João Palma da Silva Municipal Public Library*, in Canoas, along with articles, thesis projects and dissertations that were looked through in the franchised files of the international computer network. Regarding the events related to the Square, data was collated together with the Secretariats of Culture and Tourism (SMCT) and Education (SME). We see their players and occupations on different days and times. Another source was the news articles published in the local newspaper, *O Timoneiro*, founded in 1966, even from before the inauguration of *Praça do Avião*, but without ignoring what was reported in other newspapers, be these currently in circulation or not.

We share research interests and motivations of authors who discuss the issue of urban spaces and their collective uses. By walking by *Praça do Avião* and seeing the movement in its immediate surroundings, the confirmation of how “the space has become a passing place, measured by the ease with which we walk through it or we walk away from it” is awoken. The experience of the visitor to the square contrasts radically with that of the individual who drives by or is a passenger in cars, buses or trucks for whom “the urban space loses all its appeal [...], who just want to pass through and are not excited by it” (SENNETT, 2008). For decades, *Praça do Avião* has been attractive for the inhabitants of Canoas because it is close to the city center, and the main resources, services and alternatives, be this in the public or private sector. For them, going from neighborhoods to the “center promised a horizon of wishes and dangers, the exploration of a territory that was always different” (SARLO, 1997). In recent times, this has profoundly changed, due to the decentralization of offers into small “centers” in the neighborhoods and by the spread of shopping centers; Canoas has two (Canoas Shopping and Park Shopping Canoas), along many more in the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre. The shopping center has become today’s public square, and almost every one of them has a cinema, restaurants, stores, and indoor amusement parks (SARLO, 2014). A space where some of the minimum requirements of the city are ensured: order, clarity, cleanliness, and safety, which for different reasons were no longer present in the center of Canoas, even in *Praça do Avião* [Figure 3].

Among the academic works reviewed, it is possible to highlight those that sought to understand the public spaces of Canoas from the perspective of its population. In one of these, 115 people were interviewed, 83% of them residents and 17% visitors. *Praça do Avião* is the place that most and best represents the image of the city for those interviewed. In the general context of public highways, the BR 116 highway is identified as the most relevant. It

Figure 4
The square and at the bottom the BR-116
Source: Jairo Schutz
Jairo, Ricardo Rieth



RESULTS

CANOAS, ITS ORIGINS, AND THE SQUARES

Figure 5
Old Canoas Station in the year 1874
Source: book Caminhos de Ferro do Rio Grande do Sul, J. R. Souza Dias, 1987



1 Name of a person born in the city of Canoas.

was noted in the answers that the built cultural heritage has no relevance in the imagination of the people of Canoas. Another identity of Canoas was revealed, of the “pass through city”, due to the great number of daily pendular movements made in the Metropolitan Region, along the BR-116 highway and the surface train, *Trensurb*, that divide the city’s territory into three main areas. With this, the elements along these roads gain strength in the construction of the identity (BECKER; PEREIRA, 2019).

With the locomotion’s technology, also towards the outskirts, the space turned into a passageway, because of how easy it is to get there and to leave from there (SENNETT, 2008). On this passageway, in front of the airplane monument, it is possible to contemplate a military artifact, a symbol of warning, of readiness, so that, at any time, once the command is given, it takes off, no longer being an ornament, but becoming once more, a warplane. It is possible to see a panorama of relations between several territories, different subjects, within the same city and verify the interrelations that permeate the collective experience in this urban space [Figure 4].

In the following sections, we address Canoas, its origins, the importance of the Brazilian Air Force for the city, the militarization of the square and, finally, we present some results that will support the hypothesis that public spaces, if necessary, can be resignified.

The railroad that would unite São Leopoldo and Porto Alegre, passing through Canoas, represented an important milestone for the city. The same can be said today regarding *Trensurb*, a surface train implemented in 1985. Construction began on November 26th, 1871, ending 3 years later, on April 14th, 1874. Canoas grew around the train station, when it still belonged to the municipalities of Gravataí and São Sebastião do Caí. In that same year, the opening of the first subdivision, next to the local station, took place. [Figure 5].

