



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



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La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
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Arquitectura de moradia y trabajo. Aprendiendo de los barrios periféricos de Río de Janeiro

Live-Work Architecture. Learning from Peripheral Neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro

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Resumen

Esta es una investigación sobre casas del barrios de suburbio en Río de Janeiro que se transforman para acomodar múltiples actividades de viviendas a espacios de trabajo. En estos suburbios, la necesidad de incremento de la renda familiar asociados con la falta de infraestructura, promueve el desarrollo de una economía informal que da como resultado la transformación del entorno construido. Un fragmento de uno de estos barrios periféricos se analiza en este trabajo como un espacio privilegiado para observar y reconocer una forma de vida local intrínseca a una realidad social y económica específica, y lo espacio urbano producido es valorado como una referencia a pensar alternativas a la vivienda y a la ciudad que se han venido produciendo.

Palabras clave: viviendas y ciudad, arquitectura de moradia y trabajo, uso mixto del suelo, suburbios de Rio de Janeiro

Bloque temático: Arquitecturas de la casa: el espacio doméstico a través de la historia

Abstract

This is an investigation on suburban houses in Rio de Janeiro which are informally transformed to accommodate multiple activities from living to workspaces. In these suburban areas, the need to increase the income associated with the lack of all kinds of infrastructure, promotes the development of an informal economy that results in the transformation of the built environment. A fragment of one of these peripheral neighborhoods is analyzed in this paper as a privileged space to observe and acknowledge a local way of life intrinsic to a specific social and economic reality, and the urban space produced is valued as a reference to think alternatives to housing and the city that has been produced.

Keywords: housing and city, live-work architecture, mixed land use, Rio de Janeiro suburbs

Topic: Architectures of the house: domestic space throughout history

Introduction

Changes in economic modes of development lead to new relationships between live and work activities and spaces and has caused deep impacts on urban life over time. In the pre-industrial period, the domestic space commonly mixed the activities of living and working in the family environment and “cities were developed from having small-scale diverse and mixed land uses” (Coupland, 1997:31). The spheres of housing and paid work were separated in the modern city, and commute to work became part of the everyday life of a large portion of the working population. With the growth of cities and metropolitan areas, the distances between dwelling and workplaces reach extreme and unsustainable levels, as is the case in metropolises such as Rio de Janeiro, where the daily average one-way commute time is 52 minutes.¹ In Rio, 53% of the inhabitants take more than 30 minutes to get to work, and in this group are the poorest inhabitants of Rio’s population, who take an average of 134 minutes a day on the way to and from work.²

On the other hand, in the last decades, opposite movements tend to bring the spheres of the house and the work back together. In the information age, the new communication technologies make possible to work from home on a number of work activities (Castells, 2000 [1996]), multiplying home-offices. In other ways, in the peripheries of large cities such as Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian cities, conjugation of dwelling and work spaces occurs through alternative forms of urban practice constituted of collective actions that surpass the structures of the mode of production and the spatial order of capitalism and the State (Harvey, 2012), promoting other forms of urban space production. Such practices can be understood as acts of resistance or response to the crisis of everyday life in the city (Harvey, 2014), by people who develop *tactics* (Certeau, 1984) in the face of the degradation of urban life.

The land use functional zoning is a fundamental normative of the urban structure of the modern capitalist city. First proposed in Germany in the 19th century, it was broadly adopted in the 20th century in other European, North American and Latin American cities. In North America, zoning was first adopted in New York in the 1910s and served as an artifice of spatial socioeconomic segregation (Hall, 2014 [1988]). Functional zoning was definitively established as a hegemonic modern urban planning ideology in the 1933 CIAM Congress, which took as its theme 'the functional city' by signing in Le Corbusier's 'The Athens Charter' the four keys to urban planning that are the four functions of the city: 'Dwelling, Recreation, Work and Transportation'. Dwelling and workplace were definitely separated and the long distances to reach work from home and vice-versa were understood as surpassable by technology.

North American imported zoning regulations played a crucial role in the urban legislations of large Latin American cities. The residential suburbs that were developed in North and Latin Americas present themselves in multiple forms, multiple social groups, and multiple urban and architectural designs, but they have in common the definition of strictly residential areas apart from job centres, that imply to suburbia residents short time to experience the neighborhood where they live. And as cities has grew, dormitory neighborhoods in the suburbs and city outskirts become increasingly distant in space and time from jobs.

