READING SPACE AND PLACE BETWEEN MORRO AND ASFALTO

AN ITINERARY
THROUGH THE CONTEMPORARY ZONA SUL OF RIO DE JANEIRO

by

GREGORY SCRUGGS

Presented to the
Committee on Degrees in Literature
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts
with Honors

Harvard College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

March 14, 2008


Salão de festa Terreiro da Gávea

Table of Contents

Reading Space and Place Between Morro *and* Asfalto:
An Itinerary Through the Contemporary Zona Sul of Rio de Janeiro

Acknowledgments

My experience in Rio de Janeiro would not have been nearly as memorable or pivotal in my life were it not for the tremendous generosity, friendliness, and patience I encountered among the innumerous *cariocas* I have met over my time there. In particular, I must first thank my gracious host families, Dona Alice Bastos da Silva as well as Seu Jose and Dona Josirene Marinho. The Instituto Dois Irmãos family also indelibly shaped my experience in Rocinha and Rio at large: Rogério Rodrigues Pinto, Washington Ferreira, Daniel de Oliveira, Beth Letalien, Andy Silva, Iris Chang, Nina da Silva, and of course its founder, Paul Sneed, who was an encouragement on many fronts, both personal and academic. The Peixoto family and Richela and Maryo, along with their son Gabriel, have also made me feel tremendously at home whenever I visit.

I owe much to my Portuguese teachers, Celia Bianconi, Letícia Braga, and Clémence Joüet-Pastré, whose infectious enthusiasm for all things Brazilian certainly helped me take my studies as far as they have gone. I am also indebted to Nicolau Sevcenko, Verena Conley, Elena Pajaro Peres, Natalya Sukhonos, and Bruno Carvalho for their academic advice over the course of this endeavor. The inspiration for it all, meanwhile, rests with Wayne Marshall, who first told me to take the "scare quotes" off of "research" before my first trip to Rio, and Robert Neuwirth, who was kind enough to point a reader of his in the direction of Rocinha and Two Brothers. However, none of this would have been possible without the financial support of the Harvard College Research Program and especially the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies.

My involvement in *o mundo funk carioca* has been key to many unforgettable experiences and opened up an entire alternate understanding of the *cidade maravilhosa*. Countless individuals always welcomed the *gringo*

who tagged along, but in particular I must thank Elizabeth Stark and especially Bo Anderson (aka Maga Bo), who provided me with a veritable rolodex of *funk* contacts. That began a series of acquaintances and friendships with the likes of Adriana Pittigliani, Elcy Pinaud, Everton Ramos (aka Cabide DJ), Bernhard Hendrik Hermann Weber Ramos De Lacerda (aka MC Gringo), José Roberto Gonçalves (aka MC Beto da Caixa), Sandro Lourenço (aka DJ Sandrinho), Wagner Domingues Costa (aka Mr Catra), and Edgar Terra Marins Junior (aka DJ Edgar). A special *abraço* to MC Binho, as well as Alessandra Paul de Souza de Silva (aka MC Leka), Céliu, and little Dudu. All of them, in one way or another, have contributed to my understanding of *funk*, Rio, and Brazil. Matthew Kroth and Dan Tobin of Flamin Hot Records helped me give back through my work on the *Funkeiros e Progresso EP* and *Pancadão do Morro*: *O Funk do Flamin Hotz, Já É?*, a sometimes maddening process that nevertheless insinuated me in an entirely different fashion into the city, for which I am grateful.

I also had moments in which I explored less traveled corners of Rio, for which I thank the receptiveness of the following NGOs: Grupo Cultural AfroReggae, Central Única de Favelas, Nós do Morro, and O Observatório de Favelas. They all do tremendous work and deserve nothing but commendation. If the *cidade partida* ever heals itself entirely, they will be the ones to have applied the glue.

Finally, I thank my parents and my sister for having come to visit and experience firsthand the landscape that has captivated me. In turn, I thank Chloe LeGendre for her understanding and patience during my absences.

Abração,

Gregzinho
March 14, 2008

Preface

"The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence . . . but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organizer, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator . . ."

--Antonio Gramsci, *Selections From the Prison Notebooks*

This thesis is an itinerary, not simply an analytical work. That distinction is not drawn to disparage analytical works, but rather to highlight the degree of engagement inherent in treating an urban space as a text. While I will argue that reading urban space requires some reliance on more traditional representational texts—in this case, music and films—such a reading would be incomplete without having physically spent some time in the place in question.

Consequently, I have made three trips to Rio de Janeiro over the last two years and have increasingly established social and professional ties in the city, especially in the Zona Sul, the focus of my itinerary. Home stays in the neighborhood of Leblon and the *favela* of Rocinha, studying at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica in the neighborhood of Gávea, volunteering with the Instituto Dois Irmãos in Rocinha, paying visits to other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Vidigal and Cantagalo, and arranging for releases of *funk* music on the American record label Flamin Hotz Records have all contributed to my knowledge of Rio's Zona Sul. On a more informal level, making friends, patronizing parties and *bailes funk*, attending *samba* rehearsals, enjoying an afternoon at the beach, supporting a soccer team, and simply crisscrossing the Zona Sul's neighborhoods and *favelas* on foot or via public transportation are all their own form of investigation into the text of the Zona Sul. This form of research only supplements the prodigious amount of books, articles, blogs, websites, CDs, mp3s, records, films, videos, lectures, and classes I have read,

listened to, watched, or taken about Brazil, Rio, *favelas*, *samba*, *funk*, cities, space, and place over the last two years since I began studying Portuguese and traveling to Rio.

My status as a foreigner has certainly contributed to my ability to navigate between *favelas* and urbanized neighborhoods, the *morro* and *asfalto*. It also brought about the strange condition of arriving as an inconnu-ingénue in a foreign culture. I will address the ethical implications of that experience in my conclusion, but for the moment would like to point to the numerous epigraphs featuring Elizabeth Bishop, herself an American who found herself taking a more traditional literary eye to Brazil, and in particular cases Rio and its *favelas*.

Introduction:

Reading Rio's Zona Sul

"On the fair green hills of Rio
    There grows a fearful stain:
The poor who come to Rio
    And can't go home again."
        --Elizabeth Bishop, "The Burglar of Babylon"

Rio Non-Places

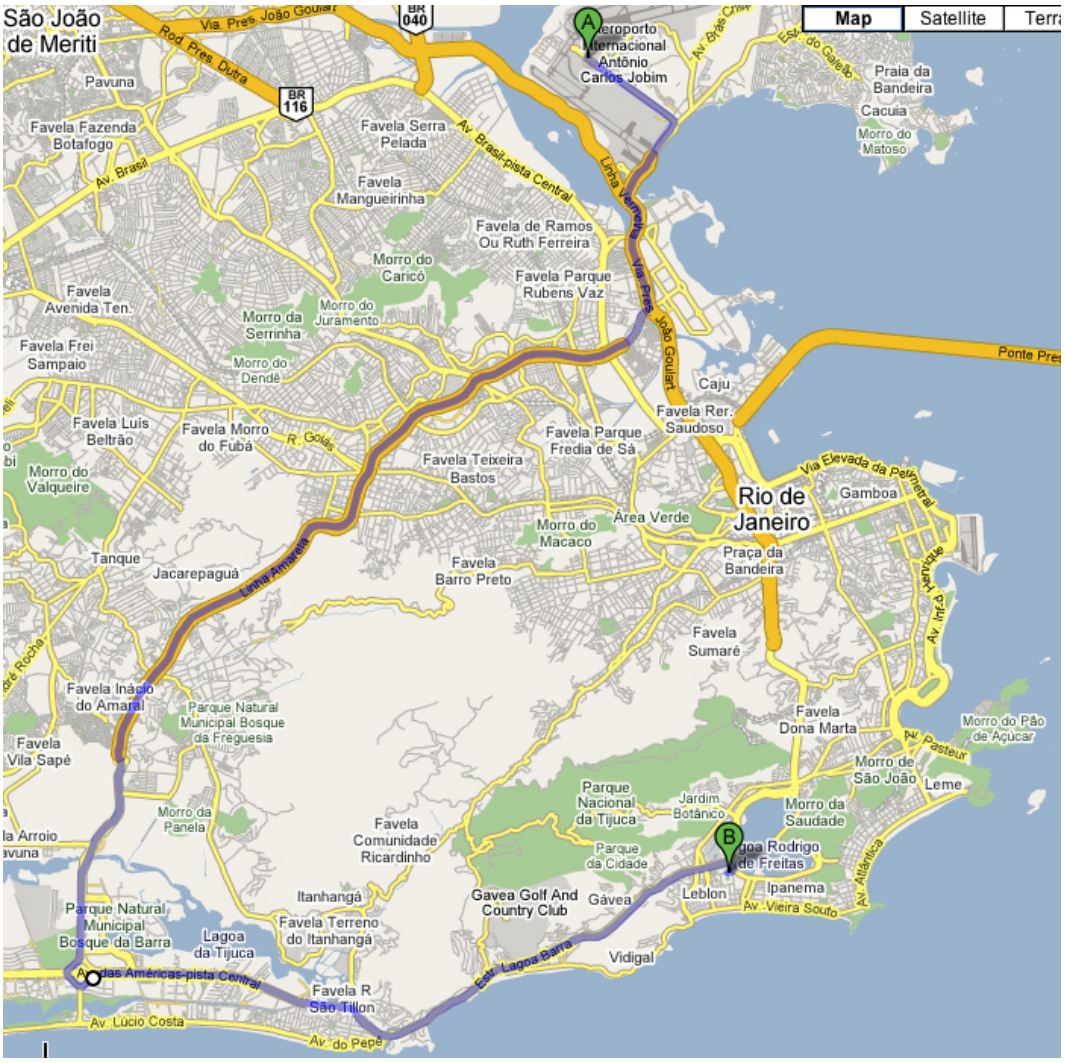
Heading out of the Aeroporto Internacional do Rio de Janeiro/Galeão – Antonio Carlos Jobim via car, I find myself funneled off the Ilha do Governador, the island where the airport is located, and onto the Linha Vermelha expressway. Crossing over the bridge and onto the mainland, I pass the Complexo da Maré, once a community of tidal plane stilt houses that became dry land in a government land fill project to build central arteries like the Linha Vermelha and the Avenida Brasil, which flank the Complexo on each side. Nowadays, bricks inch closer and closer to the high fences that separate the highway from the most recent illegally constructed houses of the large complex of *favelas*. As I approach Centro, a series of viaducts allows me to run along the port, skirting downtown Rio's blend of modern high-rise office buildings and colonial architecture. I can continue from there along the Guanabara Bay via the express lanes of the Avenida Infante D. Henrique until I pass through the Engenheiro Coelho Cintra Tunnel, whereupon I arrive in world-famous Copacabana within sight of the beach and am immediately halted by the grid of local streets and stoplights.

Another route would have me take the Engenheiro Freyssinet elevated viaduct before reaching downtown and cut through Corcovado mountain—atop of which is perched the landmark Christ the Redeemer statue—through the André Rebouças Tunnel to arrive at the intersection of the Rodrigo de Freitas Lagoon

with the Jardim Botânico and Humaitá neighborhoods, another web of local streets. Or, before that, I could peel off along the Linha Amarela, Rio's other major expressway, and head southwest, passing by City of God, a government-sponsored housing project and namesake of the Oscar-winning movie that made the violence of drug crime in *favelas* synonymous with the city. Shortly afterwards, I will arrive in sprawling, nouveau riche Barra da Tijuca. At the interchange, there is a smooth transition onto the 12-lane Avenida das Américas, access point to 24 shopping malls in a 14-kilometer stretch, which in turn links up with the Lagoa-Barra Highway to ferry vehicles back toward the lagoon, the Zuzu Angel Tunnel depositing me at the lagoon's juncture with the neighborhoods of Gávea and Leblon.

Airport Express: Maps of the three routes from Rio's international airport presented above. (This and all other digital maps were generated by Google Maps.)


A
B
Rio de Janeiro
Aeroporto Internacional Antônio Carlos Jobim
Av. Brás Crispim
Estr. do Galeão
Governador
Bancários
Pro. dos Bancários
Favela Morro do Querosene
Praia da Bandeira
Cacuia
Morro do Matoso
BR 040
Av. Brasil-pista Central
Linha Vermelha
Via Pres. João Goulart
Favela de Ramos Ou Ruth Ferreira
Favela Parque Rubens Vaz
Ponte Pres.
Caju
Favela Rer. Saudoso
Favela Parque Fredia de Sá
Favela Teixeira Bastos
Via Elevada da Perimetral
Gamboa
Área Verde
Morro do Macaco
Praça da Bandeira
Favela Barro Preto
Av. Inf. P. Henrique
Favela Sumaré
Favela Dona Marta
Morro do Pão de Açúcar
Av. Pasteur
Morro de São João
Leme
Parque Nacional da Tijuca
Jardim Botânico
Morro da Saudade
Parque da Cidade
Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas
Ipanema
Av. Atlântica
Gavea Golf And Country Club
Gávea
Leblon
Av. Vieira Souto



Ultimately, these routes all have the same destination: the Zona Sul, or south side, of Rio de Janeiro. I exit the car and find myself at a juncture of the global and the local, of horizontal neighborhoods of high-rises and vertical *favelas* of low-rises, of urban freedom and restriction on the right to circulation, of hills and flatland, or *morro* and *asfalto*. The Zona Sul is a dense, walkable part of the city, and on my itinerary through its physical and cultural space, I will demonstrate what it provides to the walker who is also a reader. Decoding this urban text reveals how today's Zona Sul undermines the modernization project from which it sprang and how it instead consists of varying degrees of integration

and conflict between the *morro* and *asfalto*. Wandering along my itinerary as I consider the role of place and space, the differences between strategies and tactics, and the relationship between tours and maps, I ponder: What kind of urban configuration has resulted in the contemporary Zona Sul?

Since the turn of the century, the era of urban reformer Pereira Passos, the sections of the city outside of Centro have been understood directionally: Zona Norte, Zona Oeste, Zona Sul. The former two sprawl a considerable distance north and west, respectively, while the densely packed Zona Sul occupies a mere 17 of Rio's 485 square miles. It may be a small swath of the city, but it holds an immensely privileged position in Rio's and indeed all of Brazil's consciousness, commanding a vastly disproportionate amount of the city's wealth and attention with some of the highest real estate prices in the country and many addresses belonging to the country's financial, political, and entertainment elite. Importantly, it fronts the Atlantic Ocean as opposed to the polluted Guanabara Bay, which has provided the neighborhoods of Copacabana and Ipanema and their eponymous beachfronts with a citywide cachet that extends across the globe. The hordes of international tourists who visit Rio stay almost exclusively in the Zona Sul and it frequently appears as a setting in the popular primetime *telenovelas*, a media institution in Latin America, as an indicator of wealth, status, and fashionability. From the moment of arrival for visitors traveling by air, the city's transportation network points to the Zona Sul, ushering passengers along a series of "non-places"—airport, expressways, tunnels—to arrive at, admittedly, other "non-places" for those who choose from the plethora of international chain hotels that have proliferated throughout the tourist-friendly neighborhoods.

In his meditation on the landscape and lifestyle of the late 20th century, anthropologist Marc Augé coins a distinction between "places" (*lieux*) and "non-places" (*non-lieux*): "*Si un lieu peut se définir comme identitaire, relationnel*

et historique, un espace qui ne peut se définir ni comme identitaire, ni comme relationnel, ni comme historique définira un non-lieu."[1] As examples of non-places, he cites expressways with interchanges, airports, air travel, and international chain hotels—modes of transportation and spaces of habitation that are in constant movement and are interchangeable with their counterparts worldwide. In my routes from the airport, the non-places of Rio cut through the less valorized parts of the city and point the traveler to the coveted Zona Sul, which I find yields a great promise of place, as the miles of highways and express avenues dissipate once the traveler arrives. Gridded streets come to intersections governed by traffic lights, where drivers must stop and observe their surroundings and pedestrians move freely. The Avenida Atlântica, the road that comes closest to serving as an express artery—going so far as to become unidirectional toward Centro during weekday morning rush hour—is studded by crosswalks, not the pedestrian underpasses and overpasses that are common elsewhere in Rio, to allow the steady flow of bathers, vendors, joggers, cyclists, and beach *flâneurs* access to and from the shore. The urban layout of the Zona Sul encourages an understanding of it as a *place*, by creating interactions between individuals circulating throughout and not allowing the structures of high-speed travel to permit swift passage through it.

The Avenida Atlântica and its continuation into the Avenidas Vieira Souto in Ipanema and Delfim Moreira in Leblon are, in fact, buffers against encroaching non-places, as they prevent the hotels from exercising private hegemony over any beachfront and maintain the sands as a public, contested space—and thus a place. Far from an anonymous, interchangeable strip of beachfront anywhere

1 Marc Augé, *Non-Lieux*: *Introduction à Une Anthropologie de la Surmodernité* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), 100. "If a place can be defined as identifiable, relational, and historical, a space that can be defined as neither identifiable, nor relational, nor historical will be defined as a non-place." This translation and all subsequent translations in both French and Portuguese are my own, unless otherwise noted. Translations will appear in the footnotes unless very brief.

in the world, the urbanized beaches of the Zona Sul are carefully demarcated and organized according to subtle social indicators.[2] Finally, the end of Leblon beach links with the Avenida Niemeyer, winding around to São Conrado, a neighborhood of high-rise condominiums and Rio's Fashion Mall, that fronts another stretch of beach. In sum, there is a clear axis of neighborhoods along this beachfront, Leme-Copcabana-Arpoador-Ipanema-Leblon-Gávea-São Conrado, all stitched together by local roads and pedestrian access, the last two being minor exceptions. Gávea only abuts São Conrado via the beginnings of the Lagoa-Barra Highway, but is well connected to Leblon; São Conrado, in turn, does not have pedestrian access to Leblon, but via the two-lane Avenida Neimeyer, a clearly local alternative to the highway. As a whole, however, they form an identifiable axis of *bairros*, officially recognized neighborhoods constructed legally on privately owned land, that are known collectively by the term *asfalto*, or asphalt. The neighborhoods of the Zona Sul are, in short, a coherent swath of urban space that qualify as a *place*.[3]

From Reform to Removal: A Brief History of Favelas Cariocas[4]

There is a parallel element to the *asfalto* axis, however, that complements and complicates the Zona Sul. Rio de Janeiro is a city of dramatic topography, with hills rising abruptly and neighborhoods wedging themselves in between.

---

2 For a recent journalistic account, see Larry Rohter, "Drawing Lines Across the Sand, Between Classes," *New York Times*, 6 February 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/06/world/americas/06rio.html?emc=eta1>, (cited 1 May 2007). For a more academic study, which will be considered later, see Bruno Carvalho, "Mapping the urbanized beaches of Rio de Janeiro: modernization, modernity and everyday life," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 16.3 (December 2007): 325-339.

3 This is a strict definition of the Zona Sul, which normally would include neighborhoods like Jardim Botânico, Humaíta, Lagoa (the area around the lagoon), Horto, Botafogo, Flamengo, and Urca. However, my conception of this section of the city as stitched together by local, pedestrian-friendly streets and beach access necessarily reduces the Zona Sul to the axis by which I have defined it.

4 *Carioca* as an adjective means as of or related to Rio de Janeiro. As a noun, it refers to the city's inhabitants.

The Zona Sul is no exception, as indeed all three access points discussed in the opening vignette require passing through a tunnel. Since 1896, Rio's hills have been increasingly settled by squatter communities, beginning with the first on Morro da Providência (Providence Hill) in Centro. The settlement began as a protest by soldiers who were contracted by the government to fight the War of Canudos[5] in the northeast, but did not receive housing promised to them upon return to then-capital Rio. They nicknamed their community "Favela" in honor of a plant that grew abundantly where they had camped during the campaign. The name stuck as a generalized term, *favela*, which in turn grew exponentially as Pereira Passos attempted Haussmannization, reforming the city on a Parisian model.[6] He eradicated the *cortiços*, or tenement housing, along the Avenida Central, in hopes of establishing a grand avenue with monumental views. These attempts at elevating the official city to a European ideal, in turn, sent the marginalized classes scattering to the city's interstitial space, the hills.

Steep and difficult to farm or build on, Rio's hills were like irruptions along the flat, developed city. They did not fit into Passos's adaptation of Haussmannian urbanism, which depended on largely flat terrain to run the perfect geometry of avenues, *places* (or *praças*, in the Brazilian case), and their accompanying sightlines. Consequently, they remained outside the city's master plan with the exception of the Morro do Castelo, which was leveled in the 1920s

---

5 The War of Canudos was fought between the Brazilian government and a settlement of approximately 30,000 followers of Antonio Conselheiro, a mystical priest. It took place in the *sertão* (semi-arid backlands) of the state of Bahia.

6 The connection is not just conceptual; Passos worked in Paris under Baron George-Eugène Haussmann, the city planner who reformed Paris into its modern-day configuration of wide boulevards and avenues, monumental sightlines, and comprehensive infrastructure under Emperor Napoléon III in the 1860s and 1870s. See Carvalho, 326, citing Jamie Benchimol, the suggestively titled *Pereira Passos*: *Um Haussmann tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca carioca, 1990), and Nicolau Sevcenko, "Peregrinations, visions and the city: From Canudos to Brasília, the backlands become the city and the city becomes the backlands," *Through the kaleidoscope: The experience of modernity in Latin America*, ed. Vivian Schelling, (New York: Verso, 2000), 75-107.

as the city government continued its urban reforms, and culminated in Donat-Alfred Agache's 1930 plan for Rio, again in the French tradition.[7] In short, engineers either maneuvered around the hills or reduced them to the elevation of the plan, but they did not integrate into the formal city. Agache's plan declared, "*A cidade deveria ser vista como um organismo*, *numa perspectiva funcional na qual cada parte pertence a um todo que deve funcionar sincronicamente*. *Dessa vez*, *além da remodelação e do embelezamento, a reforma urbana deveria disciplinar toda a cidade*."[8] The impulse to control the population, and its precise placement in the city, was thus inherent in Rio's urban reform efforts, while the emerging *favelas* represented an obvious threat to their goals. Agache's vision of the city-organism articulated lungs, a circulatory system, a brain, and a sewage system, but nowhere in that organism was there a provision for a *favela* appendage.[9] They were not part of this vision of the body politic. Yet Rio's population—and that of the *favelas*—swelled as waves of internal migration, especially ex-slaves and rural poor from the northeast, poured in over the first half of the twentieth century.

By 1937, this led to official promulgations—Articles 375 and 377 of the Código de Obras do Distrito Federal (Building Code of the Federal

---

7 Fernando Diniz Moreira, "The French Tradition in Brazilian Urbanism: The Urban Remodeling of Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Porto Alegre During the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945)," paper presented at the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation Buell Dissertation Colloquium, 12 April 2002, <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/fsPu12/Moreira%20Fernando%20Diniz.pdf> (cited 30 September 2006), 3-5.

8 Jailson de Souza e Silva and Jorge Luiz Barbosa, *Favela*, *Alegria e Dor na Cidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Senac Rio, 2005), 33. "The city must be seen as an organism, from the functional perspective that each part belongs to a whole, all functioning in synch. This time, in addition to remodeling and beautifying, urban reform would have to discipline the city." A footnote on "*disciplinar*" adds, "*O termo disciplina será tomado aqui com base na perspectiva de M. Foucault, para quem 'a disciplina' procede em primeiro lugar à distribuição dos indivíduos no espaço*.' (The term discipline is taken from the perspective of M. Foucault, for whom 'discipline' proceeds in the first place from the distribution of individuals in space.)"

