Hierarquia dos espaços na fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão"

Hierarchy of spaces on the fanpage "Suburban of Depression"

Leticia Cantarela Matheus[1]

Resumo: *O artigo discute as disputas discursivas em torno da definição do conceito popular de "subúrbio", procurando compreender o território cultural conhecido como "subúrbios cariocas". Trata-se de um território imaginado que se atualiza no espaço das redes sociais por meio de fanpages no Facebook. Neste trabalho, analisamos as particularidades da fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão" e do livro homônimo buscando entender as dinâmicas identitárias que se atualizam nesse território a partir de processos criativos de invenções conceituais e de tradições. O artigo tem por objetivo detectar redes semânticas de construção de conceitos práticos utilizados no cotidiano para dar conta da apropriação simbólica dos subúrbios e de positivação permanente de seu imaginário, invertendo polos de conhecimento e de experiência.*

Palavras-chave: *cidade; Norte-Sul global; subúrbio carioca; território; conceito.*

Abstract: *The essay discusses the discoursive disputes around the definition of the popular concept of "suburbs", considering the phenomenon of the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro city. It is thought to be an imaginary territory which is reinforced on social media, through fanpages dedicated to it on the Facebook. This paper analyses how it happens on the fanpage "Suburban of Depression" as well as on the namesake book, in order to understand the dynamics of contemporary identities that take place on the digital environment, so that there are some strings of creative processes of making new concepts and traditions. The aim is to identify the semantic networks with and in which people build up this pragmatic concept*

1   Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (Uerj). Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil.
    https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2860-2607. E-mail: leticia_matheus@yahoo.com.br

of everyday life, so as to operate not only the symbolic appropriation of local out-skirts but also to positivate its imaginary, inverting the Northern and Southern axis of knowledge and experience.

Keywords*: city; global north-south; Rio's outskirt; territory; concept.*

Introduction

In Rio, South is North. It is this imaginary that allows the eventual reference to Barra da Tijuca, for example, as the "south region of the west region". This is what authorizes, by mimicking, the residents of the neighboring city Niterói call south their west region, like the neighborhood Icaraí. This is what caused indignation in the residents of Flamengo when, in 2016, the city hall removed their administration off the hands of the 4th Administrative Region (RA) - the so-called South region - transferring it to the Downtown area. It was also the core of the problem when, in October of that same year, a project of law proposed the administrative separation of Barra da Tijuca, Jacarepaguá and Recreio of the rest of the West Region, creating a "West-South region", "so that we no longer have the confusion of saying that the neighborhoods of Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá were also part of the West region" (PROJETO QUER TRANSFORMAR…, 2016).

These examples suggest that the territorial location sets a certain cultural brand, in a way that, as sign, the southern geographic coordinate has a value of distinction capable of adding a certain superior quality to those who receive this attribution. This long historic construction began in the end of 19th century, beginning of the 20th century, when the neighborhoods began to get urbanized, expanding the city. In this process, the carioca suburbia began to arrive,, a singular identity marker of Rio de Janeiro, whose meaning is updated until today by a series of symbolical challenges, among which a certain degree of differentiation in relation to the "south", either epistemologically or regarding the image projected to the city. According to the proposal developed here, the disputes around this symbolical territory would point precisely to its cultural richness.

In order to sustain this argument, the article investigates the identity processes that developed discursively between 2015 and 2017 in Facebook's fanpage "Suburbano da Depressão", a humorous page dedicated to the set of neighborhoods that the carioca identifies as "suburbia". As an empirical object, the page has two functions. First, it presents itself as

a pretext for a series of discursive articulations, therefore, it is understood here as mediation. Second, it works as a track that allows the researcher to observe processes of communication that happened in the past and that still happen as we continue to talk about that page - now, in a research article. Throughout three years, "Suburbano da Depressão" was followed week by week. We've selected posts (with comments), in a thematic way, when they dealt of the identity question through the debate around the definition of a certain cultural territory. The objective was to trace the main challenges around the concept of Carioca suburbia, beyond any geographic, urbanistic or administrative definitions. The reflection is inserted in a culturalist perspective, of language and city studies, and has no intention to develop technological issues.

The relationship between a cultural north and south is a fundamental part of de-colonial studies, that propose a geopolitical redistribution of thinking (MIGNOLO, 2002, 2008, 2017). Although this brief reflection does not completely align to this theoretical current, authors like Mignolo and Boaventura de Sousa Santos inspired, in both ways, the argumentative scheme of this article. First, because we've tried to use the de-colonial perspective over the microscale of the city of Rio; second, because the idea of de-colonial epistemic disobedience (MIGNOLO, 2008) allowed us to think in popular concepts about suburbia beyond the academic debate. Because of that, we've inverted the epistemologic logic of a scientific north (SANTOS; MENESES, 2010), using as theoretic base not only the contributions of the own users when establishing a dialog in the comments of the fanpage, but also coming from the reflection of the owner of the page, Vitor Almeida. He rejects both a geographic conception and a classification of suburbia as social stratification, dislocating their defining criteria from the sphere of place to social actors. In SD, we saw some interesting concepts, like "relicism" and the "moralizing" character of objects and practices, which directly dialogue with expressions of popular culture of Carioca suburbia, as in the item "suburban icons".

For Almeida (2016), Suburban would be characterized by the individual that breaks protocols and its page is filled with those examples. The breach of protocol already starts by the initiative of Almeida of extrapolating the digital ambiance of SD to another, more stable, platform: a book. We try here to follow clues of identity challenges given in the relationship between posts and comments in the fanpage, as well as the reading Almeida made of these processes in the book he had published. As a theoretic foundation, we come from the dialogic principle of communication (BAKHTIN, 2009) to understand that the comments in SD belong to discursive chains that are updated, at the same time they are anchored in imaginaries about suburbia. We believe that, methodologically, this work is close from the proposal of Recuero and Soares (2013) when they create a strategy based on the Computer Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA), although we've maintained only in Bakhtin. We seek, in posts and comments, quoted discourses, that is, previous comments or discourses in circulation that, at times, can only be captured through traces of reactions to them. We seek to understand the tactics of anticipation of discourse of other both in the "teases" of some posts mobilized and in the defense of certain points of view on behalf of commenters, to who were interested to mark, at times, the difference in relation to the rest of the city and, in other times, continuity. In other moments, we accentuated the internal plurality while looking to mark a mobile drawing of this suburban frontiers. Other times, the objects in circulation of that territory that served as cultural markers (DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2009) of a suburbanity, a particular type of de-colonialized modernity (MIGNOLO, 2008), as we will see in some examples.

