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Cultura, Resistência e Transgressão no Rio de Janeiro: dos movimentos das favelas aos protestos de 2013

**Culture, Resistance, and Transgression in Rio de
Janeiro: From favelas movements to the 2013
Riots**

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RESUMO

O processo de apagar as características que não se encaixam em uma imagem comercializável do Rio de Janeiro - como favelas, desabrigados e prostitutas - junto com des-investimentos territoriais e infraestruturais -, tem gerado uma onda transgressiva e criativa na cidade, resultando em diferentes manifestações políticas e culturais dos cidadãos, construída sobretudo por movimentos sociais que transformam a cultura em atitude estética política e a política em uma atitude de resistência cultural, criando diversas manifestações na esfera pública. Elas variam desde as propostas de grupos de artistas nas favelas, mostrando sua diversidade e sua capacidade de proliferação, até os movimentos de 2013, reunindo redes altamente virais e transgressivas com manifestações criativas dos cidadãos. Ambos os tipos de resistência - provenientes das favelas e dos movimentos - foram estudados recentemente: o Observatório das Favelas mapeou movimentos culturais através de um estudo qualitativo sobre as manifestações de 400 organizações de cinco favelas. Estudantes do Programa de Arquitetura e Urbanismo da Universidade Federal Fluminense realizaram uma pesquisa probabilística com 385 participantes dos movimentos de junho de 2013 e mapearam qualitativamente suas abordagens imagéticas, permitindo especular sobre a organização e as formas culturais das manifestações. As lições para o planejamento de uma cidade mais cidadã e justa parecem incluir o que não deve ser feito por parte do governo e o que não deve ser negligenciado ou deve ser mais incentivado por parte dos movimentos sociais.

Palavras Chave: resistência, transgressão, movimentos culturais, favelas, manifestações 2013.

ABSTRACT

The process of trying to erase the features which do not fit in a marketable image of Rio - such as favelas, homeless and prostitutes - together with territorial and infrastructure des-investments -, have raised a transgressive and creative wave in Rio, resulting into different political and cultural insertions of citizens in the public arena, notably built on social movements that transform culture into a political aesthetic attitude and politics into a cultural resistance attitude, both creating diverse manifestations in the public sphere. They range from artists groups proposals in Rio's favelas, showing their diversity and their proliferating capacity, to the 2013 Rio riots organization, assembling highly viral and transgressive networks, and the rioting citizens' creative manifestations. Both types of resistance - stemming from favelas and from the riots - have been studied recently: the Favela Observatory mapped cultural movements through a qualitative study on the manifestations of 400 organizations from five slums. Graduate students at the Architecture and Urban Planning Program of the Federal Fluminense University also conducted a probabilistic survey with 385 participants of the June 2013 riots together with different qualitative approaches to the manifestations, allowing us to speculate on the organization and the cultural forms of the demonstrations. Lessons for planning towards a more citizen-responsive and just city seem to include what should not be done on the government part and what should not be overlooked or should be more encouraged on the social movements part.

Keywords: resistance, transgression, cultural manifestations, slums, 2013 riots.

INTRODUCTION

The golden days of Taylor, Ford and Keynes are gone. That world in which durable goods were produced for the consumption of a well-paid working class amply supported by the state, is over. In the words of David Harvey, that is the nature of social life, forever undergoing change, transformation, and reconfiguration. The Keynesian state of the 1940s and 1950s was replaced by the managerial approach in the 1960s and subsequently by neoliberal, entrepreneurial administrations in the 1970s and 1980s with the wide adoption of strategic planning.

Strategic planning entails city plans designed by experts and authorities in order to meet overall market objectives. Plans are financed by the private sector, which becomes, to the same extent that it finances them, the decision maker. Strategic planning is thus seen as the preferred neoliberal mode of administering, as it trusts the markets and the private sector, leaving to public officials the task of meeting the market's needs. Brazilian cities, which only turned to urban entrepreneurialism in the 1990s, did it with considerable delay in comparison to First World local administrations, what only made the process more aggressive.