9 Moreira, 4.

District)—that prohibited the construction of further *favelas* and mandated a policy of systematically dismantling *favelas* and settling their residents in public housing.[10] The removal policy was simply further evidence of the city's urge to control the distribution of individuals in urban space, as Foucault diagnosed. The *política remocionista* (removal policy) reached its peak under Carlos Lacerda, governor of the state of Guanabara, which includes the city of Rio, from 1960-1965. If Passos was the tropical Haussmann, then Lacerda was the tropical Paul Delouvrier, the Gaullist bureaucrat who oversaw vast construction plans in the Parisian *banlieue* (suburbs), especially of "*grands ensembles*," enormous concrete apartment blocks that housed thousands.[11] There are few housing projects of that nature in Rio, although Vila Kennedy, on the northern periphery, is a notable example. However, in 1966, a year after Lacerda left office, the city inaugurated a project that epitomized his goals: Cidade de Deus (City of God), located in the then sparsely-settled Zona Oeste, where officials resettled residents of more crowded, hillside *favelas* that were closer to the historic center of the city. Cidade de Deus' precise, subdivided plots were nevertheless without basic infrastructure like electricity and water, and lacked adequate public transportation to job opportunities in Centro and the Zona Sul. As the eponymous film about Cidade de Deus portrays, the community morphed into a violent battleground as the drug

10 "*Artº 375 – É proibida a formação de novas favelas em qualquer zona do Distrito Federal. Nas favelas existentes, é proibida a construção de novas habitações de qualquer espécie, bem como a execução de obras de qualquer natureza. Artº 377 – Será da competência da prefeitura a elaboração de planificação tendente a extinguir as favelas existentes e substituí-las por conjuntos residenciais e grupos de habitações do tipo econômico, em todo o Distrito Federal.* (Article 375 – The formation of new favelas is prohibited in any zone of the Federal District. In existing favelas, the construction of new dwellings of any form is prohibited, as well as the execution of any work of any nature. Article 377 – It will be the city government's responsibility to elaborate a plan to extinguish existing favelas, replacing them with affordable public housing through the Federal District.)" Silva and Barbosa, 36.

11 For a cinematic documentary/fiction on the subject, see *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle*, directed by Jean Luc Godard, Argos Films, 1967. For a historical overview, see Norma Evenson, "A Place to Live, The Grands Ensembles," *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 238-255.

trade and organized crime swept Rio's *favelas* in the 1980s, where they retain their stronghold to this day.[12]

While City of God is still affected by the drug trade, staff at the Central Única de Favelas (Central Favela Factory), a local cultural NGO, resent the negative perception of their community created by the movie, which tends to erase more positive images, like this one of young boys playing soccer.

Strategies and Tactics as Responses to Modernization

As Pereira Passos refashioned Centro, he also initiated the process that established the Zona Sul, which in turn grew at an astounding pace over the course of the 20th century, an arc Bruno Carvalho traces:

> Besides the reconstruction of the city's centre, the *modernization* project included a controversial tunnel with electric streetcars to the then remote marshes of Copacabana. That same year [1889], Passos drew an avenue (the Avenida Atlântica) along the 5km sea-front, and within a few decades the area inhabited by fisherman would replace the Ouvidor Street in the Centro as Brazil's most 'cosmopolitan scene', as its 'symbol of modernization'.
> [. . .]
> Peculiarly, Copacabana and Ipanema [which grew parallel to Copacabana] were not the same sort of 'palimpsest' as Paris, most European and American metropolises or even Rio de

12 *Cidade de Deus*, directed by Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund, O2 Filmes, 2002.

> Janeiro's Centro. In other words, during the 1930s or '40s, no previous urban landscape was destroyed or reformulated for the construction of their relatively high-rise buildings. The historian and journalist Ruy Castro, for instance, argues that 'Copacabana was the first neighbourhood in Brazil to be born cosmopolitan. In its past there exists no memory of a rural, suburban or provincial life . . . It had no time for that . . . it is as if it did not have a past'.[13]

Modernization came too quickly, as the cosmopolitan neighborhood was built on no foundation of a past, a claim that holds true for the rest of the Zona Sul *asfalto*, which developed after, and always in the shadow, of Copacabana. The contemporary Zona Sul has since established a history for itself over the course of the last century, but it is perhaps the alacrity of its growth that makes this modernization project susceptible to erosion, for the cosmopolitan middle-class did not erect these high-rises themselves. The Zona Sul construction boom was "*um crescimento vertical vertiginoso que trouxe consigo inúmeros trabalhadores da construção civil em busca de emprego*."[14] The need for workers meant that the Zona Sul was no exception to the growth of *favelas*, or consequently their removal, itself a modernization effort to eliminate undesirable elements from the new geometry of the Zona Sul—gridded streets and high-rise residences.[15]

Unsurprisingly, those who were forcibly removed from their hillside communities of zigzagging paths and makeshift homes hoped to return to the communities they had lived in and that to a large extent they had built

---

13 Carvalho, 326-327. A footnote on the first portion adds, "The cultural historian Martha Abreu employs the expression in reference to the Copacabana of the first half of the twentieth century in an interview in the newspaper *O Globo*, by Rodrigo Pinto (Rio de Janeiro, 4 March 2005, 31)." A footnote on the quote of the second portion cites Ruy Castro, *Carnaval no fogo: Crônicas de uma cidade excitante demais* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004), 235. Earlier on the same page as the first passage Carvalho defines "*modernization* as a social practice and state policy that usually refers to industrialization and technological progress," quoting Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 22.

14 Silva and Barbosa, 42. "a dizzying vertical growth that brought with it innumerous construction workers looking for jobs."

15 "[. . .] by the 1950s Copacabana's favelas already existed." Carvalho, 326.

themselves.[16] Janice Perlman quotes a victim of resettlement, "*Eu voltaria e construiria um novo barraco no mesmo dia, se me deixassem; Se eu pudesse voltaria para qualquer favela da Zona Sul* (I would return and construct a new shack the same day, if they let me; If I could I would return to any favela in the Zona Sul)."[17] The contrast between the city's blanket removal policy and the urge of residents to return and rebuild not specifically where they had left, but anywhere in that part of the city, is similar to the distinction Michel de Certeau draws between "strategies" and "tactics":

> I call a *strategy* the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city [*cité*], a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city [*cité*], objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. [. . .] By contrast with a strategy [. . .] a *tactic* is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of an other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. [. . .] It does not, therefore, have the options of planning general strategy and viewing the adversary as a whole within a district [sic], visible, and objectifiable space. It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of 'opportunities' and depends on them [. . .] This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse.
>
> In short, a tactic is an art of the weak.[18]

---

16 For footage of *favelas* in this era, see the segments "Zé da cachorra," "Couro de Gato," and "Um favelado" in *Cinco vezes Favela*, directed by Miguel Borges, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, and Marcos Farias, Centro Popular de Cultura da UNE, 1962.

17 Janice Perlamn, *O mito da marginalidade: favelas e política no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2002), 274. Qtd. in Silva and Barbosa, 49.

18 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 35-37. "District" is a typographical error in the book; the original reads "distinct." The original was also consulted to note that "city" was translated from "*cité*" and not "*ville*."

In modernization projects, including the Zona Sul 's removal policy, the city as an official, political entity—a *cité*, as in the original French, rather than the less politically charged *ville*—acts strategically while residents of *favelas* respond tactically. The city views the entirety of the territory within its borders as its "own place" and therefore adopts a "strategy" to "manage" an "exterior threat" of squatter communities that exist outside the boundaries of the formal city by forcibly resettling them far from the coveted land of the increasingly prized Zona Sul. In contrast, the multitudes of poor *cariocas*—oftentimes the cooks, maids, hotel employees, beach vendors, taxi drivers, and other menial laborers who are servicing the growing wealth of the Zona Sul—lack a "proper locus" (the evicted resident doesn't seek her original house or even community, but rather any *favela* in the Zona Sul). Consequently, they enact a "tactic" of building in the "space of an other"—the "other" being the city that wants them removed—particularly in the "cracks" of the city, creating dense paths of alleyways rising vertically along the hills that interrupt the smooth grid of the *asfalto*. As the victims of a government policy that seeks to forcibly control the location of its inhabitants, they responded to strong-arm strategies with the tactics of the weak.

Such a binary vision, however, is dated to that era. As the removal policy fell by the wayside—and *favelas* grew despite laws to the contrary—the communities of the Zona Sul reached an uneasy equilibrium. A growing public awareness that *favelas* were here to stay, and growing at that, culminated with the inauguration in 1990 of the Favela/Bairro urbanization program, which sought to integrate the *morro* into the *asfalto*—to go from *favela* to *bairro* —through public works projects.[19] Such an approach is a stark reversal from the removal policy. Rather than eradicate *favelas*, the goal became integrating them into the

19 Silva and Barbosa, 50-52. Unlike "neighborhood" in English, which is largely a colloquial designation, the term *bairro* is an official distinction —one's *bairro* is part of one's full address, for example. To be promoted to *bairro* status thus entails some measure of acceptance by municipal authorities.

administrative space of the city by conferring a measure of municipal status and providing basic infrastructure, a less combative kind of strategy, but with the same goal of managing this exterior threat from the city's proper locus. However, since the 1980s, the vast majority of Rio's 700+ *favelas*, including all of the ones in the Zona Sul, have been controlled by one of the criminal factions that manage the drug trade and have become "parallel polities," as researcher Elizabeth Leeds calls them.[20] As parallel polities, the criminal factions practice a successful tactic "on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power": orchestrating the flourishing illicit drug trade while often in violent conflict with the police. Likewise, despite efforts at regulation and scant intervention, the *favelas* continue to grow according to their own logic, not according to the rigid geometry of the urban planner's strategy. Simply put, the incorporation of *favelas* into the administrative space of the city has not substantially diminished the "threat" they pose to the city.

While Marc Augé would categorize "*les bidonvilles promis à la casse*" (shantytowns given over to shacks) as a non-place, the vast majority of Rio's *favelas*—and certainly every one in the Zona Sul—have a sense of identifiable, local community that affirms their sense of place.[21] Most prominently, the growth of the drug trade has given the city's *favelas* a very public identity, driven by police action and media coverage, which contrasts sharply with the fashionable cosmopolitanism of the urbanized neighborhoods of the *asfalto*. Moreover, while the *favelas* of the Zona Sul are not geographically contiguous like the *asfalto*, they exist in clusters, two or more occupying each of the hills that surround and cut through the *asfalto* axis. Yet the views they command from one to another at elevations far above *asfalto* street level create a visual link, with each *favela*

20 Elizabeth Leeds, "Cocaine and Parallel Polities in the Brazilian Urban Periphery," *Latin American Research Review*, 31.3 (1996), 47-83.
21 Augé, 100.

***Morro* Sightlines:** The view from Cantagalo looks beyond to Vidigal (left) and Rocinha (right), with Ipanema and Leblon rooftops in between. (This and all other photos by the author unless otherwise noted.)

situated on the same visual plane as the others, looking over the rooftops of *asfalto* high-rises. Additionally, the *favelas* maintain a cultural bond as the historical provenances of *samba* and *funk*, the soundtrack of Rio, two musical styles that took refuge in *favelas* and became integral elements of the city's urban fabric, albeit in very different ways. To that end, one can draw a second axis in the Zona Sul, parallel to the *asfalto*. Running from east to west, along the stretch of *asfalto* from Copacabana to São Conrado/Gávea, it consists of Chapéu Mangueira-Babilônia-Ladeira dos Tabajaras-Cabritos-Pavão/Pavãozinho-Cantagalo-Chácara do Céu-Vidigal-Parque da Cidade-Rocinha.[22] All of the

22 While it is easy to traverse the *asfalto* and I have in fact visited all of the elements of the *asfalto* axis, whether or not I find reason to specifically cite them later in the itinerary, gaining access to the *morro*, especially as a foreigner, is a more complicated matter. For safety's sake, it generally requires having a specific reason, such as meeting someone or visiting a particular place, so as not to arouse suspicious. Wandering and walking, which I nevertheless did sometimes, is not always acceptable behavior. Conse-

communities are perched on hills (*morros*), the traditional geographical site of a *favela*, resulting in a *morro* axis that contrast with the *asfalto* axis.[23]

I date the phenomenon of two parallel axes in the Zona Sul to about 25 years ago, meaning that the contemporary Zona Sul, the timeframe of my itinerary, began in the mid-1980s. As the drug trade established its parallel polities, an institutionalized form of *samba* accelerated into a mass media spectacle with the construction of the Passarela do Samba (1984) and the first television contracts (1983), while *funk* was flourishing along the periphery and began its own catapult to popularity, victimization, and ultimate refuge in *favelas*, including the *morro* of the Zona Sul (1988-1993).[24] These axes run parallel, but

---

quently, I have not actually been to Chácara do Céu, Parque da Cidade, Cabritos, Ladeira dos Tabajaras, and Pavão/Pavãozinho, although the latter makes an appearance in a journalistic account, which also forms part of my itinerary, as it relies not just on what I have seen, but also on what I have read.

23 *Morro*—meaning *favela*—and *asfalto*—meaning middle- or upper-class neighborhood—as a dichotomy has become a trope in discussing the inequities of Rio, but it is a dichotomy that certainly does not hold true for the entire city. In the Zona Oeste or Zona Norte, *favelas* are just as often found on flatland, like the aforementioned Cidade de Deus and Complexo da Maré, respectively. Without the topographic distinction, the border between these two urban configurations becomes less clear to the visual observer; rather, the border depends on more subtle and abstract indicators such as legal status, property deeds, and police authority vs. criminal autonomy. In neighborhoods on the periphery of the city that are officially recognized but still quite poor, it would be difficult to declare the *asfalto* as having some distinct advantage over *morro* communities that command breathtaking views and have pedestrian access to the beach. On the periphery, the juxtaposition of extreme disparities in wealth is less common. Yet it is that juxtaposition that receives most of the attention: Both the Zona Sul and *favelas* writ large command a disproportionate amount of the journalistic and scholarly focus on Rio at the expense of the statistically more populated parts of the city. At the risk of joining that chorus on both counts, I find that discussing the Zona Sul through the lens of the *morro* and *asfalto* axes is a unique approach that yields a new understanding of how urban space functions in this part of Rio, as the name "Zona Sul" normally only connotes the *asfalto*, while in my itinerary it consists of both.

24 The arc of *funk*'s progression is harder to chart to a particular year or event, although the topic will be discussed in more detail in chapter two. The range 1988-1993 was chosen, however, to bookend two events: The publication of *O Mundo Funk Carioca*, the book that introduced this suburban and peripheral phenomenon to a wider *carioca* and Brazilian audience, in 1988 and the 1993 *arrastões*, or dragnet assaults, on the beach, which were widely blamed on *funkeiros*—*funk* fans—and will be addressed in chapter three.

they frequently intersect as well—in their geography, in the convergence of roads and buildings, and in the daily interactions of residents who cross from one to another for work, recreation, or leisure. Hotels receive visitors from across the globe, while up on the hills the ruling factions conduct "Latin America's first indigenous multinational enterprise (Quijano 1993) and its first true form of economic integration: the production, processing, and international distribution of cocaine."[25] However, such products of globalization do not necessarily promote integration. The drug trade, whose primary customers are not just tourists but certainly the middle and upper classes of the Zona Sul, and its accompanying violence on the part of both the factions and the police have also resulted in extreme segregation. In self-imposed isolation, wealthy families hibernate in high-security condominiums or private communities whose nominally public streets are gated, while in forced isolation, the individuals involved in the drug trade cannot leave their *favelas* for fear of arrest. Rio has self-deprecatingly called itself the "*cidade partida*" (divided city) since journalist Zuenir Ventura coined the term in his 1994 book of the same name, but the Zona Sul's mix of heterogeneous communities, where the network of non-places halts at street level with no expressways ripping through its core, affords the best possibility of integration, interaction, and exchange despite its extreme disparities of wealth and the prevailing prejudices of rich toward poor and vice versa in this highly stratified society.

When looking at Rio as a whole, Marc Augé's distinction between place and non-place pointed the way to the Zona Sul, largely untouched by non-places of a grand scale. With my focus squarely on the Zona Sul, outside the context of the city at large, I return to Michel de Certeau, adding another set of theoretical categories, his carefully delineated concepts of "place" (*lieu*) and

25 Leeds, 48. The parenthetical citation refers to Anibal Quijano, "Que América Latina é: Entrevista," *Brasil Agora 2*, no. 36:7 (São Paulo, 1993).

Axes in the Zona Sul: This image provides a combination satellite and map overview of the Zona Sul. The *morro* and *asfalto* axes are clearly visible. The *asfalto axis* from east to west (right to left): Leme (neighborhood behind the far east end of the beach), Copacabana (neighborhood behind the large expanse of beach), Arpoador (neighborhood between the two large expanses of beach), Ipanema (neighborhood behind the expanse of beach to the east of the canal), Leblon (neighborhood behind the expanse of beach to the west of the canal), Gávea (north of Leblon), and São Conrado (visible on the far west, fronting the third stretch of beach). The *morro* axis, again from east to west (right to left): Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira (behind Leme), Ladeira dos Tabajaras and Morro dos Cabritos (flanking the stretch of Copacabana that recedes the most from the ocean), Cantagalo and Pavão/Pavãozinho (on the hill between Copacabana and Ipanema), Chácara do Céu (next to Leblon), Vidigal (next to Chácara do Céu), Parque da Cidade (next to Gávea), and Rocinha (behind Vidigal on the other side of the Morro Dois Irmãos, fronted by the Estrada Lagoa-Barra).

"space" (*espace*): "The law of the 'proper' rules in the place [. . .] It implies an indication of stability. A *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements."[26] The Zona Sul has had phases of both: the stable *place* of a sleepy fishing community, the *space* of dizzying growth, and the attempted *place* of the removal policy era. As the pendulum has swung back to *space* in the contemporary Zona Sul's intersection of mobile elements—two contrasting axes—I delve further into de Certeau's distinction, where he argues, "In short, *space is a practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs."[27] The Zona Sul is a practiced place and a system of signs par excellence, a textual urban space born out by its rich confluence of streets, structures, markets, cultural events, public beach, transportation networks, and topography.

Treating an urban space as text is exactly the crossover that de Certeau makes above, following his description of walkers with that of readers. In a prior chapter, he declares, "[The ordinary practitioners of the city] walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it."[28] But I am no ordinary practitioner of this city and instead assert that I can read this urban text. By providing a blend of official representations in maps, personal observations and photographic documentation, and musical and cinematic texts, my itinerary transforms this urban space into a text and allows me to read the Zona Sul. As I walk the reader through my critical

26 de Certeau, 117.
27 Ibid.
28 de Certeau, 93.

text, I am simultaneously walking the Zona Sul, wandering at points but ultimately adhering to an itinerary: traversing the *morro* and *asfalto* axes to observe the replacement of the Zona Sul's modernization project by the tactical growth of an alternate city within a city, where the shifts, intersections, conflicts, and interstices establish a literary opening in the urban fabric.

Chapter One:

Zona Sul Everyday Life—Cartography and Crossings, Buses and Beaches[29]

"More delicate than the historians' are the map-makers' colors."
--Elizabeth Bishop, "The Map"

Maps and Mapping, Tours and Tourism

The possible distinctions one can draw on the features of a map are subtle sometimes to the point of near imperceptibility, especially when representing an area as physically dense as Rio's Zona Sul. Bruno Carvalho, who previously provided some historical background, opens his article, "Perhaps no further attention needs to be brought to the ways in which maps may reproduce or reflect ideology and political aims besides experience and geography. Until recently, for instance, 'official' maps produced by the government of the city omitted its *favelas* [. . .]"[30] However, while broad strokes may have sufficed for establishing the historical background, looking at the Zona Sul through the lens of *morro* and *asfalto* axes necessitates a precise exploration of the cartographer's representation. Consequently, I will read several maps of the Zona Sul for their underlying implications. The *favelas* are indeed not left off of the official map, but Carvalho's declaration does not account for the shades of detail in how they are put on it. How do the cartographers navigate, for example, the fact that, as Beatriz Jaguaribe and Kevin Hetherington point out, "[s]ince 1996, Rocinha has been promoted to the bureaucratic status of a neighbourhood [*bairro*] by the municipal authorities. Yet the dwellers of Rocinha and São Conrado consider it to be not a neighbourhood but a *favela*, and one so large that it is almost a city

29 I conceive of the everyday as the daily routines of circulation through an urban space—walking or taking public transportation, adhering to itineraries defined by maps, crossing boundaries from one area to another, going to work or school, and recreating or enjoying moments of leisure.

30 Carvalho, 235.

within the city."?[31]

The degree of recognition afforded by cartographers calls to mind yet another distinction by Michel de Certeau, that of "tours" and "maps." Maps were once based on tours, the itineraries of travelers who could provide a geographical account, which was reflected by early maps' indication of a tour to follow, rather than an objective presentation of geographical terrain. In the first medieval maps, for example, "The tour to be made is prominent in them."[32] However, the historical development of mapmaking resulted in the fact that "if one takes the 'map' in its current geographical form, we can see that [. . .] the map has slowly disengaged itself from the itineraries that were the condition of its possibility."[33] Ultimately, as "the map became more autonomous [. . .] The tour describers have disappeared."[34] This progression has subsequently rendered maps as preexisting representations, less personal documents that do not specify the route to take, or the tour to follow. Instead, one can conceive of maps as "a totalizing stage on which elements of diverse origin are brought together to form the tableau of a 'state' of geographical knowledge [. . .]"[35] The use of "state" harkens back to de Certeau's understanding of space as fluid and place as stable. Consequently, that which is represented on the map is thus fixed *place* rather than fluid *space*. "State" can also refer to the state, as in government, a double meaning that holds in the French (*état*). The less personal, more objective map becomes a stage for the projection of power. If a community lacks state recognition, it is unlikely to appear on the map, regardless of its physical presence. If left off by the state, it will be left out of the "state" of geographical knowledge. And if included, the

---

31 Beatriz Jaguaribe and Kevin Hetherington, "*Favela* tours: Rio de Janeiro," *Tourism Mobilities*, eds. Memi Sheller and John Urry (New York: Routledge, 2004), 161.
32 de Certeau, 120.
33 Ibid.
34 de Certeau, 121.
35 Ibid.

degree of prominence it is given both by the state and on the map can vary as well.

Comparing four maps—two "official" ones as distributed by RioTur, the tourism office of the municipality; two unofficial but "reputable" ones, the 2007 and 2008 editions of the annual roadmap published by Guia Quatro Rodas—yields inconsistent results in the nuances of cartographic representations. Rocinha represents the most complicated case, given that its municipal status is coupled with the reality of its common perception, a veritable embodiment of the notion of "favela/bairro." Yet surprisingly, Rocinha and neighboring Vidigal appear in the

Mapa Turístico: Rocinha and Vidigal appear in the same typeface as *asfalto bairros* (urbanized neighborhoods) like Ipanema Leblon, Gávea, and São Conrado. However, other *favelas* in the Zona Sul are simply left off the map – there is a "Morro do Cantagalo" (Cantagalo Hill), but no indication that anyone lives on it. Nor, for that matter, are Rocinha and Vidigal mapped at street level – they are denoted, but not represented in the same fashion as the other denoted *bairros* .