Definitions of suburbia

Created in 2012, "Suburbano da Depressão" had 368,258 followers in the beginning of 2019. The phenomenon is inscribed in a wider set of fanpages dedicated to cities. Oliveira studies *Facebook fanpages* "Fortaleza Nobre", *from Fortaleza, and "the Rio de Janeiro I haven't lived", from Rio de Janeiro, under the optics of nostalgia.* Carvalho (2017), in

turn, uses the fanpage "São Gonçalo Dá Depressão" to think about citizenship and social criticism through humor. Rabello, Oliveira and Musse (2014) analyzed "Maria do Resguardo", from Juiz de For a (MG) problematizing memory issues. Also thinking about the decentralization of memory production about the city, this time in a profile about Rio de Janeiro on Instagram, Gauziski, Amaro and Gonçalves (2013) worked with photographic materiality. Especially the two first seem to share the logic of mediation (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 1997), so central for the cultural turn in communication and in which this reflection is fundamented. However, each one of these works established their own methodological approaches. What stands out here, in reference to the "Suburbano da Depressão" case, is the intertextual character around the definitions of Carioca suburbs and how these definitions are staged in objects and concepts of daily life. As with these other works, we didn't trailed the sharing of posts. Our cut-out were the discussions closed within the page itself.

In 2018, the manager Vitor Almeida put a picture on SD that seem to delimitate its cut-out of action. The image presented a collage with four pictures of different neighborhoods, a text with "North region - West Region - Baixada" and a eloquent mosaic. The conceptual solution of the mosaic appeared after finishing this study, but the story of its formation is long.[2] From the beginning of our monitoration, in 2015, there was, in the fanpage, a big tension around the definitions of Carioca suburbia, a sensitive subject, that mobilizes passions of these residents. However, instead of trying to get to a consensus or choosing one of the numberless conceptions already debated, we accentuate here exactly this tension and the intensity of affections involved in these confrontations. We identified, in SD, at least three major argumentative lines that design the understanding about the suburbia: the first one, a division of class geographically translated into the territory; the second one, a geographic definition that would have in both train lines the defining trace of

2   After concluding this study, Vitor Almeida still incorporated to the suburban repertoire of SD the Baixada Fluminense (seven cities), as indicated in the new fanpage background. This new condition of object is not treated here.

suburbia; lastly, a more recent association to the idea of North region. None of them is sustained on its own, at least ontologically translating this cultural experience called suburbia. Their limits surpass three definitions, thanks both to the dynamic of concept and the dynamic of the cultural territory itself.[3]

However, these definitions definitely populate the imaginary. A historical landmark accepted as the apex of the dichotomy north/south, which would perpetuate, and, at the same time, would confront throughout the whole following century, would be the management of the mayor Pereira Passos (1902-1906). The so-called "south region" was characterized as a river with some spaced houses and was also called suburbia or freguesia. Meanwhile, the great house expansion was given mainly in the north, following the coastal line (Leopoldina) and continental line (Central do Brasil) of the railroad, which already existed since the second half of the 19th century. Each one with their peculiarities, these regions would gradually assume urban outlines, filled with contradictions and with uneven infrastructural resources.

The northern suburbia had few investments, despite its demographic raise. The neighborhoods that surrounded the railway system of Leopoldina grew 293% only between 1890 and 1906 (SILVEIRA, 2009). The local press of the turn of the century had clarity about the unequal distribution of public investments and got, at that moment, a profusion of neighborhood newspapers, weekly news and literary magazines destined to defend the interests of residents of suburbia. According to Mendonça, we can classify these dozens of weekly newspapers into three main groups: a literary group, dedicated to the promotion of culture in suburban neighborhoods; an union press, linked to workers who lived in these neighborhoods, where there were big factories and blue-collar villages; and a third group geared towards the defense of interests of the local commerce and population in general.

---

3   About the formation and definition of Carioca suburbia, according to Moreira (2013), Fernandes (2011), Abreu (2003), Domingues (1994/1995).

This third group would demand public investments, while the downtown zone would go through the famous Reforma Passos, a set of remodeling projects for the downtown area through an idealization about what was modern - an evidently European modernity, specially Parisian, reproducing the logic of colonized thinking, criticized by the de-colonialists (MIGNOLO, 2008). However, these newspapers already valued a suburban identity and let that very clear when picking as title of publications the term "suburbia", claiming, thus, a place of belonging. Here are some examples: *Suburban Tribune and Suburban Newspaper* (Madureira), *Suburban Echo* (Engenho de Dentro), *The suburban* (Ilha do Governador, Méier, Madureira, Inhaúma), Suburban Progress (Piedade) and Suburban Magazine (Méier). *The suburban from Ilha do Governador is an example that would be against the popularized narrative from the 1950's that suburbia would be the neighborhoods around the line of Central do Brasil, because, since it's an island, that neighborhood would obviously not have a railway* (MATHEUS, 2016/2017).

This classification is, therefore, extremely dynamic and SD gets in this dispute games by definitions of this space, at the same time configuring as an arena of symbolic struggle due to the debates unfolded there. Neighborhoods considered suburbia in the past can eventually no longer be considered that. The own territorial outline of neighborhoods was changing through the years. The region also doesn't coincide spacially with North region, because it includes neighborhoods from the West region and not every neighborhood of the North region belongs to suburbia, historically speaking, although we may have perceived a growing acceptance of this superposition by followers of SD. When looking at "Suburbia Rio de Janeiro" on Wikipedia, there are 99 neighborhoods listed, among them some of the West region and with no train, while, officially, the North region comprises only 87 neighborhoods (City Decree n° 3,158/1981). Therefore, it is necessary to get clear that the suburbia is a symbolic territory found in an intersection between the set of neighborhoods of the West region and the set of neighborhoods of the North region. In addition, a definition still accepted by older residents that is only neighborhoods that surround Central do Brasil would be suburbia.

