ARTICLES

CARANDIRU AND THE FRACTURED SPACES OF MEMORY

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ABSTRACT

Between the years of 2002 and 2005, the Carandiru's Penitentiary Complex passed through a deactivation process which lead to an explosion of most of its pavilions. On the same ground, the construction of the Parque da Juventude ("Youth's Park") began in 2003. This space has been since then reconfigured, experiencing radical landscape changes. It is about this reconfiguration process, the substitution of one spatial composition to a completely opposite one, that this article intends to discuss the relations nowadays established between the territory and its frequenters, relying on ethnography as a methodology and on the creation of photomontages as an epistemological movement to think about these multiple temporalities. Being so, this study has as an objective to analyze, under anthropological bias, the arrangements and rearrangements of memory in the context of Carandiru's erasure.

INTRODUCTION

From 2002 to 2005, Carandiru state prison, located in Santana District, city of São Paulo, was gradually decommissioned in a process that had most of its cell blocks imploded. Famous for one of the worst prison massacres in world history – around 111 inmates were brutally killed by the Military Police of São Paulo in 1992 – this state prison was established from the merger of the State Penitentiary (founded in 1920) and the Detention Center of São Paulo (founded in 1956). It has

housed a considerable number of inmates in degrading life conditions for decades on end. Being the largest prison in Latin America for a long time, Carandiru's courtyards and cells housed thousands of men and their stories. Stories that were shattered along with the implosion of its cell blocks.

On this site, in 2003, the development of Parque da Juventude began. The idea for the park first came in 1999, when the state government led a contest of projects to revamp the area. That is how Carandiru gave place to a vast green area, a sports complex, a library, and two secondary-level professional schools. Both the green area and the sports complex were opened in 2003, with the other following in 2004 and 2007. That is when the site changed entirely, with its elements completely overhauled and its design reconfigured from top to bottom. The prison was replaced by a center for leisure, sports, and culture thanks to the interest of private companies that followed the expansion of the service sector for the middle class (Zanetti 2005). Zanetti (2005) gives us a context of this renovation process[2]:

> The fading presence of the public sector in the 1980s and 1990s gave room to a set of sporadic, disjointed initiatives that were focused on making monuments into cultural centers. These initiatives had extensive media coverage and were welcomed by public opinion, given that it meant the expansion of cultural facilities in this expanding, service-driven metropolis [...]. (Zanetti 2005, 14)

To understand the impact of the transformation of spaces, such as with Carandiru, it is important to think about the city with its complexities and hidden paths in mind. To see the city in connection to its movements, going beyond its visible reality, its commuters, and the use of its space, one must inquire about what cannot be seen, about what is hidden and the reason it is hidden or vanished (Morais e Cavalcanti 2011). It is about shedding a light and giving meaning to the physical world and its elements. And that requires understanding the process of making and, especially, the unmaking of cities. Therefore, understanding the reasoning behind favoring or eliminating certain spaces awakens a dormant need for reclaiming memory. Erasure appears as a public policy while memory becomes its locus of resistance.

Given that life, in all its range, is at the mercy of the capitalist mode of production, it would be a methodological mistake to think about the city and its everyday life from a neutral perspective. Spaces, which are historical and social artifacts, reflect the domination framework of capitalism,

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2. Debates concerning urban renewal are part of a large and diverse field of knowledge that has an extensive intellectual production. In this article, we are not going deep into the details of such debates, which is something that can be done in future works.

stress the selective composition of places, and highlight the contradictions of an unequal system. There is no room to be naive when thinking about the city and its gaps. Every wall, bridge, rock, and brick laid each time a space is transformed reveals the logic of the paths of the city. And the same goes for what is hidden or cease to exist. Visible and invisible go together. They give shape and connect the same field, playing the same game.

This is the game we are talking about. A game of images that spurs the formation of memories. Memories that are, as defined by Barbosa (2012), "cannibalized", embroiled in a circular movement that does not let us identify "where [image] begins and where [memory] ends. Which one is the source and which one drinks from it?" (Barbosa 2012a, 381). The arrangement of spaces, through implicit choices that guide their design, also carries a set of visual structures that are responsible for the making of representations. Therefore, images and memories are elements in dispute, given that spaces do not neutrally activate them. Considering that the collective memory is born out of a narrative of images, the question that arises is: which narratives are being favored?

This question means that we should, in the first place, identify which memory we are talking about. Bosi (1987) helps us with that when she points to the relation between processes that lead to action and processes that lead to perception – a relation first noted by Bergson. Both rely on a corporeal presence inscribed to present time that feeds off of this same present through the relations it establishes with the living environment. This way, we can see a relation between the inhabited space and the representations that are formed from it. A dialectical relation that seems to stand between the "flow of memories made" (Barbosa 2014) and the city spaces where people go through.

Bosi (1987) also allows us to identify a social aspect to memory by bringing up some contributions by Halbwachs and Bartlett. She tells us: "The most insignificant change to the environment affects the deepest feature of memory" (1987, 17). This brings up the question: What would be the consequence of imploding Carandiru prison?[3] Would it be the weakening of possible memories? The reconfiguration of space – as with the prison turning into a park – seems to put memory in a place of dispute.

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3. We might also ask: why would it be important to preserve a deactivated prison, a place that once witnessed a traumatic event? Institutional violence defines a traumatic event carried out by government workers. Such a traumatic event – a massacre, in this case – demands a compromise of the State in not repeating the mistake, and policies of symbolic reparations tied to the memories of victims. The implosion of Carandiru seems to go in the opposite direction. To learn more about this debate: Soares, Inês e Paula Costa. 2015. Massacre do Carandiru: em qual espaço foi fincado o compromisso com o nunca mais? *In: Carandiru não é coisa do passado*: um balanço sobre os processos, as instituições e as narrativas 23 anos após o Massacre, org. Maíra Rocha Machado e Marta de Assis Machado, 181–197. São Paulo: Coleções FGV DIREITO SP.

Regarding the narratives created about space, something revealing seems to strike our unconscious mind – a place we assume to be private. Influenced by the works of Barlett, Bosi (1987, 25) says: "The raw material of remembrance does not emerge in its pure state in the language of the one who remembers; it is curated, sometimes stylized, by the cultural and ideological perspective of the group this person belongs to". What are these narratives, then? Are they made at the core of remembrances influenced by the interests of certain groups? Who is interested in imploding the cell blocks where, a few years ago, a vicious massacre took place? A massacre that, such as unresolved trauma, keeps happening in Brazilian history.