Favelas do not fit in a marketable image of Rio and must be erased from the scenario through hygienist policies. As the state and its partners recreate the structure and the urban images in order to sell the city, they also subvert all social priorities and the communities manifest themselves against it. The intense and diverse daily lives in Rio's favelas are unequivocal demonstrations of their challenges to the poverty-stricken and violent stereotypes and stigmas imposed on them by the hegemonic model; their manifestations transform culture into a political aesthetic attitude and politics into a cultural resistance attitude, both creating diverse manifestations in favelas' public spaces.

On the other hand, Rio neoliberal governments with their local development strategies – from the attraction of mega-events and megaprojects with the insertion of architectural icons, refurbishment of urban structure and infrastructure in selected zones, and intervention in heritage sites, to the formulation of legal or paralegal instruments as exception acts – while accused of corruption have also disturbed the middle classes daily lives, which organize themselves towards collective protests. As recorded during the 2013 riots, they occupied the city public spaces to show their frustrations and willingness to transgress, and revealed, besides their political understandings, new forms of organizing and networking.

Both types of resistance – stemming from favelas and from the riots - have been studied recently: the Favela Observatory mapped cultural movements through a qualitative study on the manifestations of 400 organizations from Cidade de Deus, Complexo do Alemão, Complexo da Penha, Manguinhos and Rocinha slums. Graduate students at the Architecture and Urban Planning Program of the Federal Fluminense University also conducted a probabilistic survey with 385 participants of the June 2013 riots together with different qualitative approaches to the manifestations, allowing us to speculate on the organization and the cultural forms of the demonstrations. Complementing this survey, a qualitative study of images representing the riots published on Google was undertaken in order to apprehend what types of messages were conveyed. The two latter studies took place between October and November 2013.

Among the main findings the paper supports Carlos (1996) argument that the production of the quotidian in Post-modernity reproduces an urban way of life that highlights mass culture and globalization forces by standardizing procedures and practices that tend to homogenize individuals' behaviors and demands. This seems applicable to both the stigmas on favela residents,

which determines a generalized prejudice and very homogeneous judgements of their characters, and to the 2013 rioters, as they mirrored other manifestations around the world.

Notwithstanding, as argued in the paper, the possibilities of transgressing apparently consolidated models are exposed in daily life through small and spotted expressions that recover traditional practices common to different social groups inside favelas. On the contrary, the 2013 protesters mimicked other movements around the world – together with their symbols - and ended up reinforcing globalization and the neoliberal canons they were rioting about.

As such, planners should not only encourage genuine and creative ways to express territoriality, but also be careful when reading urban social movements in the informational era.

STRATEGIC PLANNING: UNDERPINNINGS, DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES

Strategic planning entails city plans designed by experts and authorities in order to meet overall market objectives; they might adopt any means, as far as they prove efficient and effective, regardless of value and/or normative issues. Plans are financed by the private sector, which becomes, to the same extent that it finances them, the decision maker. Decision making processes fly from governments' hands into the private sector's hands, shrinking the public sector with its own approval. Torres Ribeiro (apud Câmara, 2006) concludes that the economy imposed itself onto politics and the markets onto the states, increasing inequality levels and income concentration. States reinforced repressive policies and cities are now managed as companies.

Deepening the neo-liberalization process, the globalization era that grew in the 1980s and 1990s transformed the world and intensified the competition dynamic between locations (Borja and Forn, 1996), which ended up turning strategic planning into the hegemonic neoliberal model - the *pensée unique*. The economic and political deterioration of nation states, together with the transnationalization of monetary flows, further encouraged local governments to try and attract private investments and international capital without resorting to national channels (Harvey 1989; Jessop 1997; Maricato 2003). This picture resulted in minimum states and plans drawn by the second sector according to their interests, leaving our cities hopelessly subjected to capital.