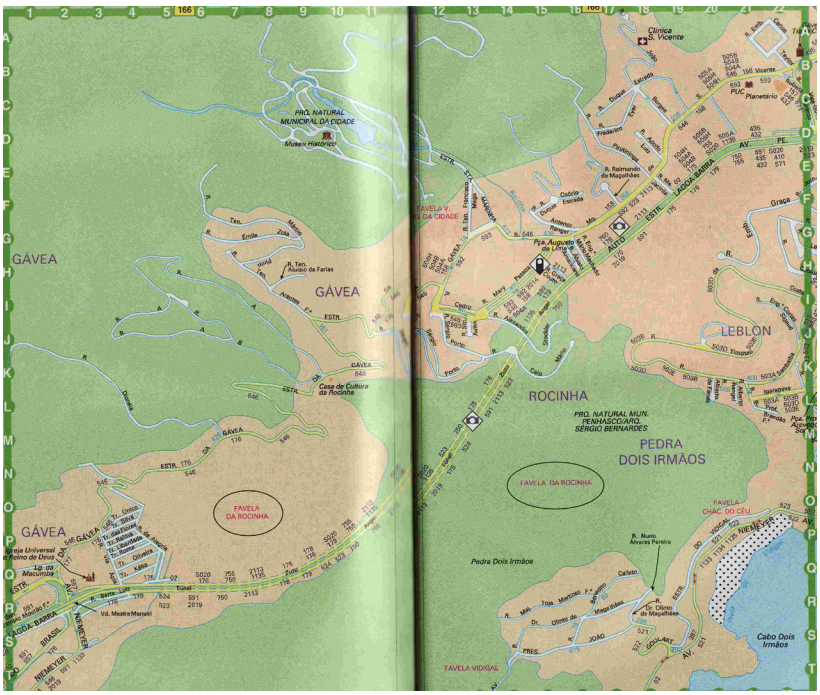
same typeface as *bairros* on the "Mapa turístico", even though that map, as the name would imply, excises the touristically less-friendly Zona Norte and privileges the Zona Sul, with Christ the Redeemer very craftily located at the center. Instead, it is on "O Mapa do Rio de Janeiro", the larger of the two RioTur maps and one that includes both the Zona Sul and the Zona Norte, where Rocinha does not garner the same large typeface and brown lettering as the surrounding *asfalto* neighborhoods. Rather, its name appears in the small red lettering used for points of interest. Such points, as varied as shopping malls, museums, and parks, are also accompanied by small red squares—localizing the point, as it were—or by much larger, graphical symbols for locations of perceived greater value (the Botanical Gardens, the Copacabana Palace). Rocinha does not have such an accompanying square, putting it instead in the strange category of attractions such as the Ciclovia bike path along the main beaches, the subneighborhood of Bairro Peixoto, and the Gávea Golfe Clube. The common feature between the four might be expansiveness, such that the attraction cannot be fixed to a single point (a bike path that stretches over miles, the many acres of a golf course). Regardless, such companions are ridiculous when considering the expansiveness of Rocinha—a community of nearly 200,000, a city within a city, to echo Jaguaribe and Hetherington.[36]

36 Accurate population estimates are an endless source of consternation (see Leeds, 48-49). Informal estimates I have heard range from 150,000-300,000. I have opted for the probably conservative figure of 200,000, which Jaguirbe and Hetherington use in their article (161) and may already be out of date given its 2004 publication. If there is one certitude, it is that Rocinha, and *favelas*, are growing—not shrinking. As for Rocinha as city, I am reminded of an August 2006 exhibit at the Centro de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, "Uma Cidade Chamada Rocinha" (A City Called Rocinha).

O Mapa do Rio: While *barirros* like Leblon, Ipanema, Gávea, and São Conrado are demarcated in one typeface, Rocinha has been redcued to diminutive red lettering (circled),alongside"attractions" like the beachfront Ciclovia or the Gávea Golfe Club (far lest).

The Guia Quatro Rodas makes a strange turn from its 2007 to its 2008 edition. In 2007, Rocinha and Vidigal both appear in the large, capitalized purple lettering of a neighborhood, but also appear in smaller red lettering as "Favela da Rocinha" and "Favela Vidigal." On the map, they are "favela/bairro" par excellence, shown as both *favela* and *bairro*

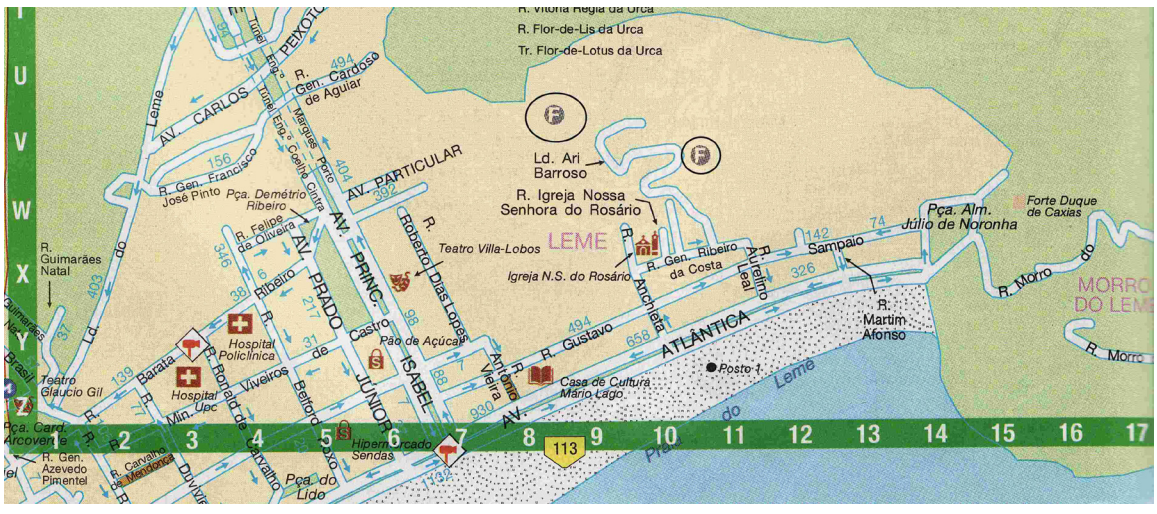
at the same time. However, the double placement of "Favela da Rocinha" is noteworthy. It is printed both in the tan mass of urbanized land, and on the green mass of a municipal nature park, presumably forested. Yet where the name is printed in the tan area is clearly unmapped, lacking streets and bordered only by the Zuzu Angel Tunnel (hyphenated to indicate that it passes through the Morro Dois Irmãos, atop of which Rocinha lies) and the Estrada da Gávea, a winding road over the hill that dates to the turn of the century.[37] The 2008 edition does not even refer to Rocinha and Vidigal as *favelas*, using only the *bairro* typeface. It also adds more streets to flesh in Rocinha, but paradoxically shrinks the amount of tan "urbanized" area. Rocinha has surely not grown any smaller in the last year, and both estimates of how much "urbanized" area Rocinha covers are clearly inaccurate when compared with satellite imagery (see figure 1).



Guia Quatro Rodas 2007: Rocinha is doubly portrayed as both *bairro* (large purple lettering) and "Favela da Rocinha" (small red lettering, circled)

37 The Estrada da Gávea was initially the provenance of automobile enthusiasts. See Renato Castro Barranco, Luis Fernando Ramos, and Bob Sharp, "Circuito da Gávea no Rio de Janeiro: as primeira corridas no Brasil," n.d., <http://www.obvio.ind.br/Autodromos%20do%20Rio%20de%20Janeiro%20-%20as%20primeiras%20corridas%20do%20Brasil.htm> (cited 15 February 2008).

Guia Quatro Rodas 2008: Rocinha and Vidigal (not pictured) are listed only as *bairros*, not *favelas*. More streets were mapped, especially at the bottom of Rocinha, which is more urbanized. However, it displays less area within the contours of Rocinha than it did in the previous year's edition.



Guia Quatro Rodas 2008: The *favelas* Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira, behind the Leme neighborhood, are denoted only by the letter "F" (circled), when they were given full names in the typeface for *favelas* in the prior year's edition (not pictured).

The implications of this double representation are that Rocinha is either a purely illegal *favela* occupying land that clearly belongs to a municipal park[38] or a morass of urbanized area without streets, a blank space on the map. Rocinha and by extension the other Zona Sul *favelas* who receive even less cartographic attention—Morro da Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira, behind the Leme neighborhood, were downgraded from full names in the 2007 edition to an ignominious "F" to designate *favela*—"are technically speaking 'cities without maps.'" Jaguaribe and Hetherington explain:

> We suggest the notion of a mapless city in order to produce a metaphor of the 'indistinct contact zone' between representations of the city and of the *favela*. The antithesis of the Western suburb, this rhizomatic space offers a contrasting, alternate order to that of the city in general. It can only be understood at street level, at the level of performance – from the air these zones of the city look merely chaotic.[39]

They look chaotic from the air, a view of the city from the same top-down perspective as the map, the form of representation that in turn implicitly considers *favelas* too chaotic to represent. The blank spaces of the four maps are complemented by the synthesis of satellite and map (see figure 1) that show Rocinha and Vidigal overspreading their respective hillsides in the rhizomatic fashion Jaguaribe and Hetherington describe. The rhizome sprouts from various nodes without having centralized roots, very much a *tactical* form of development, seizing opportunities as they arise.[40] In contrast, the grid in neighboring Leblon or the residential cul-de-sacs of Gávea, beginning to

---

38 The deforestation caused by *favela* development is a real and serious issue, but not the main issue here—of prime importance is what development does exist, regardless of its environmental impact.

39 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 165. Chaotic images of *favelas* as seen from above have become a trope in contemporary Brazilian cinema. For the most egregious example, see the opening of *Ônibus 174*, directed by José Padilha and Felipe Lacerda, Zazen Produções, 2002.

40 This basic understanding of the rhizome, originally a botany term, is drawn from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Mille Plateaux* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980).

approximate the Western suburb, are clearly strategic, orchestrated through the state system of zoning and urban planning. Jaguaribe and Hetherington have thus linked their two points, describing Rocinha first as "a city within a city" and then refining that concept to the notion of a "mapless city." This metaphor provides a key understanding of the alternate city within a city that the *morro* axis creates in the Zona Sul.

Figure 1: Rocinha (left), Vidigal (bottom), Leblon (right), and Gávea (top).

Importantly, the metaphor is not the "unmapped city." For mapping, the process of tracing something that is not evident, is distinct from the map, a preexisting representation. Mapping the *morro* of Rio's Zona Sul, then, can take on numerous forms. If, as de Certeau says, "in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken [. . .]," then the *morro* axis does indeed need to be "understood at street level, at the level of performance," which includes the spoken word. When soliciting a motorcycle taxi driver to take me from the base of Rocinha to my house, I uttered, "*Rua da quadra, na Cachopa*." Only the major thoroughfares are recognized by their street names, so I was obliged to provide a tour description, "the street where the *quadra* is located," as well as the map-like coordinates of Cachopa, a particular area of Rocinha. The street has a name, Rua da Raia, which can be found in the post office's cavernous index of streets—although it receives no direct mail service—but not on any map.

This example expertly illustrates how Rocinha straddles the distinction between *favela* and *bairro*. It has streets, neighborhoods, and points of reference, the elements that would make it stable, make it a "place" alongside the other *bairros* of the Zona Sul. However, only a select few of the thousands of streets are officially recognized and can be found on the map. Consequently, the vast majority of the community is off the "totalizing stage" of the map, such that circulating in Rocinha and other communities of the *morro* requires acting as a "tour describer," where daily life is a series of street-level performances, like the utterance of directions to the ubiquitous motorcycle taxi—a fixture in any *favela*. The necessity of such performance is precisely what makes Rocinha, and other *favelas*, a "practiced place," and in turn a "space."

The title of Jaguaribe and Hetherington's article, "*Favela* tours: Rio de Janeiro", as well as the use of maps provided by RioTur, both point to an additional relevance in considering tours and maps: "Rio can lay claim to

fame as one of the most celebrated spaces in the global imaginary of tourist pleasure sites."[41] But if, as de Certeau points out, "an element of mapping is the presupposition of a certain itinerary," then it is unlikely tourists would frequent these mapless cities.[42] Among some tourists, however, there is a sense that what is provided on the map—the large pictorial symbols of the "Mapa túristico" heralding Christ the Redeemer or the Sugarloaf Mountain cable car—is not enough. Jaguaribe and Hetherington report, "The most commonplace assertion of interviewed tourists, and of the shop-owners who attended them, is that foreigners want to view the 'real' Brazil, the hidden picture not included in the postcards and brochures about the 'Marvellous City.'"[43] The tour can subsequently be institutionalized as tourism, and the result is *favela* tourism, with visitors piled into jeeps and led on guided tours through Rocinha. After attending a *favela* tour, the authors conclude:

> This is the real as spectacle. It is a real framed by the mixing of urban deprivation with images of glamour, different in kind from the visits to the usual sites and the encounter with the standard set of tourist non-places of airport, shopping mall, and hotel. The *favela* can no longer be ignored in representations of Rio as a tourist destination, so it has become a part of that discourse. It is incorporated, but continues to resist.[44]

This kind of tension describes precisely the ambivalent relationship between the *morro* and *asfalto* axes. They do not coexist equally on the map, such that the map does not indicate a possible itinerary for foreigners who do not know the city. But their clear visibility—Vidigal looms on the hill for all the beachgoers at Ipanema and Leblon to see—has given some tourists the desire to cross over from the saturated tourist sites of the Zona Sul. The very nature of their enterprise, an institutionalized form of the tour, tourism, has thus created a need for tour

41 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 155.
42 de Certeau, 120.
43 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 162.
44 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 163.

providers—whose commercial aim is far different from de Certeau's "tour describers"—who have thus codified a particular kind of crossing from one axis to the other. The jeep arrives at a Zona Sul hotel, takes its paying customers along a circuit through Rocinha, and returns its passengers to the hotel lobby. More recently, enterprising motorcycle taxi drivers offer tourism of their own community and even the president of Brazil announced plans to install guesthouses in Rocinha.[45] The *favela* is clearly incorporated into the tourist discourse, but how does it continue to resist? The answer lies in the intricacies of how *morro* and *asfalto* interact in physical space, which requires staking out on one's own even if the map provides no itinerary to determine what lies at the intersection of the city on the map with the mapless city.

Morro and Asfalto Crossings

It is a simple fact that the *morro* and *asfalto* axes are crossed daily by tens of thousands, almost exclusively in the direction of *morro* to *asfalto* as residents of the *morro* axis go to work in the vast service economy that staffs the Zona Sul's tourist and residential infrastructure.[46] While everyday crossings of *asfalto* residents to the *morro* are still quite rare, except for particular cultural moments—see the next chapter—the points on the map where the *morro* and *asfalto* meet

45 For the former, see Christine Lages, "De mototáxi e a pé, jovens turistas se aventuram pelas ruelas da Rocinha" (By motorcycle taxi and on foot, young tourists adventure through the tight streets of Rocinha), *O Globo Online*, updated 1 March 2008, <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2008/03/01/de_mototaxi_a_pe_jovens_turistas_se_aventuram_pelas_ruelas_da_rocinha-426041206.asp> (cited 1 March 2008). For the latter, see Tom Phillips, "Gueshouses for Rio's Shantytowns," *Mail & Guardian Online*, updated 28 January 2007, <http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=297220&area=/insight/insight__international> (cited 15 February 2007).

46 There are exceptions, especially when Rocinha, the most urbanized *favela*, is involved. Consider the following: "For more than a decade, Jofre Guerra, who runs Shook Video, a video rental store in Rocinha, has been a reverse commuter to the favela. He works in Rocinha but lives in a ritzy area called Copacabana." Robert Neuwirth, *Shadow Cities*: *A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 47.

present intriguing possibilities for public space. The physical layout of streets, buildings, and infrastructure create a hybrid between the strategic services promoted by the city as a political entity and the tactical, rhizomatic growth of *favelas*. Such everyday intersections in the physical space of the Zona Sul may appear mundane, but they blur the sharp borders between *morro* and *asfalto* and encourage axial integration. Maps of the Zona Sul do not specify what lies at such intersections, so I staked out my own itinerary as I crisscrossed *morro* and *asfalto*.

Figure 2: A *prefeitura* trash truck at a collection point in the Favela da Babilônia.

These gestures of crossing can be as simple as the presence of the prefeitura, or city government, the asfalto representative par excellence, on the morro. Trash collection is a crucial city service that exists in various favelas, with trucks coming in to a common pickup point (see figure 2). The ease with which

some representatives of the city in the form of the prefeitura can enter what is definitely the space of the favela highlights how porous and indistinct their borders can be. The city worker who climbs the morro to pick up the trash is not precluded from interacting with its residents or a member of the local faction, as that worker may indeed be from a favela himself, but the orange uniform of the

Figure 3: A plaque commemorating the inauguration of the Estrada do Cantagalo in 1985 and naming the elected officials who were in office or involved in the project.

prefeitura establishes him as neutral. How such a large vehicle can even make it into the community is another *asfalto* intervention into *morro* daily life, with infrastructure improvements like roads that predate even the Favela/Bairro program (see figure 3). The buildings visible along the Estrada do Cantagalo, which climbs up into the heart of the *favela*, also hint to another crucial blurring: There is *asfalto* on the *morro*. As one climbs the 121 stairs of the Escada (Staircase) de Saint-Roman, it is easy to make a metaphor out of the ascent from

asfalto Copacabana to *favela* Cantagalo (see figure 4). However, the truth is that even after reaching the top of the staircase, Cantagalo continues to be lined with high-rise apartment buildings like the ones you might find in elsewhere in Copacabana. Their property values may be significantly lower than primer beachfront real estate, but the fact remains that *asfalto* architecture can be found at the beginnings of the *morro*. The same holds true for Vidigal, where there are middle-class apartment buildings along the first couple hundred meters before the hill becomes dominated by *favela* architecture—lower-rise structures with brick exteriors.

It might be appropriate here to recall the distinction between "strategies" and "tactics," as the architectural contrast does appear quite striking (see figure 5). Constructing a high-rise apartment or condominium building requires large investments of capital, building permits, insurance, and all the trappings of a serious construction project. Such a building, consequently, has a "place that can be delimited as its own" in the plot of land it rests on—titled, deeded, and official. It is, in a sense, a strategic structure, reaffirming the grid first laid out by Pereira Passos and establishing the wealth of the Zona Sul *asfalto* through real estate. On the other hand, the owner-occupier usually builds a *favela* house himself or herself, perhaps soliciting the assistance of family or friends and using a bricolage of available materials, whether bought, scavenged, or recycled. The roof is the most important asset in densely built *favelas*, as up is often the only direction for new development. Roof rights are traded like air rights in Manhattan, or held onto as an inheritance for children. All of this is conducted without property deeds, but it is mediated through the community's Associação de Moradores (Residents' Association), which maintains records of houses bought and sold, providing an informal, locally recognized deed.[47] In the face of the city, however, the

47 For my understanding of *favela* real estate, I am indebted to a helpful firsthand account of life in Rocinha: Neuwirth, "Rio de Janeiro: City without Titles," 25-66.

construction of such communities "poaches" on privately or state owned land. Squatting along the steep, vertiginous hills, the structure of the *favela* "can be where it is least expected." It is, in short, a tactical structure, an architecture of precarity.

Yet such a facile dichotomy between *asfalto* structures as strategic and *morro* structures as tactical as is again blurred in the contemporary Zona Sul, where last year *O Globo* reported:

> *Pela primeira vez, uma grande favela do Rio terá gabarito. O prefeito Cesar Maia publica decreto hoje estabalecendo normas de uso e ocupação do solo da Rocinha, a exemplo do que acontece nas áreas mais urbanizadas da cidade. Os construtores deverão solicitar a licença de obras e o "habite-se" das edificações. O GLOBO revelou sábado que a favela já tem até condomínio.*[48]

Rocinha appears destined for all the marks of strategic structure and wholesale incorporation into the *asfalto*. However, one must consider the vast gulf between the mayor's declaration and what will actually occur. As some skeptical readers wrote in letters to the editor the following day: "[O prefeito] *é um piadista. Até parece que alguém vai cumprir isso e que os fiscais subirão a colina para fiscalizar*" and *"Só no Brasil se legisla sobre como a lei deve ser desrespeitada . . ."*[49] In a country known for the culture of *dar um jeito* (find

---

48 "For the first time, a large *favela* in Rio will have a system of permits. Mayor Cesar Maia is publishing a decree today that establishes norms for the use and occupation of land in Rocinha, using as an example what is already common in more urbanized areas of the city. Builders will have to apply for a work license and a certificate of habitability for their buildings. *O Globo* reported Saturday that the *favela* has already reached the point of having a condominium." Selma Schmidt, "Prefeitura estabelece gabarito na Rocinha," *O Globo*, 21 August 2007, 1.

49 "[The mayor] is a joker. It even seems like someone is going to enforce this and the regulators will ascend the hill to regulate" and "Only in Brazil do we legislate ways for the law to be violated . . ." Gilson das Neves Pereira and Marcello Santo Nicola, respectively, "Favelização" [letters to the editor], *O Globo*, 22 August 2007, 6.

Figure 4 (above): The Escada de Saint Romain, looking up from Copacabana into Cantagalo.
Figure 5 (below): *Favela* architecture in Cantagalo juxtaposed with Ipanema high-rises.

a way around),[50] it seems unlikely that building regulations will make much headway in Rocinha. On the one hand, the policy could be interpreted as a gesture toward integration between *morro* and *asfalto*, not legislating *favelas* out of existence but trying to exert some control over them. On the other hand, as a third reader points out, "*Prefeito, vamos primero fazer a urbanização, criar condições para regularização de titularidade dos terreno* [sic] *e aí então impor condições para o uso do solo*."[51] Imposing regulations prematurely is, if anything, a strategic strike on the part of the city to clamp down on Rocinha's rhizomatic, tactical growth.

The obvious implication, meanwhile, is that regulators would not ascend the hill. Some representatives of the *asfalto*—like trash trucks—are more welcome than others. Consequently, the autonomy of *favelas* as established by their ruling criminal factions can also deeply complicate everyday life and the relationship between *morro* and *asfalto*. A photo triptych from the Morro da Babilônia makes for an excellent case study (see following page). At the top of the Ladeira Ary Barosso, a mediator between *morro* and *asfalto* like the Cantagalo staircase, *prefeitura* signage announces R$ 7,500,000 (approximately $4,385,000) of investment for the "*bairrinho*"—little neighborhood—of Babilônia. When walking through the community itself, however, the sign appears as the only noticeable indicator of that investment, and the eye is drawn to more intriguing sights. An ingenuous faux-window offers a vista overtop Leme and to the Atlantic Ocean beyond, while just behind the lookout on an opposing wall, the

50 The "*jeitinho brasileiro*" of finding a solution is considered an ingrained part of Brazilian culture. At its most benign, it can lead to creative solutions to problems, like fancy footwork on the soccer field. At its most problematic, it can be seen as the root of endemic corruption and flagrant illegal behavior. Without taking the analogy too far, it is nonetheless worth considering the *jeitinho* as similar to Michel de Certeau's "guileful ruse," another aspect of the tactic.

