

DISPUTES AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY: THE "LIVED RIO DE JANEIRO" AND THE "SOLD RIO DE JANEIRO"

DISPUTAS E O DIREITO A CIDADE: O "RIO DE JANEIRO VIVIDO" E O
"RIO DE JANEIRO VENDIDO"

Milene Gomes Ferreira Mostaro
Getúlio Vargas Foundation, Brazil
milenegferreira@hotmail.com



ABSTRACT

This paper will articulate the relationship between the city, samba, territoriality and tourism, seeking to understand how this linkage attempts, through strategies promoted by capital, to move and reconfigure spaces within the city of Rio de Janeiro. Our aim in this paper is therefore to point out the relationship between tourism and the use of the city as a political space. To do this, I will begin the article with a brief summary of the social practices of tourism, its uses and conflicts. Next, I'll bring up some of the musician's speeches that elucidate the territorial issue, indicating geographical aspects in their speeches. Finally, I will reflect on the role of tourism in bridging the gaps between the "lived" Rio de Janeiro and the "sold" Rio de Janeiro. Our corpus encompasses the journalistic articles that addressed this topic, as well as posts on social networks and a portion of my scope of semi-structured interviews through Oral History, developed in my master's research, defended in March 2021 at PPHBPC. Fundação Getulio Vargas. The question guiding this research is: how did the transformation of the site into a "tourist" one make the space for sales "bigger" than the cultural space for samba? Thus, we understand in this article that the socio-spatial changes caused by neoliberalism are crossed by conflicts and disputes over the appropriation of territory, in our case, the Largo de São Francisco da Prainha - Rio de Janeiro.

Keywords: Tourism; Cities; Territories; Rio de Janeiro.

INTRODUCTION

When we think of Brazil as a "brand", we trigger certain terms and characteristics, such as the "country of samba and carnival". When we narrow this narrative down to Rio de Janeiro, this stigma is even stronger. The city, which has great importance in the history of samba, uses the trajectory of the cultural construction of this rhythm to its advantage as a tourist attraction. However, it is necessary to reflect on whether what is sold is actually consumed and experienced by the locals.

In order to do this, it is important to think about tourism with all its complexity and contradictions, impregnated in a capitalist system which, consequently, reflects tourist practices in social practices. It is through this urban arrangement that economic growth is hidden in political, social and ideological aspects, indicating that urban space is also a "game of powers". This construction of unequal spaces (Santos, Elicher, 2013) reflects the extent to which tourism is imbricated in the urban strategy of cities, understanding spaces as places of transformation. As a result, spaces adopt different dynamics according to the desire to make a profit, bringing in a portion of the city's population and tourists. As an example of these disputes, I will analyze the quarrel over Largo da Prainha and the removal of traditional samba circles from the site in order to increase the number of tables in bars and restaurants. Our corpus encompasses the news articles that covered this topic, as well as posts on Moça Prosa's social networks and, finally, part of my master's research material where I collected semi-structured interviews from the participants. The question guiding this research is: how did the transformation of the place into a "tourist" venue make the space for sales "bigger" than the cultural space for samba?

As Coriolano (2006) argues, tourism cannot be seen only from the romantic side of "advancement" since, like capital, economic development generates violence, dismantles spaces and alters places to create its own rules and laws. Coriolano also points out that tourism, as an economic agent, uses



"capitalist accumulation to the detriment of the basic needs of local workers" (Coriolano, 2006, p.372), understanding space in a utilitarian way, as a global commodity. The entire history of tourism has a class bias. Lefebvre (2008) argues that, since bourgeois times, leisure has been subordinated to surplus value. For Lefebvre, leisure is only experienced by someone if there is a worker to make it possible. Thus, in a contradictory way, the place of leisure for one is the place of work for another. In agreement with Lefebvre (2008), the relationship between urban space and its uses shows us that leisure is always subordinated to a relationship of power and consumption. We can therefore say that the existing relationship is a reflection of how society unfolds.

Along these lines, Rio de Janeiro is a city committed to tourism, with its urban and natural landscape and, without a doubt, its cultural plurality. As such, investing in strategies that turn areas into leisure and entertainment options is part of the city's public policy projects. However, as Cruz (2008) points out, this concern with development does not always have an ideological bias aimed at strengthening the local population, but rather at making it attractive to private capital. The port area and part of the central region of Rio de Janeiro show this public-private tourism relationship that "pushes out" or silences the existing population.