In post-industrial production times and pressed by the need to grow 3% a year for a minimum system's maintenance (which currently means to grow minimally 2.25 trillion dollars a year), capital claims reconfiguring more and more built spaces for its expansion (Harvey, 1982) be it through accumulation by dispossession, through creating real estate added value, and/or through structural and image changes related to the tourism/events industry, hiding and erasing favelas or otherwise poor regions. Concentrative policies that lessen investments in health and education services while increasing public expenditures on market-oriented projects, the privatization of public infrastructure and services in general, the casualization and shrinking of the job market and the mobility/transportation crises hit specially the poor and in Rio de Janeiro, specially favelas inhabitants.

With astonishing and always renewed efficiency, capital expansion also takes place through cultural endeavors, through the 'acquisition' of intangible lifestyles and cultural standards, especially within the middle classes. In the third industrial revolution, the consumer society's abstract space outweighs the territorialized and everyday spaces of social relations. Those most exposed to the virtual world acquire worldly ways of manifesting themselves, as can be seen in global signs of "liking", or "disliking", and of participating through a public space called "the web".

Neoliberal governments in Rio - Since 1992 the neoliberal official discourse in Rio de Janeiro emphasizes an urban 'crisis', which has to be addressed through efficient management, order enforcement and the attraction of economic activities and investments, after the Barcelona's ideal representation. From then, City Hall has systematically ran after the Olympic dream, while managing land uses, investments and housing according to strategic planning cannons.

A couple of master plans have been since designed aiming at the attraction of mega-events and the development of megaprojects to change the image of the city – from the crisis scenario into an international destination for tourists and global capital. The 1993 Strategic Plan (PEC-RJ) designed official policies aimed at developing a number of mega-projects with impacts on the internal and external image of the city in order to make it an international destination. Using mega-events as an excuse, numerous changes in the urban structure have been implemented throughout the city while City Hall chooses to ignore the slums in a comfortable attitude towards the social problems and economic solutions they offer. Communities, workers and society as a whole feel the pressures, threats, violence and excesses in their daily lives and get organized to manifest themselves in urban public spaces, in institutional spaces and/or more recently in virtual spaces, as could be seen during the 2013 demonstrations and can be seen daily in their cultural manifestations.

Control and oppression mechanisms are the other side of the strategic planning coin and are mostly used on demonstrations, social movements, and communities located in areas considered "dangerous", especially favelas. In the city of Rio de Janeiro go hand in hand with a long process of ongoing and punitive occupation of slums, called "community policing", which results in the criminalization of poor areas and social movements.

SEGREGATIVE POLICIES AND CULTURAL RESISTANCE IN PUBLIC SPACES

According to Santos (2009 p. 23), "the organization of space is not indifferent to the 'quality' of the capital installed in different parts of space", meaning that technology and organizations, as part of the "new accumulation structure", deepen economic concentration in privileged spaces. For Camara (2006, p. 38), the city is testimony to "the marks of a historical accumulation of rules that have guided its own formation and appropriation" producing a segregated modernization and a morphology based on working class ghettos. In Bourdieu (1997), social space can be understood as the product of differentiation by different groups with different access to different goods. Clearly there is no social space constituted of undifferentiated citizens with access to all common goods.

In building his field concept, Bourdieu (1987) proposes the habitus concept as a "system of the social order constitutive differences" in which the ownership of financial and cultural capital will dictate structural hierarchies of actions and symbolisms; in this case, objective possibilities conform imaginaries and subjective expectations, the latter conditioned by the subject's perceptions of his/her own social position. According to the author (1997), personal identity would come from each individual's complex and multiple representations/imaginaries of reality, given his/her position in the urban habitus. Edward Soja (2010), building on the social and cultural capital concepts, proposes the consideration of the spatial capital, for the places and urban conditions the citizen has access to – his/her dwelling unit, job, leisure and services locations - will also determine his/her chances, expectations and position.