51 "Mayor, let us first urbanize, create conditions for the regulation of title deeds, and then impose rules on land use." Mario de Amorim Costa, ibid.

Babilônia Triptych

The prefeitura has given Babilônia the status of "*bairrinho*" (little neighborhood), it declares at the top of the Ladeira Ary Barosso that climbs up from Leme to the neighboring *favelas* of Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira.

A hole cut out of a concrete wall has been painted to look like a window, with stunning views over the rooftops of Leme and out onto the Atlantic Ocean.

A stylized graffiti depiction of Copacabana side-by-side a tag for the Comando Vermelho (Red Command), Rio's oldest criminal faction, and its co-founder Robert Lumberger (RL). "*Leme é nós só*!" means "Leme, it's us only!", using the standard CV slang "*é nós*" to indicate CV territory.

phrase "*Leme é nós só*!" has been spray painted. The declaration is a bold one, encompassing not just the local community but also the *asfalto* neighborhood below it. While the *prefeitura* gingerly confers "*bairrinho*" status to Babilônia, the local faction brashly declares that all of Leme owes fealty to the Comando Vermelho.

Across the Zona Sul in Vidigal, there is an equally confusing point of interaction between *morro* and *asfalto*. At Praça Niemeyer,[52] the principle entrance to the community, one encounters a public gathering space flanked by several rows of amphitheatre seats (see next page). They are emblazoned with philosophical sayings, like Deleuze's "*Pensar é viajar*" (To think is to travel). One side declares "O Caminho dos Direitos Humanos" (Human Rights Way) and displays a detailed map of Vidigal, tracing a route through to the top. It was conceived and implemented by Paris-based Inscrire, whose goal is to create public monuments worldwide to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Daily life in Rio is short on many human rights, especially for residents of the *morro*, and the route through Vidigal seems to encourage anyone to walk the community as a free and open space. However, a white tag reading "ADA" across the top of Deleuze's quote should give both thinker and traveler pause—it stands for "Amigos dos Amigos" (Friends' Friends), the criminal faction that runs Vidigal and Rocinha. The tag could very well have been done at random, but perhaps the culprit was drawn to the slang meaning of *viajar*: to trip, or get high on narcotics. While not an overt advertisement, the connection between the ADA and drugs represents a more likely experience of Vidigal than the optimism of a human rights way, whose route may not be as open as one would hope, nor does the map it provides necessarily presuppose an available itinerary.

52 The square and the Avenida Niemeyer that runs along it from Leblon to São Conrado are both named for Conrado Jacob de Niemeyer, who donated land for the construction of the road in the early 20th century, not for Brazil's modernist architect Oscar Niemeyer.

Praça Niemeyer, Vidigal:

View from the monument out toward the Avenida Niemeyer (top left), facing the monument with the ADA tag over the Deleuze quote visible (center left), and a close-up of the map along the Caminho dos Direitos Humanos through Vidigal (bottom left).

On the Bus

While the most affluent have cars and tourists tend to take taxis, the vehicles of the Zona Sul's everyday circulations are buses and vans. In Rio, there is no transit agency with a monopoly on public transportation. Instead, dozens of companies are allowed to operate bus lines and individual owners run vans along popular routes, making for a veritable fleet of mass transit on the roads. This transport network must adhere to the map, but at times it must cross the intersection between *morro* and *asfalto*. For example, some of the city bus and van companies recognize the *bairro* status of communities like Rocinha and Vidigal, placing them alongside *bairros* like Leblon and Copacabana (see photos on this page). Amigos Unidos, in fact, runs two bus lines right through Rocinha on the Estrada da Gávea, meaning that one can board a bus in Copacabana (see figure 6) and eventually arrive in the middle of Rocinha.

Just as the same typeface on the map elevates Rocinha to equal status with its bairro counterparts, "Rocinha" appears on city streets and jockeys for riders' attention among the most recognized neighborhoods of the city. "In modern Athens," Michel de Certeau writes, "the vehicles of mass transportation are calle metaphorai. To go to work or come home, one takes a 'metaphor'—a bus or a train."[53] Rocinha's place—stable and fixed—in the city's bus network is indeed a metaphor for how the features of everyday life like public transportation can incorporate a favela alongside bairros, physically connecting the *morro* and *asfalto* axes and reducing the border between them on at least one front. The bus, after all, follows the itinerary presupposed by the map, making the boundary between Gávea and Rocinha, where the buses enter and exit, a permeable one.

Figure 6: An Amigos Unidos bus running from Leme to Rocinha.

It took a private bus company, although licensed by the city, to recognize Rocinha in such a fashion. In contrast, the publicly owned subway system has a stop for Cantagalo, but the station is firmly in Copacabana and decidedly not atop of the *morro* from which it takes its name. Cantagalo, in fact, presents a case of the encroaching non-place that contributes to the *morro* and *asfalto* crossing without intersecting. The Tunnel Prefeito Sá Freire Alvin cuts through the Morro

53 de Certeau, 115.

do Cantagalo, effectively allowing one to pass under the *favela* of Cantagalo on one's way through Copacabana and presumably be none the wiser (figure 7). A more extensive non-place border exists in the case of Rocinha, whose boundary with São Conrado is clearly demarcated. As the Lagoa-Barra Highway comes out of the Tunnel Zuzu Angel, where it bores through the Morro Dois Irmãos, it divides São Conrado on the oceanfront and Rocinha on the hillside. There is an alternative local route on the Estrada da Gávea that takes you through the community, which creates the porous border between Gávea and Rocinha, but the highway effectively allows one high-speed passage past Rocinha—indeed in the era of Rio's worst violence in the 1990s, it was common for drivers to speed up when passing by. Here, the non-place prevents any integration born from interaction.

Figure 7: The Tunnel Prefeito Sá Freire Alvin cutting through the Morro do Cantagalo and subsequently under the *favelas* of Cantagalo and Pavão/Pavãozinho.

Urbanized Beaches: *Modernization of Marginalized Spaces*

The last, but hardly least, element of everyday life in the Zona Sul are of course its world-famous beaches. Far beyond a mere tourist attraction, the sands of Copacabana and Ipanema are frequented by hundreds of thousands of *cariocas*, with the *morro* and *asfalto* axes both having prime access. Bruno Carvalho fashions the beaches as an "off-the-map 'practiced place', in between streets and the ocean, urbanity and nature, legality and marginality."[54] The latter two dualities are also accurate descriptions of the *morro* axis. *Favelas* are between urbanity and nature, the "urbanized" *bairros* on one side and the "natural" hills on the other—think back to Rocinha on the map, its name printed in both urbanized and forested areas. There is an obvious balance between legality and marginality in squatter communities that are run by criminal factions but recognized by city government. Finally, *favelas* are not between the streets and the ocean, but they are on the other side of the streets, wedged up against the hills.

Carvalho as critic-cartographer expertly maps Rio's urbanized beaches through nearly a century of literature, music, and popular culture that demonstrate the beach's potential to be a subversive, subcultural space. He concludes:

> The beach, an 'off-mapped place', contains spaces that are not un-mapped: they are demarcated by specific signs, by those who inhabit them, by ingrained prejudices, by the permissiveness of particular practices, and contain a multiplicity of overlapping narratives. If cartography cannot encompass the spatial behaviours, orally transmitted knowledge and permanent dislocation and relocation of the porous boundaries within the beach, how, then can texts function as a more accurate map(ping) of the various 'hidden forces' (social injustices, urban histories, personal stories, local practices, etc.) underlying the physical attributes of a place (topography, roads, buildings, etc.)? Maps may occult the location of culture (whether deliberately or not), and perhaps it is the beach's liminality (in between sea and streets, regulated and unregulated, etc.) within them that renders it as a privileged *topos* for so many twentieth-century poets of Rio's everyday.[55]

54 Carvalho, p. 325.
55 Carvalho, 334-335.

He makes a provocative proposition—literary and musical texts can map that which is off the map. Furthermore, the beach is an off-the-map space because it is in part marginal to the *asfalto* neighborhoods that border them. As pointed out above, what in turn is marginalized on the other side of the *asfalto*? The *morro*. As I followed the contours of Carvalho's dualities above, mapping them onto the *morro*, if you will, it is clear that there are remarkable affinities between the beach and *favelas*. Indeed, following Jaguaribe and Hetherington, they are the twin endless images of Rio's tourist discourse—miles of sand and miles of shacks.

However, Carvalho also points out that the beach was eventually subjected to modernization, describing how "the beach as we know it today resulted from direct interventions by the state and urban planners" as the beachfront avenues were widened and the sands were expanded with dredgers in the 1970s.[56] To that extent, it was incorporated into the city's official discourse as specific steps were taken to accommodate more people—residents, of course, but certainly more tourists too—and it consequently ceased to be a subcultural space. Unlike the *morro*, it was incorporated, but for the most part does not continue to resist. Despite the modernizing effect of city services, a nascent tourism infrastructure, and bus lines, the *favelas* do continue to resist, a process best seen by applying Carvalho's same methodology: mapping *favelas*, likewise off-the-map "practiced places," through texts.

56 Carvalho, 334.

Chapter 2: Carnivals Big and Small

"*O baile funk é Carnaval todo fim de semana*."

--Mr Catra

Cultural Crossings

The cultural texts most central to life in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro are musical: chiefly *samba* and *funk*. Of course, other forms of culture, like cinema, theatre, or art are available in the numerous cultural outlets of the Zona Sul *asfalto*, but they are likely to remain closed to the majority of the *morro*, who either lack the funds to attend or are simply unwelcome.[57] Consequently, several non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Grupo Cultural AfroReggae in Cantagalo and Nós do Morro in Vidigal, work to provide cultural opportunities in *favelas*, and also hope to use culture as a means of bridging the physical gap between *morro* and *asfalto*. Their self-acknowledged marginal position, however, limits their efficacy.[58]

Music, the historic cultural strength of Rio, eclipses these nonetheless vital cultural gestures by occupying a central place on the *morro*. Rio is a

57 Dr. Elena Pajaro Peres told me an anecdote about attending a free concert at the Teatro Municipal in São Paulo where an individual of visibly poor means, judging by his attire (sandals over shoes, for example), was denied entrance even though the purpose of the event was to make high culture more accessible to those who could not afford expensive symphony performances. While the event took place in São Paulo, it is not difficult to imagine a similar occurrence in Rio.

58 The coordinator for AfroReggae in Cantagalo emphatically declares, "*O asfalto deve subir o morro* (the asphalt must climb up the hill)." But he cautions, "*O prédio não é dentro da comunidade, nosso espaço físico não é dentro*, *é à margem da favela*. *Mas é um link*. (The building is not inside the community, our physical space is not inside, it's at the margin of the *favela*. But it's a link.)" They are located in a community center called a CIEP at one end of Cantagalo, accessible via elevator from Ipanema in addition to being accessible on foot via the *favela* proper. He feels similarly about Nós do Morro, whose theatre in Vidigal is in an undefined space where *asfalto* architecture gives way to *favela* architecture and the border between the police and the faction is unclear. Boris Trindade, personal interview with the author, Anfiteatro Benjamin de Oliveira, Cantagalo, Rio de Janeiro, 30 January 2008.

The Anfiteatro Benjamin de Oliveira of Grupo Cultural AfroReggae in Cantagalo.

soundtracked city, where particular genres of music—traditionally *samba* and more recently *funk*—are woven into the urban fabric. It is not just that one hears them constantly on the radio and from corner bars or that *cariocas* seem to intuitively know their rhythms and how to dance to them. Rather, the historical tradition of *samba* and the contemporary reality of *funk* offer essential clues to understanding Rio. They define not just how it moves, but how it perceives itself. Taking up the query from the end of the last chapter—can cultural texts be used to map the mapless city?—the answer is a resounding yes in the symbols and lyrics of Rio's soundtrack. While the institutionalized form of *samba* in its increasingly commercialized state has become more of a "strategic" music, *funk*, whose historical arc deviates sharply from *samba* in many ways, offers rich tactical texts that explicitly map out the relationship of space and place in Rio. The beats,

bluster, and bricolage of *funk* guide a new understanding of how to map the Zona Sul, and indeed all of Rio.

Samba Losing Its Roots

The twin endless images of Rio may be miles of sand and miles of shacks, but there is a crucial third attraction: Carnival—or Carnaval in Portuguese—the late summer citywide spectacle and nominal pre-Lenten celebration. International tourists descend in droves and the city's inhabitants erupt into weeklong festivities of informal street processions and neighborhood parties. In downtown Rio, meanwhile, spectators flock to the nationally televised *samba* school parades. Since the 1930s, the major attraction of Rio's Carnaval has been *samba*, a musical style of drum, tambourine, and four-stringed *cavaco* drawing on the country's Afro-Brazilian heritage. It came about in the same turn of the century tumult that produced Rio's *favelas*, as ex-slaves and migrants from the northeast mixed with eastern European immigrants and the Iberian community. The genre was originally denigrated as too African and incompatible with the city's European ideals, the very ideals that launched a Parisian-style urban reform. Facing persecution—one could be arrested on the streets of downtown for possessing a guitar—nascent *samba* took refuge in the nascent *favelas*.[59] Illegal music had found its illegal home, its improvisational style making it a natural fit—tactical music in a tactical space.

It did not stay illegal for long and after becoming popular in Paris, *samba* gained respectability in Rio by the 1920s. *Samba* has since taken on many forms,

59 My understanding of the history and musical structure of *samba*, in addition to personal experience in Rio de Janeiro, is indebted to Hermano Vianna's *O Mistério do Samba* (Jorge Zahar: 2004), Alma Guillermoprieto's *Samba* (Alfred A. Knopf: 1990), Bruno Carvalho's fall 2007 class Portuguese 37: Contemporary Brazilian Culture Through Media, Nicolau Sevcenko's spring 2007 class Portuguese 144: Waves of Change, and Roberto da Matta's guest lecture at Harvard Summer School in Rio de Janeiro (August 2006).

and it would be inaccurate to speak of the style homogenously. However, one particular variant of the newly popular *samba* became formalized in *escolas de samba*, or *samba* schools, groups mostly from communities around Rio's periphery that stage elaborate costumed parade routines during Carnaval. Maria Laura Viveira de Castro describes the institutionalization of *escolas de samba* as beginning after their inaugural parade in 1932, when they formed their first association and began receiving government subsidies by Getúlio Vargas' nationalist dictatorship, which supported the growth of *samba* as a Brazilian national symbol.[60] This co-option marks a transformation for Carnaval *samba* to a strategic music, in service of the state, and the near-military trajectory of disciplined rehearsals and choreography in *escolas de samba* was very much contrary to the improvisational spirit of *samba*'s origins.

What Castro calls "*o irrversível processo de comercialização do desfile* [. . .]" accelerated in the second half of the 20th century.[61] Tickets were first sold in 1962 and Riotur, the official municipal tourism agency whose maps were analyzed in the last chapter, was founded in 1972 and quickly became involved in the finances of the Carnaval parade. The first commercial recording of *samba-enredo* (story *samba*, the routines performed at the parade) was made that same year and the first TV contract was inked in 1983. The next year, architect Oscar Niemeyer, an adherent to the International style rather than a native Brazilian aesthetic, designed the Passarela do Samba, which enclosed a 700 meter stretch of the Rua Marquês de Sapucaí near the site of Praça Onze, the traditional birthplace of *samba*.[62] Castro explains this seminal moment:

> A Passarela é a consagração de uma rua para o desfile. Consagração no sentido de atribuição permanente a uma rua de uma qualidade especial, que ultrapassa agora o tempo

60 Maria Laura Viveira de Castro, *Carnaval carioca: dos bastidores ao desfile* (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1994), 26.

61 Ibid. "irreversible process of commercialization for the parade."

62 The information in this paragraph is summarized from Castro, 26-29.

> carnavalesco e concretiza, literalmente, o reconhecimento público do valor social e turístico dos desfiles para a vida da cidade.[63]

The incorporation of a street, de Certeau's heralded poetic space for walkers, into an official monument whose use is rigidly controlled cements Carnaval *samba*'s position as a strategic music despite *samba*'s tactical origins. The construction of the Passarela do Samba was itself a modernization project in a tradition that dates back to Pereira Passos' urban form. Sapucaí is perpendicular to the Avenida Presidente Vargas, which was inaugurated in 1950 as downtown Rio's main thoroughfare and is flanked by many of the city's administrative buildings. Its construction necessitated the demolition of Praça XI, considered the birthplace of *samba*. Likewise, construction of the Sambódromo, as the Passarela is also known, destroyed the surrounding neighborhood. The very name, Sambódromo, is an act of modernization: It combines "*samba*" with the Greek "*drómos*," or racecourse, implying speed. The Sambódromo subsequently seeks to speed up *samba* by putting it on the clock of an 80-minute parade where lateness will be penalized and adapting it to the schedule of television. The clock has long been a symbol of capitalist logic as it governs the lives of workers and applying it to *samba* is the very antithesis of what was the spontaneous beat of resistance among the disenfranchised of Rio's underclass.[64] Under the capitalist logic of the Sambódromo, Carnaval *samba* has become a national mass media spectacle, an international tourist attraction, and a commodified recording.

Carnaval *samba* has established itself in the Zona Sul as well, and not

---

63 "The Passarela is the consecration of a street for the parade. Consecration in the sense that it permanently attributed to a street a special quality that extends even beyond Carnaval time and literally concretizes [the Passarela do Samba is made of reinforced concrete] public recognition of the social and touristic value of the parades for the life of the city." Castro, 29.

64 I am indebted to Nicolau Sevcenko for his explanation of the etymology of Sambódromo and the word's implications. For a more substantial discussion of *drómos*, see Paul Virilio, *Vitesse et politique*: *Essai de dromologie* (Paris: Galilée, 1977).

just when the famous *escolas* send a contingent to perform at the Copacabana Palace hotel. In fact, there are two *escolas* in the Zona Sul: G.R.E.S. Acadêmicos da Rocinha and G.R.E.S. Alegria da Zona Sul, founded in 1988 and 1992, respectively, which falls near the beginning of the Zona Sul's contemporary era.[65] It is common for *escolas*' names to refer to, and consequently valorize, their place of origin. Thus, Rocinha, appropriately, refers to itself, the city within a city, providing a positive association with the name, which in many *asfalto* residents' mind is inherently linked to crime, poverty, and violence. Alegria da Zona Sul, based in much smaller Cantagalo, defines its geographical parameters as the entirety of the Zona Sul. A sidebar on their website declares, "*A escola de samba de Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon, Leme, Lagoa e toda zona sul do Rio de Janeiro*."[66] They don't mention Cantagalo, or any *favelas*, by name—seeking instead to identify with the *asfalto*. If *samba* is a patrimony of all *cariocas*, then certainly the communities of the Zona Sul deserve their share, *morro* and *asfalto* axes alike. For in *samba*'s negotiation between its *morro* roots and its *asfalto* success—the *sambas* composed up on the hill but paraded down the asphalt of Sapucaí—the music inherently crosses divides.

In the Zona Sul's case, the exact degree of integration brought on by the presence of *escolas de samba* is mitigated by the correlation between physical location and commercial success. The Acadêmicos da Rocinha *quadra* is firmly

65 G.R.E.S. stands for Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba, or Recreational Association and Samba School, and is the standard prefix for all *samba* schools. The names of the two schools translate to "Academics of Rocinha" and "Joy of the Zona Sul." As for the origin of the term "school," one anecdote claimss: "The sambistas used to rehearse in an empty lot near a teachers' college, [original sambista Ismael] Silva recalled. 'And people always said, 'That's where the professors come from.'' The São Carlos sambistas decided that while teachers' colleges and universities might be out of their reach, nobody knew more about samba. 'People started saying, '*This* is where the professors come from,' Silva remembered. 'That's how the idea of a samba school came about.'" Guillermoprieto, 28.

66 GRES Alegria da Zona Sul, n.d., <http://alegriadazonasul.spaces.live.com> (cited 4 March 2008), sidebar. "The samba school of Copacabana, Ipanema, Leblon, Leme, Lagoa and all of the Zona Sul of Rio de Janeiro."

located in the *asfalto* neighborhood of São Conrado, on the other side of the Estrada Lagoa-Barra highway, which I already described as the encroaching non-place that forms a border between Rocinha and São Conrado. While the *sambistas* are not restricted to the physical location of their school—on Sundays, they can be found along São Conrado beach, popular among residents of Rocinha, or along the Via Ápia, Rocinha's main commercial strip—the structural symbol of the school is nevertheless divorced from its name. Alegria da Zona Sul, by contrast, has its *quadra* squarely in the *favela* of Cantagalo, up on the hill and surrounded by *favela* architecture. Acadêmicos da Rocinha is a moderately successful school, parading most commonly in the Grupo A, the second tier in the *samba* league hierarchy, and has twice vaulted to the Grupo Especial, the top tier. More modest Alegria da Zona Sul most frequently performs in the Grupo B and has only thrice made it to the Grupo A.[67] Acadêmicos da Rocinha has the cachet to charge admission and hire famous *sambistas* to perform around Carnaval time, while Alegria da Zona Sul relies on continual rehearsals of its routine, free to all who attend.[68]

67 Like in soccer leagues, a school's performance can boost them to a higher tier or cause them to fall to a lower one, such that the schools competing in each division changes annually based on the prior year's results.

68 I observed the differences between a Carnaval week rehearsal at Acadêmicos da Rocinha and Alegria da Zona Sul during Carnaval 2008, attending a dress rehearsal at Acadêmicos da Rocinha on January 26 and a *bateria* rehearsal at Alegria da Zona Sul on January 30. The Acadêmicos da Rocinha rehearsal ended with a performance by Dudu Nobre, a well-known *samba* composer who was one of the official television commentators on the parade.

Acadêmicos da Rocinha (above): This *quadra*'s features includes large signage advertising the school, an enclosed building, an elevated stage for the dancers, massive crowds, and VIP balconies. **Alegria da Zona Sul (below):** In contrast, this open-air *quadra* lacks ornamentation and the performers dance in the same space as the crowd, which consists almost exclusively of residents of Cantagalo.

Escolas de samba in the Zona Sul at best bring the *asfalto* to the foot of the *morro*, but do not initiate a crossing. The Acadêmicos da Rocinha host a crowd of thousands, many whiter, in more expensive clothes, and arriving via car—all indications they are not from Rocinha proper—while the crowd at Alegria da Zona Sul, despite its optimistic name, seems to encompass only the local *favela*.[69] As such, the lofty rhetoric of Alex de Souza, the *carnavalesco* who orchestrated Acadêmicos da Rocinha's 2006 *samba*, "Felicidade não tem preço" (Happiness has no price), comes off quite hollow in his justification of the song:

> Rocinha é o retrato do Brasil. O contraste entre o morro e o asfalto revela duas realidades, dois extremos. Em comum uma escola de samba que representa a integração, que exerce sua função social, papel esse que as escolas de samba hoje vem desempenhando para apontar um futuro melhor às suas comunidades carentes.[70]

Yet Acadêmicos da Rocinha, at least in its structural manifestation, fails to represent integration at the level of physically bringing patrons into Rocinha. Those from the *asfalto* of the Zona Sul, who certainly comprise a sizeable audience for this *escola*, ultimately do not deviate from their inscribed itinerary within the borders of the *asfalto* when they attend a performance there. Rocinha may be the portrait of Brazil, but the Acadêmicos da Rocinha do not contribute to anyone viewing that portrait at street-level, bur rather from the same detached distance across the Estrada Lagoa-Barra, the highway view that is the closest

---

69 The generalization is again based on the differences I observed between the two *samba* schools as well as informal conversations I had with individuals at both. The divide is quite clear, from the sale of merchandise at an Académicos da Rocinha show, which is not done at Alegria da Zona Sul, to the comparative production quality of their websites (www.academicosdarocinha.com.br, a proper domain, versus alegriadazonasul.spaces.live.com, based on a pre-existing free model).