However, while symbolic territory, maybe it's useless to find a spacial trace defining suburbia, once they inhabit the terrain of imagination.

These contradictions appear on posts, that are composed, in part, by memes (visual set of text of photography inscribed by humor), although the posts, at times, can only be text and, other times, one or more photographies (in collage) with a text separated of the body of the post (not over the photography). These pictures, in general, were made in different suburban environments, both on public and private spaces. We haven't found any posts with resources with sound.[4]

Image 1: Only neighborhood with railway
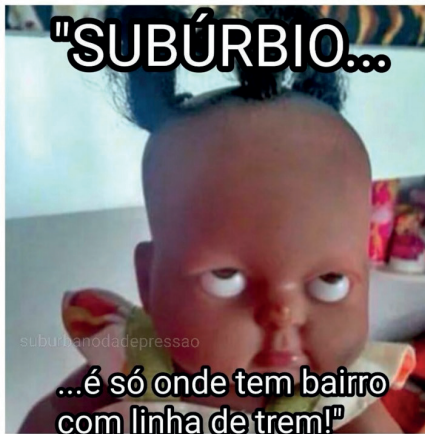
Source: Facebook, Dec 22nd, 2015.

"Suburbano da Depressão" goes against the criteria of the railway line. A follower argues that, if it were like that, all Europe would be a suburbia, taking away the singularity of the Carioca phenomenon while acting a universal applicability to the concept. In response, another

---

4   Memes were approached theoretically-methodologically through multiple interpretative keys according to an author logic (CHAGAS, 2015), by rhetoric function (CHAGAS et al., 2017), according to the memory through classic French discourse analysis (BORTOLÍN e FERNANDES, 2017), as aphorisms (including semiotic elements of images, through the way of Maingueneau's discourse analysis (BOENAVIDES, 2018), through dynamic characteristics of social media (RECUERO, 2007), among other intellectual operations.

follower defends that the railroad is, indeed, a defining factor of Carioca suburbia. Other followers begin, then, to list their own neighborhood as not having train stations, but claiming a suburban identity. Thus, the interactive people (PRIMO, 2005) discuss among themselves, acted through the post. These intertextual relations are happening in multiple levels, beginning from the own dialogue between the verbal and non-verbal language of memes (Image 1), in addition to the fact that this visual set is already an answer - an ironic one - to the supposedly defining thesis that the railway must be a necessary condition to suburbanity.

The supposed difference of class is also relativized in SD. Even though there is, in the common sense, a perception of economic distinction in relation to the South region, Carioca suburbia were formed specially by middle-class citizens. Lima (2014), however, retrieves the idea of social stratification to think about heterogeneity within the suburbia themselves. The author remembers that the economic dynamic between different suburban neighborhoods and within one same neighborhood imposes to the social fabric different temporalities according to different processes of occupation and historically diverse economic activities. In other words, by singular processes of modernization. In an analogy to the South region, the residents of suburbia make use of the term "South region" to refer to the richest microrregions within the same neighborhood, in a permanent process of multiple distinctions. This is a very particular characteristic of the city of Rio de Janeiro: the same neighborhood integrating groups that are perceived as economically different. What seems clear, however, is that, regardless of the adoption or not of a notion of stratification that simplistically replaces the concept of class, the idea of subordination is rejected (MAIA; CHAO, 2016). Even if the concept of suburbia, through a technical dominion, would indicate a certain degree of urbanization (sub-urban), its current use is much wider than that. In the geographic point of view, the concept is referring to areas that surround urban concentrations where you would consider having an infrastructural deficit (SOTO, 2008).

As the author explains, even this technical criterion does not fit to define suburbia in a general manner, because some of the regions classified as such in some cities are, at times, highly urbanized. This is the case of Carioca suburbia, even if they come in contact with different degrees of public investment throughout history. What is often misunderstood is that Carioca suburbia are a particular phenomenon, whose idea is not applicable to the rest of the world. And even this Carioca concept is found in permanent dispute for over 100 years. Barra da Tijuca, for example, which is not traditionally a part of suburbia, even because it is a quite new neighborhood - but if we would adopt the technical perspective, could be classified as suburbia - only in recent years have been receiving sanitary depletion. On the other hand, the so-called Carioca suburbia are highly urbanized. Thinking in a de-colonialist way, they are not the "collateral effect" of progress in the Center-South region, but part of the same modernizing process, intrinsically filled with contradictions. The relationship of a Rio resident with his city is not reduced to an urbanization criterion. The Carioca suburbia we are talking about are not a urbanistic concept. It is a cultural concept daily built by its residents, as well as by those who only been there in their imagination.

The dispute continues. In the post of November 11th, 2015 (Image 2), SD defends that Barra da Tijuca and Recreio are suburbia, taking back, somehow, the original conception of the term employed in the 19th century, as synonym of outskirts, neighborhood, peripheral areas. There were those who would argue in the comments that "elite is only South region, the rest is suburban" once again making coincide the issue of social stratification, which does not necessarily is implied in the concept. In addition, other commenters argue that those who occupied Barra were suburbans that got rich, pointing towards a cultural contiguity. In the case of Image 2, the dialogue probably is given with all the repertoire of popular artists that point the finger when posing to photos, with would also refer, in turn, to the famous 1917 poster, with the North American personification of Uncle Sam pointing his finger: "I Want You for U.S. Army". In addition, there is a reference to the lyrics recorded

by the singer Wesley Safadão, "Aquele 1%". The use of his image would add authority to the message, within that would be a cultural regimen of authentication, taxing popularity (APPADURAI, 2008).

Image 2: Barra is suburban

Source: Facebook, Nov. 11th, 2015.