Coming from a Gramscian perspective, Serpa speculates that the subordinated classes' fractions "produce subdominant or alternative cultures when facing ruling classes hegemonic strategies of cultural production" (Serpa 2013 p. 148). In so doing the subordinated classes would be exercising a desire to subvert Bourdieu's habitus: fractions of the subordinate classes would be ultimately challenging power structures through different space appropriations. Finally, according to Serpa, different class fractions' spaces of representation "contain and also express the struggles and conflicts [of such fractions] for domination of these places conception's strategies" (Serpa 2013 p. 176). Thus, in Serpa, the conception of popular spaces reveals the underlying conflict between dominated class fractions' and hegemonic imaginaries.

In the third industrial revolution communication, information and transportation technologies have practically eliminated commercial and global distances. Thus, the abstract space engendered by the globalized consumer society supplants the territorialized and daily spaces of social relations. The production of the quotidian reproduces a universal and urban way of life that highlights mass culture and globalization forces (Carlos, 1996), standardizing procedures and practices that tend to homogenize individuals' behaviors and demands. The modern tensions between the collective and contextualized human being and the individual and abstract being (Sousa Santos, 1993) is overwhelmingly demonstrated in the production of public spaces¹, as they show the coexistence, not always peaceful, between public and private spheres, between the contemporary and the traditional, between individuals, groups and the collective.

The possibilities of transgressing apparently consolidated models – based on an abstract and individual subjectivity - are exposed in daily life and public spaces through small and spotted expressions that recover traditional and contextualized practices common to different social groups. Urban places are spaces of resistance, where different rationalities – the systemic (more modern, institutionalized, structured and hierarchical) rationality and the communicative (more vernacular, popular, free and horizontal) meet and get in conflict (Habermas, 1981). As such, they are spaces of state and citizen action, spaces of industrial-capitalist production/reproduction maintenance, and also territories of the tradition in new forms, of collective-based conflict, of popular manifestations.

INSURGENT CULTURAL PRACTICES IN POPULAR TERRITORIES

The city of Rio de Janeiro stands out in the globalized touristic guides, not only for the power of its beautiful natural landscapes. Come into the picture elements of its cultural richness that creates the image of a cosmopolitan city. However it is important to remember that popular practices have an important role in the construction of the cultural identity of a metropolis carioca, where we can highlight carnival, samba, football and more recently, funk, charme and hip-hop. These expressions are directly linked with popular territories, especially the slums, while they burst these limits to give to the city of Rio de Janeiro the national and international name of cidade maravilhosa (Barbosa, 2010).

Even though the stigma of poverty and criminality still marks the slums, the richness of their artistic and cultural production is vital to legitimate the presence of those territories in the city. Although they are not defined by the hegemonic standard of production, the slums cultural

¹ Here meaning all spaces where the public sphere can be lived, including institutions such as justice courts and hyperspaces, such as the web.

repertoires generate artworks in networks of sociability that create, integrate and renovate urban aesthetics experiences.

We understand that culture is a significant practice of appropriation and use of the territory, which means to create and update the various ways we live in the world. The territory is carved with symbols, memories and values that embody the meaning of culture. We mustn't consider the territory as a closed space or with impermeable limits. The territory in fact should be seen and experienced through its porous faces, where exchange relations of narratives, images and objects are made in different intensities, especially in territories inscribed in dense and complex metropolis as the ones in our current historical-geographical period.

In a first glance at the slums we are not able to identify equipments of culture consumption – as museums, cinemas, libraries, theaters, etc,- which are hegemonic emblems of a civilized culture. This does not mean that slums are not spaces of cultural aesthetic inventions. Samba schools, carnival groups, terreiros of Umbanda and Candomblé, become places of popular aesthetic creation and enjoyment, which affirm and consecrate Afro-Brazilian culture in the city. Streets, squares, alleys and corners are filled with aesthetic repertoires bringing different ways of creating urban culture such as funk dances, hip-hop parties and battles, with thousands of people attending. Graffiti colors and videos also are a self-portrait of the slums and their residents as subject of rights. Notwithstanding the plurality of narrative methods and the innovate forms of creation, the cultural experiences in the slums face permanent challenges in order to be acknowledge in the urban scene.