70 Alex de Souza, "Desfiles: Carnaval 2006," n.d., <www.academicosdarocinha.com.br/outros_carnavais.asp> (cited 5 March 2008). "Rocinha is the portrait of Brazil. The contrast between *morro* and *asfalto* reveals two realities, two extremes. In common, the two have a *samba* school that represents integration, that exercises its social function, this is the role that *samba* schools today bring by playing to point their needy communities to a better future."

many get to Rocinha.

The prior year, Acadêmicos da Rocinha presented the *samba* "Um mundo sem fronteiras" (A world without borders). It presents an optimistic vision of local and global integration:

Viajar	Travel
Por esse mundo sem fronteiras	Through this world without borders
Acabar com a exclusão	Get rid of exclusion
Respeitar mais o irmão	Better respect your brothers
Derrubar todas barreiras	Knock down all the barriers
Quero ter um caminho a seguir	I want to have a path to follow
Eu quero o meu direito de ir e vir	I want my right to come and go
Sem discriminação, ganância e ambição	Without discrimination, greed, and ambition
Rocinha diz a violência não.	Rocinha says "no" to violence
Xanadu ou shangrilá eu quero mais	I'd rather have Xanadu or Shangri-La
Deixa a flor desabrochar (bis)	Let the flower blossom (encore)
Amor e paz	Love and peace
[. . .]	
Da Rocinha posso ver o mundo inteiro	From Rocinha I can see the whole world
Sou do samba, sou do Rio de Janeiro	I'm from samba, I'm from Rio de Janeiro
Ouça a mensagem que a borboleta traz	Listen to the message that the butterfly brings
Um mundo sem fronteiras é capaz	A world without borders is capable of anything[71]

The *samba*'s insistence on a world without borders is apropos of the issues surrounding the intersection of *morro* and *asfalto* in the Zona Sul. "Knock down all the barriers" resonates across both physical barriers—like a proposed 10-foot wall around some *favelas* of the Zona Sul—and more metaphorical ones—from racism to structural inequality.[72] The desire for a "*caminho a seguir*" (path to follow) recalls the "Caminho dos Direitos Humanos" at the Praça Niemeyer entrance to Vidigal, discussed in the last chapter, whose monument is crested by the Deleuze quote "*Pensar é viajar*" (To think is to travel) that has been

71 Marcelo Zona Sul, Josias CD, Valdo, Jorge Tangará, and Seu Carlos. "Um mundo sem fronteiras." G.R.E.S. Acadêmicos da Rocinha, carnavalesco Alex de Souza, 2005. The butterfly, mentioned in the penultimate line, is the symbol of Acadêmicos da Rocinha.

72 Daniel Howden, "Bitter Divide over Plan to Wall in Rio's Slums," *The Independent* and *American Renaissance*, updated 23 June 2005, <http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/06/bitter_divide_o.php> (cited 5 March 2008).

tagged with gang graffiti. "*Viajar*" is, in fact, the opening line of the *samba*. But the ability to travel is restricted in both directions between *morro* and *asfalto*, providing this *samba* with its utopian hope, as it refers to both Xanadu and Shangri-La.

Most important is the *samba*'s basic conceit: a world without borders. If that is the case, then it concludes, "From Rocinha I can see the whole world." Jaguaribe and Hetherington, writing about *favela* tourism, reinforce this vision of globalization in Rocinha, calling it "the most globally connected *favela*," a claim reinforced by the fact that "90 per cent of the homes have television, with two cable TV services, several radio stations and two newspapers." I would add that Internet cafes are abundant, and the costumes for this *samba* brazenly illustrate how the "world without borders" hinges on communications technology (see next page). Brazilian society is hypermediated, by which I mean traditional media outlets, especially television, wield enormous power and have tremendous influence on social attitudes and national policy.[73] Satellite dishes crest most *favela* homes and there are more televisions than refrigerators in Brazil—even in a *favela*, the TV comes first.[74] Carnaval *samba*, too, is part of Brazilian mass media, unable to map the "mapless city" of Jaguaribe and Hetherington's description. From the vantage point of Acadêmicos da Rocinha and its *quadra* firmly located in the *asfalto*, Rocinha claims it can "see the whole world," but through their *samba* they cannot see Rocinha or the other *favelas* of the *morro* axis. Rio's other soundtrack can, however, and across the Zona Sul at more modest Alegria da Zona Sul, listen to what follows a rehearsal: the *bateria* (drum corp) slipping from the beat of *samba* over to the rhythm of *funk*.

---

73 Joseph A. Page, "Controlling Brazilian Minds: A Case Study of the Globo Network," *The Brazilians* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1995).

74 "Brazil adopts Japan's digital TV standard," *Broadcast Engineering News*, updated 3 July 2006, <http://broadcastengineering.com/news/ISDB-T-Brazil-20060703> (cited 13 March 2008), para. 8.

Costuming a World Without Borders: *Fantasias* (costumes) portraying the globalized vision of communications technology in the *samba* "Um mundo sem fronteiras."
(Source: http://www.academicosdarocinha.com.br/outros_carnavais.asp)

Portrait of a Baile: Cantagalo[75]

On a Friday night in Cantagalo, the *baile* begins late. Older residents start setting up stalls outside the *quadra*—the same one that will be used the next night for Alegria da Zona Sul's *samba* rehearsal—a little after midnight to sell beer, *caipirinhas* (muddled lime, lots of sugar, and *cachaça*, Brazilian sugarcane liquor), water, soft drinks, fried shrimp, hot dogs, *churrasquinho* (grilled meat skewers), *doces* (all manner of sweet desserts), cigarettes, and other party staples. The police may pass through before the music starts, but once it kicks in between 1 and 2 am, echoing the hard electronic beats throughout the *becos* (alleyways) of the hill, they are nowhere to be seen.[76] Instead, the members of the local faction, in Cantagalo's case the Comando Vermelho (CV), emerge, running a brisk business in marijuana and cocaine at the *boca-de-fumo* (mouth of smoke, slang for the area where drugs are sold) with two strategically located near the *quadra*. The *baile* is free for all who attend, as the CV pays for the event, but certainly the *boca-de-fumo* recoup much of their expenditure.

It's no wonder the older folks come out to set up stalls or chitchat with neighbors—no one can sleep while the music is blaring. Inside the *quadra*, the music hits you with physical force. Your chest thumps with every beat and your body is enveloped by the sound, pinned between dueling walls of speakers, 10 feet high and 30 or 40 feet across. On a hot summer night, sometimes one *equipe de som* (sound system) will be outside, making for a less concentrated effect but expanding the *baile* to the Estrada de Cantagalo. Sany DJ of the Pitbull crew is

---

75 *Funk* was the focus of my first research endeavor in Rio during the summer of 2006 and certainly part of my wider investigation into culture and urban space during the summer of 2007. Consequently, Cantagalo is the *baile funk* (funk ball) I have attended the most, in part because it encapsulates many of the striking aspects of the *funk* scene that are relevant to my itinerary through the Zona Sul. I have attended it on eight occasions: 28 Jul 2006, 4 Aug 2006, 11 Aug 2006, 6 Jul 2007, 27 Jul 2007, 24 Aug 2007, 25 Jan 2008, and 1 Feb 2008.

76 On July 28, 2006, a police car with guns pointed out the window passed by the *quadra* once, early in the night, before the music had begun.

almost certain to be behind the decks, as he's been the resident at the Cantagalo *baile* for over a decade now, with the other sound system manned by a DJ from one of many rival crews across greater Rio. "Decks," an expression usually referring to turntables, is figurative: whether on CDs, mini-discs, or creatively using a music production center (MPC), the *baile* is an all-digital affair. No vinyl records here—they melt in the heat, I've been told, and besides, it takes too long and it's too expensive at the one vinyl pressing plant in Brazil, in the Rio suburb of Belford Roxo.[77]

The DJs run through a rapid-fire selection of *funk* hits—combinations of popular new rhythms and vocal tracks, productions they've either made themselves or bartered for with other DJs, hardly ever purchased on an officially licensed CD. The MPC affords the opportunity to work in a variety of samples—lyrical snippets, gunshot sounds, a few instrumental bars, various drum hits—to create a sonic pastiche. When an MC takes the stage, he or she will sing about any number of topics, but the most salient subjects are local ones: recounting noteworthy events of the last week, praising the Comando Vermelho that runs Cantagalo, or even incorporating other nearby *favelas* into the lyrics. When the MC flirts with the subject of the local faction, it's called *proibidão* (extremely prohibited) and will get the local faction very excited as they wave their guns—many with red CV stickers on them—in the air.

The crowd joins in, making the gesture of cupping the left hand like a 'C' and extending the right hand's thumb and forefinger like a 'V.' Several hundred deep, approaching a thousand or more on a crowded night, the mostly teenagers and 20-somethings (although you'll find the occasional pre-teen or older *funkeiro*) drink, dance, and flirt. Couples dance together suggestively, or groups of males

77 "*Incentivo fiscal pode salvar última fábrica de vinil do país*." (Financial incentive could save the last vinyl pressing plant in the country), *G1*, updated 19 September 2007, <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Economia_Negocios/0,,MUL152984-9356,00.html> (cited 7 March 2008), para. 1.

and females perform their own synchronized routines. A popular male routine consists of parading through the crowd in a line, hands on shoulders, in a dance called the *trenzinho* (little train). A trio of women will crouch progressively lower while thrusting their hips in the *dança da bundinha* (little booty dance). Plenty of spectators also just sway and bob to the music. The audience is a mixture of local residents, residents from other *favelas*, and a wealthier set of patrons from the *asfalto* (usually identifiable by their clothing), who arrive on foot, by moto-taxi, or the occasional car taxi. They are presumably *cariocas* that could be from anywhere in the city, but given Cantagalo's prime location between Ipanema and Copacabana, it's logical to conclude that the vast majority—whether from *morro* or *asfalto*—hails from the Zona Sul. Sany DJ's increasing popularity—he now plays regularly on Thursday nights in the bohemian club quarter of Lapa, and has played in Europe on two occasions—also brings a small but steady stream of foreigners, myself included, some of whom may also be attracted by the *baile*'s close proximity to their hotels.[78] The sound of the *baile* certainly trickles over Cantagalo and into the windows of Copacabana and Ipanema apartments and hotel rooms.

The *baile* usually peaks between 3 and 5 am, slowly winding down by sunrise. Afterwards, the crowds stagger down the hill, the *equipes de som* pack up their equipment, and the Assosiação de Moradores (Residents' Association) emerges to pick up the trash left behind by the partygoers. Now that the *baile* is over, the police may pass through again.[79] A few diehards might continue nursing beers at the corner bar as daylight fully emerges.

78 In 2006 and 2007, I tended to know the foreigners who were present, as they had often been invited by the person who first told me of the *baile*: Adriana Pittigliani, the impresario of Sany DJ. During Carnaval 2008, however, I saw foreigners that I did not recognize—information about the *baile* could be circulating outside of Rio, or there was simply a critical mass of foreigners given the high tourism season of Carnaval and they were bound to stumble across such a prominently located *baile*.

79 On July 28, 2006, the police walked along the street in front of *quadra* on foot when it was again daylight and the *baile* was definitively over.

Left: View from the *quadra* across the Estrada do Cantagalo and into one of the alleys that serves as a *boca-de-fumo* during the *baile funk*.

Below: The *quadra* after the *baile*, the massive dueling sound systems clearly visible at nearly twice the height of a person. Sany DJ is in the upper-right corner behind the table on the stage.

[Photos of *bailes da comunidade* in progress are generally forbidden by the local faction.]

Tactical Funk[80]

The dominant musical style to emerge in Rio de Janeiro over the last 25 years, coinciding with the entrenchment of the drug trade and the stretch of time that I call the contemporary Zona Sul, is *funk carioca*, or simply *funk* to those who live it and love it. Its roots are indeed in the American funk from which it takes its name. In the 1970s, American funk, soul, and disco were immensely popular among black music fans in Rio, and the first *equipes de som* emerged to play these records to massive audiences at parties called *bailes*. They took place on the periphery of the city or in the suburbs, exactly the hotbed of *escolas de samba*.[81] In fact, as journalist Sílvio Essinger explains in *Batidão: Uma História do Funk*:

> Muitos desses bailes aconteciam em clubes, como o Magnatas (no Rocha), e em quadras de escolas de samba, como as da Portela e do Império Serrano. Era o programa certo para todos os fins de semana do ano, mais até do que as rodas de samba, às quais o subúrbio sempre é associado. "O samba era sazonal, só tinha a sua essência dentro das escolas de samba. Publicamente, as discussões de enredo começavam em

---

80 I weave in considerable background knowledge and history of *funk* before arriving at an actual analysis of the lyrics of particular songs, because the structure and history of *funk* is itself interesting in light of the theoretical concerns of my itinerary, especially the distinction between strategies and tactics. Before embarking in this direction, however, I would like to note that not all of my knowledge of *funk* can be traced to specific citations. While I rely on two published books about *funk*—one an anthropological study from 1988 and one a journalistic history from 2005—many details I picked up from my three visits to Rio, during which I was often immersed in the *movimento funk* (*funk* scene). I've had innumerous conversations with and asked countless questions of MCs, DJs, and *funkeiros*, all of which has contributed to my collected knowledge of the genre. In addition to the cited references, I must also acknowledge an interview with Adriana Pittigliani, impresario of Sany DJ, on July 25, 2006 in Flamengo, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and an interview with Everton Ramos (aka Cabide DJ) on August 24, 2006 in Jardim Catarina, São Gonçalo, Brazil, in addition to many follow-up conversations. Bernhard Hendrik Hermann Weber Ramos De Lacerda (aka MC Gringo), José Roberto Gonçalves (aka MC Beto da Caixa), Bo Anderson (aka DJ Maga Bo), and Sandro Lourenço (aka DJ Sandrinho), among many others, also contributed to my understanding of *funk*.

81 The Portuguese "*subúrbio*" has a slightly different meaning than in English. In Rio de Janerio, neighborhoods that are well within the borders of the city are nevertheless called the "subúrbio" if they are not downtown or in the Zona Sul. Some of these *bailes* were indeed in suburbs outside the city limits like Niteroí or São Gonçalo, on the other side of Guanabara Bay from Rio, but many were in neighborhoods in the Zona Norte and Zona Oeste—very much Rio, but by the prejudice that favors the Zona Sul, considered "*subúrbio*." Hence, for clarity's sake I use "periphery and suburbs."

> setembro. E terminavam com o fim do Carnaval", conta Dom Filó.[82]

Already in the '70s, *funk* was seen as a year-round alternative to Carnaval *samba*, which is tied to a shorter schedule. This trend is the origin of a quip from Mr Catra, Brazil's most in-demand *funk* MC, who said, "*O baile funk é Carnaval todo fim de semana* (The *baile funk* is a Carnaval every weekend).[83] Thus, while there is one large, official Carnaval every year, increasingly financed and organized by the city's tourism administration as a strategic event designed to augment the state, there are smaller Carnavals every weekend of a more tactical nature. Micael Herschmann calls *funk*'s style the "*estética da versão*" in fashion, use of space, and musical composition, a posture that results in "*uma 'resistência' bastante peculiar: apropriar-se das 'modalidades oficiais' e realizar uma constante 'pilhagem.'*"[84] With "*pilhagem*"—poaching—he makes a direct citation from de Certeau. As I will demonstrate, *funk* poaches; it is a tactical music.

They may be smaller Carnavals, but they are still staggering in size. Hermano Vianna, whose 1988 *O mundo funk carioca* (The world of Rio funk) was the first book-length treatment of the topic, based on his master's thesis in anthropology, marvels:

> Em todos os fins de semana, no Grande Rio, são realizados, em média, 700 bailes onde so ouve música funk. Segundo

---

82 Sílvio Essinger, *Batidão*: *Uma História do Funk*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2005), 15-16. "Many of these *bailes* took place in clubs, like Magnatas (in Rocha), and in *samba* school *quadras*, like those of Portela and Império Serrano. It was the go-to event for every weekend of the year, even more than the *samba* parties, with which the suburbs have always been associated. 'Samba was seasonal, it was only strong inside the *samba* schools. Publicly, discussing about the *enredo* began in September. And they ended with the end of Carnaval,' recounts Dom Filó." Rocha is a neighborhood in the Zona Norte of Rio, Portela and Império Serrano are both famous *samba* schools, and Dom Filó was a *baile* promoter that Essinger interviewed.

83 Wagner Domingues Costa (aka Mr Catra), personal interview with the author, 22 August 2006. Méier, Rio de Janeiro.

84 Micael Herschmann, "Na Trilha do Brasil Contemporâneo" (In the soundtrack of contemporary Brazil) in *Abalando os anos 90*: *funk e hip-hop*: *globalização, violência e estilo cultural* (Shaking up the '90s: funk and hip-hop: globalization, violence and cultural style), ed. Micael Herschmann (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1997), 74-75.

> seus próprios organizadores, um baile com 500 pessoas é considerado um fracasso. Cada uma dessas festas atrai, também em média, mil dançarinos. Fazendo as contas, por baixo, é possível afirmar que 1 milhão de jovens cariocas freqüentam esses bailes todos os sábados e domingos. Um número por si só impressionante: nenhuma outra atividade de lazer reúne tantas pessoas, com tanta freqüência.[85]

Amazingly, this figure was calculated 20 years ago. The numbers can only be much larger today. *Bailes* in Vianna's era, meanwhile, were playing *funk* that sounded nothing like the syncopated beats at Cantagalo. "Funk" ultimately became a catchall term to describe any kind of imported music that was being played at the *bailes*, making its origins different from the homegrown nature of *samba*. By the 1980s, the musical trend had drifted toward nascent techno, electro, and hip-hop, sounds especially popular in New York City. Sound systems were becoming increasingly competitive, meanwhile, and needed the latest records to maintain their edge.

Given the high price and slow pace of acquiring imported records, *equipes* took matters into their own hands: They paid for individuals to fly to New York. Such individuals would take a Rio-New York overnight flight, spend all day buying records, and return that night on a New York-Rio overnight flight. Oftentimes, the purchaser worked for tourism agencies and could acquire inexpensive fares.[86] Such an exchange economy was absolutely vital to the success and growth of the *movimento* (scene) and is a striking use of tactics to

---

85 Hermano Vianna, *O mundo funk carioca* (Rio de Janeiro: 1988), 13. "Every weekend in greater Rio, there are, on average, 700 bailes playing *funk*. According to their own organizers, a *baile* with just 500 people is considered a failure. Each one of these parties attracts, again on average, 1,000 dancers. At least a hundred *bailes* bring together a crowd of over 2,000 people. A few typically have 6,000 to 10,000 dancers. Doing the math, at minimum, it's possible to claim that 1 million young *cariocas* are frequenting these *bailes* every Saturday and Sunday. It's a figure simply to impress: there is no other leisure activity that brings together so many people, with such frequency." Vianna footnotes this point by pointing out that the beach can bring together the same quantity of individuals, but he argues that the heterogeneity and different modes of use among beachgoers makes it a very different leisure activity than the single-minded leisure of the *baile funk*.

86 Vianna, "A Transação de Discos" (The Record Exchange), 41-43.

conquer a strategic problem. Tariffs and import taxes are strategies used by nation-states to manage commerce. But the sound systems sidestepped this structural barrier by poaching on an existing physical network of transport: airlines.

Daily flights between Rio and New York existed chiefly for vacationers, as Rio at that time was certainly already "one of the most celebrated spaces in the global imaginary of tourist pleasure sites," to borrow a line from the previously cited Jaguaribe and Hetherington. This carefully managed network, perhaps part of a vacation package with hotels and tours included, led tourists to a reality completely removed from the emerging *bailes funk*—this was, after all, some time before *favela* tourism came into vogue. Consequently, the early *funk* importation system was very much in the vein of de Certeau's tactics, taking advantage of, and depending on, chance opportunities. It is a striking example of what de Certeau calls, "The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong."[87] It was a tactic of mobility to make a transcontinental voyage for less than 24 hours of record purchasing and then use the product for an intended end—to be listened to, DJed, danced to—but with a highly unintended audience—the marginalized music fans of Rio de Janeiro. Vianna asserts, "*Um canal alternativo e quase clandestino de comunicação é estabelecido entre o Rio e Nova York com a única finalidade de trazer as novidades do funk. Uma comunicação precária*: *não existe nenhum grupo de pessoas explorando, com certa regularidade, esse comércio internacional*."[88] Precarity is exactly the nature of the tactic, it is an act of "making do" (*faire avec*), the title of de Certeau's chapter on strategies and tactics. The early system of *funk* subverted an existing,

87 de Certeau, xvii.

88 Vianna, 101. "An alternate and nearly clandestine channel of communication was established between Rio and New York with the ultimate goal of bringing in the newest *funk*. A precarious communication: There does not exist any group of people exploring, with any regularity, this international commerce."

official network for its own ends.

Funk progressed beyond sheer reliance on American music, and in fact took on its own agency as a Brazilian music form, not long after the publication of Vianna's book. The author, for his part, is implicated in that process. In the introduction, he recounts a recent development in his relationship with DJ Marlboro, his main contact in the *mundo funk carioca*. Vianna brought him a drum machine, an electronic device that can be used as an instrument to imitate percussion, and together they figured out how to program a *funk* beat onto it. The next year, in 1989, Marlboro released the LP *Funk Brasil*, the first album of *funk* that featured Portuguese lyrics overtop sampled or programmed beats.[89] The combination of these two phenomena—lyrics by local artists in a language the audience could understand and the use of sampling or digital programming to construct rhythms and beat patterns—gave rise to *funk* as it is heard today on a Friday night in Cantagalo.[90] As for the beats, the actual sound of *funk* crystallized around a style known as Miami bass, a genre of American hip-hop with a sparse, minimalist sound that featured maximum bass and sexual lyrics.[91] This

89 While *Funk Brasil LP* went gold and DJ Marlboro went on to establish a record label, Link Records, that continues to release officially licensed *funk* compilations and albums, this method of distribution is in the minority. The majority of *funk* tracks that are even recorded—many are not—typically appear on pirated CDs or informal compilations burned onto CD-Rs and sold by street vendors. Mp3 files are frequently made freely available for download on popular *funk* websites, and individuals may simply trade files with one another without a financial transaction occurring. This entire process can also be understand as a tactical means of distribution over the strategic process of working within the established record industry.

90 While the international commerce in records has largely stopped—or perhaps been reversed, as individuals like myself bring CDs from Rio back to the U.S. because of a paucity of available music—the tactical use of airline networks for importing technology continues, as I personally have been asked by several DJs to bring parts for their equipment that are much cheaper in the U.S. because of Brazilian import taxes. Such items must essentially be smuggled past customs inspectors at the airport in order to avoid having such duties levied upon arrival in Brazil.