¹ Guilherme Szczerbacki Besserman Vianna, “A relação entre Mobilidade Urbana e Bem-Estar Social através da abordagem das capacidades” (Master dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2016).

² Federation of Industries of the State of Rio de Janeiro (FIRJAN), “Quanto custa o deslocamento casa-trabalho no estado do Rio de Janeiro? Região Metropolitana”, in *Firjan (website)*, August 2016, access September 8 2018, <http://www.firjan.com.br/publicacoes/publicacoes-de-economia/o-custo-dos-deslocamentos-no-estado-do-rio.htm#pubAlign>.

Although the mix of uses has gained strength in theory and projects since the 1970s (Grant, 2002), this trend still can not be considered dominant, and in North America cities, most of the residential areas remain extremely shielded from mixed land use. But in Latin America, although imported functional zoning regulations have not gone through criticism and revision, there are peripheral residential neighborhoods that are informally transformed by mixing dwelling and workplaces. The mixed use in the fine grain results in singular forms of production of the urban space that do not correspond to urban forms elaborated in the theory and practices of the urban design.

In the suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro, despite the legislation and because of the opportunities that the lack of inspection brings, along with the shortage of all kinds of infrastructure, including local shops and facilities, home based informal work activities are very common. These work home based informal activities – and their impact on the urban space in the residential suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro – is precisely the phenomenon analyzed in this article. The spontaneous transformation by the local lifestyle, and their spatial and building solutions, are recognized in a perspective of valuing non-hegemonic innovative practices produced by different individuals and socio-spatial contents, in order to reveal a suburban reality going far beyond the notion of scarcity which is usually used by locals to describe Rio's suburbs (Fernandes, 2011).

The everyday practices are analyzed as a reference to think about alternatives for housing and the city that has been built. The research is therefore to consider this informal production within the formal city, a territory that architects and urban planners often do not consider (Walker, 2010). The suburban houses are analyzed as a privileged space to observe and to recognize a local lifestyle intrinsic to a specific social and economic reality, in which the dwelling is often associated with professional activities and income generation.

Regarding the methodology, an urban fragment is analyzed in a suburban neighborhood, formed by single-family houses, as an illustration of a typical situation in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

1. The 'suburb' of Rio de Janeiro

The concept of suburb in Rio de Janeiro changed over time, absorbing a rather singular local connotation (Soares, 1960; Fernandes, 2011) distinct from the one that prevailed until the late 19th century, when it referred to the outskirts of the city and remained associated with farming activities and a rural retreat for the aristocracy (Fernandes, 2011:53-55). Even after the construction of the first railway line in 1858, it remained for a few more decades a sign of social valorization and the plans for the region at the end of the 19th century were similar to those of the modern rail suburb of Europe and USA created for middle and upper classes (Fernandes, 2011:57).

However, from the beginning of the 20th century, faced with the ideological needs of a capitalist society and the development of major urban reforms, the attributes related to the concept of suburb in Rio de Janeiro changed (Fernandes, 2011:44), getting a sense of social discredit by being associated with the neighborhoods served by the train lines and occupied by middle and lower classes. It is from this point on that a discriminatory policy was adopted to deal with those peripheries. The process of "opening the suburbs to the proletariat" (Abreu, 1987, p.15) then started and the trinomial "train / suburb / proletarian", typical characterization of the suburb in

Rio de Janeiro (Fernandes, 2011:143), began to gain consistency, promoting the social and spatial segregation of the proletarian suburbs, where the workers were arranging themselves as they could without any State intervention in the social domain, at least during the first three decades of the 20th century.

1.1. Transportation and other producers of the suburban space

These suburbs do not have their own existence, independent from the center of the city, on the contrary, their life is common, their relations very intimate and frequent (Aureliano Portugal, *Jornal do Comércio*, July, 20th 1904)³

The suburbs consolidated along the four axes of penetration of the railway lines, but also according to the quite dense network of old paths and tramway lines that operated like a "sewing" work helping to fill in the spaces between the first occupations, which were concentrated near the train stations (Pechman, 1985:52).

