

“RIBEIRÃO DAS TREVAS”? The skateboard giving an ollie in the dominant algorithms over the city of Ribeirão das Neves - MG

“RIBEIRÃO DAS TREVAS”? O skate dando um ollie nos algoritmos dominantes sobre a cidade de Ribeirão das Neves - MG

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ABSTRACT:

Ribeirão das Neves is a city in Minas Gerais with approximately 334 thousand inhabitants and 60% of the self-declared black population. In addition to the stigma “city of penitentiaries”, it was also known for the pun “Ribeirão das Trevas” published in the Official Gazette of the State on September 7, 2013 and on the website of the Court of Justice of Minas Gerais on August 21, 2018, and for thousands of publications of violence and poverty related by internet search algorithms. However, the city destined by the government to always be the same, houses other narratives created by a collective of black educating skaters: the Just Crew Skateboard. This article is an offshoot of the master's thesis and presents the results of the investigation, revealing in the light of the readings of Nilma Lino Gomes, how this group challenges the stigma of the city by showing new possibilities for engagement and a narrative that values life and sociability.

KEYWORDS: skaters; Ribeirão das Neves; city; educator movement; oppression algorithms.

Introduction

Ribeirão das Neves is a city in Minas Gerais with approximately 334 thousand inhabitants and 60% of the self-declared black population. Conceived to be the dormitory city of the poorest who migrated in search of work when Belo Horizonte became the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, Neves, as it is better known, also became the city of penitentiaries. In a total of six networks, it includes the first with public-private management in Brazil and the first model penitentiary in the country, inaugurated by Getúlio Vargas when he was still president. Constantly the target of news about violence and poverty, the city was also known for the pun “Ribeirão das Trevas” published in the

Official Gazette of the State on September 7, 2013 and on the website of the Court of Justice of Minas Gerais on August 21, 2018. This pejorative description has become an official narrative about the municipality and imposes itself as a barrier for city dwellers, who suffer from the stigmatization and social exclusion that this entails.

This stigmatization of the city and its residents has also migrated to the digital environment. The official narrative of Internet search algorithms continues to present the same unique story about the city: the history of the darkness of Ribeirão. It is possible to verify this reality only using the Google search engine by typing the city name as a keyword. There are over 16 million results for the survey, but right on the first page of results we are presented with a series of news links on violence and precariousness. This indexing of results automated by algorithms that, in theory, present neutral information based on the most accessed sites and words most typed by its users, only reinforces the negative stigma about Ribeirão das Neves and reveals yet another form of social oppression (NOBLE, 2018) .

However, this city planned to always be the same houses other narratives created, for example, by a collective of black skaters: Just Crew Skateboard. This collective of skaters occupied the square and transformed it into a track; for 20 years it has trained young people in this sports practice, teaching them how to build their own skateboards and obstacles and reconstruct their identities through the experience of friendship, giving an ollie in the dominant narratives about themselves and their city. Together with other young collectives, they occupied a school abandoned by the government in the city and transformed it into a center for social education and business training activities, in addition to perfecting the space as an advanced training center for the crew. More recently, they also refurbished an old unfinished skate park in Neves. They became educators of each other, of the population and of the city, teaching looks of light instead of darkness, and building other narrative possibilities for Ribeirão das Neves, which is not just the only official story.

Just Crew Skateboard also challenges the official narrative of algorithms on the internet. With their social networks, they present other stories about the city, other possible identities for Nevenses, create new connections and ties, and enter the algorithmic dispute proposing new results for their territory.

This article is an offshoot of the master's thesis entitled "Ribeirão das Trevas: skate giving an ollie in the dominant narratives about the city of Ribeirão das Neves - MG", developed with the support of CAPES in the Graduate Program in Education, Culture and Communication in Urban Peripheries of the Faculty of Education of the Baixada

Fluminense of the State University of Rio de Janeiro. The article presents the main results perceived during the investigation that used Image Ethnography as Sympathy as methodology, revealing, in the light of the readings of Nilma Lino Gomes (2019), how this group challenges the stigma of the city by presenting a narrative that values the life and sociability.

Knowing the territory: The darkness of Ribeirão

Ribeirão das Neves is a city in Minas Gerais with approximately 334 thousand inhabitants and 60% of the self-declared black population. Conceived by the government to be the dormitory city of the poorest who migrated in search of work when Belo Horizonte became the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, Neves, as it is more known, also became the city of penitentiaries. In a total of six chains, it includes the first with public-private management in Brazil and the first model penitentiary in the country, inaugurated by Getúlio Vargas when he was still president. Constantly the target of news about violence and poverty, the city was also known for the pun “Ribeirão das Trevas” published in the Official Gazette of the State on September 7, 2013 and on the website of the Court of Justice of Minas Gerais on August 21, 2018. This pejorative description has become an official narrative about the municipality and imposes itself as a barrier for city dwellers, who suffer from the stigmatization and social exclusion that this entails.

Figure 1 News about Ribeirão das Trevas

ERROU FEIO
Publicação do governo de Minas chama Neves de “Ribeirão das Trevas”

O erro apareceu na página 22 do “Minas Gerais” do último sábado, Dia da Independência, em um espaço destinado para nomeações de servidores públicos

LOCALIDADE	COD
Belo Horizonte	2534
Belo Horizonte	1457
Belo Horizonte	1457
Belo Horizonte	2348
Belo Horizonte	701
Belo Horizonte	2526
Ribeirão das Trevas	219053
Ribeirão das Trevas	219053
Ribeirão das Trevas	218995

TRÂNSITO

29/08/2017 15:53
Trânsito carregado na Av. Luiz Paulo Franco, no Trevo do Belvedere, sentido Nova Lima. Mais cedo, houve uma batida entre dois carros no trecho.

29/08/2017 15:32
Tráfego segue movimentado na Via Expressa de Contagem, entre o Parque São João e o Cincão, sentido BH. Há obras no trecho.

29/08/2017 15:12
Sobe para dois quilômetros a retenção na Fernão Dias, km 477, altura da Praça da Cemig, sentido BH. Obras, na faixa da esquerda, prejudicam o tráfego.

COLUNISTAS
Vittorio Mediolli
O atraso é nosso

Source: O Tempo News Portal, 2013.

This publication had a very negative impact on the population and sparked a great debate about the identity of the Neves citizen. This is because Ribeirão das Neves is historically known as a “dormitory city”, since most residents only go home to sleep, as the largest job offer is in the neighboring municipality (Belo Horizonte), which is about 30 km away from distance.

Figure 2 Ribeirão das Neves maps



Source: Google Maps, 2018.

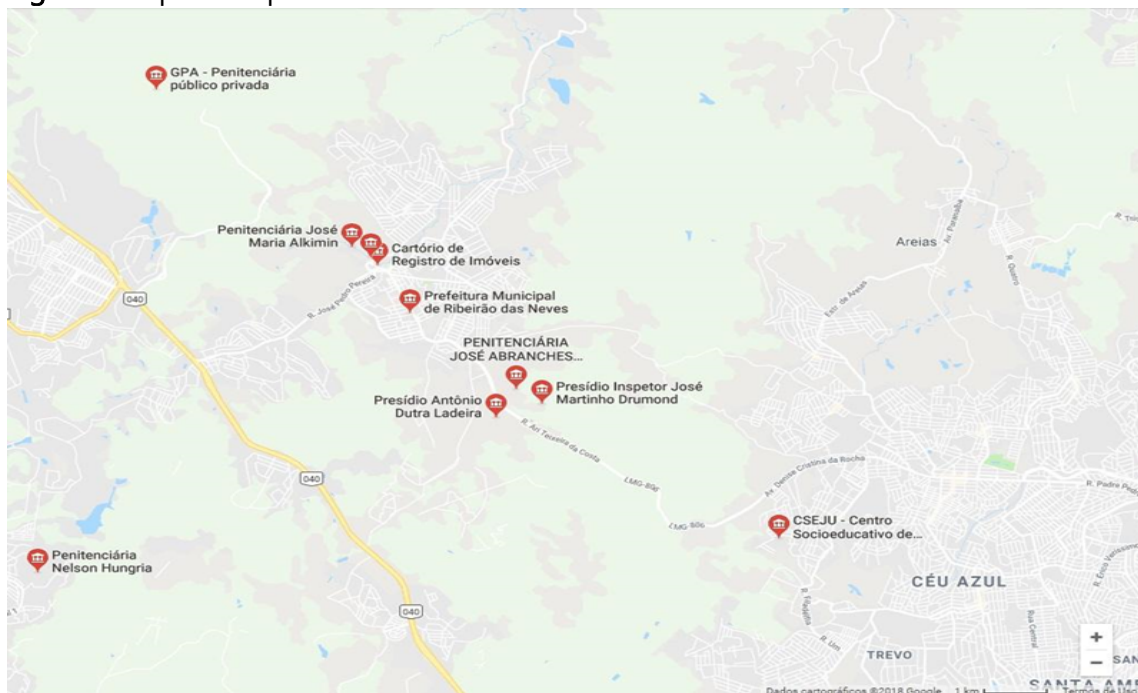
The identity conflict is also a conflict of belonging. I wondered, sometimes, if I could introduce myself as a nevese, since on my birth certificate it appears that I am belorizontina. However, just stop a few minutes and analyze what is behind this official birth registration to understand that I am just one of the thousands of people who were forced to be born in Belo Horizonte due to a lack of options. According to data from the 2010 IBGE Census, more than half of the population (186,373 inhabitants) is not a native of the city, that is, it was born in other municipalities.

One is not born in Ribeirão das Neves because the only existing maternity hospital is the only hospital in the city, the Municipal Hospital São Judas Tadeu, which is unable to meet the health demands of its 334 thousand inhabitants. I was born in the capital and the next day I was back in Neves, where I grew up and spent my whole life until now. Even so, I am officially a belorizontina. It may seem like a small detail at first, but in a city with so many challenges and a fragile bond with its residents, an official birth certificate makes a big difference.

The following map draws attention to the number of prisons and, mainly, their location, since they were not built in places far from the urban center. On the contrary,

they are close to each other and to the central region. The Socio-Educational Center for minors is in the Felixlândia neighborhood, where I grew up, next to a Training Center that offers courses for teenagers and adults and in front of the state school Alessandra Salum Cadar. The other three prisons and the Military Police post are on the margins of LMG-806, close to Hospital São Judas Tadeu and the City Hall, the main access road to the city center. The same route goes to the Central Square and ends at the José Maria Alkimin Prison, also known as former PAN - Neves Agricultural Penitentiary, located in the heart of the city. The exception is due to the location of the most recent prison built, the GPA Penitentiary - Gestores Prisonais Associados, the result of a public-private partnership built on land farther from the main districts of the municipality.

Figure 3 Map of the penitentiaries of Ribeirão das Neves



Source: Google Maps, 2018.

The choice of the Nevens territory as the destination of the penitentiaries was not a matter of chance, but the result of a policy of construction and urbanization of the capital of Minas Gerais. According to Silva and Stephan (2015), the Goals Plan of the Juscelino Kubitschek government generated a movement of internal migration across the country from the 1950s onwards, which culminated in an increase in the population in the metropolitan regions, close to the capitals. They explain that the head of the Belo Horizonte Construction Commission, Aarão Reis, designed the urban layout of the new BH in the period between 1894 and 1897:

This model created an elitist and segregatory character to the capital (...) The central region with an avenue around the perimeter would be destined to house the state apparatus and the residences of public employees and former residents of Ouro Preto. The suburban area, beyond the limits of Avenida do Contorno, would be reserved for the future expansion of the city, characterized by more flexible urban standards and a precarious provision of urban infrastructure and equipment, and for the location of farms and farms. The rural area, in turn, would be beyond the suburban strip and would consist of the green belt, being formed by agricultural colonies with the function of supplying the city with agricultural and horticultural products (SILVA and STEPHAN, 2015, p. 131).

The authors clarify that Avenida do Contorno was really designed to make a contour, surrounding the central area that should be urban and more valued, and built Avenida Afonso Pena to be an access route for low-income people who should reach the center to work. For them, the State Government's plan to densify Belo Horizonte in the center-periphery direction was consolidated with practical measures: the regions that had more access to urban resources have the land sold at higher prices, and for this reason, urban resources were concentrated in the south-central region of the capital. Real estate agents only found that the municipalities of the Northern vector of the Metropolitan Region of BH (RMBH) would be ideal for the creation of subdivisions for low-income families.

According to Silva and Stephan (2015), the most intense flow of migration to Ribeirão das Neves took place between the 1970s and 1980s, when the State removed the most popular houses and land for informal activities that "were not compatible with what it was observable in the central areas of RMBH ". The data presented by the researchers reveal that, in 1970, the population of Nevada was composed of 5,547 inhabitants; in 1980 that number increased to 61,670; in 1991 there were 119,925 inhabitants; 245,401 in 2000 and 294,153 in 2010. 2019 it is already estimated a population of 334 thousand inhabitants.

The growth of the population and the occupation of the city in an unregulated manner and without urban planning generated a great increase in the demands for basic infrastructure, health, education, security, public transport, etc. Demands that the City Hall is unable to meet, which promotes a series of absences and challenges that are faced by the population on a daily basis.

In other words, the typification of "dormitory city" was also imposed on the municipality by the State in an action designed and articulated to enhance the central areas of the capital, which would be more urbanized and therefore with more valued land,

as a way of selecting who would live in those areas and who should arrive just to work and serve the chosen. A decision that still bears strong traces of the Brazilian colonialist period, in which masters could not mix with slaves in the relation *casa grande x senzala*.

And it is not by chance that data from official documents reveal that most of the houses that were demolished in the Belo Horizonte urbanization process belonged to poor and black people. It is no accident that the population of Neves is composed of a black majority, with a huge deficit of public investment in basic sanitation, health, safety and education services. It is also no accident that the territory of Nevada has become a destination for prisons.

After the installation of the PAN in 1938, Neves received three more prison units, measures that confirmed the intention of the State Government to transform the municipality into a "prison space". The lack of public investment in basic services and infrastructure contributed to Neves receiving a stigma of a "prison city", which was aggravated by the high rates of violence and poverty (SILVA and STEPHAN, 2015, p. 138).

Given this, it is possible to begin to understand that the publication of the Official Gazette of the State of Minas Gerais referring to the city as "*Ribeirão das trevas*" was only the officialization of a speech that has been consolidated over the years. It is striking that the public facilities that should take care of the city's cultural and historical memory present yet another silent cry of absence. The little information available, in this sense, reinforces the negative stigma.

When I speak of stigma, I use the concept made by Erving Goffman (1963) who investigated the identity manipulation system. The author explains that there are categories created by society that classify people and their attributes as common and natural or as foreign to what is considered normal. The aspects of individuals that can be perceived within these categories are what form their "social identity".

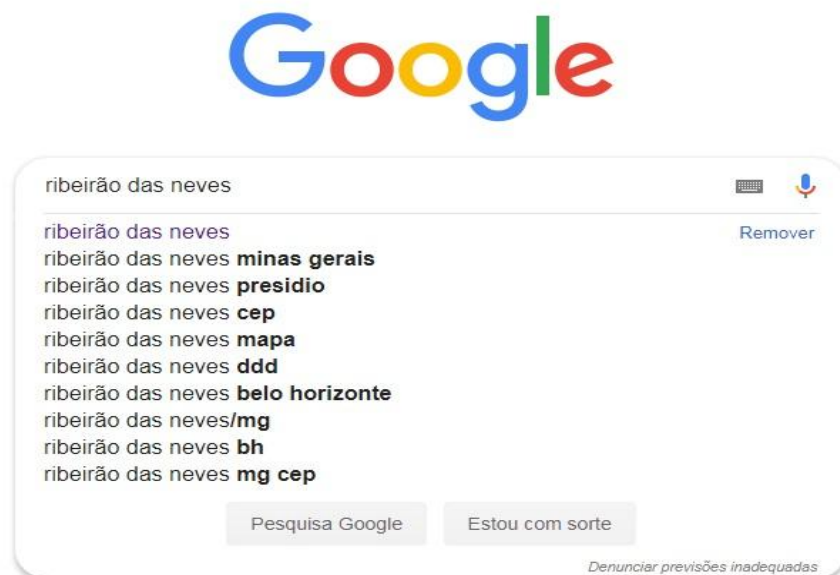
Stigmas are discursive labels, the result of the dominant narrative that privileges whites, straight and wealthy as normal, as it is this population that has historically been considered as natural and common. But only because this group held sufficient economic and political power to dominate the educational and communication systems that disseminate the exclusive thinking of those who are considered to be nonstandard, "the others". City-prison, city-dormitory, city of dump, city of darkness. The city's stigmas are transferred to its residents, who spend their lives dealing with the consequences of being dark.

Ribeirão das Neves and the oppression algorithms

As we have seen, Ribeirão das Neves was built to be the dormitory for people who should spend their working hours at the service of the middle and upper classes located in the capital of Minas Gerais. This information helps to clarify why the Public Archives contains so little information and records of the memory and culture of the people of the Nevis, since it was the State that set out to tell the story and determine the roles to be played by those who sent them to. over there. Unlike the scarce source of official memoirs about Ribeirão das Neves, there is a plethora of information when analyzed from the perspective of the news. The press maintains an almost linear coverage of the snowy territory, and the most important themes are more of the same: poverty, violence, prisons.

This journalistic narrative followed technological advances and also migrated to virtual media. Out of curiosity, I decided to search the internet through the keyword system typed on Google's search site. I typed "Ribeirão das Neves" in the search engine and found the following:

Figure 4 Print Google search



Source: Google search site, 2019.

All the words that appear are related to territorial issues, such as the state of Minas Gerais, zip code, map, area code, etc. However, the only word that appears outside this geographic context and in second place in the search ranking is "prison." I concluded my

research by typing only the term “news” followed by the name of the city, and the result was:

Figure 5 Google search - “Ribeirão das Neves Notícias”

Aproximadamente 468.000 resultados (0,50 segundos)

Ribeirão das Neves | Cidade | G1 - G1 - O portal de notícias da Globo
<https://g1.globo.com/mg/minas-gerais/cidade/ribeirao-das-neves/> ▼
Vítimas foram encontradas em Ribeirão das Neves, na Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte nesta terça-feira (8). Valor levado pelos ladrões não foi ...

Notícias - Ribeirão das Neves Net
<https://ribeiraodasneves.net/noticias> ▼
Terá início na próxima segunda-feira (11), o programa “Transforma Minas”, do Governo de Minas Gerais, para preenchimento de vagas de chefia, direção e ...

Vídeos

<p>MULHERES DENUNCIAM ABRIGAMENTO POLICIAL</p> <p>3:25</p>	<p>PM APREENDE ARMAMENTO DE GUERRA</p> <p>1:43</p>	<p>HOMEM QUEBRE BALA E ESFAQUEIA JOVEN</p> <p>2:49</p>
<p>Ação de policiais gera revolta em Ribeirão das Neves (MG)</p> <p>R7 - 10 de out de 2018</p>	<p>Polícia Militar apreende armamento de guerra em Ribeirão das Neves (MG)</p> <p>R7 - 17 de dez de 2018</p>	<p>Suspeito de esfaquear adolescente em Ribeirão das Neves (MG) é preso</p> <p>R7.com - 7 de jan de 2019</p>

Polícia - Ribeirão das Neves Net
<https://ribeiraodasneves.net/52-noticias/policia> ▼
Polícia Militar desmonta fábrica clandestina de armas e munições em Ribeirão das Neves. 0. A Polícia Militar (PM) desmontou, nessa quinta-feira (28), uma ...

Ribeirão das Neves - Prefeitura Municipal - Notícias
www.ribeiraodasneves.mg.gov.br/materias/tipo/noticias/110 ▼
Ribeirão das Neves - Prefeitura Municipal, PREFEITURA MUNICIPAL DE RIBEIRÃO DAS NEVESRua Ary Teixeira da Costa, 1100 - Bairro Savassi (31) ...

Source: Google, 2019.

If all the first news were not linked to crimes, police and violence, then we find a suggestion of topics for research that the site itself offers, relating them to the keyword entered at the time of the research:

Figure 6 Google Search Suggestion

Vídeo flagra homicídio em posto de combustível de Ribeirão das Neves

<https://www.em.com.br/.../noticia/.../video-flagra-homicidio-em-posto-de-combustivel...>

20 de dez de 2018 - Dois homens foram mortos, na manhã desta quinta-feira, em um posto de combustível de Ribeirão das Neves, Região Metropolitana de Belo ...

Imagens de ribeirão das neves notícias



→ Mais imagens para ribeirão das neves notícias

Denunciar imagens

Pesquisas relacionadas a ribeirão das neves notícias

ribeirão das neves notícias **policiais**

crime em ribeirão das neves

duplo homicídio em ribeirão das neves

homem encontrado morto em ribeirão das neves

operação em ribeirão das neves **hoje**

ribeirão das neves **bairros**

tiroteio em ribeirão das neves

ribeirão das neves neves



Source: Google, 2019.

Only this basic and quick search on the internet, which anyone with access to cell phones can do, reveals the most talked about subject in the newspapers when it comes to Ribeirão das Neves. In local and national media, the theme is always linked to fear and violence. With all this informational scenario mounted mentally, it is easier to understand who decided to write "Ribeirão das Trevas" in the Official Gazette of the State of Minas Gerais.

The news site G1.com, of national and international scope, for example, does not escape the ranking of the most searched topics when the keyword is Ribeirão das Neves:

Figure 7 Ribeirão das Neves on the G1 Notícias Portal



Source: Globo.com Portal G1, 2018.

If before the dispute for space in the media was concentrated in the news spaces, today the dispute for narratives gains an aggravating factor of immeasurable reach in the virtual environment: the struggle of algorithms. According to the report by Sergio C. Fanjul¹ for the newspaper El País (2018), the algorithm is a sequence of instructions carried out to find the solution to a problem. The algorithms track the data and present the results of the problems. For example, the reporter explains that Google's algorithm, called PageRank, is one of the most famous in the world because it crawls the web and presents search results ranked in a ranking of importance. That is, it identifies the data that appears most related to a specific keyword and presents the most "important" data first. In theory, the most complete contents are important, with theme development and in which the inserted keywords appear more frequently.

What makes the city of Ribeirão das Neves identified with data on violence, prisons, death, fear, etc.? Of the 468,000 results found in 0.50 seconds by Google's algorithm, the word prison appears in second place. How many thousand times has Ribeirão das Neves

been associated with themes related to the word prison to make it relevant to the point that it ranks second in the ranking of words most searched by users on the web?

Corrêa and Bertocchi (2012) call “mathematical algorithms” those mathematical solutions that organize information in a Relevance Ranking, and which may or may not use artificial intelligence. However, they emphasize that the algorithms programmed by artificial intelligence tend to perform this curation of information based on the behavior patterns and clicks of users and, therefore, they tend to look back, seeking only more information similar to the records left during navigation without present nothing new, without any criteria for qualifying the information and without news that propose new perspectives and reflections.

Sofiya Noble (2018) conducted extensive research on the power of algorithms in the era of neoliberalism and how these digital decisions reinforce relationships of social oppression based on racism and sexism. The researcher draws attention to the fact that, although the mathematical formulations assume that the algorithms and database are neutral and objective, they can continue the narratives of social oppression because they are formulated by human beings who have different beliefs. They are the ones who define the codes used to filter and organize the information that appeared on the first page of results, and if the results bring racist and sexist information first there is a serious problem in the programming process. “The organization of information is a matter of a socio-political and historical process that serves particular interests” (NOBLE, 2018, p. 7).

According to the author, this knowledge management process reflects the social prejudices that already exist in our society, since human beings are at the center of this curation. Classification practices in systems belonging to the past end up being validated also in the present, and will continue until companies really commit to investing in the repair of knowledge files that are indexed on the computer network.

Online racial disparities cannot be ignored because they are part of the context in which ICTs proliferate, and the Internet is both reproducing social relationships and creating new forms of relationships based on our engagement with it. (...) As users engage with technologies such as search engines, they dynamically co-build the content and the technology itself. The online information and content available in the search are also structured in a systemic way by the infusion of advertising revenue and by monitoring users' searches, which the subjects of such practices have very little capacity to remodel or reformulate. (NOBLE, 2018, p. 11).

What is clear from these studies on algorithms and organization of information on the Internet is that the same mechanisms of control and social classification based on

exclusive, racist and classist principles are perpetuated in the virtual environment. And entering into dispute with these dominant narratives is a work of resistance that requires creativity and investment, just as in the offline environment. With regard to the serious involvement of companies like Google, Noble (2018) believes that the way to overcome this algorithmic oppression is to create alternatives for search engines, along with journalism actions aimed at the public interest in order to offer quality and more diverse information. "Instead of prioritizing dominant narratives, internet search platforms and technology companies could allow greater expression and serve as a democratizing tool for the public" (NOBLE, 2018, p.29).

It is not my interest as a researcher, nor does it seem to be that of Just Crew skaters, to say that the news and information circulating about the city are lies. In fact, all of the challenges mentioned above and what was broadcast in the media are real. The problem with this focus on absences, violence and fear that this "dark" narrative entails is what the aforementioned Nigerian writer, Chimamanda Adichie (2009) calls "a unique story". All this talk about prisons and absences, which has been tirelessly repeated over the years, has created a unique story about Ribeirão das Neves. As if beyond the darkness, there was nothing else. This feeling experienced by young skaters is similar to what Chimamanda told in his lecture about his experience with a roommate during college in the United States.

What impressed me was that: she felt sorry for me before she even saw me. Her standard position towards me, as an African, was a kind of well-intentioned arrogance, pity. My roommate had a unique story about Africa. A single story of catastrophe. In that single story, there was no possibility that Africans would be like her at all. No possibility of configuration more complex than piety. No possibility of a connection as equal humans (ADICHIE, 2009, 00:04:52 - 00:05:20).

The writer stated that she started to understand her roommate's view of the peoples of the African continent when she realized that she had heard, "all her life, different versions of the same story". And it is precisely the different versions of the same history of the municipality of Nevense that facilitate the game with the pun "Ribeirão das Trevas" and all the stigmas and labels stamped on its residents, which present themselves, even before they can answer "who are you?".

Teresa Caldeira (2011) pointed out in her research that the fear narrative is built by the repetition of stories that disseminate common sense about crime, promoting discrimination and creating stereotypes about certain groups, in addition to

delegitimizing the institutions created to maintain order (as the judiciary, PM, etc.) and legitimize privatized justice, through vindictive and illegal acts of violence.

In the case of Ribeirão das Neves, what happens is that its residents are constantly associated with chains, crimes and violence, as if we were all bandits or relatives of bandits. This speech, so often repeated, creates in residents the fear of being identified as criminals as well, as stigma closes countless doors and relationships. Stigma makes people from other regions considered "normal" feel free to criticize, ridicule and humiliate the "different" in the city of darkness. It makes the discourse of fear become natural, which in turn naturalizes discourses of hatred and disgust to those considered to be descendants of evil, and naturalizes the thought that it is necessary to eradicate evil and free people from "good" from dangers and of the crime.

This speech won the presidential elections in Brazil in 2018 and assumed a place of power and political decision, a place where making hand and gun gestures is a sign of the defense of good and morals and authorizes the death and invisibility of those who are in the "different". For many years it is common to hear phrases from some of the Nevenses themselves like "I live near Venda Nova", "I lived in BH and I'm here for a short time if God wants", or "Neves is the darkness!". This agreement, deep down, hides a desperate attitude to get rid of stigma and differentiate itself from criminals in prisons, a search for survival. It is not because I am a resident of the city of the prisons that I am also a criminal or also in prison, but the stigma makes me associate with this symbolic universe of fear and crime whenever I present myself as a Nevenses. And as such, it puts us all at risk.

The jokes and malicious comments are falling into the speeches of the Nevenses themselves, who use the repertoire against the people themselves, against the neighbor, to differentiate themselves and stay alive. The problem is that this action does not break the discourse of violence against the Nevenses, it only reinforces and divides forces, pits us against each other. It prevents the development of the feeling of solidarity and belonging, contributes to the breaking of affective bonds with people and with the territory.

This symbolic association of Nevenses with evil, with bad and precarious, is a discursive tactic resulting from more prejudices generated by people who consider themselves superior and who occupy places of power and decision. It is the result of a millenary thought, several times denied, loaded with colonialist and racist conceptions of a class that needed arguments to enslave and control entire peoples: the idea that the black and the poor are irrational, have no capacity to decide and to be good on their own.

This unique story is told since the colonization of Brazil, since the barbarism of Europeans kidnapping Africans, killing, separating families and forcing them into forced labor. This unique history, repeated millions of times over the centuries, with different dress, contexts and genres, is what allows the black and poor population to continue being forced to occupy peripheral places, to have their rights denied and their dignity hurt.

Chimamanda (2009, 00:13:55 - 00:14:08) also explained why it is dangerous that there is only one story about a particular place. "The consequence of a single story is this: it robs people of their dignity. This makes it difficult to recognize our shared humanity. It emphasizes how we are different instead of how we are similar ". The history associated with the name "Ribeirão das Trevas" is not the only history of the city, but the most told. But there are countless other stories to discover, and it is urgent that new narratives also gain space and visibility. Especially because in order for these problems that make life difficult for Nevenses to be solved, it is important that the population is engaged in the process of change. And how do you get people's voluntary and engaged participation without them having a strong "sense of belonging"?

As most residents do not have an affective bond with the territory, as they were born in other cities and moved there because of the low prices of the lots, the feeling of belonging to Neves needs to be planted and cultivated. These people did not build memories with the place, they do not have experiences that are part of their family history. They are already somehow living with a certain emotional distance from this territory. And, let's face it, nobody wants to identify themselves and feel that they belong to a place of "darkness". That is why it is so urgent and relevant that other stories are told about this territory.

That's what Just Crew has been doing for 20 years. They are telling another story. Entering into dispute with the dominant narrative about darkness and telling other stories, with other characters and other plots. They are offering other experiences and opportunities for city dwellers, especially the younger ones, to identify themselves, to take part. They are trying to reconstruct not only their own life stories, but also their dignity and, consequently, they are reconstructing the dignity of other Nevenses as well. This is the story that we will know more closely below.

Who are the young skaters and how did they become a crew?

One was alone at home, discouraged because he had nothing to do. Another passed by the square and saw older guys doing "really crazy, cool things" with their skateboard.

And yet another, tried a ride on a friend's skateboard and decided he wanted to learn it. Everyone, in common, talked about the sadness and discouragement of staying at home every day just watching television, having nothing to do. According to data from the last census conducted in 2010 by the IBGE, the young population aged between 15 and 29 years⁵ residing in the municipality of Nevada was estimated at more than 84 thousand inhabitants. Of these, approximately 56,000 were economically active.

Adding to this data the entire context already reported on the Nevense territory, it is possible to understand the anguish reported by the young people due to the lack of creative occupation at times when they were not at school. For most of them, television was the companion of free time, but watching the program did not fill the void. So they were looking for something new, something that would take them out of the inertia and loneliness that it was to have only a television as a companion at home.

Each of these loners, at different times, surrendered to the streets in search of something that would return the shine in the eyes and the joy. They ended up discovering, in the little square of Justinópolis, some young people with their skateboards and approached to observe. The oldest skaters in the square knew that look of curiosity and the loneliness behind the observant silence very well. And they let themselves be known, at the same time that they opened up to meet those who passed by the square. Even without knowing very well what to do, those who arrived found in this group what they were looking for, allowing the skateboard to overcome the silence of the afternoons giving way to a great crew (English word that means "guys").

Figure 8 Just Crew Skateboard



Source: Rafaela Goltara, 2018.

Skateboarding is a sport that has gained visibility and has attracted many young people in recent years, especially because it combines fun and adrenaline. Anthropologist Giancarlo Marques Carraro Machado (2011) conducted a survey on the practice of skateboarding in the streets of São Paulo exploring the modality of Street Skate, which is also the modality practiced by Just Crew Skateboard, and found that 42% of the practitioners were located in classes A and B, which would be justified by the high costs of purchase and maintenance of equipment. However, this profile has been modified over the years, as indicated by the latest survey conducted by the Datafolha Institute in 2015, commissioned by the Brazilian Skate Confederation (CBSK). Statistics reveal that 48% of practitioners are now in Class C, exceeding 44% of practitioners concentrated in Classes A and B, and 27% in classes D and E.

Skateboarding in Ribeirão das Neves follows the profile of the research, the city is located in the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte and the group of skaters is composed mostly of men, who started sports between 12 and 17 years old. However, it is noteworthy that of the nine members of Just Crew who participated in this research, all are black and belong to classes D and E. Seven are in the age group of 15 to 29 years old and two are over 35 years old. In other words, they are already starting, here, to escape the standard of what is expected about skaters. After all, they are poor and black.

Davidson Maurício Meireles, better known as Deivim, is one of the creators of Just Crew Skateboard. He is 38 years old and started skating at the age of 13. Since then, he walks the streets of the city with his cart. According to him, the practice of skateboarding in the Quebrada (close to Praça de Justinópolis) started in 2000 with a walk among friends in search of relaxation. The square became the meeting point for the group to practice skateboarding, even before they called themselves "team". 20 years later, the group dynamically resists, "there is always someone leaving and someone entering". Davidson, Wesley and Israel are the pioneers who continue today to maintain the group relationship with those who arrive and make the "corres" for the construction of obstacles and other group activities in the city.

Wesley Queiroz da Silva, presented by others as Wesley Snipes - in reference to the American actor of the same name - is 26 years old and has been part of the team for over a decade. Wendel Israel, 19 years old; Gabriel, 18; Alexandre, 19 years old; Helias, 20 years old; Breno, 17. The three were already friends before they became interested in skateboarding and ended up strengthening their ties when they got to know the sport. According to Gabriel and supported by others, the square is like a second home and Just Crew is like a family. Gabriel and Alexandre even shared the same skateboard when they started training.

With the support of a broomstick, the two friends trained at home before venturing into the bandstand in the square. According to Alexandre, the square became the second home just over a year and three months ago. Wendel says that his passion for skateboarding not only freed him from the boredom of the afternoons, but also extended his circle of friendship and coexistence. Helias moved to Ribeirão das Neves about four years ago, and also surrendered to skateboarding on the encouragement of a friend. This is the case of Nathan, who also recently moved to the city and discovered that an alternative to the abandoned square in the neighborhood of Felixlândia was the skateboarders' square in Justinópolis.

I got here, I started walking because of a colleague of mine, Isaías. We went to Mineirão, walked there, I liked it. Then after a while I managed to save some money, and I bought one. Then I found out that there were people walking in the square, so I came here. And to this day, we're going. I must live in Ribeirão das Neves for about four years (ELIAS. Interview granted to Rafaela Goltara. Ribeirão das Neves, April 2018).

Through these testimonies it is possible to see that the absence of professional occupation and the lack of housing and leisure options are shared by everyone as the

main reasons for the boredom and loneliness they feel. Skateboarding arrived as a novelty presented from friend to friend, offering the emotion that they sought so much to fill the voids. And it was from the identification among these young people that the friendship became stronger, transforming the group of skaters into a family, as Gabriel pointed out during the interview: "This square here is also my second home, together with Just Crew there, my family. ". These are just some of the young people who participate in the movement and who were willing to tell the story of the group at our second meeting. In all, about 30 other young people take turns strengthening the group and skate in the square.

Being part of this group not only made them street skating practitioners, but also transformed the lives of these young people, as they highlight, completely changing the routine and the way they felt and saw themselves.

Before I used to skate, I was very discouraged, I didn't have many friends. Now, from here, I know everyone. I've already met the family of some here, there are days when I'm at home there, and I'm kind of discouraged, maybe even sad, I come here, sit down and I'm happy for three days straight. So that's it (WENDEL. Interview granted to Rafaela Goltara. Ribeirão das Neves, April 2018).

The skateboard's own language and concepts were disseminated among them through videos posted on the YouTube platform, which they sought to learn more about the sport and maneuvers, and also by the influence of Deivim, Israel and Wesley. Even today, they play the role of group leaders and are referenced by others for their willingness to motivate the crew, organize championships and share their technical knowledge with the group. Despite this, they are not restricted to the circle of friends formed in this crew. Through skateboarding, they get to know other teams and young fans of the sport or who participate in similar collective actions, creating a great support and contact network. As is the case of the skate group in the center of Ribeirão das Neves, called Neves Gamba, which had the partnership of Just Crew in holding a championship in July 2018.

The group's name refers to the language of skateboarding, but also to the symbolism of the relationship built between them. According to Deivim, the term Just comes from the name of the regional nevense, Justinópolis, and Crew, because it also means guys, "it's a group that used to meet there to skate". The group has existed and resisted for 20 years, but it has only recently gained that name, with the new members.

Alexandre explained that they started to officially name the group after they felt the need to share videos on social networks, in order to give more visibility to the actions.

We started with the name Just Crew was through a YouTube channel that we decided to create. Since then, we were created to create a blouse, Facebook page, Instagram page, it was more through that: that desire to have a YouTube channel. Ah! They will do, knot, but what name will we put? Nôh, Deivim talks a lot about Just crew, let's put on justcrew. That's how we put the name Just Crew (ALEXANDRE. Interview granted to Rafaela Goltara. Ribeirão das Neves, April 2018).

The main form of mobilization among them is the Whatsapp cell phone chat application, in which they created a group in which they share photos and videos of the rides, set dates and times for the training and advise on the interventions they will make in the spaces they occupy and in the city. One of the main interventions that the crew made in the public space took place in Praça de Justinópolis. In the absence of tracks and places for sports and leisure, they decided to renovate the bandstand and turn it into a track. They mobilized the local community, partners and material donors and promoted the cleaning and painting of the entire square, as well as achieving the lighting of the space.

In 2019, Just Crew joined other collectives in the city and occupied a school abandoned by the government in Justinópolis. Together, they remodeled the school's spaces and transformed it into the scene of several free activities for the residents of Neves, such as: Just Crew Advanced Training Center, Skate Workshops for beginners, Circus School, Sports Activities, Entrepreneurship Workshops, among others. More recently, feeling the increased demand for young people without school activities because of the Covid-19 pandemic, they also renovated a skate park that was unfinished and abandoned by the City for years, expanding the meeting and training places for the crew.

Just Crew has carried out a work similar to that proposed by Noble (2018) in facing the oppression algorithms: presenting counter-narratives that question the unique history of the darkness of Internet search engines and promoting the engagement of more users with this differentiated content . With channels on Facebook, Youtube and Instagram, the crew publishes daily photos and videos of its activities in public spaces and in Ocupação Curumim, where the Advanced Training Center works. It is in these social networks that they disseminate the schedule, schedules and present other possible stories for young people, men, blacks and peripherals like them.

Only the group's official Instagram account (@just_skate_crew) currently has more than 3,100 followers and more than 200 publications in which they abuse the English keywords related to the skate universe in their captions. It is in this way, that they get their content indexed and disseminated in searches related to the themes "skateboard" and "ribeirão das neves". They attract visitors to the profile and promote engagement through the likes, comments and shares of the posts, and little by little, they are also leaving new words of stories in the digital medium that value the life and sociability of young people in the country.

Nilma Lino Gomes (2019) states that the Brazilian black movement is an educating movement. She makes this statement based on extensive research on black social movements in Brazil and how their role has an educational role, since they are producers "of emancipatory knowledge and systematizers of knowledge on the racial issue in Brazil. Knowledge transformed into demands, of which several became State policies in the first decades of the 21st century" (GOMES, 2019, 25). In the author's words:

It starts from the premise that the Black Movement, like other social movements, by acting socially and politically, reconstructs identities, raises questions, refreshes and politicizes concepts about itself and about social reality. (...) The Black Movement, understood as a political producer and product of diverse social experiences that resignify the ethnic-racial issue in our history, is recognized in this study as a subject of knowledge. (GOMES, 2019, p. 32).

Just Crew, despite not calling itself as such, acts as a social movement in search of recognition, as in the definition suggested by Honneth (2003) which is based on the experience of Love, Law and Solidarity. In addition, the crew is an educating skater movement because its action is geared towards education. With their skateboards and all their forms of mobilization, training and resistance, this group composed almost entirely of blacks and young people, found a way to educate the city and the residents themselves for another culture, showing that another Ribeirão das Neves is possible.

It is remarkable how intense the relationship of these skaters with the snowy territory is. They look at the city in a completely different way than the eyes that condemn it to darkness. They look at the city and modify it with their eyes; they intervene in the public space and modify it, valuing the patrimony without charging anything for it. Just Crew is re-educating the Nevis, especially the younger ones, to discover another city: Ribeirão das Neves. A city that is not of darkness, a city that you can love.

Just Crew gives an ollie about fear and transforms the city of Ribeirão das Neves into a meeting place, of friendship, of overcoming obstacles. They enter into the dispute

for the recognition of their rights as "citizens of the world", as Davidson proudly defined it when describing the crew's mission. They reinvent the city and illuminate the darkness, claiming their right to the city. They make the city. Michel Agier (2015) states that the city is essentially constituted by movement and that this movement is that of "making-city". The researcher suggests an anthropology of "making-city" presenting three aspects that can be considered effects of urban action: invasion, occupation and installation.

1) architectures in a distance (a camp, in the invasion of an empty place). It is the first gesture of the invasion understood as disobedience and as assumed illegality; 2) recalcitrant presence on the spot 'I'll stay here, no matter what'; and 3) operates an Urban Transformation, thanks to the durable installation mechanisms. (AGIER, 2015, p. 493).

In this perspective, we can say that Just Crew, in fact, makes the city. By invading the square's bandstand and using it as a peak for their maneuvers, they disobey the order imposed on the acceptable uses for that place. Then, the team installs itself there, making changes in the structure, adapting the space for the uses it intends to make, renovating the surroundings with the objective of attracting more people to the square and promoting the rehabilitation of that place. And, with time, what is perceived is that they brought about a real urban transformation, as they really promoted a durable installation that involved and engaged people in the use and occupation of space for several other purposes (such as MC battles), re-urbanizing a place previously abandoned for fear of narratives.

They literally give an ollie about the controlling order of the public power, because they jump over what was previously established as a barrier and make this jump a flight closer to the dignity that they try so hard to rob them of. They give an ollie about the denial of their rights as citizens and assert their right to the city. For a city that is always the same, they bring something new. Just Crew challenges the darkness and builds the most concrete and real possibility of the city of Ribeirão das Neves.

The representation of the city itself was transformed by the experience of these young skaters, as they themselves report. Accustomed to hearing jokes and comments about the distance and the difficulty of access to other regions, and about the fear of the proximity of the penitentiaries, of friends of the capital of Minas Gerais, now arouse the curiosity of other young skaters attracting visitors to the Bandstand of Justinópolis Square.

This is already coming out, understand? From the people's view. Because we are already managing to put it, some people are coming from downtown (downtown Belo Horizonte) to walk here. Like look how

beautiful that peak in the center, a peak in the center very good, and what are you guys coming to walk here for? It is not because the peak is good. It's because of us, you know? They are seeing that we are running after... (GABRIEL, October 2018).

I think that Ribeirão das Neves that we are building ... It's us! We are Ribeirão das Neves. Skateboarding is transforming Ribeirão das Neves and us in a better known place, with culture, with leisure. Neves 'square today is known as the skateboarders' square. And it's not for nothing. It is because we are dedicated to it. We want here, in the future, everything we have done is something that more and more will grow. That he will not die with us, you know? I think Neves today is being a better place, at least here. Here in the square it's a better place. Of course, like everywhere, it has its ruins, it has its crises, but when we talk about skateboarding in Ribeirão das Neves in the main square, it's already evolving ... (BRENO. Interview granted to Rafaela Goltara. Ribeirão das Neves, October 2018).

These statements by the boys make it very clear how revolutionary the encounter they had individually with skateboarding and collectively with each other. The practice of this sports modality put them in contact with a different reality from the one they had been experiencing, of loneliness and self-hate. As I reread those conversations and watch the videos again, I remember how emphatic they were when they said they were sad at home, with nothing to do, that they had nothing and no one. I return to the words of Breno (2018): "I didn't know myself before skateboarding. I didn't know what I wanted to do. What I wanted. I just did things ". It is as if he did not exist before, just reacting to the stimuli he received.

The unique history of darkness, the racist narrative that the State, the Press and the virtual algorithms tell Breno daily steals much more than I or they managed to express in these written lines. The sadness, low self-esteem and loneliness they shared without knowing it, is the result of a narrative symbolically told, in a subtle and also wide-open way, which teaches young black and poor people to hate each other. Hate nurtured silently for itself, for not being white enough, for not being rich enough, for never having and never being enough to be accepted, seen, recognized and loved, leaves deep marks on memory, heart and soul of these young people. Self-rage is overwhelming and has a destructive power of subjection that, many times, we cannot even understand the extent and the ways in which it will reverberate and manifest itself in our lives. Black boys taught to get used to hateful looks and attitudes are closer to the experiences of death than to life.

It is not for nothing that statistics show that blacks are the ones who die the most in Brazil. Data from the 2019 Atlas of Violence indicate that, in 2017, 75.5% of the people

murdered in the country are black. "In the period of a decade (2007 to 2017), the rate of murdered blacks increased by 33.1%, while that of non-blacks presented a small growth of 3.3%" (CERQUEIRA et al., 2019, p. 49) . The unique story about Ribeirão das Neves and black people has always taught Breno that he is not someone worthy of existence, worthy of loving and being loved, worthy of being recognized as a human being with rights and talents, that he he is not worthy to dream.

A racist society uses several strategies to discriminate against black people. Some bodily aspects, in the context of racism, are taken up by culture and some discriminatory treatment. They are objectives to remove the black or the status of humanity. Perhaps this is one of the best ways for racism to perpetuate itself. It transforms the differences inscribed on the body into marks of inferiority. In this process are standards of superiority / inferiority, beauty / ugliness. (GOMES, 2003, p. 79).

According to Nilma (2003, p. 81), the contribution of black culture to education is precisely in this process of reframing and building positive representations about black people, about their histories, cultures, corporeality and aesthetics. Just Crew is an educating skater movement because it reconstructs and creates these new possibilities of representation, not only for the city and its residents, but above all for these young black and peripheral people. Taught by the dominant narratives to self-selfish, they find the narrative of self-love in skateboarding.

So, when Breno says "skateboarding is life! Skateboarding is our life, there's no way! ", He is saying much more than "skateboarding is a sport that I cannot live without ". The experience of the meeting that skateboarding promoted among these young lonely blacks, sad and marked to die, gave them back their lives. The ollie that Just Crew offers is not just about narratives. I dare say that they give an ollie is in death. Skateboarding is life! It is life because it was an instrument that facilitated encounters that dared to tell a story of life, of friendship, of dreams, of flight.

The story told, thousands and thousands of times, about fear, death and confinement lost its meaning for them when they experienced feelings of trust, life and freedom in the collective and on the skateboard. Love is really revolutionary. Love and friendship, the union that everyone points to as the main achievement of this sports practice, is a political act of freedom. They are re-educating themselves for life, for sociability, for the experience of beauty and love.

Bell Hooks (2019, p. 63) also believes in the power of love to transform the reality of those who had to see and hear themselves since birth into tales of death.

Collectively, black people and our allies are empowered when we practice self-love as a revolutionary intervention that undermines domination practices. Loving blackness as political resistance transforms our ways of seeing and being and, therefore, creates as necessary conditions for us to move against the messages of domination and death that they take as black lives.

So many other black researchers have told other stories over time, but so superficial is my knowledge of their work and their trajectories, because, as Damaceno (2013) said, the policy of erasing their lives and contributions still dominates the educational system Brazilian. Therefore, when the black skaters of Just Crew give an ollie in the identities and self-representations presented as possible by the racist and elitist symbolic system in which they are inserted, they return to the ground with their skateboards and new real representations of the impossible. They create other stories. They are no longer just characters identified with the available roles. They become authors, knowledge producers, inventors of their territory and scenery. They jump high and spin in the air with their shapes so they can be seen. They give an ollie in the looks that put them in positions always below. These eyes, now, if you want to see them, will have to be lifted upwards. The skate makes noise when it falls to the ground after the jump because they gave an ollie in the silence. They take on the role of social educators.

In addition, Just Crew skaters, by telling their own stories and building their own images and representations on the group's social networks, challenge the mathematical logic of search engines and offer new connections with which young people, like themselves, can connect. engage. They give an ollie to the algorithms of oppression (NOBLE, 2018).

Final considerations

The experience that Just Crew Skateboard shares with this research demonstrates that Neven's identity is really in dispute. The "unique history" of darkness, established over the years in periodicals, algorithms and official communications from the government, is being challenged by this group that found in friendship and skateboard the strength to build a new narrative for the city and for itself. This meeting provided the necessary space for the construction of a new symbolic system, with new meanings about what it is to be a young skater living in Ribeirão das Neves and new possibilities to develop his subjectivities, to decide the position with which to identify.

We realized throughout the research that, despite this unique history being repeated in an official way and so ostensibly in the media, even in the virtual context, this

is not the only existing story about the city and its residents. Although the State and private companies, which profit from the systematic classification of knowledge and human beings, insist on the same old colonialist history that privileges a small part of society, there are movements of resistance. Just Crew is an example of how a group of young people labeled by their race, class and gender can also mobilize themselves in an organized way and challenge the so-called "normal" search results. They teach not to identify with certain roles that are imposed in this segregative classification, not to promote engagement with content and algorithms that speak more of the same, and to mobilize and make visible other knowledge and expressions.

In this power game between those who tell each other's stories in an exclusive way and those who accept submitting or resisting, Just Crew gives an ollie and puts on the track a new city and a new snow identity. Chimamanda Adichie (2009) was right when she said that by rejecting a unique story, a kind of paradise is regained, as this is what Just Crew has been doing with skateboards and the boldness of giving ollies in unconventional places. They are regaining their own place and paradise. As Gabriel (2018) pointed out: "We want to have our place here in Neves, people of Neves. We are these people".

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RESUMO:

Ribeirão das Neves é uma cidade mineira com cerca de 334 mil habitantes e 60% da população autodeclarada negra. Além do estigma “cidade das penitenciárias”, também ficou conhecida pelo trocadilho “Ribeirão das Trevas” publicado no Diário Oficial do Estado em 7 de setembro de 2013 e no site do Tribunal de Justiça de Minas Gerais em 21 de agosto de 2018, e por milhares de publicações de violência e pobreza relacionadas pelos algoritmos de busca na internet. No entanto, a cidade destinada pelo poder público a ser sempre a mesma, abriga outras narrativas criadas por um coletivo de skatistas negros educadores: a Just Crew Skateboard. Este artigo é um desdobramento da dissertação de mestrado e apresenta os resultados da investigação, revelando à luz das leituras de Nilma Lino Gomes, como este grupo contesta o estigma da cidade mostrando novas possibilidades de engajamento e uma narrativa que valoriza a vida e as sociabilidades.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: skatistas; Ribeirão das Neves; cidade; movimento educador; algoritmos da opressão.

RESUMEN:

Ribeirão das Neves es una ciudad de Minas Gerais con aproximadamente 334 mil habitantes y el 60% de la población autodeclarada negra. Además del estigma de “ciudad de las penitenciarias”, también fue conocida por el juego de palabras “Ribeirão das Trevas” publicado en el Boletín Oficial del Estado el 7 de septiembre de 2013 y en el sitio web de la Corte de Justicia de Minas Gerais el 21 de agosto de 2018, y por miles de publicaciones sobre violencia y pobreza relacionadas mediante algoritmos de búsqueda en Internet. Sin embargo, la ciudad destinada por el gobierno a ser siempre la misma, alberga otras narrativas creadas por un colectivo de patinadores negros educadores: el Just Crew Skateboard. Este artículo es una rama de la tesis de maestría y presenta los resultados de la investigación, revelando a la luz de las lecturas de Nilma Lino Gomes, cómo este grupo desafía el estigma de la ciudad mostrando nuevas posibilidades de compromiso y una narrativa que valora la vida y la sociabilidad.

PALABRAS-CLAVES: patinadores; Ribeirão das Neves; ciudad; movimiento educador; algoritmos de opresión.