The central region of Rio de Janeiro has an extremely important cultural trait in its history. "Little Africa", a term coined by Heitor dos Prazeres, encompasses the region made up of the neighborhoods of Saúde, Gamboa and Santo Cristo, from Praça Mauá to Cidade Nova. The locality encompassed the actions of the group of recently freed slaves who settled in the port region, building a place of African memory, culture and rituals to this day (Autor, 2021). Within these surroundings, some places are more culturally significant, especially when it comes to samba. Pedra do Sal, for example, is still a hotspot for events and samba circles, and is a space for culture and leisure. Even after the end of slavery, black territory remained present in the region with houses, ranches, terreiros and important organizations of black workers in the port (Mattos and Abreu, 2011). A few hundred meters from Pedra do Sal is Largo do

São Francisco da Prainha. Located at the foot of Morro da Conceição, like the entire port region, its history includes the presence of slaves, stevedores, port workers and industrial workers. The people who lived there appropriated the public space as part of their daily lives. Today, the place remains a meeting place for religious, cultural and carnival events (Autor, 2021).

In this sense, samba groups strengthen their ties and bring their rhythms to these events. The "Moça Prosa" samba group, which will be our case study, shows how capital appropriates already established cultural relationships. Created in 2012, the members met at a percussion workshop in Pedra do Sal, created with the aim of creating a women's group, with the name already thought up by the creator Wagner Silveira. The group was made up of twelve women who, even after the workshop ended, decided to continue playing and, in April 2012, held their first roda de samba. Before the pandemic, in addition to a busy schedule, the group performed monthly at Largo do São Francisco da Prainha, where they met, in the Praça Mauá area. It's important to note that, in addition to samba, the venue had a network of relationships such as a gastronomy, fashion, handicrafts and black literature fair. Formed by Fabiola Machado and Jack Rocha (vocals), Claudia Coutinho (cavaco), Ana Priscila (tamborim), Taina Brito (surdo), Dani Andrade (caixa) and Luana Rodrigues (tantã), the group now has four members who have been with it since it was founded. The location was chosen because there used to be a small beach there, stretching all the way to Praça Mauá. After successive landfills, the beach disappeared. In the middle of the square, there is a statue of a woman with bare feet, a hand on her waist, a turban and a dance pose. It's Mercedes Baptista, the first black dancer at the Teatro Municipal, inventor of Afro-Brazilian ballet, who drew inspiration from Candomblé dances.

All this contextualization is important to bring out the cultural relevance and memory of the place. The whole of Little Africa is part of a living history that unfolds in cultural events and manifestations. It's worth noting that the group "Moça Prosa" saw the place as their home and space. With free monthly rodas,

the group produced the events by hiring sound equipment, security guards, chemical toilets and looking for all the necessary structure for the event to take place. The audience was also "different" according to the participants. There, they felt freer and understood that the roda functioned as a place for debate, welcoming and music, understanding that their role as women musicians was to be present doing "politics" through their existence in the samba roda. Once this territoriality was demarcated, the place became the face of the group, and consequently the place where their narratives, identities, memories, performances and actions to redesign the role of women in samba circles became more effusive and more easily captured.

However, being "on the street" is also part of a dispute over territories and power. With the first flexibilizations in 2021 and the advance of vaccination coverage against COVID-19, open places began to be allowed to operate. Largo de São Francisco da Prainha was one of the places that gradually reinvented itself. The square began to be taken over by tables from eleven bars that spread out around the place (before the pandemic there were only 4 restaurants) and, little by little, the square began to take space from the bars and, when Moça Prosa managed to resume the event, they were no longer "welcome".

It is in the face of this process of territorial dispute between the cultural ties promoted by the roda de samba and the private sector established in the area that this dispute takes place. In this way, we will try to understand how tourism and leisure come together and oppose the power of capital.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Thinking about the uses of the city from a musical and territorial perspective, there is a contradictory existence where certain spaces with musical activities can trigger aggregations and discomfort simultaneously (TROTTA, 2007). When we look at the right to the city (LEFEBVRE, 2001), two

names appear frequently in territorial studies of music in the city of Rio de Janeiro: Cintia Fernandes and Micael Herschmann. They both have works that seek to reflect on the role of music in transforming the city's soundscape, especially in public and hybrid spaces. They point out how a location can have its "function" changed according to the music, as happened, for example, in São Salvador Square, in the Laranjeiras neighborhood. According to them, the square, which is now known as the "Praça do Choro e do Samba", was appropriated by local residents on their initiative when they saw the neglect of the relevant municipal bodies (FERNANDES et al, 2015).