We can conclude that the residential neighborhoods that are the object of this study were a repository of houses, a result of the parceling of the land understood as a mere commodity, which served as a stock for the proletariat selling its labor force in the most central areas of the city (Bonduki; Rolnik, 1979). The suburban region is nowadays comprised of formal and informal settlements (favelas), but even in the domain of formal developments, there are many strictly residential neighborhoods created far away from the train or subway stations, where the isolation condition was even more aggravated by the extinction of the tramway lines and the better level of connectivity they were able to offer.

2. Case study: residential fragment in the district of Irajá

The fragment analyzed here was chosen as an illustration of a typical situation in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro where an extensive area of single-family homes is far from the district center and where the repetition of blocks parceled in small lots is the standard imposed to a large number of families.

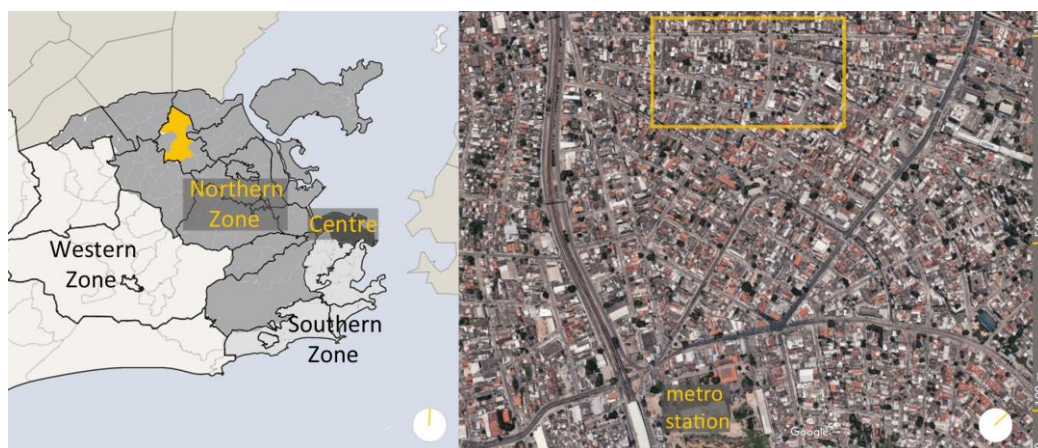


Figure 1: Residential neighborhood in Irajá district, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil
Source: A. Slade with base from Google Earth

³ Robert Pechman, "Gênese do mercado urbano de terras, a produção de moradias e a formação dos subúrbios no Rio de Janeiro" (Master dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1985), 53.

The district of Irajá is located in the Northern Zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro, where 42% of the city's population live and which presents the highest population density (10,185 per km²).⁴ Regarding the income and labor aspects, the Northern Zone has the lowest average income per household in Rio de Janeiro. It is the region with the highest percentage of employees with a formal job contract (57.9%) and the percentage of self-employed workers is 20%. In 2015 the unemployment rate was 8.3% and the unemployment situation has been worsening throughout the country in recent years. The unemployment rate for people of 14 years old and more in the Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro was 6% in the first quarter of 2015 and has been rising steadily reaching the mark of 14.3% in the first quarter of 2017.⁵

2.1. Learning from the suburb of Rio de Janeiro

The shortage of formal local shops and other facilities, as well as spaces for social gathering in the neighborhood, becomes an opportunity, combined with the need to generate income, which results in the establishment of an informal economy.

Although local legislation does not allow mixed use, or many of the business activities if associated with residences, the monitoring by the public authority is negligent, so there is much permissiveness for informal practices from the occupation of the public space (sidewalks) to the development of informal economy itself. This makes the environment more conducive to the experimentation of spontaneous solutions. These urban peripheries are therefore a favorable ground for the proliferation of informal *tactics*.

The concept of *tactics* is used here according to Michel de Certeau's definition that distinguishes it precisely from the *strategy* (Certeau, 1984:34-39), which he refers to as the calculation (or manipulation) of power relations, a Cartesian attitude, typical of modern Science, politics and military. On the other hand, a *tactic* is defined as a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus, so it must play on and with a terrain imposed and organized by the law of an external power. A *tactic* doesn't have, therefore, an option of a general planning:

It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse.