91 The affinity between Miami and Rio is logical on many levels. They are both sun-soaked beachside cities that share materialist values, especially with regards to beach attire, and have large black populations. It is no wonder that a Miami bass album like 2 Live Crew's *As Nasty As They Wanna Be*, featuring black artists on the beach facing the camera through the spread legs of women wearing thong bikinis, would appeal to a *ca-*

transnational exchange provides *funk* with a tactical globalized vision contrasting with the movement of international tourists or, for that matter, the idealism of the Acadêmicos da Rocinha's *samba* "Um mundo sem fronteiras." *Funkeiros* bring a dizzying array of musical influences and technology to bear at their Carnaval every weekend. Via *funk*, the *morro* can compete with the *asfalto* as a globalized space.

Rapping and Mapping the Zona Sul

Much like *samba*, *funk* began as a peripheral phenomenon, but eventually permeated the entirety of the city. Radio waves can conquer all geographical divisions, and just as *samba* spread via radio in the 1920s, there was a proliferation of *funk* programs by the major sound systems. They eventually caught the era of one Copacabana resident in Vianna, who became a kind of "translator" for the Zona Sul.[92] As *funk* spread in the early '90s, however, the Zona Sul did not necessarily need a translator, as the *favelas* there produced notable MCs popular throughout the *funk* scene and well respected in their own communities. Moreover, *funk* songs are capable of mapping, tracing the blank spaces not otherwise visible on the maps I analyzed in the first chapter, which do not account for the off-the-map spaces of the *morro*. An example can be as simple as the chorus and opening stanzas of MC Mascote's "Rocinha e Vidigal":

---

rioca sent to the United States to buy records, itineraries that eventually included Miami (Essinger, 70-71). To subsequently see Miami as a regional cultural hub or "cosmopolis," see Orlando Patterson, "Ecumenical America," updated 24 May 1994, <http://www.warholfoundation.org/paperseries/article2.htm> (cited 19 April 2006), para. 30. Broadening the regional borders further, one can view both Miami and Rio nodes as on the black Atlantic network; see Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*: *Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). To in turn view *funk*, whose earliest incarnations were tied to the "Black Rio" movement, as a music of the black Atlantic, see Paul Sneed, "Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003), 204-214.

92 Essinger, 71-73.

[Chorus]	
Vai vai vai	Go go go
Vem vem vem	Come come come
Quem dança no Vidigal	Whoever dances in Vidigal
dança na Roça também	dances in Rocinha too
[First stanza]	
O Vidigal é	Vidigal is
um morro de valor	a hill of merit
É uma favela	It's a favela
que o Papa batizou	that the Pope baptized
Comunidade humilde	Humble community
é um morro muito choque	It's a hill that shocks
é lá que mora	It's there that resides
o MC Mascote	MC Mascote
a Rocinha é uma	Rocinha is a
comunidade linda	lovely community
é a maior favela	It is the biggest favela
da América Latina.	in Latin America.[93]

In short quatrains with usually at least one full or slant rhyme, the song draws on the longstanding fraternity of these two communities to present a harmonious vision of shared leisure. Residents of both *favelas* have the "right to come and go" ("*vai vai vai / vem vem vem*") from one to another that Acadêmicos da Rocinha yearned for in "Um mundo sem fronteiras." The song also promotes both communities as "of merit" and "lovely," while boasting the oft repeated claim that Rocinha is the largest *favela* in Latin America, a point of pride to its residents. It makes a brief historical note, reminding those who may be too young to remember about the Pope's 1980 visit to Vidigal.[94] Overall, it provides a straightforward but positive view of Rocinha and Vidigal, exactly the kind of levelheaded perspective needed to counter the sensationalized hysteria of negative media coverage. Simple declarations of the essentially positive nature of the two

93 MC Mascote. "Rocinha e Vidigal." 1995 (approximate).

94 "In the slums of Rio de Janeiro. John Paul saw squalor. He climbed up a dirt road past the wooden shacks where 20,000 squatters exist under constant threat of eviction, toward a tiny parish church that serves the favela of Vidigal." Richard N. Ostling, "Just 'Look Around a Bit.'" *Time*, 14 July 1980, <www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,948913,00.html>, cited 7 March 2008, para. 2.

favelas, coupled with some specific examples—people dance (presumably to *funk*), MC Mascote lives there, the Pope visited—flesh in what would have been a completely empty space on the map at the time of the song's writing. "Rocinha e Vidigal" is an antidote to the impulse that equates the blank space on the map with violence.[95]

One can find an even more direct approach in MC Galo's "Rap da Rocinha," which fills in the undefined urbanized space on the map with what should be there: "*O nome das areas que vocês vão se amarrar* (the name of the areas that you are really going to like)" as it proceeds to recite a list of the neighborhoods that make up this city within a city, which the map refuses to recognize.[96] Extrapolating from there, the song goes on to run through a list of "*as galeras sangue bom*" (the crowds that check out), citing a series of *favelas* across greater Rio who themselves are unlikely to appear on a map, although the choice of communities to include is likely to be based on which ones are also Comando Vermelho, Rocinha's faction at the time. There is another method of mapping the Zona Sul—and ultimately all of Rio—which is through the lens of *bailes* themselves. MCs Júnior and Leonardo of Rocinha expertly accomplish this approach in their classic "Endereço dos Bailes" (Address of the Bailes):

> *No Rio tem mulata e futebol,*
> *Cerveja, chopp gelado, muita praia e muito sol, é . . .*
> *Tem muito samba, Fla-Flu no Maracanã,*
> *Mas também tem muito funk rolando até de manhã*
>
> [Rio has mulatto women and soccer,
> Bottled beer, ice-cold draft beer, lots of beaches and lots of sun, yeah . . .
> It has lots of samba, Fla-Flu at Maracanã
> But it also has lots of funk rolling on into the morning.][97]

95 I am grateful to Tom Conley, who explained to me that Michel de Certeau based his comparison of tours and maps, which I summarized in the first chapter, on the Miller Atlas of 1519, which includes a noteworthy representation of the unmapped parts of Brazil as filled with cannibals.

96 MC Galo, "Rap da Rocinha," 1995 (approximate).

97 MCs Júnior e Leonardo, "Endereços dos Bailes," 1995. The term "*mulata*" doesn't care the same stigma as "mulatto" in English; to the contrary, the "*mulata*" has been eroticized—and exoticized—as the feminine ideal in Brazilian. Fla-Flu refers to the

In this, the opening quatrain before the beat drops, they praise Rio 's assets, then cinch the rhyme in the fourth line. *Funk*, they are claiming, also deserves its place in Rio's cultural pantheon, the *baile funk* existing alongside Maracanã stadium, the temple of soccer, which creates the rhyme with *manhã* and is the only specific place named in the stanza.

Rio's celebrated features from the first three lines in the song do not require much imagination to find—*mulatas* and soccer are seemingly everywhere, any corner bar can provide ice-cold beer, samba is ubiquitous, and the map can surely point one in the direction of sunny beaches or Maracanã stadium. But if one's itinerary should also include *funk* rolling on into the morning, how to know where? "*Eu agora vou falar o que você quer escutar* (Now I'm going to tell you what you want to hear)," they announce in the second stanza, ending it with the titular reference "*O endereço dos bailes eu vou falar pra você* (The address of the *bailes* is what I'm going to tell you about)."[98] They subsequently begin with Rocinha and radiate outwards with a precise list of *bailes*, what night of the week they occur, and a few words about how great, friendly, or trouble-free they are. Rocinha in the third stanza is followed by Vidigal and Cantagalo in the fourth, proclaiming what is still true today, "*A sexta-feira lá no Galo é consagrada / A galera animda faz do baile um festival*."[99] From there, the fourth stanza moves to the furthest end of the Zona Sul from Rocinha, mentioning *bailes* in Leme and Chapéu Mangueira, the former perhaps used as a stand-in for Babilônia, as the graffiti proclaimed last chapter ("Leme é nós só!"). The third and fourth lines of that stanza then move beyond the Zona Sul to *bailes* in Tijuca, just on the other side of the Floresta da Tijuca. Following a break for the chorus, the perspective

---

rivalry between Flamengo and Fluminense, two of Rio's most fabled soccer teams.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid. "Friday over there in Cantagalo is consecrated / The animated crowd makes a festival out of the *baile*."

moves steadily outward, calling out *bailes* across the Zona Norte, Zona Oeste, and nearby suburbs. The zoom-out reaches its peak with the eighth stanza, mentioning municipalities from across the state of Rio de Janeiro before returning to the citywide scale and referring to a few other areas, including downtown.[100]

The remarkable effect of "Endereço dos Bailes" is to create an itinerary through the Zona Sul and indeed all of Rio de Janeiro that, rather than organizing itself from tourist attraction to tourist attraction, follows the route of *baile* to *baile* and *favela* to *favela*. If, as Michel de Certeau argues, tours are the precursors to maps, then the tour that Júnior and Leonardo give creates an alternative map of Rio and the Zona Sul in particular. In a more comprehensive and exuberant fashion than "Rocinha e Vidigal" it provides positive associations for communities whose names usually only appear in reference to violence, poverty, or illegality. The trend continues in *funk* lyrics to this day in the form of poetic roll calls of *favelas*, as in the popular 2006 track "Comunidades" (Communities), whose lyrics consist of a list of *favelas*. There are several different versions of the song that adapted the concept to the MC's particular part of the city—yielding, for example, a track called "Comunidades da Zona Oeste" (Communities of the Zona Oeste) that shifted the locus westward. With 700+ *favelas* in Rio, they cannot all fit in one song, but each version serves to presuppose an itinerary that in turn serves to map Rio de Janeiro—from the alternate perspective of the *morro* axis defined through *funk*.

Moreover, *funk* is an especially effective means of mapping space because it *practices* the place by creatively readapting it. The *quadra* constructed by the administrative forces of the city for the official culture of Carnaval *samba*, a bend in the paved road built to integrate the *favela* with the *bairro*, and a bus garage where the mapped itinerary of public transportation terminates in Rocinha are

100 Summarized lyrics also ibid.

all converted into the space of a *baile funk*. Additionally, while the map may sketch in little about these communities, the verbal act of singing about them, and about the events that take place in them, results in practiced places, the *spaces* of de Certeau's delineation. They are also mapped with the presupposition of the tour, as the *funk* singing style is quite plain and unadorned, almost like an oral narrative, telling a story to a beat. As such they enhance this critical itinerary to the Zona Sul by providing a counterweight to the official representations of the Zona Sul's maps.

Additionally, they succeed where the *escolas de samba* of the Zona Sul do not, by bringing residents of the *asfalto* into the *morro*. *Funk* became and still is popular throughout Rio among youth—there is a distinct generational divide, as *funk* appeals to a younger crowd while *samba* increasingly appeals to an older crowd—including among those in the *asfalto*. By 1995, crowds from the *asfalto* were a common site at the *baile* of Chapéu Mangueira[101] and in Cantagalo as well.[102] Much to the chagrin of conservative parents, "*tampouco era incomun ver meninas branquinhas namorando os funkeiros pretinhos das comunidades*."[103] Indeed, as *funk* became not necessarily respectable, but at least popular, it catapulted to national success while retaining its strongest presence in Rio.

Several of the most enterprising DJs and sound systems, with DJ Marlboro usually at the lead, softened some of the harder lyrics and beats to turn *funk* into a more commercially palatable pop music for radio, television, and CDs. The top tier of artists performs across the country and traditional nightclubs throughout Brazil mix *funk* into their repertoire. In other words, *funk*, like *samba*, is a

---

101 Essinger, 133-135

102 Olívia M. Gomes da Cunha, "Conversando com Ice-T: Violência e Criminalização do Funk," *Abalando os anos 90*: *funk e hip-hop*: *globalização, violência e estilo cultural*, ed. Micael Herschmann (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1997), 101.

103 Essinger, 134. "nor was it that uncommon to see white girls [from the *asfalto*] dating black funkeiros from the communities [*favelas*]."

heterogeneous music. One can, however, derive an overall effect from *funk*'s sudden emergence onto the Brazilian cultural scene:

> And yet *funkeiro* culture is being heard, it is opening spheres of discussion on television and in the press, entering the market, creating new fashions, generating new music stars. This may not gain these youth greater material resources, it may not save them from violence; but then again, such expectations are not their specific hope, which is, rather, to clear a space of their own.[104]

A space of their own, a proper space, sounds similar to the "proper place" of de Certeau's strategists, but the distinction is important—the strategy relies on the stability of *place*, while the tactic operates in the mobility of *space*. *Funk* culture, consequently, is a striking example of a successful tactic that has, in its act of poaching and seizing opportunities, carved out something of a proper locus for itself. It is a power within the power, a cultural formulation of the city within the city, the mapless city that, in lieu of official representation on the map, requires the mapping ability of *funk*. However, the driving force behind this power, the patronage that underlies *bailes da comunidade* (community balls) like the one in Cantagalo, where *funk* is at its most tactical, must be considered as well. To what extent does the *baile funk* and its backers, the criminal factions of Rio's drug trade, alongside their antagonists, the police, inject instability and conflict into the daily life and musical culture of the Zona Sul?

104 George Yúdice, "The Funkification of Rio," *The Expediency of Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 212.

Chapter Three:

Invasions

"É o bonde do mal de Vigário Geral.*"*
--Refrain of *funkeiros* during the 1993 *arrastão*

Arrastão: The Human Bonde

The year 1993 was a nadir for Rio de Janeiro. In July, police shot dead eight street children in cold blood on the steps of Candelária Church; in August, police murdered twenty-one innocent residents of the *favela* of Vigário Geral; in October, a large *arrastão* broke out on the urbanized beaches of the Zona Sul. An "*arrastão*" generally refers to a brawl, but in specific it means "big trawl net," in the sense of a dragnet of young *favela* residents lined up shoulder to shoulder across the beach, robbing and beating whoever does not get out of their way. October 1993 was not the first large *arrastão* in Rio—in 1992, over 150 police could not put down a similar melee on Copacabana[105]—and it likewise was blamed on *funkeiros*. In particular, the perpetrators were fingered as "'*uma negrada dos subúrbios da Zona Norte,'* (hordes of dark kids from the slums in the Northern suburbs)."[106] A *galera* (gang) from Vigário Geral was among that crowd, and their fights at the weekend *baile funk* were spilling over onto the beach, with its locus at Arpoador, the beach between Copacabana and Ipanema, and the last stop for the bus line that comes from the northern periphery.[107]

Unsurprisingly, the event garnered hysterical coverage in the press, "as if it were a replay of the L.A. riots [over the beating of Rodney King]. In fact, the

105 Gláucio Dillon Soares, "O medo invisível," *Jornal do Brasil*, updated 10 October 2004, <http://clipping.planejamento.gov.br/Noticias.asp?NOTCod=156733> (cited 14 March 2008), para. 2.
106 Yúdice, 200.
107 Yúdice, 201.

television shots of kids running wild on the beach and crowding into overstuffed buses through the windows, were clearly meant to provoke such fear."[108] George Yúdice, who parlayed his critical observation of the events into his essay "The Funkification of Rio," acknowledges that in the aftermath, more balanced coverage emerged that disputed the notion of an organized looting rampage.[109] However, the damage was done: "the *funkeiros* seem to have been permanently stigmatized by the media and the hysteria of the middle classes of South Rio [Zona Sul]: a hysteria that was quite productive."[110] The sacred space of Rio, its urbanized beaches, had been marred by chaos and disorder, and *funk* was to blame.

Another critical observer, architect and urbanist Manoel Ribeiro, "*teve sua atenção dirigida para o mais ativo grupo de jovens desordeiros, que escandiam de forma cadenciada um estranho grito de guerra enquanto marchavam contra a galera inimiga*: '*É o bonde do mal de Vigário Geral*.'"[111] The Anglicism "*bonde*" was at the time a new slang term for a gang, its normal usage referring to a streetcar. Recall, moreover, that Pereira Passos installed a streetcar line in 1889 as part of his modernization project to encourage growth in Copacabana. Just over a century later, a human *bonde* arrived, creating chaos where Passos sought order. Like Passos' *bonde*, the *bonde do mal* arrived via the map, taking the bus whose itinerary presupposed a route to Arpoador in the Zona Sul. However, unlike Passos' *bonde*, the *bonde do mal* did not have to halt at the beach's edge and stay on the map. The human is free to practice the "off-the-map" place that

108 Yúdice, 200.
109 Yúdice, 202.
110 Ibid.
111 Zuenir Ventura, *Cidade partida* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994), 96. "had his attention drawn to the most active group of disorderly youth, who were rhythmically chanting a strange war cry while confronting the enemy gang: 'It's the bad gang [*bonde*] from Vigário Geral.'" While "gang" is the appropriate translation in this context for both "*galera*" and "*bonde*," the former tends to refer to a larger crowd while the latter refers to a smaller group.

the mechanical cannot reach. Thus the *funkeiros* created a space on the beach far different from its normal function as an "escape valve" for social pressure.[112] Instead, their outburst repudiated the very modernization project that made the Zona Sul and its urbanized beaches possible. The human *bonde* superseded Passos' *bonde* and the image of the *arrastão* dragnet dredging the sunbathers overturned the progress brought by the 1970s dredger's enlargement of the beach.

The *arrastão*, despite its exaggeration in the media, does call into question the modern ideal of the Zona Sul, in which "cordiality" and "racial democracy" promote "the mythic projection of Brazil as a nonconflictual society."[113] Moreover, it represents a current of thought highly skeptical of the possibility of urban integration:

> When asked by an interviewer how he assessed the demand by some middle-class *cariocas* to cut off bus service to the beaches of the *Zona Sul* from the northern suburbs, [Afro-Brazilian geographer Milton Santos] answered that the multiple spaces of the new megacities of the world are not traversable by everyone, and that the poor tend to be prisoners in their own neighborhoods. Multiplicity and heterogeneity do not translate into access. Those without the "right" to cross over into a space "not their own" will be stopped by the state on behalf of those who enjoy citizenship.[114]

The right to come and go from Acadêmicos da Rocinha's "Um mundo sem fronteiras" returns and is potentially violated in the segregationist response to the *arrastão*. Ultimately, the middle classes backed off from their plan to cut bus service, and thus access, "when they realized that many of their *empregadas* (maids) lived in the *Zona Norte*, and would not be able to cook and clean their houses under such a restriction."[115] Thus, their access was maintained only because they serve the needs of the dominant class. What about the *favelas* of the

---

112 Carvalho, 331.
113 Yúdice, 197.
114 Yúdice, 204. A footnote on the penultimate sentence cites Daniel Ulanovsky Sack, "*El día en que los marginados tomaron la ciudad*" (The Day the Marginals Took the City), *Clarín* (October 25, 1992), p. 20.
115 Ibid.

Zona Sul, however? How does the phenomenon of *arrastão* involve the *morro* axis? "Youths from the slums have no patrimony, except what they stake out for themselves," Yúdice argues, and the *arrastão* "became a struggle over space."[116] The principle combatants in this struggle may have been from the Zona Norte, but it implicates the *morro* of the Zona Sul as well. For the patrimony that they have staked out for themselves is the *baile funk*. As Yúdice goes on to conclude, it is a "space of their own."[117] In the *bailes funks* of the Zona Sul, that patrimony takes on a particularly charged resonance in the sonic force it can project out of the *morro* and onto the *asfalto* below. In both rhetoric and sound, the Zona Sul's *bailes da comunidade* strengthen the "parallel polities" of the *morro*, inviting in turn violent reprisal from the police, the enforcement mechanism of the official polity.

Proibidão: *The* Baile Funk *as Discursive Projection*

Funk is diverse in its subject matter, but the bedrock of the *baile da comunidade* is *proibidão*, or *funk* that glorifies, eulogizes, or otherwise comments on the local criminal faction. Unsurprisingly, it is *funk*'s most controversial style, and garnered its name ("extremely prohibited") because it is in fact illegal.[118] Consequently, *proibidão* is an exceptionally tactical form of *funk*, as it operates "on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power," to return once again to de Certeau's formulation.[119] Like *funk* as a whole, it is, moreover, a successful tactic, as Paul Sneed argues in *Machine Gun*

116 Yúdice, 204.
117 Yúdice, 212.
118 Article 6 of the Lei Estadual (State Law) 3410, 29 May 2000, states, "Remaining forbidden shall be the playing of music and procedures of crime praises in places where social and sports events of any sort may occur." Samuel Araújo, et al., "Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro," *Ethnomusicology* 50:2 (Spring/Summer 2006), 311.
119 de Certeau, op. cit.

Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk that *proibidão* plays an essential role in the social fabric of *favelas*. He argues, "As the traditional media is to the status quo in Brazil, and the Globo television network in particular, so is *proibidão* funk to the order of the drug traffickers in Rio. It reflects the social formation of the favela even as it helps to shape it, naming names, mentioning places, reporting what is going on and the rules of how one must behave to survive in the world of the favelas."[120] In that sense, *proibidão* is a vital tool of communication, a suitably informal and even illegal mode of conveying information, apropos of the criminalized milieu in which it operates.

Given its resonances across socio-political *favela* space, *proibidão* is a discourse that can only take place in *favelas*, charging them with the divisive balkanization brought on by factional control—Comando Vermelho (Red Command, abbreviated CV), Terceiro Comando (Third Command, abbreviated TC), or Amigos dos Amigos (Friends' Friends, abbreviated ADA). Subsequently, a *funkeiro* from an Amigos dos Amigos *favela* would be ill advised to attend a Comando Vermelho *baile*.[121] Patrick Neate and Damian Platt extend this further, explaining, "For a favela resident, a young person most of all, your psycho-geography is mapped through your membership of a community controlled by whichever faction. Day to day, therefore, if you need to cross the city, the best route is not as the crow flies, nor that served by a bus; rather, it is the route that ensures you never pass too close to 'enemy territory.'"[122] This unfortunate

---

120 Sneed, 101.

121 In January 2006, Clêrton Ocion Filho, a resident of Rocinha who worked as an electrician with no known ties to the drug trade, disappeared at a *baile funk* in Cantagalo and was presumed dead, illustrating the danger of attending a CV *baile* (Cantagalo) when one resides in an ADA *favela* (Rocinha). "Morador da Rocinha desaparece em baile funk no Cantagalo" (Resident of Rocinha disappears at *baile funk* in Cantagalo), *O Globo Online*, updated 8 January 2006, <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2006/01/08/189882831.asp> (cited 7 March 2008).

122 Patrick Neate and Damian Platt, *Culture is Our Weapon*: *AfroReggae in the Favelas of Rio* (London: Latin American Bureau, 2006), 128.

reality stalls much interaction between "rival" communities, which groups like AfroReggae in Cantagalo hope to mitigate by not pledging allegiance to any faction and instead focusing on conflict mediation.[123] The end result is a psychology of fear in how one circulates throughout the city, precisely the "right to come and go" that Acadêmicos da Rocinha lament in "Um mundo sem fronteiras." The psycho-geography that results from the presence of criminal factions persists as an enduring gash in the process of urban integration, disrupting both everyday life and the weekend Carnaval of *funk* for the young resident of the *morro* axis.

The most pessimistic view would consequently be that "the poor are prisoners in their own neighborhoods,"[124] but at the same time there is an important negotiation between the community and the ruling faction in local *proibidão*, which reverberates throughout the *favela* when functioning in its milieu:

> The *baile* is a platform for the presentation of the discourse of the hegemony of the traffickers, a discourse which unifies the community in racial, class and geographical terms as it naturalizes and universalizes the rule of the drug traffickers. Not only are these dances free, a present from the *boca-de-fumo*, but they are stages for the power of the gangsters. [. . .] Even if they cannot leave Rocinha, the drug traffickers are in their element at the funk dance; they are the warriors of the tribe, the special forces, brave, responsible, sometimes well loved, sometimes hated, and always dangerous.[125]

If, as Jaguaribe and Hetherington argued, *favelas* "can only be understood at street level, at the level of performance,"[126] then the *baile da comunidade* is the ultimate street level performance—indeed, some *bailes da comunidade* literally take place in the street, like Rocinha's Rua Um and Rua Dois *bailes*, or the summertime *baile* in Cantagalo, which sets up one of the *equipes de som*

123 Boris Trindade, op. cit.
124 Yúdice, op. cit.
125 Sneed, pp. 83-84.
126 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, op. cit.

in the street. As free entertainment in a poor community, *bailes* gather crowds in the thousands, or even tens of thousands on special occasions like Carnaval, expanding their performative dimension to a community-wide level as the local traffickers perform on the only stage to which they have access. As such, *proibidão* is always a dialogue within the community, and outsiders will probably not understand its messages, coded as they are in the specificity of nearby places, local personages, and recent events. For example, MC Galo's "Bonde da Fé" (The Faithful Gang), a Rocinha *proibidão*, consists almost entirely of a list of first names that will only be meaningful to those who lived in Rocinha at the time the song was recorded. This aspect is part of the *baile funk*'s delimitation of "a space of their own" for residents of *favelas*, where the community acquires its own public form, for the use of the beach as a social platform is closed to them.[127] Meanwhile, Sneed's description of the traffickers, ending on the note of danger, leads to another important analytical thrust, arguing, "The presence of heavily armed gangsters and the abundance of song lyrics praising their power, as well as the many illegal activities that go on there openly challenge the state's legitimacy, and its monopoly on the use of violence in the space of the favela, and affirms in its place the authority of organized crime in the favela in at least some governmental capacities."[128] Thus, more than any other feature of life on the *morro*, the *baile funk* certifies the local faction as a "parallel polity," whose authority fills the vacuum left by the government.

Beats and Bullets—Projecting Sound in the Zona Sul

In addition to rhetorically and performatively projecting power, *bailes* physically project through the Zona Sul, as they are incredibly loud, amassing enormous quantities of speakers set to the highest volumes they can go without

127 Yúdice, op. cit. For the beach as social platform, see Carvalho, 328-334.
128 Sneed, 60.

distorting the sound or blowing a fuse. Consequently, for residents of the *asfalto*, the *baile* serves as an audible announcement of an emphatic, even exuberant, existence. High-rise apartments find themselves at eye and especially ear level with hillside *favelas*. Sound waves are another means of interaction between the Zona Sul axes, and they are capable of bridging the physical distance between *morro* and *asfalto* in a more pervasive manner than the radio, which first transmitted *samba* and then *funk* to the Zona Sul. In these cases, they may come off as a nuisance, but there is an irresistible joy to them, a thumbing of the nose in boldly declaring that they are still there. Out of sight does not equal out of mind when it is not also out of earshot. The owner of the *equipe de som* that played the popular Chapéu Mangueira *baile* in the mid-'90s, which regularly brought a crowd of 5,000, believed "*querem acabar com o baile não por causa do som, mas porque os jovens de classe media estão se misturando com o pessoal do morro. E isso eles não toleram*."[129] The sound of the *baile* will not let the conservative elements of the *asfalto* forget what is occurring up on the *morro*, precisely the kind of social mixing that is impossible on the stratified beach.

The beat of *funk* is not the only sound to emanate from the hill, however, and the vocal imitation "Parapapapapá" so prevalent in *funk* that gives Sneed his title, "Machine Gun Voices," has its real-life counterpart. The power that underpins the *baile* infrastructure projects itself too in the violent form of gunshots. Journalist Zuenir Ventura, whose influential *Cidade partida* (1994) established the prevalent contemporary notion of Rio as a "divied city," offers a telling anecdote:

> Noutro dia, li a legenda de uma foto de jornal que dizia que os moradores de Copacabana não haviam conseguido dormir na noite anterior por causa de um tiroteio no Morro Pavão-Pavãozinho, como se os do morro, mais perto das balas,

129 Essinger, 134. "[the authorities] want to shut down the *baile* not because of the sound, but because young people from the middle class are mixing with people from the *morro*. And this they won't tolerate."

tivessem tido um sono tranqüilo.
Para o redator da legenda, o desconforto do favelado não tinha a menor importância.[130]

Ventura's comments point to the obvious willful ignorance in such cases—the refusal to acknowledge that there were *favelados* who were not also part of the fighting, representative of a longstanding prejudicial myth that all *favelados* are also part of the drug trade. Ventura sees this attitude as a kind of violence from the upper to the lower classes, or from the *asfalto* axis to the *morro* axis. It seems clear that there should be some solidarity, as both civilian populations are victim of the terror enacted by gunfire, but the implicit gulf between them, reinforced by the media, prevents such a sympathetic portrayal. *Favelados*, meanwhile, also suffer. Sneed recounts a "hot lead party" of random gunfire to celebrate "the ransom of the boss from the police" that fired "thousands and thousands of round of ammunition," which many assumed "to be a terrible gun battle," forcing residents to hide fearfully in their homes.[131] *Favela* residents too can be the unwitting recipients of a much less benign means of projecting power than the *baile*.

130 "Zuenir Ventura" in *Para entender o Brasil*, eds. Marisa Sobral and Luiz Antonio Aguiar, São Paulo: Alegro, 2001, p. 348. "The other day, I read the caption of a photo in the newspaper that said the residents of Copacabana weren't able to sleep the night before because of a firefight in the *favela* Pavão-Pavãozinho, as if those up on the hill, closer to the bullets, had slept peacefully.
For the reporter who wrote the caption, the discomfort of a *favelado* didn't have the least importance."

131 Sneed, 147-148.

"*O símbolo do BOPE deixa claro o que acontece quando o BOPE entra na favela* (The BOPE symbol [left] makes it clear what happens when the BOPE goes into the favela)," intones Captain Nascimento early in *Tropa de Elite*. The gratuitous symbol of the BOPE is a bold indicator of its willingness to use violence indiscriminately. (Source of image: Horacio D. Alves Oliveira, "'Tropa de Elite' recebe até proposta norte-americana para virar série de TV," 31 October 2007, <http://www.costaricanet.com.br/?m=5153&pagina=mat.visual&u=63&vr1=33>.

Policing the Polity

The criminal factions of Rio's drug trade, the "parallel polity," are certainly the purveyors of terror and violence, impacting the civilian populations of both the *asfalto* and the *morro*, as well as enforcing an unnecessary conflict between *favela* communities. The polity that they parallel, however, enacts its own terror and violence, for one should not forget that the etymological root of "polity" is identical to the root of "police." Rio's print and television news record daily the latest police action against the criminal factions. To that extent, capturing a full sense of the police's presence would require a decade or more of media references. The recent film *Tropa de Elite*, however, is something of a composite of two decades of Rio's internal war, fictionalizing the activities of the Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais (Special Police Operations Battalion, abbreviated BOPE in Portuguese), a kind of urban SWAT team, during Operation Holiness, an effort in 1997 to secure parts of Rio de Janeiro before a visit by Pope John Paul II.[132]

132 *Tropa de Elite*, directed by José Padilha, Zazen Produções, 2007. I am working from an unofficial copy obtained pre-release; however, this version began circulating in August 2007 and is the copy seen by most viewers in Brazil—11.5 million according to polling organization Ibope. See Alexei Barrionuevo, "A Violent Police Unit, on Film

The film opens at a raging *baile funk* in the *favela* of Babilônia, where MCs Júnior and Leonardo, who recorded a new version of their hit "Rap das Armas" for the film brashly sing, "*Pra subir aqui no morro até a BOPE treme / Não tem mole pro exército Civil nem pra PM* (To climb up the hill here until the BOPE trembles / It doesn't have soft spots for the army, civilian police or even the military police)."[133] Heavily armed traffickers roam the crowd of dancers, projecting the very hard power that is far from "*mole*." In fact, some military police (abbreviated PM in Portuguese) do arrive, but only to broker an arms deal with the faction. The PM are known for their corruption, especially among those assigned to *favela* communities where they can potentially share in the lucre of the drug trade. On this particular Friday, however, they have a sniper waiting on the rooftop of a nearby building. He shoots one of the traffickers, presumably a particularly wanted man, in the middle of the *baile*. Panic ensues as the PM and traffickers begin trading shots while *funk* blares in the background. Bystanders are shot. Strategy overwhelms tactics as the space in question immediately turns from creative adaptation for culture to creative adaptation for war—a dance floor becomes a battlefield, a bar serving patrons becomes a foxhole, an alleyway facilitating access for the community becomes a chokepoint. The *baile funk* becomes a point of confrontation in the ongoing war between government forces and the criminal factions, as the police directly respond to the provocation inherent in the factions' projection of power.

The best way to characterize this conflict is, ultimately, with the appellation "war," albeit not of a conventional stripe. For one, it pits state actors

---

and in Rio's Streets," *New York Times*, updated 14 October 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/world/americas/14tropa.html?fta=y> (cited 1 November 2007), para. 8.

133 This transcription of the lyrics was recorded in "*Autores do funk de 'Tropa de Elite' prometem CD com raps que ficaram fora da trilha*" (Authors of the *funk* in *Tropa de Elite* promote a CD with raps that aren't on the soundtrack) by Juliana Alencar. *O Globo*. September 9, 2007. <oglobo.globo.com/cultura/mat/2007/10/09/298070400.asp>.

(the government and their police forces) against non-state actors (the three criminal factions that control the drug trade in Rio). Yet this is not a civil war—the criminal factions' goal does not seem to be conquering all of Rio, but rather to expand their activities throughout the network of *favelas* across the city. Nor is it a unified war, as the criminal factions are in conflict with each other as well. Likewise, some elements of the government forces collaborate with the factions, as evidenced by the opening scene of *Tropa de Elite*. Moreover, these antagonists are not fighting over boundaries, politics, or religion, but rather the "multinational enterprise" of the drug trade.[134] Ultimately, it is this conflict that makes the concept of tactical *favelas* in a strategic city, as I outlined when discussing the era of removal policy, outdated. With the projection of power at the *baile funk*, the authority of the *favelas* has its "proper space." It is not quite the "proper locus" of the strategic entity, as the hegemony of the traffickers is fluid and precarious, subject to assault by both the police and rival factions. Nevertheless, there are borders that will start a shootout if transgressed, like the twisting alleyways of a *favela*, which the police violate in *Tropa de Elite*. They can sometimes remain on the paved asphalt *estradas*, like the Estrada do Cantagalo—which I traversed in chapters one and two—but even then only during a neutral time. Had the police come during Cantagalo's *baile funk* rather than before or after, that too would have been an act of provocation.[135] The numerous fault lines that crisscross from faction to police to residents of both *morro* and *asfalto* certainly unravel much of the Zona Sul's efforts at integration. When guns begin firing, the text of the Zona Sul opens to an incredibly violent irruption.

The war in Rio has something of a Sisyphean bent to it, not the least of which because the police literally ascend the hill quite regularly, only to roll back down again. They have been fighting the criminal factions for decades now,

134 Leeds, op. cit.
135 See my vignette "Cantagalo: Portrait of a Baile" in chapter two.

but by all accounts few *favelas* have been "reclaimed" from the dominance of the factions. In turn, there is a kind of fluid equilibrium among the factions as communities switch hands in an invasion, internal strife leads to conflict within a local branch, or factions outright splinter, but one way or another, a given *favela* is still under the control of the narco-traffickers.[136] At the community level, new recruits seem to be in endless supply. In *Culture is Our Weapon*: *AfroReggae in the Favelas of Rio*, a journalistic account of the aforementioned NGO whose cultural programs provide an alternative to the drug trade, the authors explain the alarming alacrity with which children and teenagers climb the ranks of the hierarchy in the chapter "How It Works", a fictional but realistic account of Jorge, who is in charge of a *boca-de-fumo* by age 15.[137] When he dies, and death comes young in such circumstances, there will be another to take his place. If there is a truism to this conflict, it is Leeds' understated comment: "Squatter populations in particular are caught between the illegal violence of drug dealers and the official violence of security forces."[138] Indisputably, the victims who suffer the most in the "War of Rio" (as newspaper *O Globo*'s subtitle calls it) are *favela* residents, who are caught in a classic rock and hard place situation, a situation dramatized

136 "Of the five hundred favelas and housing projects in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro [. . .] virtually all have drug-dealing groups, even though the scope of operations and local impact may vary considerably." (Leeds, 59). Recently, however, there has been one major development challenging the three-faction equilibrium, that of the *milícias*, militias or vigilante groups usually made up of ex-police who demand payment from local communities to clear the area of the local faction. *O Globo* began a series of reports about *miícias* on December 12, 2006, under the headline "*Milícias expulsam os trafcantes de drogas e já controlam 92 favelas da cidade* (Militias are expelling drug traffickers and already control 92 of the city's favelas)." The article continues, "*Segundo a reportagem do "Globo", a cada 12 dias, uma favela dominada pelo tráfico é tomada por milícias no Rio* (According to Globo reports, every 12 dias a *favelas* dominated by drug trafficking is taken by militias in Rio)." It is important to remember, however, that the journalistic credibility of *O Globo* is oftentimes doubtful, and even one year from the publication of this article the real motives behind the growth of *milícias* and their actual strength is difficult to ascertain. Nevertheless, in principle they represent a significant reaction to the dominance of the criminal factions from within *favelas* themselves.

137 Neate and Platt, 93-102.

138 Leeds, 50.

in *Tropa de Elite*, and one I experienced firsthand on August 2, 2007, the day Rocinha was invaded.

Mega-Operation in Rocinha

From the outset, I would like to make it clear that the police action in Rocinha on August 2 was not exceptional. Indeed, it was greeted by an almost blasé sense of resignation among the Rocinha residents I encountered later that day. However, I myself was a resident of Rocinha at the time. As such, I witnessed some of the events firsthand and was then able to compare them with the official version published in *O Globo*, as the media coverage, which began with TV reports even before the invasion was over, is ultimately the best way even for whose who experienced the event to gather information. Consequently, it proved particularly instructional as a means of understanding how the war between the criminal factions and police actually functions in the contested space of the *favela*, which is made a "practiced place" by the police's use of strategies and the faction's response with tactics.

The operation was preceded by over a month of anticipation, as the Pan-American Games led to tightened security across the city. "*Mais favelas na mira* (More *favelas* in the crosshairs)," declared a headline on June 29, 2007, following intense operations in the Complexo do Alemão, including a single-day death toll of 19 the day before.[139] The article goes on to cite Rocinha as one of five large *favelas* that "*serão alvo de operações como a do Alemão* (will be the target of operations like the one in Alemão)."[140] Such security crackdowns are nothing new—Leeds cites one such incident, when "[i]n allegedly protecting the populace, the armed forces invaded and occupied selected favelas just prior to the second

139 "Nineteen die in Rio slum battle," *BBC*, updated 28 June 2007, <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6247608.stm> (cited 1 July 2008).

140 António Werneck and Vera Araújo, "Mais favelas na mira," *O Globo*, 29 June 2007, 14.

round of gubernatorial and presidential elections in November 1994."[141] But the public declaration—*O Globo*'s source was the security secretary for the state of Rio de Janeiro—did create a subdued, but pervasive sense of fear that such action was more likely than usual. It was certainly a strategy on the part of the police, as the official authority "postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats," to refer back to de Certeau.[142] The official city, the *asfalto*, is the proper place of the police, which they used to "manage" the exterior targets or threats of illegal drug gangs.

Thus the action came, early that Thursday morning in the form of 300 men from twelve different police delegations. *O Globo* reports, "*As equipes entraram na Rocinha, simultaneamente, pela Rua do Valão, pela Via Ápia, pelo Largo do Boiadeiro e pelo dois lados da Estrada da Gávea*."[143] These encompass all the access points to Rocinha from the *asfalto*, signaling a kind of pincer movement that isolated and cut off the community from all sides, a paramount use of the strategic control afforded by the police's "proper place" in the *asfalto*. Significantly, these are also the most regularized streets in Rocinha, the ones that have established it as a hybrid *favela* and *bairro*. The Estrada da Gávea is wide enough for buses to pass, which link the community to the *asfalto* in both a symbolic and practical way, but in exchange it is also wide enough for armored

141 Leeds, 50-51.

142 de Certeau, op. cit.

143 Aleesandro Soler, Ana Cláudia Costa, and Cláudio Motta, "Delegado diz que operação da Rocinha vazou. Cinco foram presos (Police chief says that operation in Rocinha leaked. Five were arrested)," *O Globo, CBN,* and *RJTV*, updated 2 August 2007. <oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2007/08/02/297075097.asp> (cited 2 August 2007), para. 9. "The squads entered Rocinha simultaneously by the Rua do Valão, the Via Ápia, the Largo do Boaideiro, and by both sides of the Estrada da Gávea."

police cars.[144] The other streets are major commercial centers, their width allowing easier circulation for residents and visitors alike, but also easier access for the police. Thus the double-edged sword of this dual distinction: Rocinha has become split, its *bairro* half easily taken over by the police while its *favela* half remains a safe haven for the ADA faction that runs it. While the police freely entered subneighborhoods that were accessible off the Estrada da Gávea, like my own of Cachopa, where they conducted house-to-house searches on my streets, they avoided higher, less accessible regions like Vila Verde and the area where the *dono* lives.

Not that the invading police did not seek to overcome the ADA stronghold. The *O Globo* article explains, "*Durante a operação, policiais recorreram a um laptop pelo qual acessavam um programa que mostra imagens da região feitas por satélite. Eles tiveram ainda o apoio de um carro blindado e de um helicóptero*."[145] The use of satellite imagery and the aerial support of a helicopter—which, in fact, woke me up that morning—add a new dimension, literally, to the police operations. Their goal was nothing short of complete spatial control of Rocinha, penetrating it three-dimensionally, with simultaneous assaults from the ground and the air. What could not be gleaned from observation in person, they hoped to gain from digital reproduction, a satellite having peered down from heights much greater than the helicopter providing logistical support. Yet with only five arrested and the police chief complaining that the plan leaked, Rocinha was far from brought to its knees.

Instead, the ADA responded with tactics. The tactic, according to de

144 This dichotomy in fact goes back to Haussman's vision for Paris, the original influence on Rio's urban reform. His monumental avenues widened the tangle of medieval streets so that, among other things, they could not be barricaded and the forces of order could pass easily.

145 Soler, Costa, and Motta. "During the operation, police turned to a laptop by which they were able to access a program showing satellite images. They also had the support of an armored car and a helicopter."

Certeau, "must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power," which is certainly the case here, as the police defined them outside the law, a threat to be managed, in a terrain shaped by the city government's efforts to make Rocinha into a *bairro*.[146] Moreover, de Certeau explains, "[The tactic] must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers."[147] In fact, this is exactly how the ADA—and factions across the Zona Sul and indeed Rio—operate. *Olheiros* (lookouts) keep a constant vigil, surveying the entrance to the *favela* and setting off firecrackers once the police arrive, a low-tech response to the high-tech satellites and helicopters. The *bandidos* then scatter into the *becos* (alleyways) that service these harder-to-reach parts of Rocinha. A dense, labyrinthine network navigable only to those who live there, the *becos* are the *favelas*'s best self-defense mechanism for the local faction. Around noon, a group of police stood in the open at the bottom of the Estrada da Gávea, sniper rifles and binoculars in hand, peering up at the Vila Verde. If their advanced weaponry allowed them to kill a target from a distance, they would do so, but physically penetrating his hideout was out of the question.

The *favela* as staging ground for this conflict recalls radical urbanist Mike Davis' chilling account of U.S. military tactics, which "[. . .] assert that the 'feral, failed cities' of the Third World – especially their slum outskirts – will be the distinctive battlespace of the twenty-first century."[148] One cannot help but see echoes of this in *Tropa de Elite*, when a scene of BOPE trainees practicing on an obstacle course morphs into the same cadets fighting traffickers in a decaying *favela*—a rubble-strewn landscape dotted with half-destroyed shacks. This vicious fantasy of *favela* ruins contrasts sharply with the reality

146 de Certeau, op. cit.
147 Ibid.
148 Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, (London: Verso, 2006), 205.

of still-thriving *favelas*, including Rocinha, where it is precisely their growth that is their defensive strength. Davis quotes an Air Force theorist writing in *Aerospace Power Journal*: "Rapid urbanization in developing countries results in a battlespace environment that is decreasingly knowable since it is increasingly unplanned."[149] Rocinha's less urbanized sections are an exemplar of this phenomenon, their unknowability precisely what stymied the police on August 2.

The invasion was, in short, a strategic incursion by the police that was rebuffed by successful tactics on the part of the ADA. Their tactical response led to a retreat to the closest location they have to a proper locus: the unknowable, impenetrable alleyways that form the bulk of Rocinha and are the least mapped, most inaccessible part of the *morro*. They remain blank spaces on the map even to those who live there, whose itineraries cannot possibly account for the thousands of *becos*.[150] Having withstood the assault, Rocinha quickly returned to being an autonomous space ruled by the parallel polity of the ADA. Even though the effort resulted in the seizure of weapons, drugs, and arms it nevertheless did not dissuade them from reestablishing the *bocas-de-fumo* by nightfall.[151] The most unknowable parts of the *favela* were their own security mechanism, resisting even the highly technological military tactics of the police forces. With seemingly no change in the status quo, it was simply another weekday lost to the endless conflict, with stores and schools closing early, disrupting the process of everyday life that may otherwise be bringing Rocinha closer to its neighbors.

---

149 Captain Troy Thomas, "Slumlords: Aerospace Power in Urban Fights," *Aerospace Power Journal* (Spring 2002), 1-15 (online edition). Quoted in Davis, 204.

150 Friends in Rocinha approaching 30, who have lived there all their lives, estimate they only know about 10% of Rocinha's *becos*.

151 Ernani Alves, "Rio: polícia prende 8 em megaoperação na Rocinha," updated 2 August 2007, <noticias.terra.com.br/brasil/interna/0,,OI1804815-EI5030,00.html> (cited 2 August 2007), para. 2.

Conclusion—Counterattack

The prevailing wind in Rocinha, and perhaps the *favelas* of the Zona Sul more widely, seems to be one of accommodation. Gone are the days when drivers speed up as they pass by Rocinha. I had little difficulty catching a taxi the day of the invasion. Even the arrival of the ADA, known for their collusion with police over the more confrontational Comando Vermelho, might be the sign of a community sea change. Certainly, relations between Rocinha and its *asfalto* counterparts were not always so rosy. "In the late 1980s," recounts Leeds, "a peaceful demonstration by Rocinha residents, protesting chronic police violence against favela residents," blocked the Tunnel Zuzu Angel, whose highway emerges at Rocinha's entrance, halting the high-speed non-place with "a traffic jam eight kilometers long."[152] She continues, "Typically violent police treatment of the protesters, which included beatings and tear gas, was ineffective in disrupting the population and stimulated some residents to start throwing rocks down the hill onto cars coming through the tunnel."[153] The protest may or may not have involved orders from the local faction, but without entering that hazy debate, it is significant that the residents of Rocinha were able to mount their own disruption of life along the *asfalto* axis.