We must insist in the difference between a scientific conceptual debate and an everyday operational conceptual debate, being the latter what is interesting to us, even though it is infiltrated in the other one to some extent. A scientific concept is always linked to a theory - for instance, about urbanization - and even these concepts change throughout time through the ways of appropriation and the transformation of the phenomena they serve as abstraction. The same occurs with concepts of common sense, this practical everyday force that allow us to interviene in the world. Summarizing Koselleck, Jasmin, and Feres Júnior (2006) they explain that a concept can change because the state of things changes or because of a dynamic of the concept itself.

The suburbia that are interesting to us are not scientific abstractions. They are ways of living and practical knowledge in the Bourdieusian sense. It is the common sense (GEERTZ, 1997), a practical knowledge,

arrived by experience or transmission of experience. It is a cultural system that is characterized, among other forms, by the non-methodicity. In it, the contradiction is not a problem. Because of that, we can no longer wait for a consensus around current definitions about suburbia, because the contradiction is intrinsic to social life. On the other hand, Geertz also contributes to the common sense the character of a knowledge that seems natural. That means they wouldn't hypothesize a different interpretation in relation to some aspect of reality, which does not apply to the concept of suburbia, found in a permanent state of intense dispute. What interests us here, therefore, is a practical knowledge (BOURDIEU, 1996), a set of references that operationalize daily life, much more than a scientific debate about the borders of these Carioca suburbs.

Image 3: "Aceita que dói menos"
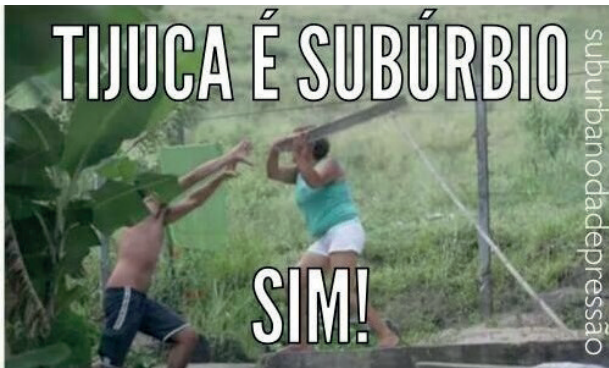
Source: Facebook, Mar. 14th, 2015.

Image 3 is composed through the logic of self-irony (AMARAL, BARBOSA, POLIVANOV, 2015) and it is about one of the major conflicts of the fanpage, about the symbolic position of Tijuca. While the manager defends, in a post of March 2015, the integral superposition of the North region to suburbia, saying that Tijuca belongs to it, other users disagree.

> Hello people that say "Suburb is every neighborhood that has a train station": this concept no longer exists, after all, neighborhoods didn't grow

up because of the trains stations, but train stations were installed due to the demands of neighborhoods. Let's study a little! (SD, Mar. 14th, 2015).

A follower disagrees: "Suburbs are all the neighborhoods surrounding the train station", where SD responds: "This concept is not considered accurate for a while now. Let's update this bibliography", until it appears a follower reacting to the scientific definition the manager appealed in his argument: "It is not an old terminology, it is the classic terminology!".

Image 4: Provocations with tijucanos

Source: Facebook, Sep. 16th 2016.

With the exception of the manager of the page, which identified himself when he published the book, we do not reveal the names of commenters due to privacy, once we do not have authorization to use their names.[5] Because it is an empirical material, grammar and orthography errors were preserved. They reveal the character of secondary orality (ONG, 2002), so evident in the media culture and their tribute to popular expressivity.

---

5 To illustrate this article, we left aside pictures where we see the face of residents in their daily tasks. The exception in the use of image was the meme with Wesley Safadão because he is a public figure.

A: Exactly! How would we classify the neighborhoods of Lins and Cachambi, where there was no railway station? They are neighborhoods of suburbia RJ, and they do not have a train station.

B: Suburbia in its original sense is every neighborhood far from downtown, so following this logic, the South region would be suburbia. Live with that.

C: São Cristóvão is not suburb then? RS Suburb in the world definition are regions far away from downtown, regardless of train. There are rich neighborhoods that have train stations. There are rich neighborhoods in suburbs of Rio, BR, the world.

D: Lins is not a suburb, then? There is no train station there…

E: How the hell Tijuca is far from Downtown?! Hahaha. I need to laugh. And São Cricri is suburb of Leopoldina… Bangu as North region is also great… rsrs… I love this page!

F: At Lins we have trains too :D

G: We got to a contradiction. Downtown is a suburb that is not far from itself. :o

H: I just found out that Vila Isabel is also not a suburb, because it doesn't have a train station.

I: And Cachambi, Engenho da Rainha, Vila da Penha, Acari. Hahaha (SD, Mar. 14Th, 2015).

The debate, extended until March 16th, reveals convergences and divergences between some argumentative lines. First, we perceive a clear division between those who think about a wide concept of suburb, which, in part, is confusing with the concept of slum, and others who think about the singularity of the Carioca phenomenon. According to these people, there is a new subdivision among those who adopt or not the criterion of the train station. Both in the generalist and the particularist definition, we have the crossing of the option of economic stratification: if you must or not associate suburb to a position of class (here, in the Bourdieusian sense).

Image 5: Comparisons with the South region

Suburban Icons

In the book *Suburbano* da Depressão: causos, contos e crônicas, Vitor Almeida, the fanpage manager, brings this debate in the introduction and, for a lack of consensus, brilliantly proposes the dislocation of a geographic definition for characterizations around social practices. He tells a personal perception about a new form of discursive appropriation of suburbs on behalf of the City Office and in 2010 due to the proximity of the mega events that would happen in the city. The game changer would be the police mega operations in the slum complex of Penha and Alemão, when they tried to establish the myth of "reintegration" of those territories (MATHEUS; SILVA, 2013). Newspapers began to treat the North region with euphoria, as a new area of commercial and touristic interest, with a series of construction projects, including the construction of the park of Madureira and the installation of the BRT transport system (bus with an exclusive corridor on Rio). As pointed by Almeida (2016), they tried to integrate a suburban repertoire to the stereotyped

image of Rio de Janeiro in Manoel Carlos's telenovelas (fundamentally located in South Region settings). If, on one hand, they would win in diversity of representation, on another, they would create new stereotypes. In addition, they would try to install a supposedly unheard integration that, in practice, has always existed. "We have always been here", says Almeida (2016, p. 15).