In short, a tactic is an art of the weak.⁶

According to de Certeau:

In the technocratically constructed, written, and functionalized space in which the consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences (...). Although they are composed with the vocabularies of established languages (...) and although they remain subordinated to the prescribed syntactical forms (temporal modes of schedules, paradigmatic orders of space, etc.), the

⁴ Observatório Sebrae/ RJ, "Painel Regional: Rio de Janeiro e bairros", in *Sebrae (website)*, 2015, access in May 06 2018, http://www.sebrae.com.br/Sebrae/Portal%20Sebrae/UFs/RJ/Anexos/SebraePainel_CidadeRiodeJaneiro.pdf

⁵ Directorate of Research of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) - Coordination of Work and Income "Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua", in *IBGE (website)*, 2015, access May 18 2017, http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/indicadores/trabalhoerendimento/pnad_continua.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everydaylife* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 37.

trajectories trace out the uses of others interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop.⁷

The built environment of the neighborhood of Irajá is therefore analyzed considering two layers. The first, formal, existing and unrelated to its occupants, consists of the repetition of a basic unit: the lot, approximately 8 to 10 meters in front by 25 to 50 meters deep, mostly occupied by single-family houses and surrounded by narrow sidewalks and streets. From this given context, there is a second layer, formed from the users' response or practice to the system in which they are submitted. We can then observe two distinct scenarios on the streets of the studied neighborhood.



Figure 2: Street in the residential neighborhood of Irajá, as an illustration of 'scenario 1', Rio de Janeiro
Source: Google Street View (2017)

The first scenario is of numerous private coexisting realms, each in its lot and disconnected from each other: walled houses, with a very clear physical demarcation of the border between the public and private environments; and the street, deprived of public maintenance, works only as a precarious means of circulation to reach the private spaces of the houses. In this first scenario, the walls are dominant elements in the landscape and reinforce the separation of previously established private lots, and there is no place for the 'common'. The observation of this scenario where life tends to be restricted to the private realm of the houses refers to questions raised by Guy Debord (1961) in his critique of modern society:

The new prefabricated cities clearly exemplify the totalitarian tendency of modern capitalism's organization of life: the isolated inhabitants (generally isolated within the framework of the family cell) see their lives reduced to the pure triviality of the repetitive combined with the obligatory consumption of an equally repetitive spectacle. (...) Someone posed the question, 'What is private life [vie privée] deprived [privée] of?' Quite simply: of life itself, which is cruelly absent. People are as deprived as possible of communication and of self-fulfillment; deprived of the opportunity to personally make their own history.⁸

In the second scenario, a fundamental action transforms the urban environment, making it essentially different from the previous one. This operation is related to business or productive

⁷ Michel de Certeau, *La culture au pluriel* (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1974), 283-308.

⁸ Guy Debord, "Perspectives for Conscious Changes in Everyday Life". *Internationale Situationniste* #6, (1961).

activities: a window is opened, a sign is placed, an overhanging covering or small shed is attached to the house to sell some product or offer some service in the residential neighborhood. They are subtle operations that proliferate within the structures of the system and silently subvert their operation, responding to economic, cultural and social demands. Such devices, understood as *tactics*, modify the *status quo* of these neighborhoods by promoting the interaction between private and public spaces.



Figure 3: Mapping of work home based informal activities in a fragment of the neighborhood of Irajá, Rio de Janeiro

Source: A. Slade with base from Google (2017)



Figure 4: Work home based informal activities in the residential neighborhood of Irajá as illustration of 'scenario 2'
Source: Google Street View and A. Slade (2018)

These practices are related to the 'house' in the sense of physical property, once the building is transformed to accommodate the work space; but they are also linked to the family, the community, being interwoven with the local lifestyles and social interaction within and beyond the family cell, in the street, in the neighborhood. They invite their neighbors to ring the bell and interact with their family universe. And they promote even more transformative interactions. The overhanging covering, or small sheds added to the existing houses form the spaces of greater integration between the public and private domains. They break with the segregation between the domestic space and the spaces established by the walls, diluting this border and creating a space of transition, encouraging the users to stay on the sidewalk and to use it as a common space.

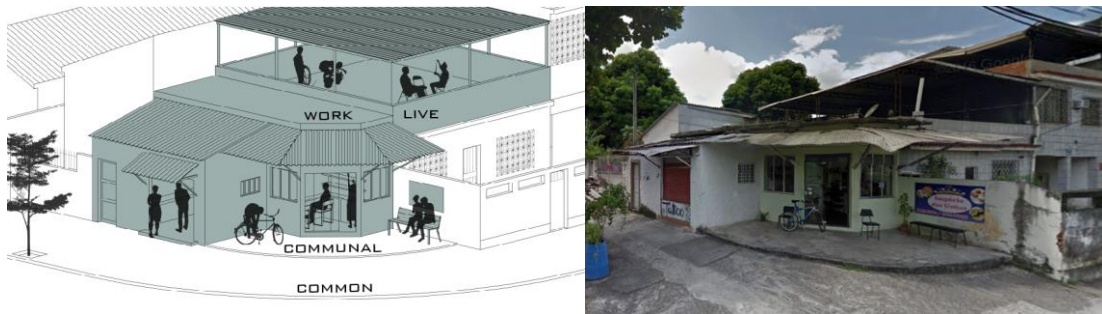


Figure 5: Scheme 'Manicure and Tatoo' home based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro
Source: A. Slade (2017), with collaboration from Daniel Moraes

The overhanging coverings are deployed in front of the houses - on the front yard or even outside the private plot, on the public sidewalk. They are also built on the top of the houses, transforming the existing roof slab into living space. They are often occupied by productive or commercial activities, but they are also spaces of sociability. They solve practical and functional issues by extending the space of the house to enable work activities, but their scope goes beyond: they promote certain cultural practices of community interaction that seem repressed in the strictly residential streets, where the border between the street and the private lot is reinforced by physical and visual barriers, either to preserve the privacy of the family environment or due to security issues.

In areas where there are work activities, they promote an interface with the street, activating urban life and offering more favorable conditions for certain daily social practices, such as observation of the street life, greetings, informal conversation and coexistence between neighbors, providing greater appropriation of sidewalks and safer streets. It can be observed, in the vicinity of the overhanging covering, the existence of an even an older habit of the suburb of Rio de Janeiro to place chairs on the sidewalk in front of the residential houses, a rare occurrence nowadays in the streets with predominantly residential and walled houses.

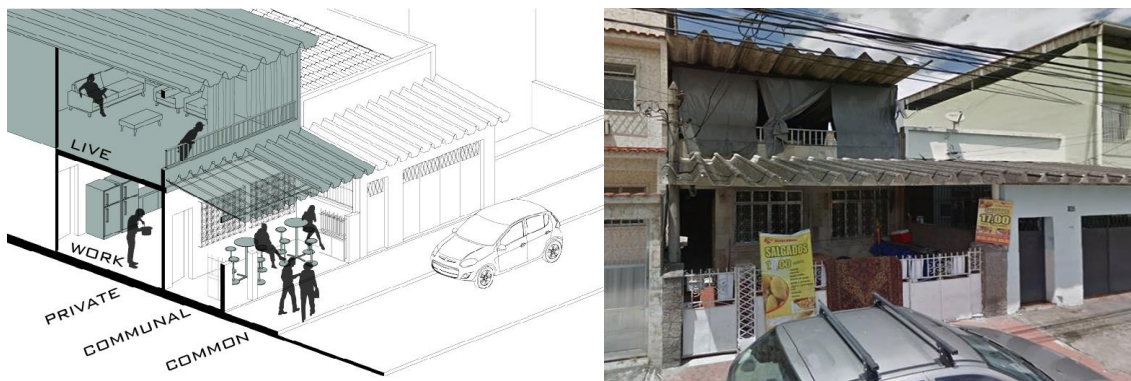


Figure 6: Scheme 'Patties factory' home based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro
Source: A. Slade (2017), with collaboration from Daniel Moraes

Another important commercial activity that proliferates and promotes a representative space of leisure and social life in these neighborhoods are the so-called "biroscas", a kind of bar where beer and pastries are sold, barbecue is prepared in the weekends and the clients seat at tables on the sidewalk.

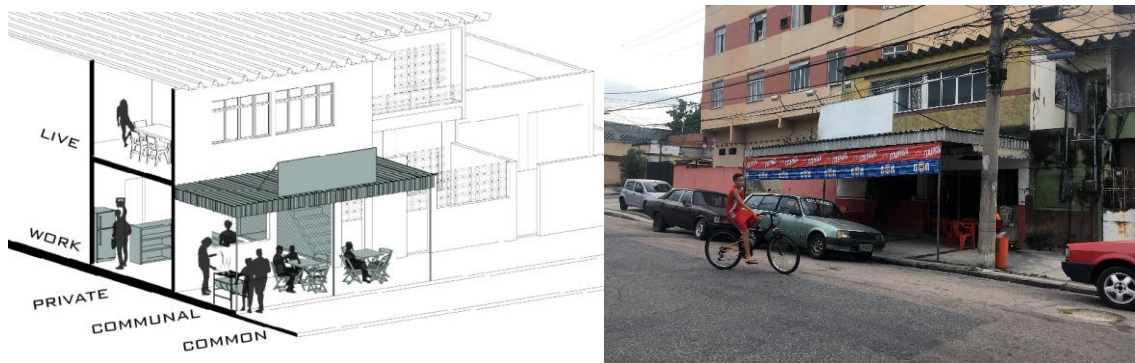


Figure 7: Scheme 'Birosca' home based in Irajá, Rio de Janeiro
 Source: A. Slade (2017), with collaboration from Daniel Moraes

These practices are demonstrations of the knowledge of these users, they are anonymous “arts of practice” that invent ingenious creations, giving hope that, in the interstices of the imposed codes, they can give life to spaces that are the result of the imposed technocratic system, by re-signifying them. Through small subversions with no purpose or determined political goals, they temper everyday life with “wonders” as «ephemeral festivals that arise, disappear and reappear».⁹

2.2. Findings

Despite the precarious process of formation of the analyzed urban fabric, the characteristics of its built environment - narrow plots, densely built, 1 to 3 floors, houses built in the alignment of properties or with small front garden space (which results in a continuous urban facade) - are being fruitful for the development of fine-grained mixed-use neighborhoods, from the home-based work activities.

In these peripheral neighborhoods, even though there is a functional zoning legislation that does not allow commercial and residential uses to coexist in the same property, the socioeconomic context combined with the lack of all kind of facilities and inoperative supervision in the region stimulate home based informal productive activities. The result is the transformation of some areas into hybrid environments, which break the fragmenting and homogenizing character of functional zoning codes.

From a system that proves to be unfavorable to the integration between public and private and to social coexistence, the transformation of use leverages the dilution of the boundary between the private plot and the public sidewalk. This gives rise to alternative architectural typologies to the fully walled or fenced out standard house which dominates in areas of exclusive residential use, opening space for the development of social practices that are intrinsic to the local culture.

The home based informal productive activities in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro boost a local economy and transform the daily routines of its residents and their built environment. In response to unforeseen demands by urban planners, they create devices that are more conducive to the social life of their users. From the need to generate income, the improvement of the common: small shops and facilities in walking distances; interaction of the houses with street life, creation of spaces of encounter and collective interaction among the residents;

⁹ Certeau, *La culture...*, 244-245.

intensification of the use of the sidewalks, activating the urban life and transforming the street into more inhabited, cared and safe spaces.

Their lifestyle and spontaneous social practices are a demonstration that more than the bucolic space, aimed at residential areas by the ideology of functional zoning, these communities benefit from a busier street, the opportunities of social interaction and community exchanges.

3. Conclusions

The transformations, or 'arts of practicing', in the suburban neighborhoods of Rio de Janeiro by its inhabitants are valued as important clues to think the city planning and housing policies. They indicate alternative solutions to monofunctional housing developments, to single-family townhomes gated communities - housing and city formats that continue to be repeated in Brazil, and which contributed to increasingly segregated cities.

The analyzed tactics that proliferate in the suburbs of Rio are finally valued by the demonstration that small actions in the built environment, intrinsic to the ways of life and developed with smartness, are able to qualify an urban environment, as well as collaborate for the constitution of a community; that punctual operations can result in the transformation of a whole; and also that ordinary actions, coming from the common man, are valuable lessons to learn from and to think about to transform the city.

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