Ultimately, each element of the Zona Sul—*morro* civilians, *asfalto* civilians, *morro* polity, and *asfalto* polity—have a means of lashing out violently, however imbalanced they may be from one another. The August 2007 invasion of Rocinha, the 1980s tunnel protest, the psycho-geography of fear for *favelados*, and the prejudicial violence of the upper classes all illustrate massive irruptions in the Zona Sul, as one axis disrupts or devalues everyday life in the other and the *morro* fights with itself. The overall map of the Zona Sul, in both its official cartography and the tour descriptions of *funk*, is torn asunder at such a

152 Leeds, 49.
153 Ibid.

juncture. The "right to come and go" is lost, "pensar é viajar" becomes wishful, and one can dance neither in Vidigal nor Rocinha. Returning to de Certeau's link between urban space and literary texts, the ordinary practitioners of the city—its residents—cannot walk, cannot write their urban text. If the failure of modernization resulted in, on one hand, the *arrastão* as a manifestation of youth culture, then the most violent moments across both axes of the Zona Sul indicate the possibility, on the other hand, that its future is in segregation, mistrust, and conflict.

Conclusion:

Ethics Along the *Morro* and *Asfalto* Axes

"Is it right to be watching strangers in a play
in this strangest of theatres?"
--Elizabeth Bishop, "Questions of Travel"

Engaging Brazil and more particularly Rio de Janeiro and its *favelas* is a topic rife with danger for the foreigner, especially one who bears an American passport. In addition to navigating daily life in a foreign language and culture, there is the unspoken burden of the history between the two nations, often driven by economic neocolonialism. Elizabeth Bishop, arriving in Brazil in 1952 for what resulted in a several year stay, takes up this concern very directly in her volume *Questions of Travel* (1965), with a whole section of Brazil poems. She interrogates the relationship between tourism and colonialism while pondering the question of the epigraph to my conclusion. Her attempted redress comes in the form of poems like "The Burglar of Babylon," epigraph to my introduction, a faux-naif ballad about an outlaw named Micuçú who attempts to evade police on the Morro da Babilônia. She, like her neighbors in Leme, "watched through binoculars" as the doomed Micuçú met his fate. Jaguaribe and Hetherington mention her in their history of foreign representations of the *favela*, asserting, "Her voyeuristic eye, however, was charged with the pathos of social inequality. Permeated by ambiguity, this gaze alternately saw the *favela* as a picturesque source of vibrant samba or of a menacing city of scarcity."[154]

Such representations were taken to task by *Mute* magazine's Vol 2, #3: Naked Cities – Struggle in the Global Slums. In "Slumsploitation – The Favela on Film and TV", Melanie Gilligan lambastes representations of *favelas* from

154 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 157.

afar: "Despite the creative economy line being fed by the Lula administration and the production of new rags-to-cultural-work-riches films [. . .], those living in favelas will continue to be portrayed in cultural commodities but are unlikely to benefit from their production."[155] Indeed, Bishop's detached view tends to make *favelados* into two-dimensional props, as in her poem "Squatter's Children," with its "specklike girl and boy."[156] I have tried to counteract such images at times, for example with the photograph of soccer-playing boys in City of God as an antidote to that *favela*'s horrendous reputation brought on by the eponymous film. Ultimately, however, outside my acknowledgments, I've largely eschewed naming individuals by focusing on physical places over people. Such images provide their own antidote to a lack of agency—the photo of the concrete window in the Babilônia Triptych looks back out and redirects the gaze to Bishop's own Leme apartment building, where a hypothetical Micuçú could write a poem about her.

The question of agency is indeed multiplied by the concept of "making do" (*faire avec*), one of the central concepts in Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* that I have found applicable to the contemporary Zona Sul. Anna Dezeuze writes in "Thriving On Adversity: The Art of Precariousness":

> The second issue raised by the politics of 'making do' is the question of agency. George Yúdice has criticised Michel de Certeau's notion of subversive tactics because they 'are wielded not only by workers but by the very same managers (and other elites) who reinforce the established order.'[30] In order to reveal the subversive potential of everyday life, it is necessary to 'distinguish among the practitioners of such tactics in terms of how the tactics enable them to survive and [to] challenge their oppressibility.' [31][157]

---

155 Melanie Gilligan, "Slumsploitation – Favelas on Film and TV," *Mute*, updated 5 September 2006, <www.metamute.org/en/Slumsploitation-Favela-on-Film-and-TV> (cited 1 October 2006), para. 18.

156 Elizabeth Bishop, "Squatter's Children," *The Complete Poems*: *1927-1979* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1983), 59.

157 Anna Dezeuze, "Thriving On Adversity: The Art of Precariousness," *Mute*, updated 5 September 2006, <http://www.metamute.org/en/Thriving-On-Adversity> (cited 1 October 2006), para. 14. The notes quote Yúdice from "Marginality and the Ethics of Survival," *Social Text*, no. 21, 1989, 216 and 217, respectively.

That challenge is a legitimate one, which I believe I have adequately answered here, as tactics rear themselves most explicitly in *favela* architecture and *funk.* The two indeed reflect one another—the tactics of constructing a bricolage house are similar to the tactics of producing a pastiche *funk* track. These uses of tactics are simply not replicated in the *asfalto* axis. While the Brazilian concept of "*dar um jeito*" (find a way around) may seem like a universal tactic used by both elites and the oppressed, the degree of tactics employed in everyday life by the *morro* axis—and its success, yielding both functional *favela* communities and the most popular music in Rio—is unmatched by the *asfalto*.

Dezeuze concludes by referring to another recently advanced argument in the ethics and geopolitics of global slums. Slavoj Zizek argues, "Slum dwellers are the counter-class to the other newly emerging class, the so-called 'symbolic class' (managers, journalists, academics, artists, etc.) that is also uprooted and that perceives itself as directly universal."[158] He continues, "Is this the new axis of class struggle? Or is the 'symbolic class' inherently split, enabling us to make an emancipatory wager on a coalition between the slum dwellers and the 'progressives' of the symbolic class?"[159] Such an argument of course directly implicates myself, Bishop, and the entire relationship between *morro* and *asfalto* in the Zona Sul. As an academic who has crossed over to join the "slum dwellers," I would be one of the progressives in this supposed coalition. But Zizek's world-historical claims are too broad to fit squarely to the Zona Sul. I have assiduously avoided using the term "slum," which the *Mute* authors and Zizek are so fond of, because that word does not encapsulate the subtleties of the Zona Sul, which go all the way back to the basic fact that Rocinha is both a *favela* and a *bairro* (or that Bishop's Babylon, for that matter, is now a *bairrinho*).

158 Slavoj Žižek, "The Free World . . . of Slums," *In These Times*, updated 23 September 2004, <http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/1090> (cited 1 October 2006), para. 14.

159 Ibid.

Rocinha has a "precarious middle-class," argue Jaguaribe and Hetherington, explaining, "Rather than being a point of first destination for the rural migrant arriving in the city, one needs to know someone, have connections as well as money, to be able to get in."[160] Rocinha thus may not even be as uprooted as Zizek would imply. In fact, Acadêmicos da Rocinha's 2008 *samba* was about their roots: "Rocina é a minha vida, Nordeste é a minha história" (Rocinha is my life, the Northeast is my history). The community knows where it comes from.

Granted, a community like Rocinha is hardly as simple as its demographic roots. The forces at work in a city like Rio de Janeiro are vertiginous, from the shadowy powers behind the multinational drug enterprise, whose major players are not even known to the factions in Rio, to the power alliances of the state, bringing together politicians, business leaders, and religious authorities—and according to some, elements of the drug trade as well. Meanwhile, arms are pumped into Brazil from abroad, multinational corporations seize new footholds, and a massive media network like *Globo* has a near monopoly on what you read, see, and hear. The pessimism that Yúdice quotes is understandable: "[Santos] answered that the multiple spaces of the new megacities of the world are not traversable by everyone, and that the poor tend to be prisoners in their own neighborhoods."[161] Rio is a megacity, its metropolitan area spanning 13 million, outpacing the possibility of disciplining the city as the old urban reform plans sought to do. Moreover, with the old efforts of modernization projects having fallen by the wayside—the city can hardly keep up with such growth—perhaps the most marginalized can fall into any number of strategic cracks too big for even the "guileful ruse" of a tactic to navigate in this vast swath of urban space.

However, I firmly agree with the basic conception of Jaguaribe and Hetherington, that *favelas* have been incorporated into the city's official discourse

160 Jaguaribe and Hetherington, 161.
161 Yúdice, op. ed.

through tourism, but continue to resist, in my opinion most strikingly through the alternate vision of the city as presented in the rhetoric and performance of the *baile funk*, which maps the mapless city. To provide my itinerary with a chiasmic structure, then, I would like to return to Marc Augé's conception of *place*. The Zona Sul is above all a *place* in his sense of the term, an urban space that is identifiable, relational, and historical. It can be identified because it is distinguishable from the rest of the city, and indeed from other beachfronts in cities throughout the world, by its unique juxtaposition of *morro* and *asfalto*. It is relational in its interconnectedness—the neighborhoods stitched together by local roads and pedestrian access and the close proximity of the *favelas*. And it is historical, albeit dating only to the early 20th century, articulated through literature, music, and popular culture. It is the Zona Sul's enduring status as a *place* that provides me with the most encouragement about its functionality as an urban space. Exceptional moments of violence may interrupt that integration and there are ingrained prejudices that date back to the era of slavery to overcome, but the *morro* and the *asfalto* in the Zona Sul cannot be reduced to a simple Marxist binary as Zizek and the critics at *Mute* would prefer. Such a macroscopic perspective does an injustice to the poetry of walking the Zona Sul, from beach across *asfalto* up the *morro*, through *samba* and *funk*, on and off the map. The contours of the Zona Sul provide an urban text that when walked in its entirety reveals an urban text in its entirety, affording the possibility of a complete itinerary through this most literary of spaces in the urban fabric of Rio de Janeiro.

Notes on CD

Enclosed is a selection of *funk* tracks to give the reader an audible impression of the music. The tracks are:

1. Abdula – Mêlo dos Números (1989)
   From DJ Marlboro's *Funk Brasil*, it reprograms the Miami bass beat of 2 Live Crew's "One and One" and has the artist sing Portuguese lyrics on top.

2. MC Mascote – Rocinha e Vidigal (1995?)
   Song quoted in chapter two.

3. MC Júnior and MC Leonardo – Endereço dos Bailes (1995)
   Song quoted in chapter two.

4. MC Júnior and MC Leonardo – Rap das Armas (1995)
   Another big hit of this duo. The "parapapapapapá claque boom" in the intro is a vocal imitation of gunfire and provide the title of Paul Sneed's study of funk, *Machine Gun Voices*.

5. MC Cidinho and MC Doca – Rap da Felicidade (1994)
   The refrain goes, "*Eu so quero é ser feliz / Andar tranquilamente / na favela* / *onde eu nasci* (I only want to be happy / to walk peacefully / in the favela / where I was born." It became a national hit for this duo from City of God, demonstrating *funk* as social protest.

6. MC Galo – Rap da Rocinha (early 1990s?)
   Song mentioned in chapter two. The list of neighborhoods of Rocinha can be heard beginning at 1:30 and the list of *favelas* begins at 2:26.

7. MC Galo – Bonde da Fé (early 1990s?)
   Song mentioned in chapter two. First names and nicknames are scattered throughout the lyrics. About halfway through, the rhythm of the singing becomes identical to "Rap das Armas" and, in fact, MC Galo borrows some of its lyrics.

8. MC Galo – Sou da Rocinha (early 1990s?)
   MC Galo valorizes Rocinha through his sense of belonging to the hill.

9. MC Galo – A História do Funk (early 1990s?)
   Exhorts listeners to respect the history of funk, and calls it "*história vivo* (live history)."

10. DJ Sany Pitbull and MC Loura – Troca-Aplica (2007)
    A recent track in what Hermano Vianna has called the "*pós-baile funk*" (post-baile funk) style, as DJ Sany tries a more international approach that he thinks will be better received abroad. Its generalized appeal to an aesthetic of violence (troca-aplica" means "shoot-kill") can be thought of as a symphonic *proibidão*, rather than a local one, as it lists off *favelas* without being tied to a specific one.

11. MC Rael – Comunidades (2006)
    One of many versions of the track "Comunidades" (Communities) mentioned in chapter two, whose lyrics consist of a poetic recitation of *favelas*.

12. Unknown – Comunidades (2006)
    Another version, this time with a female MC and a different cadence.

Bibliography

Alencar, Juliana. "Autores do funk de 'Tropa de elite' prometem CD com raps que ficaram fora da trilha." *O Globo Online*. 10 Sept 2007. <oglobo.globo.com/cultura/mat/2007/10/09/298070400.asp>.

Alves, Ernani. "Rio: polícia prende 8 em megaoperação na Rocinha." *Redacão Terra*. Updated 2 August 2007. <http://noticias.terra.com.br/brasil/interna/0,,OI1804815-EI5030,00.html>. Cited 2 August 2007.

Araújo, Samuel, et al. "Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro." *Ethnomusicology* 50:2 (Spring/Summer 2006): 287-313.

Augé, Marc. *Non-Lieux*: *Introduction à Une Anthropologie de la Surmodernité*. Paris: Seuil, 1992.

Barranco, Renato Castro, Luis Fernando Ramos, and Bob Sharp. "Circuito da Gávea no Rio de Janeiro: as primeira corridas no Brasil." n.d. <http://www.obvio.ind.br/Autodromos%20do%20Rio%20de%20Janeiro%20-%20as%20primeiras%20corridas%20do%20Brasil.htm>. Cited 15 February 2008.

Barrionuevo, Alexei. "A Violent Police Unit, on Film and in Rio's Streets." *New York Times*. Updated 14 October 2007. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/world/americas/14tropa.html?fta=y>. Cited 1 November 2007.

Benchimol, Jaime L. *Pereira Passos: Um Haussmann tropical*. Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca carioca, 1990.

Bishop, Elizabeth. *The Complete Poems*: *1927-1929*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1983.

"Brazil adopts Japan's digital TV standard." *Broadcast Engineering News*. Updated 3 July 2006. <http://broadcastengineering.com/news/ISDB-T-

Brazil-20060703>. Cited 13 March 2008,

Camargo, José Eduardo, ed. *Ruas Rio de Janeiro 2007.* São Paulo: Editoria Abril, 2007.

Camargo, José Eduardo, ed. *Ruas Rio de Janeiro 2008.* São Paulo: Editoria Abril, 2008.

Carvalho, Bruno. "Mapping the urbanized beaches of Rio de Janeiro: modernization, modernity and everyday life." *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 16.3 (December 2007): 325-339.

Castro, Maria Laura Viveira de. *Carnaval carioca: dos bastidores ao desfile*. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1994.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steve Rendall. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.

Cidade de Deus. DVD. Dirs. Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund. O2 Filmes, 2002.

Cinco vezes Favela. Videocassette. Dirs. Miguel Borges, Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, Carlos Diegues, Marcos Farias, and Leon Hirszman. Centro Popular de Cultura da UNE, 1962.

Costa, Mario de Amorim. "Favelização" [letter to the editor]. *O Globo* 22 August 2007: 6.

Costa, Wagner Domingues (aka Mr Catra). Personal interview. 22 August 2006.

Cunha, Olívia M. Gomes da. "Conversando com Ice-T: Violência e Criminalização do Funk." *Abalando os anos 90*: *funk e hip-hop*: *globalização, violência e estilo cultural*. ed. Micael Herschmann. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1997. 86-111.

Davis, Mike. *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso, 2006.

"De mototáxi e a pé, jovens turistas se aventuram pelas ruelas da Rocinha." *O Globo Online*. Updated 1 March 2008. <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/

mat/2008/03/01/de_mototaxi_a_pe_jovens_turistas_se_aventuram_pelas_ruelas_da_rocinha-426041206.asp>. Cited 1 March 2008.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *Mille plateaux*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1980.

Dezeuze, Anna. "Thriving On Adversity: The Art of Precariousness." *Mute*. Updated 5 September 2006. <http://www.metamute.org/en/Thriving-On-Adversity>. Cited 1 October 2006.

Essinger, Silvio. *Batidão*: *Uma História do Funk*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2005.

Galo, MC. "Rap da Rocinha." 1995 (approximate).

Galo, MC. "Bonde da Fé." 1995 (approximate).

Gilligan, Melanie. "Slumsploitation – Favelas on Film and TV." *Mute*. Updated 5 September 2006. <http://www.metamute.org/en/Slumsploitation-Favela-on-Film-and-TV>. Cited 1 October 2006.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic*: *Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

"GRES Alegria da Zona Sul." n.d. <http://alegriadazonasul.spaces.live.com>. Cited 4 March 2008.

Guillermoprieto, Alma. *Samba*. New York: Vintage Departures, 1991.

Herschmann, Micael. "Na Trilha do Brasil Contemporâneo." *Abalando os anos 90*: *funk e hip-hop*: *globalização, violência e estilo cultural*. ed. Micael Herschmann. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1997. 52-85.

Howden, Daniel. "Bitter Divide over Plan to Wall in Rio's Slums." *The Independent* and *American Renaissance*. Updated 23 June 2005. <http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/06/bitter_divide_o.php>. Cited 5 March 2008.

"Incentivo fiscal pode salvar última fábrica de vinil do país." *G1*. Updated 19 September 2007. <http://g1.globo.com/Noticias/Economia_Negocios/0,,MUL152984-9356,00.html>. Cited 7 March 2008,

Jaguaribe, Beatriz and Kevin Hetherington. "*Favela* tours: Rio de Janeiro." *Tourism Mobilities*: *Places to Play, Places in Play*. Eds. Mimi Sheller and John Urry. London: Routledge, 2004. 156-166.

Júnior, MC and MC Leonardo. "Endereços dos Bailes." 1995.

Leeds, Elizabeth. "Cocaine and Parallel Polities in the Brazilian Urban Periphery." *Latin American Research Review* 31.3 (1996): 47-83.

O Mapa do Rio de Janeiro. Map. Rio de Janeiro: Metrô Rio, July 2007.

Mapa turístico. Map. Rio de Janeiro: RioTur.

Mascote, MC. *Rocinha e Vidigal*. 1995 (approximate).

"Morador da Rocinha desaparece em baile funk no Cantagalo." *O Globo Online*. Updated 8 January 2006. <http://oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2006/01/08/189882831.asp>. Cited 7 March 2008.

Moreira, Fernando Diniz. "The French Tradition in Brazilian Urbanism: The Urban Remodeling of Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Porto Alegre During the *Estado Novo* (1937-1945)." Paper presented at the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation Buell Dissertation Colloquium. 12 April 2002. <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/files/fsPu12/Moreira%20Fernando%20Diniz.pdf>. Cited 30 September 2006.

Neate, Patrick and Damian Platt. *Culture is Our Weapon*: *AfroReggae in the Favelas of Rio*. London: Latin American Bureau, 2006,

Nicola, Marcello Santo. "Favelização" [letter to the editor]. *O Globo* 22 August 2007: 6.

Neuwirth, Robert. *Shadow Cities*: *A Billion Squatters, A New Urban World*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Ônibus 174. DVD. Dir. José Padilha and Felipe Lacerda. Zazen Produções, 2002.

Ostling, Richard N. "Just 'Look Around a Bit.'" *Time*. 14 July 1980. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,948913,00.html>. Cited 7 March 2008.

Page, Joseph A. *The Brazilians*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1995.

Patterson, Orlando. "Ecumenical America." Updated 24 May 1994. <http://www.warholfoundation.org/paperseries/article2.htm>. Cited 19 April 2006.

Pereira, Gilson das Neves. "Favelização" [letter to the editor]. *O Globo* 22 August 2007: 6.

Phillips, Tom. "Gueshouses for Rio's Shantytowns." *Mail & Guardian Online*. Updated 28 January 2007. <http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?articleid=297220&area=/insight/insight__international>. Cited 15 February 2007.

Pittigliani, Adriana. Personal interview. 25 July 2006.

Ramos, Everton (aka Cabide DJ). Personal interview. 24 August 2006.

Rohter, Larry. "Drawing Lines Across the Sand, Between Classes." *New York Times*. Updated 6 February 2007. <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/06/world/americas/06rio.html?ex=1328418000&en=b4693fa6cb920fc1&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>. Cited 1 May 2007.

Schmidt, Selma. "Prefeitura estabelece gabarito na Rocinha," *O Globo* 21 August 2007: 1.

Sevcenko, Nicolau. "Peregrinations, visions and the city: From Canudos to Brasília, the backlands become the city and the city becomes the

backlands." *Through the kaleidoscope*: *The experience of modernity in Latin América*. Ed. Vivian Schelling. New York: Verso, 2000. 75-107.

Silva, Jailson de Souza e and Jorge Luiz Barbosa. *Favela, Alegria e Dor na Cidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Senac Rio, 2005.

Sneed, Paul. "Machine Gun Voices: Bandits, Favelas and Utopia in Brazilian Funk."
Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003.

Soares, Gláucio Dillon. "O medo invisível." *Jornal do Brasil*. Updated 10 October 2004. <http://clipping.planejamento.gov.br/Noticias.asp?NOTCod=156733>. Cited 14 March 2008.

Sobral, Marisa and Luiz Antonio Aguiar, eds. *Para entender o Brasil*. "Zenuir Ventura." São Paulo: Alegro, 2001.

Soler, Aleesandro, Ana Cláudia Costa e Cláudio Motta. "Delegado diz que operação da Rocinha vazou. Cinco foram presos." *O Globo, CBN,* and *RJTV*. Updated 2 August 2007. <http;//oglobo.globo.com/rio/mat/2007/08/02/297075097.asp>. Cited 2 August 2007.

Souza, Alex de. "Desfiles: Carnaval 2006." n.d. <www.academicosdarocinha.com.br/outros_carnavais.asp>. Cited 5 March 2008.

Trindade, Boris. Personal interview. 30 January 2008.

Tropa de Elite. DVD-R. Dir. José Padilha. Zazen Produções, 2007.

Ventura, Zuenir. *Cidade partida*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.

Vianna, Hermano. *O Mistério do Samba*. 5th ed. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2004.

Vianna, Hermanno. *O Mundo Funk Carioca*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1988.

Virilio, Paul. *Vitesse et politique*: *Essai de dromologie*. Paris: Galilée, 1977.

Virilio, Paul. *City of Panic*. Trans. Julie Rose. Gordonsville, VA: Berg Publishers, 2007.

Werneck, António and Vera Araújo. "Mais favelas na mira." *O Globo* 19 June 2007: 14.

Yúdice, George. *The Expediency of Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Zizek, Slavoj. "The Free World . . . of Slums." *In These Times*. Updated 23 September 2004. <http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/1090>. Cited 1 October 2006.

Zona Sul, Marcelo, Josias CD, Valdo, Jorge Tangará, and Seu Carlos. "Um mundo sem fronteiras." G.R.E.S. Acadêmicos da Rocinha, carnavalesco Alex de Souza. 2005.