David Harvey discusses the idea that public spaces produce conflicts and contradictions. However, for the author, the city is seen as an arena and should be used "as an important space for political action and revolt" (Harvey, 2014, p. 213). Harvey points out that the right also involves action. "The right to the city becomes "an empty signifier. Everything depends on who is going to give it meaning [...] The very definition of 'right' is the object of a struggle, and this struggle must be concomitant with the struggle to materialize it" (Harvey, 2014, p. 20 and 244). Thus, the right is not based on an individual conquest, but on joint changes where, most of the time, there are neglected groups and actors. Thinking from this perspective brings up a debate on how spaces and places in the city project powers, hierarchies and are closely linked to capital (LEFEBVRE, 2001).

For Harvey, the right to the city is based on the premise of changing ourselves by changing the city (Harvey, 2012). Thus, the right is not based on an individual conquest, but on joint changes where, most of the time, there are neglected groups and actors. Thinking from this perspective brings up a debate on how spaces and places in the city project powers, hierarchies and are closely linked to capital. Bringing urban control closer to capitalism is not just about hierarchical power traits. Like capital, urbanization also depends on surplus. In both cases, surplus is essential to achieving surplus value, which generates production, product and, in parallel, the growth of urbanization. In

this way, a new style of urban life is created, where capital has a centrality above rights, which resumes our discussion when we talk about Rio de Janeiro and its residents, with regard to the processes of gentrification and loss of use of the city. In this sense, Harvey states that the process of urbanization plays an important role in absorbing capital surpluses "and that it has done so on an ever larger geographical scale, but at the price of flourishing processes of creative destruction that imply the dispossession of the urban masses of any and all rights to the city" (Harvey, 2014, p.59).

The concept of the right to the city brings to light the fragility of civilization where practices are alienated, memories are silenced and there are disagreements in various spheres of the city, especially when there are different social classes coexisting in the same space. What should be the joint aspirations of those who work, survive and produce in the urban space is marked by power, often unilaterally, with definitions of practices and ways of living. In this sense, Harvey states that the freedom and right "to make and remake ourselves and our cities is one of our most precise human rights, even if it is one of the most underestimated (Harvey, 2014, p. 28).

By understanding that the production of space is closely linked to a political and economic process, social segregation becomes evident. In a global scenario where cities are commodified, major consequences are generated from this perspective. Large capital cities carry the same elements where the great elites occupy the centralities, while the vast majority of the population is torn between housing conditions, improved urban mobility and ways of being present on the streets. Thus, it is possible to bring up the debate on the definition of the right to the city. If space has a political character, it is in itself a dispute that has been won. If space has a mild, neutral aspect, it is because it has already been occupied. Space is always ideological, with existing formats based on creations and recreations.

Bringing the context to samba, our object of study in this article, territorial disputes and the right to space has been intimately linked to the rhythm since

its inception. Batuques were accepted when played by orchestras, or with a folkloric and stylized character, being consumed by the national elite. When played in bars by singers and instrumentalists, most of whom were former slaves, it was seen by the police as a form of vagrancy and they were often taken to jail (BARBOSA, 2020). Marginalization "disappeared" with the legitimization of samba as a national identity, forcibly created under the aegis of the unification of a modern, democratic and mixed-race country (AMARAL, 2009). When we think of disputes, it's not necessarily something dichotomous, like right and wrong, but processes that coexist in the city. They are varied and seasonal configurations, where there are temporalities of groups, narratives and powers (SARAIVA, 2020).

METHODOLOGY

In methodological terms, the research involves a combination of different data collection techniques, highlighting the critical analysis of the narratives according to the journalistic articles consulted, together with the empirical material used from the semi-structured oral history interviews of the musicians. The interviews are part of the empirical material collected during my Master's research at the Postgraduate Program in History, Politics and Cultural Assets at the Getulio Vargas Foundation's CPDOC, which will also be used as part of the corpus for my doctoral research at the same program. These are interviews with samba de roda musicians from Rio de Janeiro. The interviews were recorded online using the Zoom videoconferencing application, a contingency solution for collecting sources, in a context of social isolation, from May to July 2020. The material contains around 12 hours of recordings with a total of 13 interviewees. It is worth mentioning that the script and methodological approach was approved by FGV's ethics committee, and all the session letters were read and signed by the interviewees. The material is stored in a cloud and on a personal computer, all of which has been



transcribed and separated into categories and themes for future research and development.

The interviewees were chosen because they were members of musical groups made up exclusively of women. Specifically, the corpus involves direct street performance with free samba circles. For the purpose of this article, we used excerpts from the interviews of the musicians who make up the group "Moça Prosa", which holds monthly samba circles in the port region of Rio de Janeiro.

When thinking about the narrative analysis of the reports, it is important to talk to Motta (2009) who argues that narrative is a universal human practice. It is through narrative that individuals tell their stories or narrate a fact. Narrative, then, is capable of making sense and structuring meaning. Thinking about how the story is told, through the narrative of the reports, is fundamental to understanding who is telling it, how they are telling it and what meanings they intend to put into the text.

It is through this creation that our social environment is composed, interpreting and giving meaning to our actions. Thus, using the critical analysis of the narrative is an important way of making sense of the reports used, as well as the group's publications on its social networks, in addition to comments from the participants in the circle that reinforce this link. Within this game, the narrative aims to "attract, involve and convince the interlocutor, bringing them into the game of shared co-construction of meanings (even though this cooperation can often be conflictual)" (Motta, 2013, p.11).

With regard to the use of some fragments of the interviews collected during my master's degree, it is important to use Oral History as the guiding thread of this narrative. Understanding and interpreting what the interviewee says is extremely important in order to respect their speech, their pauses and their silences. I followed what Alberti (2005) called the interviewer's responsibility as a coagent in the creation of the oral history document. The interaction and observation of these elements were fundamental to conducting these

interviews. For now, it is worth pointing out that this methodology, combined with a semi-structured and individual script (Gil, 2008), was crucial to capturing the individual and plural narratives of each component. The experiences lived and reported by the interviewees indicated the places I would have to pass through in order to analyze their speeches during this journey, better understanding the processes of constitution of the groups and the performance of the participants in the circles. This is what I intend to do in order to understand and interpret their speeches and positions, both in the interviews and in the reports.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Giving a place meaning can be a natural process that can be experienced in different ways, depending on who is living it. For Abreu (1998), places can contain unique processes that can only be explained based on local realities, even if there are intersecting social processes. Understanding the dynamics of a particular place is extremely important when trying to interpret its history and memory.

Yo-Fu Tuan argues that a place can be transformed according to the value we attribute to it: "What begins as an undifferentiated space is transformed into a place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (Tuan, 1983, p.6).

From the moment these spaces take on the "face" of the Moça Prosa group, I believe that these alliances with the public occur not only during the performance, but also in its surroundings. As if it were necessary to demarcate that beyond the roda, that space is also a place where narratives and occupations are developed that go in the same direction as the identity of the group that performs there. Maffesoli states that this notion of a group's identity manifests itself in "festive effervescence" (2012, p. 236). For the author, "it is through the collective that everyone is satisfied, a satisfaction that in turn



solidifies the common well-being" (Maffesoli, 2005, p. 14). This excerpt from the testimony of Jack Rocha, the group's percussionist, reveals how the surroundings of the roda play an important role in the construction of the group's identity in Largo de São Francisco da Prainha:

we have a gastronomic fair, we have a partnership with women who produce, make clothes, the whole informal market that is present and joins with us to produce, to make this samba happen. (...) We have a base of women, women and men who are in connection with us. They help us produce this event, right? It's an event at Largo da Prainha that takes place every third Saturday of the month. Before this pandemic, all this madness happened, we had this fixed work there in Largo da Prainha, right? So every third Saturday of the month we were there doing our event, believing that this event was also a movement that provided Moça Prosa with the samba circle, but also provided for those people who were working there.¹

The surroundings of the roda become part of the context of the event, part of the experience. Experience here is understood from the perspective of Yi-Fu-Tuan (1983): "Experience is a term that covers the different ways in which a person knows and constructs a reality" (Tuan, 1983, p.9). This place "constructed" through experiences in the samba circles seeks to elaborate a reality that is closely linked to the construction of the memory of the "tias baianas", fundamental women in the history of samba de roda in Rio de Janeiro. Fabíola Machado, the group's lead singer, argues that the memory of these matriarchs remains a link and a model for the actions of these musicians since, in a contemporary way, this support network surrounded by enterprising women reminds us of the memory of the "aunts" who sold and made their delicacies at the beginning of the century. Fabíola also stresses that the space is financially important for those who establish this alliance with the rodas:

when we went to Largo da Prainha, at the foot of Mercedes Baptista, we also gained our financial independence, we started

¹ Interview with Jaqueline Rocha conducted on May 12, 2020. Interviewer Milene Ferreira. Interview conducted over the internet via Zoom, a videoconferencing program. Duration 1h 34 minutes. Translated by the author

running a fair, a fair of more than twenty women entrepreneurs making food, handicrafts, gastronomy, which is very reminiscent of the women of Bahia, right? (...) It's an ancestral story, women exercising this power of the fair, of creation, so we're not alone, we have a story behind us, right? So we started to be together with the fair, once a month on the street, with us producing because we never had a producer.²

Figure 2: Roda do Moça Prosa in Largo do São Francisco da Prainha, at the foot of the statue of Mercedes Baptista.



The role of the groups in these circles is presented as a place of speech for those who take part in these events. As Jack says: "you're not just there singing, right, you're there showing a truth, showing a hope for other women who come to see you, to watch you". Jack makes explicit the idea of the female body that performs in the roda:

Our Moça Prosa roda is not just a samba roda, I really believe that our roda is a body, a body that shouts culture, belonging, the belonging of black women in this society, and how does it shout? Through our compositions, through our demonstrations in the street, we don't seek out social movements, but I think that automatically when we are part of this body in the street, these social movements, these black women, these militants, not just black women... other white militants, black women... They come along to build this collective with us and we open up a voice, we open up a voice for these women because we understand

² Interview with Fabíola Machado conducted on May 10, 2020. Interviewer Milene Ferreira. Interview conducted via Zoom, a videoconferencing program. Duration 1 hour 10 minutes. Translated by the author

that it's only through collective discourse that we can break down barriers, that's our militancy.³

It is in the face of this belonging that a new look at the square emerges. It's important to note that the interviews were conducted in June 2020, at the height of social distancing, when no events were allowed. The musicians even talk during the interview about financial difficulties and support from movements and collectives to help musicians and other professionals who lived off events in the city. In 2021, with the return of some outdoor activities, Largo underwent some transformations where eleven establishments began to occupy the place with tables and chairs, increasingly popular on weekends (VejaRio, 2021), being "elected in the latest Time Out London ranking as one of the coolest neighborhoods on the planet" (VejaRio, 2022).

In October 2021, the Moça Prosa group began to rehearse the return of the monthly roda, with public policies already in place in favor of the return of samba de roda. In this context, the Rio de Janeiro City Hall and the Secretariat of Culture opened a public notice for the new program of

development program Rede Carioca de Rodas de Samba. Thus began a new register of samba rodas, established in Decree No. 49,709 of November 5, 2021. The decree was legitimized by bodies such as the Sanitary Surveillance Department, the Municipal Public Order Department and the Municipal Government and Public Integrity Department. In this registration, the document sought to expand, establish and publicize the municipal calendar of samba circles in the city. The preliminary result of the registration was published on November 17, 2021, and the "Moça Prosa" samba circle was registered.

Some norms and standardizations were also part of this new registration: each roda de samba could only perform once a week, on a fixed day, and in

³ Interview with Fabíola Machado conducted on May 10, 2020. Interviewer Milene Ferreira. Interview conducted via Zoom, a videoconferencing program. Duration 1 hour 10 minutes. Translation by the author



areas predetermined by the municipal administration. The sale of tickets is forbidden and Seop (the Secretariat for Public Order) is responsible for supervising the venue.

Even with the municipal decree allowing samba, the owners of the bars in Largo da Prainha tried to negotiate because, according to the musicians, the bars would have to collect the tables since they can only promote the event if they sell drinks to pay for the rentals. The musicians and the bar owners tried to reach an agreement but failed. On their social networks, Moça Prosa announced that "because they were no longer welcome" in that public space, they were moving to another "house" (O Globo, 2022). The text they published in full is an outburst and a summary of what happened:

There comes a time when we need to speak out, and this is it. We would like to inform everyone who has followed us over the last 10 years that we are moving away from Largo de São Francisco da Prainha, because for the time being it is not possible to hold our event the way we always have, with our autonomy, in safety. Since November 2021, we have been in dialogue with the local businesses in Largo, under the mediation of the local subprefecture. Our goal with this conversation was to plan our return to the square, a place we have the right to use by decree, once a month, to hold our roda de samba, which has been held there since 2016. We suspended the roda because of the pandemic and we know that during this period the organization of the square has changed. We don't want to harm anyone, but it seems that we don't fit in there anymore, not with our autonomy, with our roda, as we have always done. A lot has been said, and sometimes we believed that we could reach a compromise in the use of a public space, but that's not what happened. Now there is no longer any possibility of insisting on a unilateral vision. We bring this statement with great regret. It was very difficult to leave Pedra do Sal, but Largo welcomed us with open arms and we fell in love and it was there that we saw our audience grow, it was there that we matured, it was there that we built something that transcends a samba circle... There, at the feet of Mercedes Batista. The aim here is to inform our audience, who have always respected us, who have always been with us, why we are not occupying our home again: we are no longer welcome! We believe that you will be with us wherever we are. We are planning a new place, we are going to build another house, with our face, with our positioning, with



our joy and our samba! We're always counting on you!
(Instagram @moçaprosa, 14/03/2022)

The traders are trying to reverse this narrative, focusing on trying to recover the place, but the big battle is over the sale of drinks at the roda de samba versus the bars in the square. Ana Priscila, a member of the group, comments in an interview with O Globo:

The people at Moça Prosa always set up our structure with guts and guts, taking on losses, but we did it all for cultural reasons, it wasn't just entertainment (...). The roda has existed for ten years as a space for women in samba, it's not purely commercial. We are there to be and to resist and to guide the debate, but we need to support the roda, which is through the sale of drinks. All the proposals discussed with the traders revolved around not having our own bar. And then we don't have our livelihood. But a compromise was never reached." (O Globo, 22/03/2022)

There was a proposal for the bars to bear the costs of setting up the event, which would be around R\$10,000, but only three houses accepted the deal. The Moça Prosa group then came to the conclusion that if the bars were open, they would make a loss and would not be able to set up the monthly roda. Ana Priscila stresses that the roda has existed for more than ten years and replies: "We're not a group now playing in Prainha, we're not opportunists. We want to return to a place where we were forced to leave by the global situation of the virus" (O Globo, 22/03/2023).

Understanding all the controversy surrounding space, we can refer to Lepetit (2001), thinking about new forms of use based on the reappropriation and redefinition of old norms. Through projects and strategies, the urban territory produces a new configuration based on demand. This new organization of urban spaces, from the point of view of tourism, brings with it the question of a new (conflict-ridden) territorial history. I agree with Moraes when he confirms this relationship by saying that territory is a socially produced

product. For the author, territory is therefore "an expression of the relationship between society and space" (Moraes, 2000, p. 17).

Ana Priscila, the group's musician and percussionist, regrets the fight and says that they prefer to avoid a "war square" in the environment. In an interview with the newspaper O GLOBO, she asks herself: "Is it worth putting the public in a place where the surrounding businesses have made it clear that they don't want us to occupy the space?" (OGlobo, 2022). This process of capital reproduction indicates how the city is occupied, reproducing the use of space according to capital and profit. For Carlos (2003), this occupation of space by society is based on the mechanism of private appropriation, where land use is the main condition for the construction and production of humanity and what we understand as society. And this is how the configuration of urban space is determined.

When we approach this relationship between the use of the city and tourism, we think that the city is related and has tourist appeal not only because of its form, but also because of its cultural value. According to Cruz (2011), any urban space can take on its cultural value and become a tourist attraction when professionals in the field realize its qualities and turn it into an attraction. In this sense, the concept of tourist territory arises, when social, cultural and historical production is appropriated and given new meanings to be consumed. However, when the space appropriates the cultural narrative to attract tourists just for empty consumption, this strategy is lost in the ephemerality of its uses. In the case of Largo do São Francisco da Prainha, it is notable that the place is experiencing a public attraction at the beginning of the post-pandemic flexibilization of the use of the city. The whole political and local situation helps as a tourist attraction for "open-air" bars. Thus, tourist use begins to be exacerbated with new customers, inflated prices, and people who go for gastronomic tourist consumption without necessarily understanding the cultural and memorial side.



An example of this change are the comments on the social networks and in the reports from the public who have always frequented the *roda* and saw it as an important story to be experienced and consumed. One of the comments in the report says: "All of Rio is going to this place. Everyone wants to get a little money out of it. From a distance, it doesn't have the same audience as before, if you doubt it, it will become a new Dias Ferreira, with only playboys and patricinhas from the South Zone." (O GLOBO, 2022). Another comment adds: "Here in RJ, it's very common for cool places to be in the spotlight and completely lose their identity." (O Globo, 2022).

This policy of gentrification of consumers of local culture is evidence of what Smith calls the policy of neoliberal urbanism (Smith, 2006), characterizing not only the distancing of residents from the use of the city, but also the influence of the real estate market, local politics, private interests and other characteristics in line with the social context considered. This neoliberal policy seeks to transform meanings and hide symbolic representations. This is the case with the revitalization of the region with new developments such as the Rio Art Museum, the Olympic Boulevard and the Museum of Tomorrow, which at the same time hides the region's historical mark by silencing the region's African ancestry. In this way, Albinati (2017) understands that the appropriation of this region's heritage sees slavery as something past, thinking of the current appropriation as mercantile, without reflection. As if the past belonged to blacks and the future to whites (Santos, 2020).

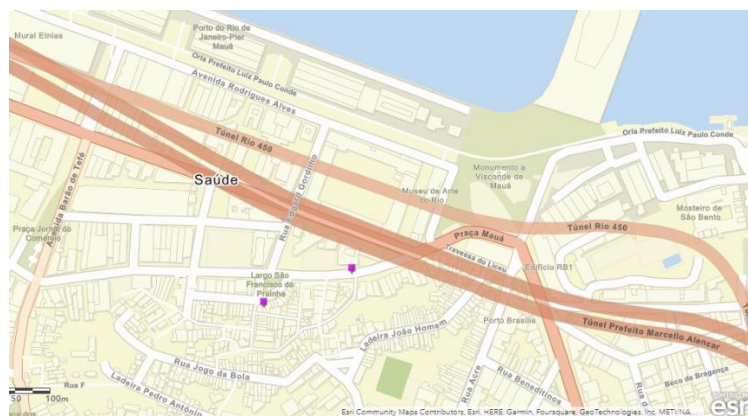
This urban restructuring began to be revealed with the crisis of the Fordist model in the 1970s. This flexible pattern of increasing wealth and spatial appropriation was met by the weakening of the United States' control over its territories. On a global scale, government bodies began to make things more flexible and take power away from localities, especially in the 1990s, and an intensification of marketing strategies for so-called urban entrepreneurship began. The aim is to turn the city into a commodity and the various territories of the city are being altered for private control.



[...]the spaces captured by the relations of capitalist production, which are incorporated into the ongoing processes of urban restructuring, can be destined for the production or consumption of space (through operations linked to tourism and leisure, real estate operations and, finally, operations aimed at the consumption of the city, stimulated by advertising) (Sánchez, 2003, p. 45).

This process, inherent in globalization, turns space into a commodity like any other. Urban space becomes an arena of power where private capital starts to manage, organize and dispute spaces. In the context of Moça Prosa, private power starts to dispute the square and, faced with a narrative of revitalization and promotion of the place, understands that it is not possible to accept the conditions proposed by the musicians. It's worth remembering that samba de roda used to be held monthly, only on the third Saturday of each month.

Figure 3 - Roda Moça Prosa at Largo São Francisco da Prainha (left) and new location (right).



After a dispute over the location of the roda, Rio de Janeiro's city hall gave up the space at Rua Sacadura Cabral, 74 - in the same neighborhood and in a nearby location for the event. In March 2022, they moved to the new location and, today, the roda continues on a monthly basis and free of charge. Through social media, the roda's loyal audience continues to contribute to the event with a large local turnout.

CONCLUSION

From this research, we can see the changes and metamorphoses that have taken place in a historic location in Rio de Janeiro. These symbolic and material transformations transpose the sense that capital flows into every corner. Even a place with a long history of resistance is often "swallowed up" by a system that works for profit. In tourism, the territory can be transformed into a commodity for consumption. In a shallow way, this marketing change can show a great deal of superficial consumption, without the essence being experienced. What's more, this consumption aimed solely at leisure without reflection generates misuse, gentrifying residents and consumers who used to frequent the place for its historical and ancestral appeal. The place, once seen as a "place of identity", is transformed even for these people, who now frequent it as a place to work.

A fictitious landscape is then created, absent of history and identity, characterizing the space as a non-place (Tuan, 1983), indicating tourism as a driver of this process. Appropriating heritage and cultural heritage solely in the interests of capital reproduction reduces tourism to an exploitative industry.

In Rio de Janeiro over the last decade, there has been a change in urban governance with restructuring, especially in the central part of the city. However, the socio-spatial changes are a product of neoliberalism and are crossed by conflicts and disputes over the appropriation of territory. The case of the Moça Prosa group shows us how capital enters cultural spaces and generates socio-spatial impacts. In this context, it is important to understand



and reflect on the paths that tourism should adopt so that the population has the right to use the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Abreu, M. (1998). Sobre a memória das cidades. *Revista Território*, 4, 5–26. DOI: 10.22296/2179-8966v4n0p5-26

Alberti, V. (2005). Tradição oral e história oral: proximidades e fronteiras. *História oral*, 8(1). DOI: 10.5433/1519-5392.2005v8n1p0

Albinati, M. (2017). Cultura e planejamento urbano na Zona Portuária Carioca. *Revista e-metropolis*. DOI: 10.22296/2179-8966v4n0p5-26

Coriolano, L. N. M. T., & Silva, S. D. M. (2006). Turismo: prática social de apropriação e de dominação de territórios. *América Latina: cidade, campo e turismo*, 367-378. DOI: 10.1590/S1413-77042006000100020

Cruz, A., & Pinto, H. (2008). A cidade eo turismo: o urbano como produto turístico.

Cruz, F. (2011). Mídia e direitos humanos: tensionamentos e problematizações em tempos de globalização neoliberal. *Revista Katálysis*, v, 14, 182–190. DOI: 10.1590/S1414-49802011000200003

De Freitas, G., Correa, A. H., Gil Filho, & Fausto, S. (2008). Geografia do cotidiano: uma leitura da metodologia sócio-interacionista de Erving Goffman. *Ateliê Geográfico*, 2, 103–118. DOI: 10.5216/ag.v2i0.3980

de Lima, L. (2022, março 22). Ocupação do Largo da Prainha provoca disputa entre donos de bares e grupo de mulheres sambistas; entenda. *O Globo*. <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/ocupacao-do-largo-da-prainha-provoca-disputa-entre-donos-de-bares-grupo-de-mulheres-sambistas-entenda-25442588>

Filho, A., & Da, S. (2010). As Contribuições de Henri Lefebvre para o Estudo do Turismo. ANPTUR.

Hebe, & Abreu, M. (2001). Remanescentes das Comunidades dos Quilombos": memória do cativo, patrimônio cultural e direito à reparação. *Iberoamericana*, 42(11), 145–158. DOI: 10.5195/iberoamericana.2001.2894

Landim, C. B. e. (2022, fevereiro 18). Por que o Largo da Prainha tem dado o que falar. *VEJA RIO*. <https://vejario.abril.com.br/cidade/largo-da-prainha/>

LEFEBVRE, Henri. *O direito à cidade*. Tradução Rubens Eduardo Frias. São Paulo: Centauro, 2001.

Maffesoli, M. (2005). *Cultura e comunicação juvenis*. Ritmos do imaginário.

Mostaro, M. G. (2021). Sempre fui obediente, mas não pude resistir”: narrativas de mulheres musicistas em rodas de samba do Rio de Janeiro.

Motta, L. (2013). Análise crítica da narrativa. Brasília: Editora UnB.

Motta, L. (2009). Narrativa jornalística e conhecimento imediato de mundo: construção cognitiva da história do presente. Em Construir la sociedad de la comunicación (p. 98–114).

NEVES, R. (2013). História e turismo: a “mercadorização” do “patrimônio histórico” e a elitização da área central de Tiradentes, Minas Gerais (1980-2012). Mestrado em história. Universidade Federal de São João Del Rei, São João del-Rei.

Orlando, Werneck, M., & Ramos Novaes, P. (2020). Contradições do experimento neoliberal do Porto Maravilha no Rio de Janeiro. Revista de urbanismo, 42, 1–16. DOI: 10.22296/2179-8966v4n0p5-26

Santos, T. B., Bassetti, & Elicher, M. J. (2013). Turismo e Produção do Espaço na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Revista Turismo em Análise, v, 24, 654–675. DOI: 10.11606/issn.1984-4867.v24i3p654-675

TROTTA, Felipe Costa. Juízos de valor e o valor dos juízos: estratégias de valoração na prática do samba. Galáxia. Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Semiótica, n. 13, p. 115-127, 2007. DOI: 10.1590/S1982-25532009000100009

Tuan, Y. F. (2013). Espaço e lugar:: A perspectiva da experiência. SciELO-EDUEL.