In 1935, the Regional Air Command – COMAR – was set up in Canoas and the emancipation process, the long-yearned desire of the *Canoenses*¹, progressed quickly due to the influence of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB). Emancipated on June 27th, 1989 by State Decree N° 7839, the city was set up on January 15th, 1940, date which is commemorated by the name of the city center’s main street. Edgar Braga da Fontoura became the first Mayor of the city, with 40,128 inhabitants.

Since its foundation, administrators have had to resolve many issues with urban infrastructure, working neighborhoods were built, many in areas that were often likely to be flooded. The Sinos and Gravataí rivers bathe the shorelines of Canoas, and it is in the Jacuí Delta area, as well as having many streams and lakes around its urban limits. Canoas, on being low-lying, is prone to floods. The first two mayors tried to mobilize the influential merchants and politicians of the time to develop a civic center farther from the railroad and the highway, to place it on higher land, away from the marshlands. The established economic and political leaders, considering that the site of its historic origin was there, went against the petition, under the influence of the railroad and civic center. This fact led Edgar Braga da Fontoura to present his resignation from his position in his first year as mayor.

Aluizio Palmeiro Escobar (1941-1945) saw his administration marked by great floods in April and May 1941. He supported the new subdivisions, starting to prepare construction plans and work codes looking not just to face the flooding issues, but the future growth of the city. In 1946, the third mayor, Nelson Paim Terra, bought the lot between the current streets of Ipiranga and Frei Orlando, from Victor Barreto Avenue until the BR-116, to install the civic center. In 1948, the area was divided up and opened into XV de Janeiro

Figure 6

The Emancipation
Square
Source: Jairo Schutz
Jairo, Ricardo Rieth



Street, and the construction of the local government building also began. The area in front of this was destined to the construction of the future square that would be called *Praça da Emancipação*, or Emancipation Square, (PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE CANOAS, 2019) [Figure 6].

This block would become the new civic center, answering part of the demands of the merchants and ultimately archiving the plans of the first mayors, Edgar Braga da Fontoura and Aloízio Palmeiro de Escobar, in the past. Far from the polemic about the civic center, another square stood out, *Praça do Avião*, as it is commonly known, but whose official name is *Praça Santos Dumont*, with a war “plane” as a monument. In truth, since 1958, the same year of the inauguration of *Praça da Emancipação*, it was called *Praça Cinquentenário La Salle*, in reference to the arrival, presence and actions of the La Salle brotherhood in Canoas.

In the period of mayor José João de Medeiros (1960-1963), investments on a broad construction plan were prioritized. At the same time, important heavy transformational industries were set up in the city, along with the largest of all the companies, the Alberto Pasqualini Refinery (HISTÓRIA DOS NOSSO PREFEITOS, 2005). It started its operations in 1968, as a business unit of PETROBRAS – *Petróleo Brasileiro S.A.*, an open capital company, whose majority shareholder is the Federal Government, thus being a mixed economy state company.

The newspaper, *O Timoneiro* printed their first issues of 1968 with several mentions of *Praça do Avião* in their headlines. In the week of January 17th to January 24th, 1968, the front page was covered with the news that the *Monumento à Aviação*, which would be located at *Praça Cinquentenário La Salle*, would be finished within the month. The Gloster Meteor craft was given by the Canoas Air Base after having completed 21,838 flight hours. With this transfer, a contract was signed that would make the City responsible for keeping the turbine and exhaust lights lit. The Air Base agreed to perform an annual maintenance of its old heritage.

In the next issue, for the week of January 24th to January 31st, 1968, *O Timoneiro* published a piece about the inauguration of the monument. At that time, according to the weekly, Lagranha, the incumbent mayor, had said “*that this will be the most important point of tourism for our city*”; he also remembered the friendly ties there were between civilians and the military in the city. Brigadier Nei Gomes da Silva recalled the achievements of the Gloster Meteor, calling it a “hero” with many flight hours, that was abandoning the skies to remain in everyone’s memory. He stated that the “*monument is a symbol of the FAB’s love for Canoas*”.

Nine years after the square’s inauguration, the newspaper, *Fato Ilustrado* informed that, on October 21st, 1977, in the celebration of Air Force Week, the square would change its name to Alberto Santos Dumont Square, as a result of the bill of councilman Mussoline La Roque da Quadros. The news story also commented that “for the hearts of the most sentimental, it would still be called *Praça do Avião*”.

Jeison Silva, from the newspaper, *Diário de Canoas*, on April 20th, 2019, anticipating the issues related with the 80th anniversary of the emancipation of Canoas, wrote that this is a city whose name is connected to a ship, but its inspiration came through the air. He plays with the fact that a city, which takes the name of a type of common vessel from the olden days, chose an airplane as its symbol. He highlighted that the arrival of the Brazilian Air Force, deliberately using a pun, divided the waters for the development of Canoas. There would be nothing fairer than immortalizing this connection with the city.

The movements, negotiations, and fights regarding the names of the square, be these official or popular, reflect the appearance of new meanings, the questioning of symbols and the shocks to the iconic architecture of the established models.

THE BRAZILIAN AIR FORCE IN CANOAS AND THE MILITARIZATION OF THE SQUARE

We now address certain aspects of FAB's history, its origins, and the installation of the military base in the city of Canoas. At the beginning of the 1950s, the FAB lost more ground every year, in terms of the quality and depreciation of its equipment, a trend that coincided with the modernization process of air forces of neighboring countries. In an effort for technological renewal, in 1953, 60 Meteor FMk8 and 10 Meteor TMk7 Biplane aircraft were bought from England, in exchange for 15,000 tons of cotton, bringing Brazil into the era of jet aviation. The FAB, due to its importance for the history of Brazilian military aviation, began to present air bases and public entities with "modified" versions of the Meteor, after its retirement, to act as adornments.

The FAB's base came to Canoas after 1938, under the command of Captain Miguel Lampert. Among the many complications that arose from the start of the military unit's administration, was the distance to the municipal buildings, at the time in Gravataí. Lampert met with the regiment's officers in his office to look at the steps they would take. 3 possible solutions were discussed: 1) transfer of the municipality from the town of Gravataí to Canoas; 2) annexing the territory of Canoas to the municipality of Porto Alegre; 3) emancipation of the territory of Canoas, turning it into a municipality with the annexation of Santa Rita dos Sinos, which back then was a rural district of São Sebastião do Caí. This last alternative was considered the most reasonable, as it was a long-lasting wish of the citizens of Canoas. Vitor Hugo Ludwig, a Canoas doctor, was invited to lead the emancipatory process, on having been the mayor of Gravataí and, as such, knowledgeable regarding local administrative issues, as well as having great prestige in the *Canoense* civil sphere (SILVA, 1989).

Today, whoever sits on a bench in *Praça do Avião*, sponsored by *Casa Yole*, a traditional store in Canoas in the 1960s, can go back in time. Contemplating a warplane, installed there in 1968, lets us remember the so-called "Years of Lead". Memories hark back to the Military Government period, between 1964 and 1985, and especially to the exacerbation of authoritarianism phase, starting from 1968, with the suppression of individual rights and the political radicalization in Brazil. It is possible to think about the historic circumstances of a military plane, placed in a public square, in a city declared as a national security area, where the mayor was not elected by popular vote, but rather assigned by comptrollers, where individual freedoms, constitutional principles and the civil code had their principles suspended.

With the resignation of President Jânio Quadros in 1961, military sectors tried to impede that the Vice-President, João Belchior Marques Goulart, assumed the Presidency. This man, known popularly as Jango, was on an official visit to China. Suspected because of his political background, it was alleged that his taking over would jeopardize national security, associating Jango with the threat of installing communism in Brazil. In 1964, the regime that brought down President João Goulart, closed radio and television stations, making censorship a common practice. The Legality Campaign took place during this period, a movement organized by several politicians, sympathizers of Jango. The plane viewed by those sitting on the square's bench was taken to form a squadron, put on alert for a possible attack on the Piratini Palace, the seat of Government in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, to repress the Legality movement (CALIXTO, 2011).

Ney de Moura Calixto, then a sergeant and pilot at the Air Base, cousin of the then Governor of Rio Grande do Sul, Leonel de Moura Brizola, inhabitant of a functional residence, became the star when he and other sergeants aborted the takeoff of the Gloster Meteor raid, that would bomb

DISCUSSION

PRAÇA DO AVIÃO AS IMMATERIAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

the city of Porto Alegre, on the order of the Minister of War, with the intention of silencing the network for legality (CALIXTO, 2011). What would the plane represent in the square? Would it be a permanent warning of the mayor and the FAB to the population that, in this square, where a warplane rests, as testimony of the military presence in the city, that no war would be fought?

For Françoise Choay, the word heritage was initially linked to family and economic structures, being later reclassified by several adjectives. Today, it has taken on new connotations. According to the author:

The expression designates a good destined to the usufruct of a community which has expanded to planetary dimensions, built by the continuous accumulation of a diversity of objects that come together because of their common past: works and masterpieces of fine and applied arts, works and products of all knowledge and savoir-faire of human beings (CHOAY, 2017).

Thus heritage, according to its particularity and significant form of expression, is cataloged as cultural, determining its safeguarding (protection), to ensure its continuity and conservation (idem, ibidem).

In the city of Canoas, the role of managing the historic, artistic, and cultural heritage falls upon the Municipal Culture and Tourism Secretary (SMCT). It was only from 1993, that *Canoense* society began to formally become concerned about their cultural assets. A late movement, when compared to Porto Alegre, which passed its Organic Law in 1971 and, in article 117, already determined the raising of cultural assets for the purposes of future protection and declaration of public usefulness (GRAEBIN, GRAEFF & GRACIANO (2014, p.3).

Law N°3,875, from August 10th, 1994, sets the protection of municipal historic and artistic heritage. This is the first municipal legal registry where matters of heritage are set out, although buildings are not listed. The 2008 Master Plan, Law N°5,341, superseded by Law N°5,961 of 2015, in turn, was the first to present matters of heritage interest, which is left clear in its art. 5, directive XIII – protection, conservation and recovery of the natural and built environment, the cultural, historic, artistic, landscape and archaeological heritage, as well as the creation of Zones of Special Cultural Interest (ZEIC in Portuguese), which are areas that see the presence of cultural heritage that is representative of the culture and the history of the city (PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE CANOAS, 2008).

The expression of immaterial cultural assets refers to those practices and domains of social life that are manifested in knowledge, artisanry, ways of doing, celebrations, forms of scenic, plastic, musical or ludic expression and in places (like markets, fairs and sanctuaries that house collective cultural practices), that the communities, groups and individuals recognize as an integral part of their cultural heritage. This definition follows the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Immaterial Cultural Heritage, ratified by Brazil in March 2006, according to the *Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage* (IPHAN, s.d.).

We characterize *Praça do Avião* as immaterial cultural heritage because cultural practices are symbolically built. Civic acts, demonstrations, protests, practices and marches of entities, gatherings of religious groups, popular celebrations and visits of schoolchildren happen there, which end up defining territories and their ties, and as such it is susceptible to being defended [Figure 7]. *Praça do Avião* is still not registered as protected cultural



Figure 7
The square being used as a protest site
Source: Rita Garrido / STIMMEC and Diário de Canoas

heritage. Conceptually, the first square protected as immaterial heritage of humanity, according to Pelegrini and Funari (2013) was *Fna Djamaa*, the main square in the city of Marrakech. For centuries, it has been the meeting point of country folk and merchants in the Atlas mountainous region and the south of Morocco. A place which is no longer a gathering point, a geographic landmark, but rather a cultural landmark in Marrakech. Stuart Hall (2015) highlights the constitutive power of language and cultural representations, that not only “speak about”, but rather build and invent the things and subjects they speak about. Hall considers that the meanings which circulate in culture, challenge the subjects and contribute to the construction of their subjectivities and identities, and conceive cultural identity as a historic construction of real, material and symbolic effects, constituting a positioning of the social players.

In August 2018, around 100 Year-4 students from the Paulo Freire Municipal Primary School (EMEF), from the Guajuviras neighborhood, one of the most populous and poorest of the city, visited the historic sites of Canoas, including *Praça do Avião*. In a later conversation with the students, they said that “they had been to Canoas”. In this way, heading downtown is the equivalent of going to another city. There is no belonging regarding *Praça do Avião* and downtown. Although they are neighborhoods of the same city, there is a strong contrast between the territory of Guajuviras and the territory of *Praça do Avião*.

The newspaper, *Diário de Canoas* published, on January 22nd, 2018, a report under the title “*Flight is only in the imagination*”. Lauro Bittencourt was interviewed, who at that time had been working for 29 years next to the square. “I think that this is the most important landmark of Canoas. Whether to say that what you’re looking for is far or close to the airplane”, Bittencourt said.

The square and its individual or collective subjects express a setting of negotiation, a field of dispute both from the material and discourse points of view. It is a negotiated, constituted space, used by heterogenous groups and partial publics. We realize that the “belonging” and “identity” are not rock-solid, are not guaranteed for life, are very negotiable and revocable, and that the decisions the individual makes, the roads they take, the way they act, and the determination of remaining firm facing all this, are crucial factors both for the “belonging” and for the “identity” (BAUMAN, 2005, p.17).

The square is used, from the past until today, when showing a speaking place is sought. Often, the city’s main events have been held in *Praça do Avião*. In newspaper, radio, television and on the Internet, the spatial reference to *Praça do Avião* is constantly used as a resource to facilitate the event’s location, or the situation being referred to, by the receiving public. The city and its public spaces are neither static nor immutable, but rather they permanently assume new meanings produced by their inhabitants and visitors.

PRAÇA DO AVIÃO RESIGNIFIED

Canoas is a city that has four monuments with planes, spread over different neighborhoods. The most relevant is *Praça do Avião*. Much more than a symbol, the plane in the square represents the decisive participation of officers linked to the Air Base and to V COMAR (today, ALA 3), in the political and social life of Canoas, since their arrival in 1937. The presence of military in the town is seen at different times, be this in official acts or celebrations, for example, when the military barracks open their doors to receive the population, especially children and young people, in an act for Children's Day, celebrated on October 12th in Brazil. Alongside this, reference is also made to *Semana da Asa*, when Alberto Santo Dumont, the father of aviation, the FAB and aviation in general are commemorated. Their influence is not limited to the flybys of jets that plough the skies or to the monuments of planes spread throughout the city. Currently, they are commemorated with names of streets, schools, and squares (FAB, 2019).

It is common to find records of the square being used as a space for contemplation, emotional experiences, and the exchange of experiences. Several of these uses, common in the past, seem to have been abandoned. However, *Praça do Avião* still is requested as a meeting place, as well as to promote demonstrations and protests (SCHUTZ, 2019).

The spaces of *Praça do Avião*, as well as the buildings around it, have seen changes over half a century. In this context, there is a need to evaluate actions used to preserve the urban centers, in order to identify conservation practices that allow the development of social actions, like the promotion of cultural, leisure and other activities, conciliating the urban growth and the conservation of the history and memory of the spaces of the city.

During the research, we checked the use of this space for festive dates, seeing, for example, the ornamentation of the Christmas celebrations. The use continues to be paradoxical, as an artifact of war, attacks and the extermination of life is associated with a celebration of renewed hope. However, where else in the city would this initiative stand out?

Among the square's benches, there are remains of the inauguration times, in 1958, when it was called *Cinquentenário La Salle*. They are identifiable from the announcements sponsored by local merchants. In the center of it all, the war plane, itself a commemorative landmark in the life of civilians and the military, heroes of battles, personalities and anonymous users, a reference landmark in the permanent traffic and negotiation of teachings, representations and meanings around the square, the city and the region.

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Original, unpublished texts may be submitted in Spanish, Portuguese or English, and occasionally articles will be selected for translation and publication in English. Manuscripts may only be submitted via the online platform and according to the format in the Guidelines for Authors. Articles should have an IMRaD structure (Introduction, Methodology, Results and Discussion), in addition to presenting conclusions and bibliographic references as specified by the Guidelines for Authors. Lack of compliance with these norms implies two possible editorial decisions: exclusion of the article from the editorial process, or the retraction of the article if it has already been published.

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- The article follows the IMRaD structure (Introduction, Methodology, Results, Discussion and conclusions) bibliographic reference and its graphic material, figures and/or tables is provided in separate files.
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- All the tables and/or figures are appropriately numbered, titled and/or captioned and their source is indicated, whether they come from open format files, they were created by the authors, or the authors of this article have permission from the original authors of the graphic material to use the table/figure.
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The abstract may contain a maximum of 300 words (in Spanish) and a minimum of 150 (in Spanish); in addition, it must be translated into the two other obligatory languages (English/Portuguese). It should synthesize the objectives of the research, the methodology used, and the most important conclusions, and emphasize the original contributions made.

2.1. Keywords

The submission must include 5 (five) keywords. In all cases (and especially in terms of the architecture/urbanism disciplines) they must be selected from the Network of Architecture, Art, Design and Urbanism Libraries' Vitruvio Controlled Vocabulary webpage, available at <https://vocabularyserver.com/vitruvio/>. If the terms are from other disciplines, they should be chosen from the **UNESCO Thesaurus**.

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Tables include additional information that when necessary broadens the content of the text with data or statistics. If used, tables must be cited in the text and should be numbered sequentially with Arabic numerals. They should be included in the article near where they are referenced, as in the following example:

“Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit, sed do eiusmod tempor incididunt ut labore et dolore magna aliqua. Ut enim ad minim veniam, quis nostrud exercitation ullamco laboris nisi ut aliquip ex ea commodo consequat (Table 1). Duis aute irure dolor in reprehenderit in voluptate velit esse cillum dolore eu fugiat nulla pariatur.”

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- 1. In a file separate from the text, include the title of each table in the article. The file in MS Word format should be named “Tables”, be written in Calibri size 11 font, with 1.15 line spacing, and in the case of multiple-line titles there should be a hanging indent after the first line.
- 2. Tables should be listed according to their numbering, including a brief description and the source of the information. For example:
Table 3: Chronological evaluation of temperature increase in adobe walls. Source authors
Table 4: Increase in humidity in winter months in adobe walls. Source authors
- 3. Each table should be attached individually as a separate file, which should be named according to the table and number, i.e. (Table 1).
- 4. Tables will only be accepted in the following editable formats: .doc, .docx, .xls, and .xlsx. PDF, PPT, JPG and TIFF formats will not be accepted.

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A maximum of 8 (eight) illustrations may accompany the article text and should be of an appropriate quality for printing. Advancement through the article evaluation process is conditional on strict compliance with the following requirements, Arquitecturas del Sur reserves the right to not publish images that do not comply with this requirement

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“Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit, sed do eiusmod tempor incididunt ut labore et dolore magna aliqua. Ut enim ad minim veniam, quis nostrud exercitation ullamco laboris nisi ut aliquip ex ea commodo consequat (Figure 2). Duis aute irure dolor in reprehenderit in voluptate velit esse cillum dolore eu fugiat nulla pariatur.”

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This section must include all of the references cited throughout the text. It should have a minimum of 20 references, a third of which should be no older than 5 years. All references and bibliographic citations should conform to APA formatting rules (<https://normasapa.com/category/referencias-y-bibliografia/>)

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