The book is divided into two parts, the first discusses polemic themes that arised in the fanpage, while the second one has a more literary character, even if with inspiration in the same cultural universe of SD. Practices are presented that, according to Almeida, would represent the breach of protocol (of practices and uses of cultural objects). This perspective is aligned to Michel de Certeau's idea (2008) about popular culture, marked by the great capacity of adaptation and reinvention of the daily life in function of concrete difficulties faced by working classes. They are resources that point towards a practical intelligence to which we previously talked about. It also has an affinity with the idea of gambiarra as technologic intelligence described by Messias (2017). Even though the author had thought of electronic games, it is present in his concept of gambiarra the premise of customization, in an intimate and ludic way. It is this customization tending to fun that is found in practices pointed by SD, beyond the ludic aspect of the memory of these daily practices. This indirect form of fun would be in the own way the fanpage is presented, based on humor precisely to try to impregnate daily activities with lighter solutions. Even if, in these posts, there may eventually have some dose of stereotyping effect of the resident of suburbs, as it was questioned to us,[6] we reject the premise that humor appears as mockery. On the contrary, there seem to have a positivation in the sense attributed to the concept of suburbs. The laughter that these posts may provoke is clearly the carnival critical laughter of Bakhtin (2008), capable not only to laugh of oneself, but, especially, of subverting the hierarchies of

---

6   Debate that took place in the international colloquium "Modos de ser Sul: territorialidades, afetos e poderes" (Ways of being from the South: territorialities, affections and powers", performed in October, 2017 at PPGCOM-UFF.

spaces in Rio de Janeiro. Through laughter, the Carioca north becomes the South. It begins to be their own global north.

Trying to reproduce the oral register, Almeida tells, in the book, stories like macarronese (dish made with fusilli pasta replacing potatoes in mayonnaise), a suburban classic according to him; the smoking sessions; kids parties, among others. Some of these narratives reflect first in the fanpage as a place of test, mobilizing new stories beside a set of suburban icons that go from the aluminum bowl (Image 6), where every kid had taken a bath, passing through the singer Alcione and the musician Zeca Pagodinho until the former Football player Adriano, considered the king of suburbs because he abandoned Italy to go back to Vila Cruzeiro. Such attitude is celebrated in the fanpage as a demonstration of honesty of the player when he assumes what makes him happy, being proof, because of that, of the qualities of suburbs and the love of the residents for this place. They are questioned, for example, if they would move to the South region if they had the opportunity, and users say no. Then, memes are created with jokes both about the South region neighborhoods and the suburb itself.

Image 6: the aluminum bowl
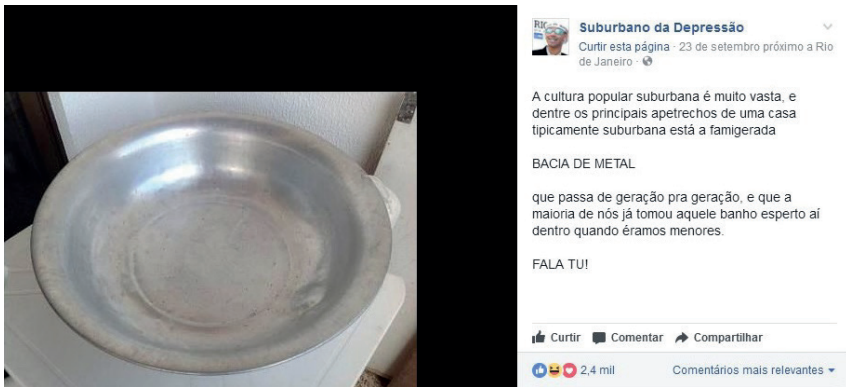
Source: Facebook, Sep. 23rd 2017.

Despite the presence of memes, posts through which the debate was unfolded around the definition of a suburban quality were composed by images with text and subtitles of objects that would embody a suburban lifestyle (Images 6 to 10). An important object present in suburban homes is the fan, elevated in SD, to the condition of a cultural icon. It is represented through multiple forms of use, including speeding up the process of defrosting the freezer and being used in the window to enhance the air exchange in an attempt of working as an air conditioning. Facing the post of a fan, the followers immediately responded sending pictures of their models, transforming the post into a type of catalog of a domestic popular archaeology.

These objects, such as the aluminum bowl (Image 6), the jelly cup or the fans in the window are elevated in the discussions to the category of suburban icons, within what Appadurai (2008) called regimens of value. They operate meanings within certain cultural frameworks. According to the author, "things in movement elucidate their social context" (APPADURAI, 2008, p. 17). In this case, images and meanings of fans in the window, whose photographies are posted in comments by the interactors in response to Vitor's post, agency common values. When they are aware of those meanings and modes of use, people perform their belonging to suburbs. Thus, these residents positively affirm their identity through the logic of self-irony previously mentioned, making at the same time with these objects to outline identities and inscribe their own belonging to this suburban culture. When exhibiting proficiency in this language of a fan in a window, the person is also inscribed in this cultural territory.

Images 7 to 10: Archaeology of the suburban air conditioner

Source: Facebook, 2015-2017.

The cultural confrontation in SD is characterized for trying to define the authenticity or the instauring aura of identity of a series of objects, from the most typical clothing items to food. These items go through performing a cultural biography (APPADURAI, 2008). One of these confrontations is Biscoito Globo versus Biscoito Fofura, the latter representing the suburb, the former, representing the South. Such dichotomy appears in social media in other context, with ther forms, like "Nutella" versus "Roots". To ensure the authenticity of this consumption, Fofura should be followed by the refreshment Guaraviton instead of others, considered "fancier".

A: Biscoito Globo is another item that the Gourmet Patrol could take from normal people.

B: Yes, mainly after they changed to this white bag, the good one was the transparent one, that you try to open and everything would fall apart.