If it is true that our remembrances contain a bit of ideology, being formed and informed by a dominant perspective, it is also true that the implosion of a significant part of that prison carries an objective, a (political) choice for absence. So what does that space tell us nowadays? Is it a place of leisure and rest or a place of confinement and extreme violence? Maybe both? Maybe none of it? Do our memories still house the horror of state brutality and the deadly consequences of mass incarceration, or do we see the green of the parks as the city's redemption?

Therefore, this article aims to think about these memories and representations in dispute and the process of giving new meaning to Carandiru and the events inscribed to it. The goal is to analyze the memories present in that place nowadays and the notions that are made of it.

The method guiding this analysis is the outcome of an ethnography conducted in[4] Parque da Juventude. In that ethnography, I sought to analyze the "flow of social discourse" (Geertz 1973, 11) present in that place, trying to rescue the "said" of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms. (*Ibid*., 11). Therefore, by observing and interpreting the web of meanings created from the relationship between the new space and its regulars, I sought to understand the transformation of this space as a process of creating meaning.

Also, as a way of exploring these new uses and views of the space, of placing them in a conversation between the visible and the invisible or, as Lefebvre (1996, 61) would say, between the urban text and the urban context – between what is seen and of which is said and "what is little said and of which even less is written [...]" (Lefebvre 1996, 31), between what presents itself and what "hides itself in the inhabited spaces [...]" (*Ibid*., 31) – I employed one more strategy by taking pictures of the place,

4. Throughout the six months I have been to the park, between January and June 2019, I stayed connected with dozens of people who went there – regularly and rarely, young and adults, employees and passersby – and on these lucky encounters, we would share our memories and views about the place. Those are the ones I interacted with, even if briefly, and here I name them interlocutors.

connecting different time frames in an exercise of overlapping images. The result of this strategy are photomontages that unite, in a single frame, both the past and present of that place. This allowed me to not only create some scratches on the urban text and suggest new ways to see and read what is presented as visible reality, but I was also able to use images "as the result of a research process" (Barbosa e Cunha 2006, 25).

MEMORY: A DISPUTED FIELD

Memory, according to phenomenology, is made of an extensive web, a wide body in which perceptions, time relations, and the texture of collective life are interwoven. The notion of anteriority, which is closely related to the mnemonic phenomena since Aristotle, helped pave the way to the interpretation of memory in terms of representation of the past. This entails that the image-recollection, once it appears, configures the contact of the mind with something that is no longer there. That is where Ricoeur (2007) identifies one of the enigmas posed by memory: "The past exists in the image as a sign of its absence, an absence that, for not being there, is taken as a having been there. This "having been" is what memory tries to find." (Ricoeur 2007, 2).

Absence, put it this way, is an accessible absence, something that can be seen. The realization of the existence of what "is no longer there but has been" is inscribed in and by memory when recognition is possible. It is through recognition, then, that memory can vouch for the presence of this absence, of recognizing that this vanished something was once there. About recognition, Ricoeur says (2007):

> [...] Recognizing a memory is finding it again. And finding it again is assuming that it is in principle available, if not accessible. Available, as though awaiting recall, but not ready-to-hand like the birds in Plato's dovecote which one possesses but does not hold. The experience of recognition, therefore, refers back to the memory of the first impression in a latent state, the image of which must have been constituted at the same time as the original affection [...]. (Ricoeur 2004, 433)

This complex game between past, absence, and recognition also requires, in a decisive manner, other elements that deal with the circularity of this dialectic, such as impressions, vestiges, or clues. So when we ask ourselves which memories could emerge when visiting Parque da Juventude, a reconfigured space that was completely overhauled, we should also ask if impressions, vestiges, and clues are also present there. The revelation of these elements is what can lead us to face this hidden past.

By focusing on the structure of this complex arrangement, we reach the collective element upon which memory is supported. In his analysis of

collective memory, Halbwachs (1968 apud Pollak 1989) pointed out that the internalization of recollections would depend on one's bond with their group. The group is in charge of establishing the references to be shared by its members, classifying them in a hierarchy according to its internal logic, which would make the content between individual and collective memory explicit (Pollak 1989).

Influenced by Durkheim, Halbwachs's perspective focused on aspects that would, according to him, add stability and duration to the collective memory. He did not recognize that this cohesion would depend on coercive efforts to hold on. His analysis, then, had an exclusively positive interpretation of the way a specific collective memory is imposed. As if its creation was not due to a process of domination and symbolic violence (Pollak 1989).

The imposition of a certain collective memory by dominant groups – which they usually refer to as national or official memory – also makes us ask about the memories trumped by official history. Taking all of this into account, we can now say that memory is a field of narratives in dispute, on which its stability and duration depend.

The replacement of a narrative for another and the disputes of references to the historical past reveal the "frames of memory", as Pollak (1989) calls it. According to him, "the vestiges of this framing effort go beyond the production of unified discourses on events and great historical figures. They are also physical objects: monuments, museums, libraries, etc. So memory is also kept and carved in stone [...]" (Pollak 1989, 9 e 10). Therefore, vestiges are crucial indicators of a territory of memory. They are in charge of connecting the threads of the present and the absent, weaving different time frames.

If the memory in its physical form can mean the construction of references imposed by dominant groups, then the erasure of vestiges and the physical replacement of certain architectural designs by their complete opposite might, in the same way, sign the strengthening of dominant narratives by overreaching the power of forgetting. Both strategies carry a heavy ideological bias, whether by giving great visibility to monuments preserving an official history or by opting for the physical and symbolic absence of a past historically marginalized.

Therefore, to understand the way this transfigured space deals with the collective memory, we need to investigate the disputes around the narratives emerging from it and the tension between forbidden and exalted memories. So we have to focus our analysis on the perceptions that emerge when visiting the park, and on the relations we can establish between

body, space, and the flow of recollections. Also, an analytic view that is able to not only inquire about the past but also the present paves an essential way in this excavation process. Because, as Benjamin (2005, 576) once said, "He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging".