In our investigation with 400 entities that promote cultural activities in five slums (Rocinha, Cidade de Deus, Alemão, Penha e Manguinhos), we identify that the majority are Civil Society Organizations, working on culture production, dissemination and communication in the slums.

Table 1 –Types of Cultural Organizations.

Organizations	Complexo do Alemão		Complexo da Penha		Cidade de Deus		Manguinhos		Rocinha	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Civil Society Organizations	36	32,7	13	28,9	17	27,4	9	13,8	26	21,7
Informal Civil Society Organizations	27	24,5	5	11,1	17	27,4	8	12,3	29	24,2
Public Institution	23	20,9	4	8,9	1	1,6	9	13,8	10	8,3
Private Institution	14	12,7	8	17,8	8	12,9	9	13,8	32	26,7
Artist ou Individual Cultural Producer	10	9,1	14	31,1	17	27,4	27	41,5	20	16,7
Religious Institutions	-	-	1	2,2	2	3,2	3	4,6	3	2,5

Source: Observatório de Favelas, Projeto Solos Culturais, 2013.

While they represent the majority of the organizations that promote culture in the slums, we noticed that when it comes to local civil society organizations there is an immense funding distinction for the realization of their activities. This situation is not only the result of organizational restrictions and bureaucratic, legal and administrative demands which reduce the opportunities for them to participate in public funding calls, but is the result of classifications that rank cultural production in the city. In fact, there is a selective system that operates with subjective references defining the culture policy of the state and of the market, implying ways of inclusion and exclusion of slums cultural concepts and practices in the scope of government policies and in the private funding programs. The reproduction of social inequalities in the culture field it is notable, implying evident territorial distinctions when it comes to public and private investment in the city.

It is no surprise that 50% of the researched organizations maintain themselves with their own resources, often inadequate to sustain or offer cultural and artistic activities to their communities for reasonable amounts of time (Table 2). This leads to a permanent invention of actions to sustain their work, even when it comes to guarantee sparse and discontinued activities in the territory.

The community organizations creative and sociability power is limited by non-recognition of their work as an important cultural enterprise and by the limited social prestige they can offer to the image of companies or to the political marketing. Oddly enough, these activities with low or none public or private funding are the ones with bigger longevity in the researched slums (Table 2).

Table 2 – Operation time.

Operating time	Complexo do Alemão		Complexo da Penha		Cidade de Deus		Manguinhos		Rocinha	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Up to 6 months	6	5,5	4	8,9	4	6,5	6	9,2	9	7,5
6 months to 1 year	14	12,7	5	11,1	5	8,1	9	13,8	7	5,8
1 year to 2 years	23	20,9	10	22,2	6	9,7	7	10,8	2	1,7
2 years to 5 years	19	17,3	8	17,8	11	17,7	11	16,9	20	16,7
More than 5 years	47	42,7	18	40,0	36	58,1	31	47,7	82	68,3
No answer	1	9	-	-	-	-	1	1,5	-	-
Total	110	100	45	100	62	100	65	100	120	100

Source: Observatório de Favelas, Projeto Solos Culturais, 2013.

Despite the immense difficulties of funding and continuity of cultural production, there are several cultural languages creatively mobilized in the slums. Organizations, collectives and individuals invent concepts and practices in various aesthetic languages. In the interviews on cultural practices conducted with the organizations or even with collectives and individuals, we noticed a

plurality of aesthetic practices that characterizes these territories as creative powers of urban cultural production, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 - Artistic creations in favelas by type and percentage.

Artistic creation	Alemão	Cidade de Deus	Rocinha	Manguinhos	Penha
Music	59,6%	58,2%	38,9%	72,0%	57,0%
Photograph	7,5%	5,2%	3,7%	3,2%	1,4%
Video	,9%	2,7%	,9%	,6%	,4%
Graffiti	10,0%	8,2%	15,1%	4,0%	12,9%
Dance	5,6%	12,3%	17,3%	14,5%	9,7%
Visual Arts (painting and sculpture)	0,3%	1,1%	3,1%	1,4%	1,4%
Literature	0,6%	,3%	,0%	,6%	1,4%
Theater	1,6%	5,7%	8,5%	1,4%	11,8%
Others	13,8%	6,3%	12,5%	2,3%	3,9%

Source: Observatório de Favelas, Solos Culturais Project, 2013.

What stands out in the interviews is the involvement of creative subjects in the music production. The multiplicity of aesthetic creation languages present in the slums in meeting for poetic reading, film clubs, and theater and dance groups is a highlight. The appropriation of new technologies and digital tools of symbolic production (photographic and video cameras, and even mobile phones) means the construction of innovative aesthetic repertoires beyond the common experiences in slums, creating a new production modality. The visual images narrative present in documentaries and films, videos and photo expositions are aesthetic products that became trademarks of the excellent appropriation of digital devices, and translate the affirmation of the popular aesthetic in the city cultural scene.

These different repertoires intertwine in collective and common territorialities. They are territories of sociability, shaped by the use of squares, streets, sports fields, bars, churches, ballrooms, schools and Internet cafes, which appear as the primary resource for sharing artistic experiences in the studied slums, as shown in Table 4. There are, therefore, cultural scenes that give art a social dimension, especially because its embodiment has a necessary public dimension.

Table 4 – Common spaces used in cultural manifestations by type and percentage.

Common Spaces	Alemão (%)	Cidade de Deus (%)	Rocinha (%)	Manguinhos (%)	Penha (%)
Schools	16,6	20	13	23,7	28,5
Civil Society Organizations	5,7	6,7	6,3	1,3	10,7
Samba Schools/ Carnival Groups	8,7	22,4	7,2	23,9	19,8
Churches	17,1	24,4	11,9	23,1	28,6
Residents Association	5,2	5,4	4,1	10	8,9
Sports Clubs	7,3	7,5	12	9,9	13,9
Streets	33,2	35,9	27	33,6	37,5
Government Organizations	4	5,7	2,8	6,4	6,9
Squares	27	28,2	17,8	27,7	36,3
Sport Fields	24,5	30,5	16,3	29,4	32,8
Others	5,9	7,0	5,4	12	3,5

Source: Observatório de Favelas, Solos Culturais Project, 2013.

The rare presence of public and/or private cultural and arts facilities in slums, added to the low mobility of its young people and adults in the city, calls for the groups inventive ways towards space appropriation in the public dimension. They reaffirm traditional creations widely embedded in cultural scenes of the residents' daily lives as symbolic mediations that ensure territorial belonging. Therefore we can say that the plurality of aesthetic inventions in popular territories reveals themselves as fundamentals references for the invention of insurgent imaginaries about the meaning of culture and of the city as an actual social and human right. In this perspective, the culture in permanent creation in the slums gains different meanings than those established by the consumer market of symbolic goods and services that differentiates and ranks social classes and groups in the city. So it is about political investments which can be express in the construction of aesthetic repertoires and culture practices that promote the visibility of social subjects and a different project for the city.

THE 2013 RIOTS IN RIO: CULTURES EXPRESSED

Participation, democracy, freedom of expression, affirmation of the public character of the streets and squares, and most of all affirmation of the public nature of politics itself seemed to be the order of the day in the long gone 1980s (and with the end of the military dictatorship). What came up as the new political movements in the XXIth century were a total surprise to analysts. Especially in Rio, nobody expected the manifestations, as the president, together with the governor and the mayor, had high approval rates, around 60% for the first ones and 65% for the latter. But in 2013 general public discontent over neoliberal planning and its strategies became loud and clear. For over two weeks during the FIFA Confederations Cup in Brazil, the country was shaken by the largest demonstrations in 20 years. In Rio de Janeiro one million participants were estimated on June 20th alone. Other themes highly demonstrated against were corruption and indignation with public officials.

The discontent with the ever-growing expenditures on mega-event related projects made one of the main slogans, with recurrent signs asking for “FIFA-standard public schools and hospitals”, “How many schools are worth a stadium?”, “World Cup for whom?”, or referring to global manifestations, as Anarchism, Communism and the Anonymous ‘fever’ then in vogue. The UFF survey investigated the motives to engage in the riots as expressed by participants, as table 5 indicates.

Table 5 – Main motivations in percentages

MOTIVATIONS	valid %
Police Violence and Repression	1,3
Inequalities and Social Injustice	1,6
Public Education	4,9
Quality of Life in general: better services and rights	9,9
Public Transportation: fares and quality	10,4
Support, solidarity, being engaged	14,8
Dissatisfaction, outrage, indignation, willingness to change things in general	23,7
Politics and Government (corruption, indignation)	21,4
Other	10,7
TOTAL	100

Source: UFF Research Methods Survey (PPGAU-UFF)

We can statistically infer that the main reasons to participate in the demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro were 'indignation with politics and governments', 'outrage and willingness to change in general' and 'violence and police repression' to 46% of the protesters; the problem seems to be in

public policies, the level of citizens' dissatisfaction and the relationship with governments and their police forces.

As pointed out in another essay (Capanema-Alvares et al, 2014), among the protesters in Rio, 70.4 % stated that dissatisfaction with politicians and governments was either the first or the second most important reason to go to the streets. As discussed above, public policies in Rio have, since the 1990s, being determined by the neoliberal model of entrepreneur cities to the detriment of the people. We may add that the mainstream media had been, by then, working on a negative view of the leftist federal government for a number of years.

Taking a second look at the survey results, 60% of the protesters had never joined any riots before, 96% had friends participating in the very same movements, and 72% knew similar movements around the world. When asked about the influence others factors had on their decision to participate (in a 1 to 10 scale, being 10 the highest influence), 33% of the protesters ranked the influence of friends as low (1 to 3), 46% ranked it reasonable (4 to 7) and 21% ranked it high (8 to 10). Using the same scale, 26% of the participants also ranked the influence of other movements around the world as low, 48.8% ranked it reasonable, and 24% ranked it high. In other words, the predominant profile pictures participants as highly connected to participating friends and to global events, while reasonably influenced by both factors.

Under the light of these initial considerations, and focusing on cultural transgression and manifestations, we might ask which were the raised banners and who were those raising them regarding their social and living conditions, what feelings/world views were brought to the streets, and how the protesters' cultures were manifested.

Among the 271 protesters (70% of the total) that had both friends participating in the 2013 riots and previous information on word-wide movements, 70% were under 30 years-old, 95% lived in regular houses in regular neighborhoods. What calls most attention is that the rioters did not come from favelas or 'projects'; rather, they came disproportionately from the wealthier areas of town (Central city and the South make 21% of the city's population, but were 37% of the rioters); 45% declared to feel unrepresented by elected officials and representatives, although thinking their functions and activities were important while 8% did not feel represented nor thought their functions were important; and 29% did not feel represented by any organization. That indicates by and large a young, middle-class, feeling unrepresented public very connected to the world. As other qualitative studies had shown (Mezentier, 2013; Lima, 2013) and was largely published, their connection took place through the web. Going out on a protest as first timers was not a breaking-the-grounds attitude, particularly because the riots got viral in the internet with the help of the established media.

Surveying the 480 images posted on google.com.br under the search "protestos junho 2013 Rio (riots June 2013 Rio)", one can see that most images are violent and do not portrait the raised banners/ideas/protests, but 97 do picture raised banners. Among the most frequent banners are global references (like the Anonymous mask) representing 31% of the total, politics and governments (corruption and/or indignation) with 22% - an issue continuously raised by the mainstream media -, transportation issues with 16% and mega-events with 10%.

It is clear that the strategic way of governing, cutting investments in the social services, facilities and equipment in general, as well the entrepreneurial strategies towards preparing the city to be sellable at the international markets, is involved in the 2013 riots. But it is also clear that the cultural discourses presented in the riots were of a more global nature and less connected to daily

issues. Their transgression seems to be literally 'mediated' by the mainstream media and the internet and modulated by global influences, for most of their discourses did not stem from daily problems but from media-led issues. Their protests against governments in general ended up fostering the hegemonic actors in their discourse against the federal government and contributing to the state of exception installed in 2016 with a coup-d'État, instead of questioning the local and state level policies (which hold direct responsibilities for the daily problems and the police repression).

On the end, favela residents are continuously engaged in identity-creating practices in order to face society hegemonic representation of their communities and, as a consequence, the stigmas and prejudices they are subjected to. They did not engage in the 2013 riots in downtown public spaces, reflecting their understanding of chances, expectations and position within the urban habitus and given their spatial capital. Instead they use the internet to culturally manifest themselves and to cry their territorial/corporeal distinction processes out; their territoriality is expressed in the territorialization of individuals, as a manifestation typical of humans: it is their expression in society and culture, building relationships of a symbolic order. That makes them reflective human beings.

CONCLUSION

The above findings seem to support Carlos (1996) argument that the production of the quotidian in Post-modernity reproduces an urban way of life that highlights mass culture and globalization forces by standardizing procedures and practices that tend to homogenize individuals' behaviors and demands. This seems applicable to both the stigmas on favela residents, which determines a generalized prejudice and very homogeneous judgements of their characters, and to the 2013 rioters, as they mirrored other manifestations around the world. While protesting mostly against general causes, like government mismanagements and corruption, the middle classes present at the 2013 riots in Rio reflected more of a homogenous and globalized culture than one of their own when carrying banners and posters against the FIFA World Cup and corruption, or showing off communist and anarchist symbols as the hammer and sickle or the Anonymous mask.

On the other hand, as argued in the paper, the possibilities of transgressing apparently consolidated models are exposed in daily life through small and spotted expressions that recover traditional practices common to different social groups. Favela residents intense and diverse daily lives in Rio's favelas are unequivocal demonstrations of their challenges to the poverty-stricken and violent stereotypes and stigmas imposed on them by the hegemonic model. As also argued, the dimensions of what is human, of what is expressed as power, as a reproduction of life with its representations provoke relationships that encompass integral realities of societies and individuals. In favelas, the residents' territoriality is expressed in the territorialization of individuals, as a manifestation typical of humans: it is their expression in society and culture, building relationships of a symbolic order.

Favela residents engage in identity-creating practices that transform culture into a political aesthetic attitude in order to face society hegemonic representation of favelas and, as a consequence, the stigmas and prejudices they are subjected to, while the 2013 protesters mimicked other movements around the world – together with their symbols - and ended up reinforcing globalization and the neoliberal canons they were rioting about. Both groups efficiently use(d) the internet as a communication tool, but with very different proposals and outcomes:

while favela residents culturally manifest and cry their territorial/corporeal distinction processes out, the 2013 protesters use of the web was instrumentalized and engulfed by the mainstream media losing the transgressive character.

Some lessons for planners and public officials seem to stem from these fairly different movements: they should not only encourage genuine and creative ways to express territoriality, but also be careful when reading urban social movements in the informational era. While cultural public investments and policies have heavily focused on the upper and middle classes, their representatives in the manifestations did not seem to reflect much of a cultural identity with the city. On the other hand, the culture in permanent creation in the slums gains different meanings than those established by the consumer market of symbolic goods and services that differentiates and ranks social classes and groups in the city. Government investments should focus on the construction of aesthetic repertoires and culture practices that promote the visibility of social subjects and in a different project for the city.

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