C: I don't know if this still exists, I don't know even if it was Fofurão, but when I was a kid there was a sweet Fofura, a copy of Froot Loops but so much better than the original. All colored. Did I dream this in some composition of train until Campo Grande or this actually existed?!

D: Oh no man, nothing is better than Guaracamp, sorry… When I used to live in Big Field there was no alternative

E: Guaraviton is very expensive, the way to go is Muzzy! Hahahahaha (SD, Oct. 31st, 2016).

What seemed to be at stake was how tradicional the practice may be, in a dispute over the degree of representation of suburbs that these products embody. This sense of tradition will be discussed next over the concept of "relichism" What's important is to notice there are clues to understand the dynamics of consumption, the symbolic value of objects and their circuit of distribution. We can say that the circulation of a consumption object and brand also outlines territories and it is outlined by them. These goods and objects, in general, "are endowed with value by the agreement of others" Douglas and Isherwood (2009, p. 123) would say. In SD, the commenters give approval to this "relichist" value of objects, which, in turn, go on contributing to the system of classification and hierarchization of territory in the moment of these gestures of signification.

Image 11: Globo versus Fofura

Source: Facebook, Oct. 31st, 2016.

Sources of Relic-ism

One of the most important characteristics expressed in SD on suburban culture is the velocity and wealth in the creation of semantic universes. We followed SD since 2015 when, in the end of 2017, we found a configuration of a concept that we've never heard before: relic-ism. Relic-ism seems to be the attribute of objects or practices that would carry the cultural heritage of the suburbs. Instead of being "kept" in museums, the suburban heritage would be protected by the tradition in clothes and habits, as the one of recycling jars of conserved corn or glasses of jam. In the case of clothing, SD describes the classic women's and men's attire:

> One more entry to our anthropologic encyclopedia of suburbanism:
>
> The older lady who wears a crossbody bag!
>
> Loose blouse, red hair with white roots, and the most productive register because she was talking with her friends about "the death of Fatima's husband" whose funeral will happen today, at Caju.

Heritage!

We preserve it, we celebrate it, we register it, we cultivate it, and, above all, we LOVE IT! (SD, May 10ᵗʰ, 2017).

It matters less the reliability to a supposed imaginary tradition and more the own desire of representing it, formulating a common past that would guarantee the identity of the group when recognizing these clothes. The value of tradition has little relation with any effective bond with a remote past (HOBSBAWM; RANGER, 1984). It is almost impossible, in Brazil, not to have used or not see frequently that outfit of legging with an oversized shirt on top and a small crossbody bag, having little to do, therefore, with the actual past.

The concept of relic-ism seem to star highly codified principles of rules and uses of objects that receive a suburban authentication. In the case of men, SD (Sep. 27ᵗʰ, 2017) describes men's attire that would be a real "relic-ist armor: Khaki shorts and brown belt paired with white flip-flops". In order to wear this type of outfit, it would be necessary to have a suburban authority, which we understand as a certain degree of respect to traditions capable of unequivocally marking a suburban. Therefore, it wouldn't be anyone that would be authorized, through tradition and respect, of wearing that outfit. There couldn't be a clearer mechanism of establishing an identity marker with consumption practices. On the other hand, these objects also emanate a type of aura of the past. The term "relic-ism" must derive from the idea of relic.

According to Pomian (1997), there would be a sacred dimension in relic and a capacity of carrying a type of aura of an imagined past. Among this sacred icons of suburban clothing would be a type of singular shoe which the page and its commenters attribute a "moralizing character". The "moralizing shoe" (Images 12 and 13) would have two options of use: without socks, in the summer, and with socks, in the winter. The socks would be the only layer necessary on Rio, where there is no winter. According to the text of the post, the following image (Image 13)

Was published with urgency due to its "historic and cultural significance". It's clear that most part of these registers is made by SD followers who send pictures. Some are identified with the photographer's name, but, due to previously presented reasons, we chose not to reproduce them. Anyway, the author of the pictures is found in the original posts.

Images 12 and 13: Moralizing shoe
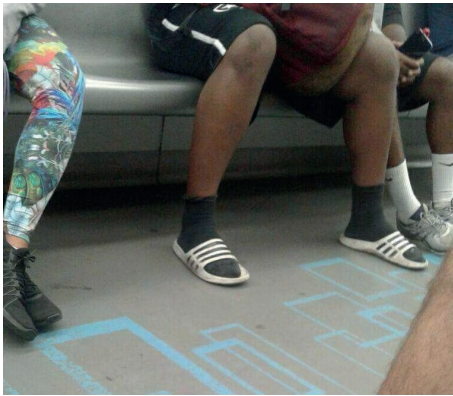
Source: Facebook, Jun. 22nd 2017.   Source: Facebook, June 28th, 2017.

Final considerations

Suburbano da Depressão" integrates a recent phenomenon where neighborhoods and cities gain fanpages dedicated to the historic memory or the contemporary dynamic. We do not intend to give these fanpages any centrality in identity dynamics, only show that these interactions that come about on social media may allow us to track these semantic currents that give meaning to everyday life. That happens not because fanpages dedicated to cities supposedly "represent" these places, but because, through intertextuality, part of these discursive currents present in society also cross the social networks. And through its interactive configuration, we believe it's possible to see more clearly and in a concentrated

manner - as a micro-cosmos - great confrontations that happen in every-day life - which include the digital world. We know that the reflection might be inscribed within a different set of problematizations, through referential boards related to the general operation of fanpages, of Face-book itself or even social media in general, digital culture or participative culture. However, let's discuss that in another moment.

In the introduction of his book, Vitor Almeida says that he does not claim to have a role of being a representative of suburbs. But we believe SD fills the role of creating a positive outlook on the concept of sub-urb. They have created hashtags of manifesting suburban and Carioca pride, such as "O Rio é o meu país" (Rio is my country") and "Escol-hi suburbanizar" (I chose to suburbanize). In fact, suburbia introduces numberless variables to Rio's image beyond telenovelas, with more plu-ral options. This imaginary goes beyond the borders of Carioca suburbs. Maybe the totality of practices described in SD and claimed as subur-ban are, deep down, only expressions of popular culture. How many of us bathed in a basin or used a fan to defrost the fridge? Who had never drank coffee in a glass of jam or put the fan in the window? But what it seems to be the goal of SD was precisely seek a cultural singularity, working as a tool of fighting representations ruled by the South region. "Suburbano da Depressão" represents a thought exercise, of awareness of the place where you fight, a potent mechanism of subversion of the social, semantic and epistemological north-south poles.