In this excavation process, we must bring the bodies and objects that used to inhabit that place out of the narratives, speeches, and recollections of those who attend it, and with the help of visual interventions. From a technical standpoint, it might be difficult – if not impossible – to capture recollections in objects of memory that are made in the present (Pollak 1989, 11). But searching and reconstructing these bodies and objects might end up creating, as noted by Pollak (1989, 11), "a powerful tool for successfully rearranging the collective memory [...]". Visual resources might also help people relate to that often-vanished content. As pointed out by Ricoeur (2004, 429): "Recognition can thus draw support from a material basis, from a figured presentation such as a portrait or photograph, the representation inducing an identification with the thing depicted in its absence".

That is why I paired the field research in the park with a second stance in which I create new images of the place, connecting different time frames as an epistemological resource to deal with the varying narratives in this space. So beyond the analysis I already mentioned – focused on perceptions, narrative flows, and relations between body, space, and memory that are made during ethnography –, I also present some visual interventions that seek to connect absence with the present, inquiring about the space and what it shows of itself, and changing the flow of my writing and of what I share here as an ethnographic report. I am talking about the photomontages[5] I made, which overlay the past visual landscape, Carandiru's, with the current one, Parque da Juventude's. Using collage as a technical and epistemic resource, I sought to create visual superimpositions that could lead to encounters and clashes between different images and time frames of that space, but also between different bodies and objects that live or have lived there. As noted by Gonçalves (2016):

> Montage [...], understood as construction, takes images as flow, expansion, change of perspective. [...] A construction based on dialectic, the montage invites a reflection about images, bringing us the way of thinking through images as production of knowledge. In this sense, the narration power of montage is crucial in the making of the image as an experience. This is because the montage produces a clash of images, creating contexts, connections that establish new relations and new meanings. (Gonçalves 2016, 22)

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5. All but the second one (titled "por detrás do muro") are part of a photographic essay named "A ausência como representação: um ensaio sobre a memória Carandiru", which won second place at the 2020 Pierre Verger award, from the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA). Some of them got new descriptions here.

The analysis of new images created through montage is not the focus here, but rather their incorporation into the ethnographic text as a form of experience – it is different from the experience given by the text but a complement to it. So what I propose here is that we take a stand of observation similar to what MacDougall (2006, 7) has described: "When we look, we are doing something more deliberate than seeing and yet more unguarded than thinking. We are putting ourselves in a sensory state that is at once one of vacancy and of heightened awareness".

FROM HIDING TO DECEIVING

Parque da Juventude is divided into three areas (institutional, central, and sports-centered) and its landscape architecture is its major feature. The first major area is the institutional one, housing the Library of São Paulo, two schools (Escola Técnica Estadual Parque da Juventude and Escola Técnica Estadual de Artes), a small playground and a dog park. The Military Police is usually by the schools, especially on weekdays. Being the outermost area of the park, it is where more people are present, with a high influx of students, outsourced employees, and passersby always coming and going. A bit further to it, where the playground and dog park are located, it is not unusual to find kids accompanied by adults. They play, jump, and run all over the place, just like the countless dogs strutting in the dog park.

FIGURE 1.
"Main gate"[6]

Many times have I walked in this area. Going in many directions, I have tried to feel – even if with great struggle – the place it occupied inside

6. Source of the image used in the montage: Arquivo Diário de S. Paulo (02/10/1992).

the vast area of the park. The fragment I could see from the institutional façade could either lead me to believe what its image suggested or, or allow me to see it as the beginning of something much bigger. Being no different from the people coming and going, I would pass by those tiles without raising any questions. Many times have I passed by that entrance and have always felt that its connection to the past was not strong. It may be the most barren and less evocative when it comes to weaving present and past.

The central area was the most intriguing to me during my fieldwork. It is divided into what I called "zones": there is a bright, light-soaked zone covered in grass where most of the visitors are, either alone or accompanied. They make use of that place to listen to music, date, have picnics, or simply lay in silence; there is another zone, between the center and the opposite limit, where big tree canopies form a long path, covered and humid. Between columns and concrete beams, the tree cover blocks sunlight and turn the experience of being there more intense and unsettling.

One could say the journey between the institutional and the central areas does not strike as a radical change, but rather by a growing looming of a certain aura. After a bridge, I can see some big concrete beams sprouting from the ground. Its forms are very confusing. There, the concrete and the opaque vegetation mix. The grading gray almost becomes fuzzy, making it difficult to identify these objects in space. In its center, iron columns abound and occupy the area in modules, as if taking the shape of an old structure frame, unreadable at first. With that space presenting itself in such a confusing manner, visiting it alone does not seem to be enough to understand what those big columns and beams are about.

Going further in direction of the end of the park, I get to the sports area. I soon recognize its entrance because of its large gate, and the area looks different from the others due to its countless sports courts, a skate park, and walking lanes. On any day, a diverse audience (of all ages) uses the area to practice sports, relax and even meditate – in the sports courts or on the benches spread all over. Being sports-oriented, the area has a leisure or concentration atmosphere.

On its left side runs a huge, wired wall that keeps whatever is on the other side hidden. Only when I leave the park and walk towards the corner, reaching General Ataliba Leonel Avenue, can I finally see a discreet facade where it reads: "Penitenciária Feminina de Santana". Outside the park, hidden behind tall, wired walls, is the female prison. What about the male prison of before? Can it still be seen inside the park?

More questions came to mind, many about the presence – or absence – of possible vestiges in each of those areas, walls, gaps, arches, or even in the dirt. I went back and forth on the path of my questions, either alone – insisting on what my senses could point out – or in the presence of other regulars of the park with whom I would talk to, making them my interlocutors. After many visits, the iron structures in the central area remained the most defiant to me. They seemed to provoke and whisper an eerie presence in that iron, steel, and concrete frame. Unable to grasp the origin of those structures, I would formulate and reformulate hypotheses, only to see them get me nowhere. It seemed like that space invited whoever laid eyes to it to a hide and seek game, even more so to those who dared make questions about it.

Despite this, the closest thing to a vestige or clue that I found was in that zone and, with these findings happening consistently, I felt like being presented to the fragment of a time frozen in time. I would ask myself if I was facing a "lieu de mémoire"[8]– as put but Nora (1989, 9), the memory that "takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects". False alarm! It was not possible to use those vestiges to establish a clear connection between absence and the present. By then, I had already had many conversations with regulars of the park, and shared views on that space were emerging, although retaining many singularities.

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7. Source of the image used in the montage: Evelson de Freitas (Folha Imagem, 18/02/2001).
8. Nora's concept of "lieux de mémoire" (1989) refers to places in charge of ensuring that "memories are crystallized and transmitted from one generation to the next" (1989, 19). A place only becomes a "lieu de mémoire" if it contains a physical foundation, an aura of symbolism and if it is functional. "Lieux de mémoire" are mostly born out of institutional efforts to keep cohesion regarding a certain collective memory. This concept is used here to make a hypothesis – those ruins might be a "lieu de mémoire" – that could not be confirmed.

gis - gesture, image and sound

All regulars of the park whom I spoke with during ethnography shared one thing: their perception of that place is filled with gaps and inconsistencies. The limits of the park, the origin of certain materials and objects, the arrangement of its buildings in space, the types of vegetation it has and the notions of time related to its existence, all of that appeared in the discoursed of my interlocutors, but in a rather confusing manner. Being subtle, my first question to them would be: "Do you know if something else ever existed here?" With that question made, I would give my full attention to their answers. "This thing here was prison", "there used to be a prison here, but that was a long time ago", "I don't know the history, but I know there was a prison". These are some of the things I have heard for months. Most of the people would tell me there used to be a prison there, but few of them went beyond this first observation or could offer me more layers of information about that place's history.

After many walks in the morning, afternoon, and evening, after many conversations with regulars of the park, what I saw time and again was a space that, after many changes, haunted me deeply. For many of my interlocutors, the existence of a former prison was something very vague – this existence in a recent past was overlooked many times. Also, those who remembered the former prison were often confused with the question of where to picture it in that new space. Some people thought that the former prison existed where the sports area is today, others thought it occupied the whole thing, but most of them thought Carandiru was limited to the central area of the park, as the iron structures lead us to believe.

Although I looked for maps and floor plans of the place, I only found out Carandiru's actual layout in the final weeks of my fieldwork, after talking to a security guard of the park. As he said:

> You see, Carandiru was only this first zone, from the entrance to the playground. After the bridge has nothing to do with Carandiru. There [the central zone] was a construction site. They were going to build more cell blocks but gave up. It was never finished. Nothing was ever there. Nothing to do with Carandiru.

I finally realized: those ruined frames were a stage. It was not a "lieu de mémoire" (Nora 1989), neither a possible territory of recognition. Space does not become a place by simple addition, nor by a chemical reaction or natural transformation. It is a symbolic change, an introduction of affection, a rebound of senses. The space becomes a place when people use their agency to get to know it, attaching sensations and life references to it. As put by Carlos (1996, 16): "The place keeps in itself, not outside of it, the meaning and dimensions of the movement of history in the making as the movement of life. It can be captured by memory through the senses and the body".

With the writing of the city in mind, which Lefebvre (1996, 36) defines as "what is inscribed and prescribed on its walls, in the layout of places and their linkages [...]", we could say that what that space does is a process of deception, which can hide and deceive, playing with a Carandiru that could have been in many places or no place at all. This was never an issue for many of the people I spoke with. They rarely mentioned the name Carandiru, simply identifying it as "the prison", "the jail". It was "a long time ago", as an interlocutor once said. There, we tend to identify a decades-long past of mass incarceration, human rights violations, and an unprecedented prison massacre being subdued to a sophisticated type of absence. In this case, a resistant, hard-to-pin absence that is responsible for capturing this potent, fertile grasp of memory we call recognition. What we have, then, is not an absence in the sense of "having been there" (Ricoeur 2004), but an opaque absence that is often overlooked. The

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9. Author of the image used in the montage: João Wainer, s.d.

gis - gesture, image and sound

possibility of recognizing absence through memory tends to become an absence of recognition.

In the case of those concrete frames, in the ambition of structures that strive to be a vestige, what we end up with is a cynic replacement of the real movements of life and history by a movement of staging. That space is not a place per se, and in its absence, we should think about the presence of other agents. The confusion brought to the senses, the distorted view and repeated disorientation of the mind make it seem like there is a gap of possibilities (at least partially) when it comes to linking sensations to that place, to have it fulfill the body – the body that sees, the body the listens, the body that walks. It is. It is not. If it was, I do not know. Is it here? There? It is not. What is it? It is not.

If there is a Carandiru, then it is not that one. Reality disappeared form there and took with it all its stories and emotions, names and surnames, pains and hate, tragedies and deaths, its Josés, Paulos, Joãos, Franciscos, Antônios, Luizes, Cláudios, Silvas, Souzas, Carvalhos, Pereiras, Oliveiras, Ferreiras, Alves. Disappeared by the coercive and cohesive strength of a dominant ideology. 111 or 500 people shot to death? For Ubiratan Guimarães[10], the Military Police of São Paulo, Fleury Filho[11] and the state government, it does not matter. For the victims, state and society paid little to no symbolic reparations. There is no mood for that. The *destructurations* and *restructurations* of that space, sponsored by the esthetic, narrative and architectural power of a dominant ideology (Lefebvre 1996) were done to confuse the senses, shuffle the systems of objects, shapes and materials in space, and to make it hard finding the vestiges of an undesirable past.

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10. Officer of São Paulo Military police, who led the invasion of Carandiru prison on October 2, 1992, which brought the death of 111 inmates.
11. Governor of the State of São Paulo, who gave the order for the invasion of Carandiru prison on October 2, 1992, which brought the death of 111 inmates.

BODY, SPACE, AND REMEMBRANCE: A RACIALIZED EXPERIENCE

As I listened to my interlocutors during fieldwork, I learned that their perceptions about that space, even if fuzzy, reveal a lot about their relationship with it. The restructuration of that space, with its concealments, contradictions, persistency, and changes, materializes in writings and objects and is read through the identification of certain signs and symbols. That is why we need to think about the experiences of the "inhabitants" of that space, asking ourselves about the singularities of these experiences and the way it impacts (and are impacted) by the arrangements and rearrangements of the individual and collective memories.

To think about the corporeal experiences of people in a given place requires "understanding that a person's body is never the object of perception, but rather its agent." (Steil e Carvalho 2012, 35). Objects are precisely matter captured by the senses. They are what perception feels, and signs and symbols give meaning to. Embodiment, then, comes through as a situation – as being situated in. In the words of Steil and Carvalho (2012):

> Embodiment is defined by Csordas as a situation instead of a process. It is linked to the image of a pre-existing world in which the bodies that come to it are required to adjust. The meaning is both physical and mental. The environment is a world formed by sets of objects. Perception leads to the object. Without objects, perception would be impossible. Without objects, the world would be inhospitable and unnoticeable. (Steil e Carvalho 2012, 35)

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12. Source of the image used in the montage: Niels Andreas (Folhapress, 02/10/1992).

In that space, bodies go through it by "reading" the objects arranged there and their connections. This "reading" exclusively depends on which signs, symbols, and feelings these bodies mobilize through their perceptions. In a space infamous for serious episodes of human rights violations – including a massacre in which dozens of incarcerated people were killed – where racism[13] was repeatedly used as a tool for the segregation and deprecation of specific bodies – let us remember that "64% of the incarcerated population is Black against only 53% of the Brazilian population" (Borges 2019, 19). Also, according to the 111 post-mortem examinations of the *Carandiru Massacre*, "the majority of the dead were Afro-Brazilians" (Christóvão 2015, 146) – we should wonder if, even after the changes made to that place, we can still find or perceive the vestiges of this racialized violence that happened there. Also, how do Black people relate to that space nowadays?

Listening to the perceptions of Black regulars of the park – especially younger ones –, they demonstrate a very specific relationship with that space and their multiple objects. They mention rap as a symbol capable of mediating feelings and emotions, they identify the police brutality – selective, it is important to point out – that is still significant there. Some areas of the park are still seen with fear by them – fear of a persistent vestige, that of the continuous repression and aggression their bodies are vulnerable to. They face other features of that park, especially the features that limit their bodies to their race, and use it as a social indicator of a type of segregation that is also experienced in space, which comes to light in the arrangement of spaces. Some situations I witnessed in my fieldwork shed a light on the perceptions and relationships they have with that place. Let us focus on some of them.

On a cloudy afternoon, while I walked from the sports area to the central area, I saw two Black teenagers enjoying the calm day to make "pichações" around the park.[14] A boy and a girl would switch places and keep an eye for security guards or police officers so they would not get caught up. I approached them and asked about the meaning of the symbols they were making. They refused to explain the meaning, and bluntly asked me to be discreet so the security guards would not notice them. When I asked them if they knew about the past of that place, the girl replied in disbelief: "Really? You have never heard of 'Diário de um detento'[15]? Are you really from São Paulo? You can't be from São Paulo without having listened to

13. Here I use the concept of racism as defined by Silvio Almeida (2018, 25): *"racism is a systemic form of discrimination that has race at its foundation. It is set in motion through conscious or unconscious acts that lead to disadvantage or privileges to certain people, depending on the racial group to which they belong"*.
14. Pichação (also written Pixação) is a type of graffiti art created in São Paulo, Brazil. It is distinctive for its street writing influenced by the typography of heavy metal album covers (T.N.)
15. Diário de um detento (an inmate's journal in free translation) is a song by Rap group Racionais MC's. It covers the 1992 massacre that took place in Carandiru from an inmate's perspective.

'Diário de um Detento'. This used to be a prison, mó fita. (polysemic slang meaning insane here) There was even a massacre".

By bringing up the song "Diário de um Detento", by *rap* group "Racionais MC's", and showing disbelief at the idea of me never having listened to it, the girl exemplifies the power of the experience of signs as an interest. As explained by Sahlins (2008, 127): "All such inflections of meaning depend on the actor's experience of the sign as an interest [...]. An interest in something is the difference it makes for someone". For the girl, the song was not only capable of describing Carandiru and filling with content, allowing her to mention the prison and the massacre when asked about that place's past. It also is an important symbolic reference, so much so that she said it would be impossible to be from São Paulo without having listened to the song.

Her account also seems to indicate a tension provoked by the presence of security guards there – park security guards or the military police officers stationed at a police patrol there. The young couple was distressed with the possibility of being "caught" by a security guard or officer. No wonder they took turns looking out for each other and asked me to be discreet. It was not the only time I witnessed tense moments like this. Once, while walking towards the park's exit fifteen minutes before it closed, I saw a large number of police officers and security guards asking the people to get ready to leave since the gates were about to close. Unlike the others, a group of Black boys playing basketball was aggressively expelled by the police. The officers threatened the boys and pushed them out of the sports court.
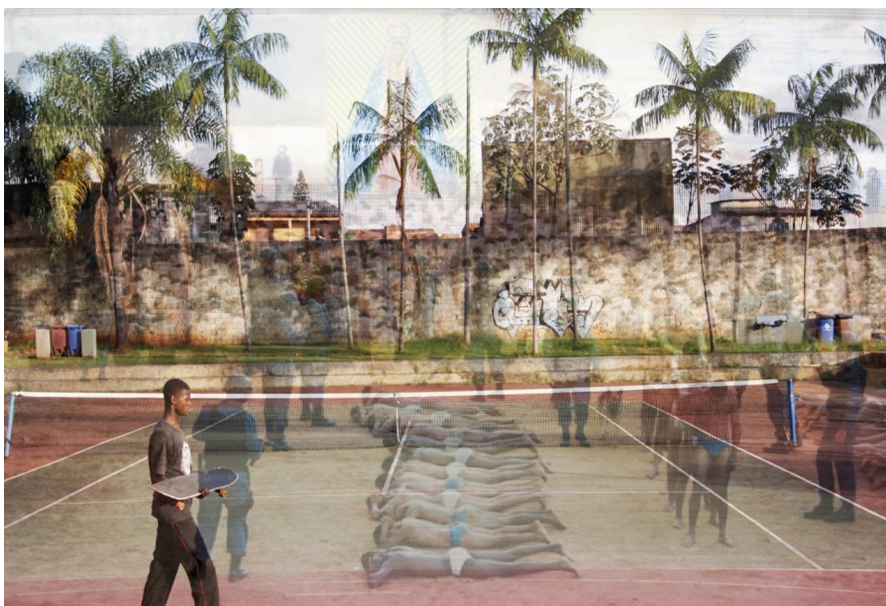
16. Source of the image used in the montage: Hector Babenco, "Carandiru", 2003.

gis - gesture, image and sound

In this context, a specific type of roughness can be observed[17]. One that is responsible for revealing marks that "cannot be reduced to a physical-territorial legacy, being also a socio-territorial one [...]" (Santos 1999, 43). This is about the continuity of a specific type of violence that springs up in the selective actions of a clearly racist police. In the park, the repeated presence of the military police and the treatment it directs to black park-goers goes against the deep changes made to that space. It brings about a conflict between the park slogan, which appeals to symbols of education, culture and leisure to the youth, and the many forms of violence that Black bodies are vulnerable to when they enter that place, with the younger ones being even more vulnerable. If we consider the age group of the victims of the 1992 police massacre that happened in that same space, the dimensions of this roughness become even wider. A detailed reading of the 111 post-mortem examinations of the massacre reveals that, in addition to most of the victims being Afro-Brazilians, "the age [...] they died is noteworthy for show how young they were" (Christóvão 2015, 145). According to the examinations, 54 out of the 111 victims were between the ages of 19 and 25 (*Ibid*., 146). With that in mind, this roughness reveals that "racism, as a historical and political process, creates the social conditions that allow, directly or indirectly, racialized groups to be systematically discriminated against. [...]" (Almeida 2018, 39).

Constantly at odds with this specific group, the police become a symbol of the continuous violations these young people suffer in daily life. Also, those capable of identifying Carandiru and going-beyond-look with it[18] can connect police behavior to prison violations, especially the ones perpetrated in Carandiru. This might be one of the few points in which we see a connection between past, absence and present. When this group recognizes that their bodies continue to be the enemy fabricated in that place and by that place.

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17. Concept developed by Milton Santos (1999). It refers to the marks of a different time that linger in space.
18. Neologism from the poem "As lições de R. Q.", by Manoel de Barros: "[...]the eye looks, the memory relooks, and the imagination go-beyond-look [...]"...]". The word refers to a subjective look that is capable of looking further.

Counteracting the oppressive power they are subjected to and the narrative, architectural and esthetic impositions of the park, part of this youth – most of them black and from the outskirts of the city – organize the "Parque dos MC's" *rap* battle that happened every Sunday at 4:00 p.m. at the park's main gate. There, their bodies can finally break free from the process of hiding, dispersal and fragmentation of this marginalized history. With the use of oral history – through rhyming –, they rearrange and integrate these "underground memories" (Pollak 1989) that sprung from the ground in all its strength.

Rancière (1998) can help us understand the meanings created by this *rap* battle. Help us identify the place it occupies in this new spatial configuration. By analyzing the history of Western democracy, he points out the existence of numerous divisions that are imposed through the logic of consensus, through a homogenizing equality and a restrictive right to free speech precisely when only a privileged few could make use of the power of words made into speech. Rancière (1998) also refers to the potential role played by dissensus, which is not understood by him as lack of knowledge or inaccuracies, but as the possibility of translating the world again by using rejected perceptions. This notion of dissensus is added to the idea of distribution of the sensible, which is responsible for giving shape to the sensible experiences of being in the world. The distribution of the sensible is, before anything else, a way of sharing a world where the sensible experience happens through the experience of the difference.

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19. Source of the image used in the montage: TV Brasil, documentary "Carandiru, as marcas da intolerância", 2012.

Therefore, dissensus and distribution of the sensible are complementary, pairs that are conjugated in a process of political subjectivity.

It is dissensus that questions the role of those who were excluded from the right to speak. It is where the demand for participation in this complex system of the sensible, in this regime of visuality and visibility happens. Dissensus allows the distribution of the sensible to be reconfigured and redistributed, marginalized individuals can let go of identifying with the inferior places they were put into and then, find identification with other places (spatial, symbolic and declarative). In this new scheme, the single act of revindication, of raising questions about unequal conditions, form gaps where the true meaning of politics can be inserted, where the act of existing (and resist) gains new meaning with the demand for marginalized existences to be a legitimate existence. Here is the essential change in which politics replace the police. Politics as a form of emancipation.
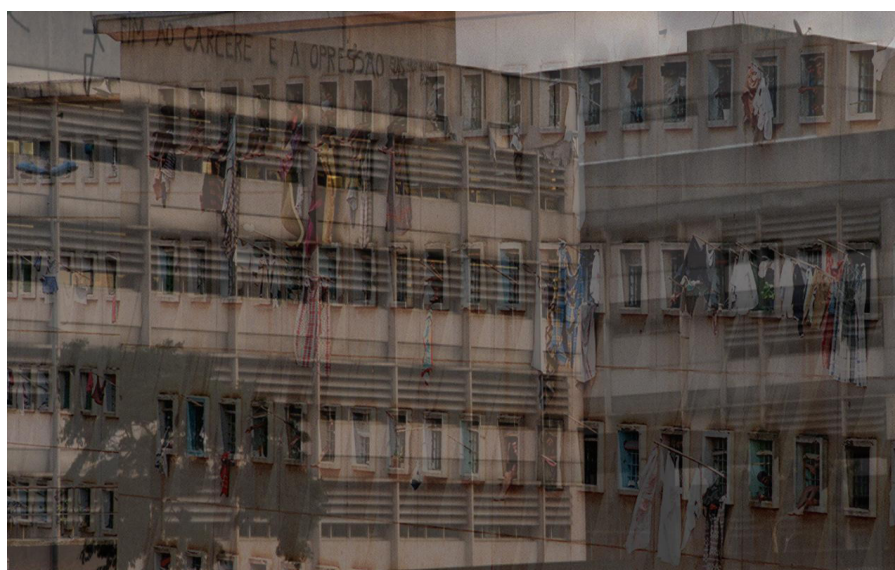
It is important to make clear that, according to Rancière (1998), there is a clear difference between police and politics. Police refers to everything related to domination and exploration, to repression, social control, daily life or the organization of space itself. It is both a result and a reason for capitalism. Politics, on the other hand, is a rare gap that makes movement and tensions possible. It only happens and those who were excluded from the right to speak regain this ability and finally produce a speech. In this enunciation gap, the spaces, imperatives and hierarchies are finally broken.

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20. Source of the image used in the montage: DR - Notícias ao Minuto, s.d.

Utopia, another central idea in Rancière's notion of politics, is also a coming and going path in the process of insurrection. Is it necessary, as Rancière (1998) says, to politicize utopia, imagine it, elaborate it and produce it as emancipation? To do so, utopias need to be approached as concrete forms of organization and, at the same time, be capable of changing worlds. Would the *rap* battle of "Parque dos MC's" be a concrete form of organization, capable of reconfiguring the sensible experience in that space, bringing to those unable to speak the power to turn words into speech, to lapidate it in the form of rhymes? As Rancière (1998) said:

> They do what would have been unthinkable for the latter: they establish another order, another partition of the perceptible, by constituting themselves not as warriors equal to other warriors but as speaking beings sharing the same properties as those who deny them these. They thereby execute a series of speech acts […]In a word, they conduct themselves like beings with names. Through transgression, they find that they too, just like speaking beings, are endowed with speech that does not simply express want, suffering, or rage, but intelligence. (Rancière 1998, 24)

Therefore, these speech acts allow the connection of the experiences of these individuals who used to be rejected, marginalized and seen as nothing. In the rap battles, these young people question the restructuring of space, strongly criticize the oppression they are subjected to in daily life – police brutality especially –, imagine and reinvent possible worlds, connect past and present, remember their dead and make a compromise with daily-life resistance. This way, it is possible that their experiences now in the present are also connected to the experiences of those who came before them in time and space – including the men whose freedom, rights and bodies were violated in prison, including those whose lives and memories were taken from. Through rhyming and improvising, there might be a revolutionary encounter of different time frames.

With the marks of history, territory, affection and ancestry, these bodies share experiences, practices, memories and knowledge. Together, they give rise to what Benjamin (1987) called "the tradition of the oppressed". As they announce new enunciative loci, they imagine other forms of inhabiting that space, of naming, interpreting and codifying it. These individuals at the margins promote, as Rancière's perspective might lead us to believe, a symbolic, physical, hearable, visible and tactile expansion of language. They make politics because they reclaim a legitimate existence. They take what they say, know (in the form of rhymes) and experience to a place of recognition inside the distribution of the sensible.

And this way, as "memory stones", that is, "in the way [...] they live and occupy places, recalling and reimagining them, building and rebuilding the city they live and remember" (Barbosa 2012b, 103), that this youth articulate resistance to what that transformed space constantly tries to present as a single, homogenous content through tactics of dispersion, fragmentation and erasure of stories and bodies. They put in place a connection between "underground memories" (Pollak 1989) and space. They understand that the fight for memory is also a fight for the meanings of what is presented as form and content.

Here I present the transcription of a battle from "Parque dos MCs" *rap* battles. It is from a "rinha de conhecimento" (knowledge round), in which a member of the audience suggests a theme for the MCs to improvise on. I was the audience member who suggested the theme "Carandiru".

21. Source of the image used in the montage: Itamar Miranda (Jornal O Estado de S. Paulo, 05/10/1992).

gis - gesture, image and sound

MC 1: Yo, yo... Is two verses each? Two verses? Two verses? Yo, yo, han, han... They threw Carandiru, you know it killed the whole crew, and here I come to this demo, like Carandiru, if you wanna know just watch "diário de um detento".

MC 2: Listen to "diário de um detento" or see a movie about detention, Slim is here to bring redemption, 'cause that's how it is, Slim shoot the theme in this improvised thing.

MC 3: April 14 2019, here in Carandiru I see the cop, must always be a whiz with the cop, 'cause I don't trust a pig in uniform.

MC 4: That's right, man, I don't let it through, wish was 92, how would we be? Everybody serving time, wish to see one get in and leave alive.

MC 5: Unharmed I improvise, in Carandiru slaves died, a bunch of inmates, who come and be an asshole to these mates.

MC 1: Han, han, yo, yo... wait and I explain in this fate, here even happened a carnage, like that, bro don't get in the way, the guys shot and killed for a pay.

MC 2: For a medal they killed many in detention, and today we're here with information. The legacy is here in the face, don't let the brothers be forgotten.

MC 3: Nothing is changed, only time is now present-day, and Fleury laughs from the grave, you know this legacy ain't no revenue, between Portuguesa, Santana and Carandiru.

MC 5: Surprise, surprise, you don't write, I improvise, when the cop stops: "you got money? Back from 9-5? Are you black? What am I thinking? Oh yeah, what you were doing? Trafficking?".

MC 1: No, yo, yo... to survive prison you gotta be the resistance, I even respect, but when the mother come to visit, han... is my son dead? Now you know, man, it was a ton, the chick went to visit the son, han... visit his tomb.

MC 2: You know I don't have the habit, forgot what to say, but to this time... now I remember to improvise...

MC 3: Carandiru became a park and it's always the same, every time I come here the air is full of pain, I look to the past and can't believe it was the precedent, they made Bolsonaro president.

MC 4: It's so hot, like the desert of Sahara, I keep watching the subway go to Jabaquara, and it feels like I'm in correction, so I say, "down with the oppression".

MC 5: Yeah, surprise, surprise... Carandiru, no wonder we are here, the party will be close to MCs, right, bro? Because I style in free, only MC come over here.

MC 1: Only MCs come over here, you know the way I style in this free, but you know my verse is not a lore, and Hitler in Carandiru on that day would be just another more.

MC 2: Yeah...what they write in history we can't see, but it's the same 'cause today no one reads, if they read Bolsonaro would definitely be in shreds.

MC 4: Carandiru is in the biggest city to be, the place where even the devil would flee, would flee, shiver to the... yeah, and yeah it was in the north zone, but the men would come even from south.

MC 5: From the south zone, they would shit their pants, yeah, that's it, they would get scared and even get sick.

MC 1: Even got sick 'cause the situation was bad, relax that nowadays rap get to prison only from an age class, you know in the verse, bro, I look and get petrified, this shit ain't for kids, only adults survive.

MC 2: Yeah... this park is not for kids, what happened in confinement is now terrifying, you understand how that sunk heavily? But we still here honoring the legacy.

MC 4: Who takes 13 to the heart, it's still day, I'm underage, in jail I'm kept apart, you know why? I show you the bill, how many of those rose in over Brazil?

MC 5: That's the foundation in improvisation, instead of going to the Youth Foundation, right man? In improvisation, you go to the Youth Foundation and nothing matters.

CONCLUSION

The implosion of most of Carandiru prison and its replacement for a park was the driving question of this article. By asking about the memories in dispute in that place, I wanted to analyze the narratives that come to light as one passes by that place. I tried to get to know the perceptions of those who usually go there, for work or leisure. Approaching that space to elaborate an effort that is scientific and sensible at the same time, I

had to face the following question: how can I think the paths of memory in a space that has been transformed?

I followed different paths to answer this question, with the help of ethnography and photomontages, which I consider to have features that "also invite to reflection, as long as it is thought about with place of meeting and allowing, this way, an understanding [...] of images or audiovisual narratives as inseparable from the production of theoretical questions at the core of ethnographic research (Barbosa e Cunha 2006, 21). My initial hypothesis was that the implosion of the prison and its replacement for a park was a process of erasure. A sensible and physical erasure, whose narrative dispute is established by the cohesive strength of a dominant ideology.

The results I reached, described and discussed in this article, confirm that hypothesis. There, the processes of *destructurations* and *restructurations* of space are done in such a way that the senses and the body cannot find the gaps that allow fruition. These processes get in the way of using memory to connect the inhabited/lived environment to the recognition of a pulsating absence. In this reconfigured space, space that hides vestiges and confuses the senses, the circularity of dialectics *past*, *absence*, *recognition* is often put down before its synthesis process can be finished. That way, the space plays with an absence that is both made invisible and makes itself invisible.

Also, by focusing on the corporeal experiences in that space, I could identify the presence of racism as a structuring element that comes to light, especially, in the selective behavior of security officers. This way, forming what I call roughness, racism keeps casting its shadow over Black bodies that go into that place, influencing the ways Black people inhabit, give meaning and relate to the park. The Black people who usually go to the park shared their perceptions of that place and revealed the existence of a specific type of fear. They recognized, in some cases, the persistence of police brutality there and often mobilized a series of signs and symbols of Brazilian *rap*.

Among these regulars of the park, I could also observe the presence of a group that organizes *rap* battles that, as a form of resistance, demands a different place inside that sensible structure where the park is, refusing the position they would be placed on as enemies or target of the space (and of the State itself). They opened powerful enunciation gaps, producing other discoursed, disputing narratives and elaborating their own history through the flow of rhyming. At the *rap* battle from "Parque dos MC's", we see "underground memories" (Pollak 1989) emerge with strength

from the concrete floor. They make the space and its game of hiding and concealment be questioned and have its structures be shaken.

RAP BATTLE IN ITS ORIGINAL PORTUGUESE

MC 1: Aí, aí... É dois versos cada um? Dois versos? Dois versos? Aí, aí, han, han... O tema jogado foi Carandiru, sabe que nessa fita já morreu vários tru, desse jeito mesmo eu vou chegando nesse evento, tipo Carandiru, quem quer conhecer só assistir diário de um detento.

MC 2: Ouvir diário de um detento ou ver um filme sobre a detenção, Slim chega aqui libertando um trilhão, porque é desse jeito na parada, Slim também manda tema na rima improvisada.

MC 3: 14 de abril de 2019, aqui no Carandiru em frente os homi, mas tem que tá sempre ligeiro com os robocop, porque eu não confio nos homem de uniforme.

MC 4: É isso mesmo, parceiro, não deixo pra depois, quem dera se aqui fosse 92, como é que nóis ia tá? Ia tá tudo preso, queria ver um entrar e sair ileso.

MC 5: Sair ileso no improvisado, no Carandiru morreu vários escravo, vários presidiário, quem vem e paga de babaca com esses otário.

MC 1: Han, han, aí, aí... Mas calma que eu explico dentro dessa sina, aqui nessa parada rolou até uma chacina, tipo desse jeito, meu mano não atrapalha, os cara atirou em presidiário só pra ganhar uma medalha.

MC 2: Pra ganhar uma medalha mataram vários na detenção, e hoje em dia tamo aqui passando informação, entendeu? O legado tá passando em frente, não deixar que seja esquecido vários irmão.

MC 3: Nada mudou, só o tempo que é moderno, e o Fleury ainda sorri no inferno, cê tá ligado essa herança não é riqueza, entre Carandiru, Santana e Portuguesa.

MC 4: É São Paulo, tem blazer e tem os ROCAM, e tem os cara que admira e idolatra o coronel Ubiratan, até de manhã fazendo daqui um inferno, tem coisa que os cara não anotaram no caderno.

MC 5: Demorô, demorô, não anotaram no caderno, vou improvisando, se eu tomo enquadro é: "Tá com dinheiro? E cê voltou do trampo? Cê é neguinho? Que que eu tô falando? É, cê tava o que? Tava traficando?".

MC 1: Não, aí, aí... Pra sobreviver na cadeia tem que ser resistência, eu até admiro, só que o cara morreu e a mãe foi visitar, han... e cadê o filho? Cê sabe que agora, mano, foi até contraditório, a mina foi visitar o filho, han... visitar no velório.

MC 2: Você tá ligado que eu não tenho a destreza, eu esqueci o que eu ia falar, mas até então... agora que eu lembrei na improvisação...

MC 3: Carandiru virou parque e não mudou quase nada, quando eu passo por aqui a atmosfera tá pesada, eu lembro do passado e fico inconformado de elegerem Bolsonaro.

MC 4: Tá tão quente, deserto do Saara, eu fico vendo os metrô sentido Jabaquara, e até parece que eu tô dentro da prisão, então eu digo: "queda a opressão".

MC 5: É, demorô, demorô... Carandiru, não é em vão que nóis tá aqui, até porque a folia vai ser perto dos MC, né não, parceiro? Porque eu falo no *free*, só MC que cola aqui.

MC 1: Só MC que cola aqui, sabe é desse jeito eu vou explicando nesse *free*, mas sabe que o meu verso não é comum, e Hitler no Carandiru naquele dia só seria até mais um.

MC 2: É... o que não escreveram na história só dá pra ver, até porque hoje em dia tem gente que nem lê, porque se tivessem lido com certeza Bolsonaro não era nem escolhido.

MC 4: Carandiru aqui na capital, o lugar que até o diabo perdia a moral, perdia a moral, tremia os pelo até do... é, e pode pá que era na zona norte, mas os cara vinha até da zona sul.

MC 5: Da zona sul, eles até ficavam com a mão no cu, pode pá, na moral, até porque eles ficavam com medo e ainda passava mal.

MC 1: Até passava mal porque a situação é precária, calma que o *rap* de hoje em dia de prisão tem que ter uma faixa etária, sabe que no verso, mano, eu olho e já assusto, porque essa porra não é pra criança, só sobrevive lá quem é adulto.

MC 2: É... esse parque não é pra criança, o que aconteceu na detenção com certeza hoje em dia sobra assombração, cê entendeu como é que foi pesado? Mesmo assim tamo aqui honrando o legado.

MC 4: Quem é 13 dentro do coração, ainda é dia, eu sou o menor, eu sou fundação, sabe por que? Te falo que a questão, quantos desses levantaram em todo Brasilzão?

MC 5: Essa é a fundação na improvisada, invés de ir pra Fundação Casa, né não, parceiro? Na improvisação, cê vai pra Fundação Casa e ainda é em vão.

TRANSLATION
Lindolfo Sancho

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