Image 14: "O Rio é o meu país"

Source: Facebook, Jan. 14th, 2016.

References

ABREU, Maurício de Almeida. Da habitação ao habitat: a questão da habitação popular no Rio de Janeiro e sua evolução. *Revista Rio de Janeiro*. Niterói: UFF, n. 10, maio-ago. 2003. Disponível em: http://www.forumrio.uerj.br/documentos/revista_10/10-MauricioAbreu.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

ALMEIDA, Vitor. *Suburbano da depressão*: causos, contos e crônicas. Rio de Janeiro: Autografia, 2016.

AMARAL, Adriana; BARBOSA, Camila; POLIVANOV, Beatriz. Subculturas, re(a) presentação e autoironia em sites de rede social: o caso da fanpage "Gótica Desanimada" no Facebook. *Revista Lumina*, Juiz de Fora, v. 9, n. 2, dez. 2015. Disponível em: https://lumina.ufjf.emnuvens.com.br/lumina/article/view/481. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

APPADURAI, Arjun. *A vida social das coisas*. As mercadorias sob uma perspectiva cultural. Niterói: EdUFF, 2008.

BAKHTIN, Mikhail. *A cultura popular na Idade Média e no Renascimento*: o contexto de François Rabelais. São Paulo: Hucitec; Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 2008.

_____. *Marxismo e filosofia da linguagem.* São Paulo: Hucitec, 2009.

BOENAVIDES, Débora Luciene Porto. Do "Primeiramente, fora Temer!" ao "Tchau, querida!": da unidade fraseológica ao *meme* (ou vice-versa). *Memento* – Revista de Linguagem, Cultura e Discurso do Mestrado em Letras, Unincor, v. 9, n. 2, jul.-dez. 2018. Disponível em: http://periodicos.unincor.br/index.php/memento/article/view/4502. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

BORTOLÍN, Andriele; FERNANDES, Célia. We Can Do It! O funcionamento discursivo dos *memes* no espaço digital. *Estudos Linguísticos e Literários, Salvador*, n. 57, p. 81-102, jul.-dez. 2017. Disponível em: https://portalseer.ufba.br/index.php/estudos/article/view/24428/15699. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. *Razões práticas:* sobre a teoria da ação. São Paulo: Papirus, 1996.

CARVALHO, Renata Palitó de. Um retrato satírico do cotidiano gonçalense através da página *São Gonçalo dá Depressão. In: COLÓQUIO MÍDIA, COTIDIANO E PRÁTICAS LÚDICAS, I, 2017, Niterói. Anais…* Niterói: UFF, 2017. p. 227-244. Disponível em: http://www.ppgmidiaecotidiano.uff.br/site/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/AnaisColoquioMCPLCompleto.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

CERTEAU, Michel de. *A invenção do cotidiano*. v. 1. Artes de fazer. Petrópolis: Vozes, 2008.

CHAGAS, Viktor. Entre criadores e criaturas: uma análise sobre a relação entre memes de internet e propriedade intelectual. In: CONGRESSO BRASILEIRO DE CIÊNCIAS DA COMUNICAÇÃO, XXXVIII, 2015, Rio de Janeiro. *Anais…* Rio de Janeiro, 4-7 set. 2015. Disponível em: http://portalintercom.org.br/anais/nacional2015/resumos/R10-3314-1.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

CHAGAS, Viktor; FREIRE, Fernanda; RIOS, Daniel; MAGALHÃES, Dandara. A política dos memes e os memes da política: proposta metodológica de análise de conteúdo de memes dos debates eleitorais de 2014. *Intexto*. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, n. 38, p. 173-196, jan.-abr. 2017. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.19132/1807-8583201738.173-196.

DOMINGUES, Álvaro. *(Sub)úrbios e (sub)urbanos:* o mal-estar da periferia ou a mistificação dos conceitos? *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Geografia*, Porto, I série, v. X/XI, p. 5-18, 1994/1995. Disponível em: http://ler.letras.up.pt/uploads/ficheiros/1588.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

DOUGLAS, Mary; ISHERWOOD, Baron. *O mundo dos bens.* Para uma antropologia do consumo. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2009.

FERNANDES, Nelson da Nóbrega. *O rapto ideológico da categoria subúrbio:* Rio de Janeiro 1858-1945. Rio de Janeiro: Apicuri, 2011.

GAUZISKI, Débora; AMARO, Fausto; GONÇALVES, Fernando. Materialidade e memória do Rio de Janeiro nas fotografias de Augusto Malta e do Projeto Rio 365. *Revista GeMinis*, ano 4, v. 2, n. 2, p. 169-189, 2013. Disponível em: http://www.revistageminis.ufscar.br/index.php/geminis/article/view/167/136. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

GEERTZ, Clifford. *O saber local*. Novos ensaios em antropologia interpretativa. 7. ed. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1997. p. 111-141.

HOBSBAWM, Eric; RANGER, Terence. *A invenção das tradições*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984.

JASMIN, Marcelo Gantus; FERES JUNIOR, João (Orgs.). *História dos conceitos:* debates e perspectivas. Rio de Janeiro: Loyola, 2006.

LIMA, Tatiana da Silva. A zona Sul da zona Norte: o enclave fortificado invisível e as UPPs. In: *CONGRESO LATINOAMERICANO DE INVESTIGADORES DE LA COMUNICACIÓN (ALAIC), XII, 2014, Lima. Anais…* Lima, 2014. Disponível em: http://congreso.pucp.edu.pe/alaic2014/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/vGT15-Tatiana--da-Silva-Lima.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

MAIA, João Luis Araújo; CHAO, Adelaide Rocha de la Torre. Subúrbio carioca: conceitos, transformações e fluxos comunicacionais da cidade. *Conexão – Comunicação e Cultura*. Caxias do Sul: UCS, v. 15, n. 29, p. 147-165, jan.-jun. 2016. Disponível em: http://www.ucs.br/etc/revistas/index.php/conexao/article/view/3517. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

MARTÍN-BARBERO, Jesús. *Dos meios às mediações*. Comunicação, cultura e hegemonia. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1997.

MATHEUS, Leticia Cantarela. A imprensa dos subúrbios (1900-1920). *Contracampo*, Niterói, v. 35, n. 3, dez. 2016/mar. 2017. Disponível em: http://periodicos.uff.br/contracampo/article/view/17580. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

_____.; SILVA, Pedro Henrique. Território retomado: o noticiário sobre operações militares em favelas no Rio de Janeiro. *Eco-Pós:* Comunicação, narrativas e territorialidades, v. 16, n. 3, p. 44-60, set.-dez. 2013. Disponível em: https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/eco_pos/article/view/831. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

MENDONÇA, Leandro Climaco. *Nas margens:* experiências de suburbanos com periodismo no Rio de Janeiro 1880-1920. Niterói: EdUFF, 2014.

MESSIAS, José. Gambiarra e videogames: uma visão cognitiva das tecnologias de entretenimento em *World of Warcraft. Contemporânea – Revista de Comunicação e Cultura*, v. 15, n. 2, p. 695-720, maio-ago. 2017. Disponível em: https://portalseer.ufba.br/index.php/contemporaneaposcom/article/view/18148. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

MIGNOLO, Walter. Colonialidade: o lado mais escuro da modernidade. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, v. 32, n. 94, jun. 2017. DOI: 10.17666/329402/2017.

_____. La opción de-colonial: desprendimiento y apertura. Un manifiesto y un caso. *Tabula Rasa*, Bogotá, Colômbia, n. 8, p. 243-281, jan.-jun. 2008. Disponível em: http://revistatabularasa.org/numero-8/mignolo1.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

_____. The geopolitics of knowledge and the colonial difference. *South Atlantic Quartely*, v. 101, n. 1, p. 57-96, 2002. Disponível em: https://read.dukeupress.edu/south-atlantic-quarterly/article-abstract/101/1/57/3090/The-Geopolitics-of-Knowledge-and-the-Colonial?redirectedFrom=fulltext. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

MOREIRA, Luciana Verônica Silva. Cidade e subúrbios no Rio de Janeiro do início do século XX: ordenamento e progresso para o morador suburbano. Conhecimento

histórico e diálogo social. In: *ENCONTRO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA, XXVII, 2013, Natal. Anais…* Natal: Anpuh, 2013. Disponível em: http://www.snh2013.anpuh.org/resources/anais/27/1389207142_ARQUIVO_Luciana_Veronica.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

OLIVEIRA, Márcio Piñon de; FERNANDES, Nelson da Nóbrega (Org.). *150 anos de subúrbio carioca.* Rio de Janeiro: EdUFF, 2010. 253p.

OLIVEIRA, Tiago Mendes de. *Memória e cidade sensível*: Fortaleza e Rio em comentários no Facebook. 2015. Dissertação (mestrado em Comunicação) – Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2015. Disponível em: http://www.ppgcom.uerj.br/wp-content/uploads/Dissertação-Thiago-Mendes-de-Oliveira.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

ONG, Walter. *Orality and literacy.* EUA: Canadá: Routledge, 2002.

POMIAN, Krzysztof. Colecções. *In: Enciclopédia Einaudi.* v. 1. *Memória-História.* São Paulo: Revista dos Tribunais, 1997. p. 51-86.

PRIMO, Alex. Enfoques e desfoques no estudo da interação mediada por computador. LIMC, UFRGS, n. 45, 2005. Disponível em: http://www.ufrgs.br/limc/PDFs/enfoques_desfoques.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

PROJETO QUER TRANSFORMAR Barra, Recreio e Jacarepaguá na Zona Sul da Zona Oeste. *Extra,* 15 out. 2016. Disponível em: https://extra.globo.com/noticias/rio/projeto--quer-transformar-barra-recreio-jacarepagua-na-zona-sul-da-zona-oeste-20295264.html. Acesso em: 4 dez. 2017.

RABELLO, Rafaella Prata; OLIVEIRA, Daniella Lisieux de; MUSSE, Christina Ferraz. O caráter memorial das interações na fanpage "Maria do Resguardo". *Revista Parágrafo,* v. 2, p. 133-148, 2014. Disponível em: http://revistaseletronicas.fiamfaam.br/index.php/recicofi/article/view/196/252. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

RECUERO, Raquel. *Memes em weblogs*: proposta de uma taxonomia. *Revista Famecos,* Porto Alegre, n. 32, p. 23-31, abr. 2007. Disponível em: http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/3411. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

_____.; SOARES, Priscilla. Violência simbólica e redes sociais no F*acebook*: o caso da *fanpage* "Diva Depressão". *Galáxia,* São Paulo, n. 26, p. 239-254, dez. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.scielo.br/pdf/gal/v13n26/v13n26a19.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa; MENESES, Maria Paula (Orgs.). *Epistemologias do Sul.* São Paulo: Cortez, 2010.

SILVEIRA, Marcelo da Rocha. As casas populares e a formação do subúrbio carioca. *In: SEMINÁRIO DOCOMO BRASIL,* 8., 2009, Rio de Janeiro. *Anais…* Rio de Janeiro, 2009. Disponível em: http://docomomo.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/058-1.pdf. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

SOTO, William Héctor Gómez. Subúrbio, periferia e vida cotidiana. *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura,* v. 16, n. 1, p. 109-131, abr. 2008. Disponível em: https://revistaesa.com/ojs/index.php/esa/article/view/298. Acesso em: 8 mar. 2019.

About the author

Letícia Cantarela Matheus – Professor at the Post-Graduation Program in Communication at Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (PPGCOM-Uerj), PhD in Communication at Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF).