

TERRITORY VILA MILITAR DO RIO DE JANEIRO: DAILY LIFE AND HISTORY ON THE POINT OF VIEW OF MILITARY WIVES

TERRITÓRIO VILA MILITAR DO RIO DE JANEIRO: COTIDIANO E HISTORICIDADE SOB A PERSPECTIVA DAS ESPOSAS DE OFICIAIS

TERRITORIO VILLA MILITAR DE RÍO DE JANEIRO: COTIDIANO E HISTORICIDAD BAJO LA PERSPECTIVA DE LAS ESPOSAS DE OFICIALES

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to rescue aspects of the history and daily life of the Military Village, a neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro suburb that houses military and their families. A space designed for the quartering of troops who constantly experience the urban dynamics being transformed by the decisions and social needs of the country. The text deals with the concepts of territory and territoriality to discuss the symbolic and social aspects involving the relations and the occupation of that space for military families. The discussion seeks to articulate concepts and aspects present in the narratives of military spouses to describe the daily life of the territory.

Keywords: Military village. Territory. Daily life.

RESUMO

O artigo busca resgatar aspectos da história e do cotidiano da Vila Militar. Um bairro do subúrbio carioca, que abriga militares e suas famílias. Um espaço projetado para o aquartelamento de tropas, que vivencia, constantemente, as dinâmicas urbanas, sendo transformado e afetado pelas decisões e necessidades sociais do país. O texto aborda os conceitos de território e territorialidades para assim tratar os aspectos simbólicos e sociais que envolvem as relações e a ocupação desse espaço pelas famílias de militares. A discussão foi encadeada buscando articular conceitos e aspectos presentes nas narrativas das esposas de militares para descrever o cotidiano desse território.

Palavras-chave: Vila Militar. Território. Cotidiano.

RESUMEN

El artículo busca rescatar aspectos de la historia y del cotidiano de la Villa Militar. Un barrio del suburbio carioca, que abriga militares y sus familias. Un espacio proyectado para el acuartelamiento de tropas, que experimenta, constantemente, las dinámicas urbanas, siendo transformado y afectado por las decisiones y necesidades sociales del país. El texto aborda los conceptos de territorio y territorialidades para así tratar los aspectos simbólicos y sociales que comprenden las relaciones y la ocupación de este espacio por las familias de militares. La discusión se concatenó articulando conceptos y aspectos presentes en las narraciones de las esposas de militares para describir el cotidiano de este territorio.

Palabras clave: Villa Militar. Territorio. Cotidiano.

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I INTRODUCTION

This article is part of the PhD thesis which is now being prepared by the researcher in the Graduate Program in Social Psychology at UERJ. Data collection started early in 2014, and is still in progress. This is an investigation about contemporary culture and subjectivation modes. The key objective of the thesis is to describe the construction of the subjectivity of the spouses of officers living at Vila Militar de Deodoro (Deodoro Military Base), and the influence of military culture on this process.

The selected delimited space was the Vila Militar de Deodoro, as when leaving Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (Agulhas Negras Military Academy) - AMAN the officers are stationed in several areas of the national territory, feeling sure that, at least once in the course of their careers they will be coming to live at Vila Militar, since all combat officers are required to take the Officer Qualification Course at the Escola de Aperfeiçoamento de Oficiais (Officer Development School) - EsAO. Thus, this is a territory where abundant representations, symbols and histories exist, allowing residents and all visitors who come to Vila Militar to experience and learn about the elements of this culture. Although the EsAO students represent a significant share of the population of Vila Militar, there are other military units inside this territory and which, together, make up the structure of this space.

On the stand point of the spouses of Brazilian Army officers attending courses at Vila Militar is a way of thinking about the social space as place where daily chores and activities are shared influenced by the institutional culture of the Army and performed by social agents that are not directly linked to the institution. It is in this context that this paper intends to present some of the preliminary results of the qualitative research that is now in progress, discussing the conceptual elements related to territory, territoriality and some of the analyses that have been carried out to this date about one of the categories existing in the discourse of the women subjects of the analysis: the Vila Militar.

2 THE METHOD

The sample selected for this study is composed of women³, married to military living at Vila Militar de Deodoro, and who did not attend military schools and whose parents did not pursue a military career, once our purpose is to assess the internalization of the elements of Brazilian Army culture in the discourse of these women.

The interviewees were asked to talk freely about the changes in their lives since they got married. In a non structured interview enabling the interviewee to make an

oral report of her life history, the researcher started to direct their narrative, asking questions to elucidate any the elements that were not clear and setting the pace of the history. Each autobiographic narrative talks about human actions. Individual narratives enable researchers to establish contact with subject references, and the method give interviewees freedom to set the themes, talk about their experiences in their own way, thus starting to build their histories and their group (BRIOCHI; TRIGO, 1989). This method also allows us to go beyond the individual aspects, enabling researchers to glimpse at social-cultural nuances, collect information on the universe where the subjects live, what they do and how their subjectivities are built in this context. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Categories of analyses were defined based on the discourse of these women.

For data analysis the discourse analysis method is used to deconstruct and understand what the subjects are telling us. Accordingly, language appears as a way of materializing the history, the ideology and the social organization to which the subjects are associated. This is an analysis with time and space position, and does not intend to generalize, since, from this perspective, there is no total analysis. The intended purpose is to interpret the enunciates and the ideologies behind the words being uttered.

Thus, in the context of the PhD thesis, the Vila Militar appears a delimited space for research and, at the same time, one of the categories that are present in the discourse of the interviewees.

The purpose of this paper is to get to know the real and symbolic territory where the wives of military personnel and their families are inserted, and to describe the daily life, the routine and the specific traits of this space. Aiming at an improved understanding of the actors living in this place, the authors are attempting to develop an "urban sociology of the area" with some data related to its architecture and administration, flows of displacements and to aspects of daily life. As Ceretau explains:

The selected method consists of bringing together these two aspects of the same approach in order to establish a control system that will enable avoiding undefined digression: work the objective matters of the area (external impositions, arrangements, etc.) just up to the point where it is the elected land where daily life will be brought to the stage (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 38). (*free translation from Portuguese*)

Some aspects of the history of Vila Militar de Deodoro are also presented, from the time it was built up to the present, as in this space side buildings from the beginning of last century and modern facilities stand side by side and, together, make up a territory full of history that dates from the construction of that neighborhood, as well as the influence of that space on the urbanization of this neighborhood of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Very little has been written about the history and the daily life of this space. Thus, the selected methodology

³ Wives of officers stationed at Military Units stationed at the Vila Militar. Among them are eight Captain, five Major, three LTCI and two Colonel wives. Please note that data collection is still in progress, and just partial results of the ongoing research are presented in this paper.

was to look for collective representations of the territory found in the narratives of the interviewees, and also in some scientific papers on anthropological and historical field researches on the military areas adjacent to what today is called Vila Militar.

The term Vila Militar (Military Base) is a generic designation of the set of homes for the military formed by National Housing Properties (PNRs, acronym in Portuguese). Situated close to Deodoro, the Vila Militar is a neighborhood designed to house barracks and homes for military. In the records of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the neighborhood is named Vila Militar. But, among the military and their families as well as in this study it will be named Vila Militar de Deodoro, or yet Vila Militar do Rio de Janeiro, as this territory is distinguished from the other military bases existing in the capital of the state of Rio de Janeiro and in other Brazilian cities.

3 TERRITORY AND TERRITORIALITY: A CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

According to the geography dictionary: "Territory refers to projection, over a given space, of specific structures belonging to a human group, which includes how it is partitioned and the management of the organization of this space" (CLAVAL, 1999, p. 9).

Thus, the term territory has several meanings. Among them it can be viewed as a space destined to a nation, a State, delimited by borders - often demarcated by rivers and, in this sense, territory results "from a collective appropriation of the space by a given group" (CLAVAL, 1999, p.8). This is a political geography concept, and from this stand point, the idea of territory is linked to the control and the sovereignty of this State, not allowing any breach of these borders.

The symbolic dimension of the territory refers to the live space. The studies of this dimension in the seventies and eighties sought to analyze the personality of the geographic constructions. A concern appeared in this period about the roots of the affective and moral ties the groups have with the land where they were born. Studies observed how difficult it was for native peoples, for example, to define themselves without reference to the space to which they used to belong. In other words, the author concludes that "groups only exist because the territories to which they have an emotional connection" (CLAVAL, 1999).

The author suggests that symbolic ties between groups and territories seem to be universal. He quotes some expressions to corroborate his claims: "we fight for our country, for the land of our fathers, (...) or our motherland" (CLAVAL, 1999, p. 10).

In some places the symbolic content is higher:

These are memory places: their symbolic value can be more or less noble, local, national, international, global or specific to a religion, a culture; they are often

sources of collective and economic activity (CLAVAL, 1999, p. 15). (free translation from Portuguese)

Talking about territory instead of space is to highlight human presence. The role to be played by action and discourse is to realize that relations are not merely material and project reflexes of shared images, and are promoters of symbolic references (CLAVAL, 1999).

This double symbolic and material connotation, reveals two aspects: etymologically, control over the land, and in a broader sense, appropriation, the privilege of enjoying the benefits of the territory. Both meanings carry the idea of power. And, appropriation has a larger symbolic value, loaded with experiences, the value of using, a bond built across a given period of time, a subjective and cultural process. In this second concept of territory the "space-time-lived" is always multiple and built socially (HAESBAERT, 2005).

Territories are functional and symbolic, because control over the space is exercised both to perform functions and to produce meanings. The author makes a didactic distinction between these two types of territorial characteristics as, in reality, they do not appear "pure" in distinct realities. In order to understand them the author devised *continuum* between functionality and symbolism. To him, elements of control (dominion) are present in the functional territory. These are territories marked by inequality, governed by the principle of exclusiveness, single functionality, with exchange value and destined to production and profit. On the other hand, processes of appropriation can be perceived in the symbolic territory. Marked by differences, multiple identities appear with symbolic value of home and affective safety. This is a dichotomic distinction, but historicity and the geographic context of the territory must also be taken into consideration. Today, in post-modern societies the interest in mobility, networks and connections is prevalent and appear are highly valued elements when it comes to the construction of the land and appropriation of the territory (HAESBAERT, 2005).

Territory and territoriality are two closely related concepts. Territory has a spatial, physical denotation and a symbolic, temporal connotation. Territoriality has a more cultural than physical meaning. Both concepts come together to explain a perception of power exercised by an individual or a group over the space: "The formation of a territory gives the people who live there the awareness of their participation, thereby eliciting the feeling of territoriality" (ANDRADE, 1993, p. 214) (free translation from Portuguese).

On this subject Haesbaert (2005) adds that territoriality is closely linked to the manner in which the land is used, that is, how people are organized in the space and start to add meaning to that place. This is a concept that encompasses three dimensions: economic, political and cultural. Going beyond the relations of political power "it involves the symbolisms of the different

social groups and, at the same time, the economic dynamics centered on its social agents. Materiality and immateriality come together in the territoriality(ies) and in the territory(ies)" (HAESBAERT, 2005, p.138). (free translation from Portuguese)

The studies on territory and territoriality must not be limited to the space, as culture promotes processes of broad and varied subjectifications requiring analyses that go beyond the area defined by anatomic borders. In other words, attention must be given to networks and itineraries that point to the set of hierarchical positions that start to develop structure, and contribute to regulate social interactions.

Thus, the families of officers displaced to the various states of Brazil are subject to constant deterritorializations. This process allows them to live simultaneously with different customs, religion and cultures; this is the seed of territorialities as possibility of survival. Individuals group together in the geographic changeable territory: the military bases (or villages in Portuguese); and in the military family they look for possibilities of identification and connection to places and itineraries of this culture. That is, the military base, a neighborhood that carries with it the features of a place of recognition, even if it is not a reference space attesting its origins, it leaves in the subject a mark of belonging.

The neighborhood thus appears as the place where social engagement is manifested or, in other words: an art of living side by side with partners (neighbors, storekeepers) who are linked to you by the concrete, but essential, fact of proximity and repetition (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 39). (free translation from Portuguese)

4 THE VILA MILITAR AND ITS INSERTION IN THAT SPECIFIC AREAS OF THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

The research is carried out in this delimited geographic space: the largest military base of the Brazilian Army, where every combat officer will live at least once in his career. The military base is not just a space where you live and work, but rather an area of Rio de Janeiro for leisure and sociability. It ranks third among the largest leisure areas in the city, where civilians and military alike go for trekking, to practice sport and meet people, since it has an area of 2.5 thousand meters exists there reserved precisely for this purpose. There are around 1,800 homes for officers, sergeants and corporals with, on average, 6,000 dwellers. It is not a group of homes, but a space of identity, a territory loaded with beliefs and values, specific symbolic forms that have a role to play in the lives of the individuals who live, work there or visit it.

Today, this space has the largest concentration of military personnel in Latin America, and it is the largest Brazilian military base. Despite the fact that it is a urban space, inside a capital city, the subjects led a unique type

of life, distinct life in any other military base in the country and, most of all, different from the closed condominiums seen in the urban architecture of capital cities.

Other notes about the history of Vila Militar de Deodoro can be found in the Master dissertation presented by Viana (2002). The dissertation is about Escola Militar do Realengo (Realengo Military School) and its legacy to the urban assets of the city, with special focus on that neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro. Thus, it is not just a description of the history of Vila Militar, but it is an important source of information about the historical period and the contributions resulting from the arrival of the military to the West zone of Rio de Janeiro.

The idea of setting up a space with a larger number of military quarters dates from 1870, as a solution to the problems faced by the Brazilian Army in the period of the Triple Alliance War. The Brazilian Army lacked a suitable area to house and train the troops, to organize the Military Units and to enable integrated training (MAGALHÃES, 1998).

In Rio de Janeiro, the federal capital at that time, there was no area available enabling a solution to these problems; and more than that: the training sites brought risks of accidents to the population.

The problems continued to exist even after the proclamation of the Republic and, in 1898, in his annual report the then Minister of War João Nepomuceno de Medeiros Mallet, stressed the need to improve military quarters and hospital facilities. A search for an appropriate place, where the new facilities were to be built began in this period. In 1901, as the works still had not started, in his annual report, once again, General Mallet stressed the advantages from the concentration of barracks, and mentioned the episodes of the Paraguay and Canudos Wars to emphasize that logistics restructuring was needed (MAGALHÃES, 1998).

In 1904, a popular movement promoted by intellectuals against mandatory immunization triggered the beginning of a military coup to overthrown president Rodrigues Alves. The rebellious troops of Escola Militar do Brasil (Brazilian Military School), in Praia Vermelha, marched towards the government palace but was prevented from moving forward. This episode was the decisive motivation for the beginning of the changes needed for effective modernization of the Army. The most important changes were made happened in military education, with the purpose of increasing the operational capacity of military personnel and, thereby, to have them better prepared for combat actions (MAGALHÃES, 1998).

When, he took office as Minister of War, in 1906, Marshal Hermes da Fonseca attempted to take the actions of his predecessors forward, seeking to build new barracks and emphasizing the need to the find suitable spaces for military activities.

The establishment of Escola Geral de Tiro do Campo Grande (Campo Grande General Shooting

School), in the second half of the nineteenth century, marked the beginning of the displacement of military personnel to the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro. In 1905, the Escola Militar (Military School) located at Praia Vermelha, was partially moved to Realengo, and from 1913 to 1944 it was in operation in this area. Although new facilities had been built and old ones renovated, military personnel complained about the unsuitability of that space and its precarious surroundings. Other barracks and homes for officers, storage and sport were built around the school (VIANA, 2002).

The economic activity in the area of Realengo was driven by the presence of the school and the ammunitions factory. Commerce was based on the needs of the military students. Despite the fact that students felt the neighborhood was unable to meet their needs, on the urbanism, social and cultural points of view the school was critical to region development (VIANA, 2002).

That region became an adequate area for military quarter and housing because of the geographic features of the ground, the space and the possibility of installing the full infrastructure needed to lodge the military and their families.

In face of the need to keep the military way from the political center while, at the same time, meeting all their needs, which had been described by the general that had preceded him in office, Marshal Hermes issued orders describing how the site that would house the new concentration of military personnel should be designed. These orders described the features of these spaces and their geographic structure, in sum, a site favorable to train and house the troops. Preferably, the Union should own this site. The area that met all the requirements stated in the documents were the farms named Sapopemba and Gericinó.

Thus, the order to build the Vila Militar was published in the order number 52 from the Army Joint Chiefs of Staff. The compound was designed as a military area, with schools, gardens, squares and all the infrastructure needed to meet the needs of military personnel and their families (MAGALHÃES, 1998).

Today, the above mentioned farms correspond to the whole area of the barracks, the residential areas, all the service facilities, the Avenida Duque de Caxias, the train station Vila Militar, and the Círculo Militar de Oficiais (Officers Club) and the Clube dos Sargentos (Sergeants Club). The Gericinó farm has land adjacent to the above mentioned spaces but it is crossed by Avenida Brasil.

Most of the PNRs (buildings to house personnel in active service) in the residential areas meet the needs of EsAO students and instructors. This school is attended by captains who are following a process of further qualification in military doctrine and maneuvers.

The course ministered at the EsAO takes two years, and the second year requires in-class attendance and, on average, it has 320 students. Every year, this number of families stays at Vila Militar and, subsequently,

they move each to a different destination, for service in some locality in Brazil, and one day they may return to live at the Vila Militar, in case the officer is assigned to serve in a different battalion, provided that a PNR is available to the Military organization he is serving.

The last home construction works were completed in 2011, the Vila Verde, where today students of the EsAO and some of the ECEME- Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército (Army Command and General Staff College) are living. Currently, 27 additional apartments are being built, in three blocks, to house the horse trainers for the Olympic Games 2016. The Army is in charge of the construction of these buildings located inside Vila Militar, between the church Igreja São José and the Vila Residencial (residential compound) named PNR II, with homes for sergeants.

Vila Militar has been one of the leading venues for the large international sport events since from the Pan American Games Rio 2007 and the World Military Games in 2011. Today, Vila Militar is getting ready for the Olympic Games Rio 2016, undergoing changes and again being adapted to blend smoothly into the city of Rio de Janeiro and to host international sport events. Thus, Transolímpica (Trans Olympic Expressway) is now under construction to become the connection between Vila Militar and Barra da Tijuca, as these sites will be the two largest centers of the Olympic competitions in 2016.

Vila Militar features many worlds in just one place. Several historical periods are represented in the architecture of these buildings. There are homes built in the twenties, buildings from 2000 and recent modern buildings designed to meet the needs of a city undergoing a process of transformation. "The design of streets, homes and squares, besides carrying the experience of those who built them, also represent their world" (ROLNIK, 2004, p. 82). (*free translation from Portuguese*)

Cities are marked by invisible borders delimitating the place of each individual. This place subjects occupy in the cities is related to the social place of each individual. Vila Militar is a neighborhood, where both civilians and the military are free to circulate. Notwithstanding, the residential area has features similar to those of a closed condominium, although different from the closed condominiums sold to the general public, which are designed according to the capitalist rationale that governs contemporary urban occupation. Vila Militar is a segregated space, but for reasons that differ from those that drive contemporary condominiums. This is a segregation associated to the career of military personnel and to the nomad ethos of this population.

The private space is organized reflecting an architecture of insulation, a lifestyle. However, its occupations results from the need to have a space in a new city, and not from the icons of the status this space can afford. In the eyes of the neighboring population, living at Vila Militar generates a specific status inside the West Zone but, within the military context the status is

different. There are three residential areas for officers. Vila Verde — with new constructions built in 2011 — it is seen by the surveyed public as the most valued place to live; while the apartments in PNR I were built around 1940 and the homes - generally occupied by commanders and higher ranking officers - were the first constructions in the Vila, but most of them have been renovated but keep the original features of that period. Thus, the pace where you live depends on the function the officer is performing and the Military Unit to which he is attached.

Although not by purchase or choice, several highly valued aspects these days are found at Vila Militar, such as, proximity to the workplace, security, leisure, courts for sport, beauty parlor, gym, schools, churches and services.

Vila Militar is a space hallmarked by a professional ideology, the military way, which is translated into the values and the culture of these professionals. Inside the residential areas people from different cultures, subject to the same rules of conduct, live side by side. There are regulations, norms, ordinances and bulletins describing the routine to be followed and, that, in some cases, providing information on various subjects of interest to residents.

The military villages are spaces reserved to the homes of military personnel and their families. They are composed of homes or buildings designated by rank. There are function-linked homes, specifically destined to officers assigned a determined function. In these spaces people share their lives in a very unusual way; neighbors form a network of relationships and mutual support. The social actors who live in this territory share a lifestyle permeated by the military culture and the Brazilian cultural diversity.

5 THE DAILY LIFE AT VILA MILITAR DO RIO DE JANEIRO AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN THE TERRITORY

For an improved understanding of the relationships of the women who live at Vila Militar and of the daily life to which they are part, reference should be made to the thoughts of Michel de Certeau, a human sciences researcher and author of the book *L'invention du Quotidien*, (*The Practice of Everyday Life*) that was originally published in 1994. He left significant contributions to the sociological analysis and to understanding of the daily practices he named "Arts de faire" (Arts of doing).

His studies were mainly focused on the areas of anthropology, linguistics and psychoanalysis. Even with a full range of objects of research, the key issue approached in his Studies was "how to view the stranger we often meet in collective life but who also lives inside us?" (SOUSA FILHO, 2002, p. 2). Certeau proposed analyses to demonstrate that human words and actions create understandable scenarios to those who are willing to observe them. He also theorized about common man and

is doings, his appropriations his resignifications. He says that in the consumption of material and cultural goods the appropriations are unpredictable. That is, there is no uniform way of consuming material and cultural goods. Thus, our eyes should not be turned to the cultural products but, rather, to the practices and uses of different assets, to the anonymous creations. He talks about the strategies and practices employed by social actors in daily life to face the social, moral and religious impositions (SOUSA FILHO, 2002).

From this perspective, researching daily life means to ask about everyday life, the routine that represents the daily events of life and the meaning that people gradually build into their habits, rituals, inside their homes (CERTEAU, 2012).

On the point of view of Michel de Certeau the logic of daily life practice, "daily life is what we are given every day, he says (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 31). Capturing common language, pledged to narrate the common practices, Certeau analyzes and produces an inversion of the way of interpreting the contemporary cultural practices (of the products received for anonymous creation). This analysis enabled the possibility of each anonymous being walking its own way, between what is imposed and the search for the best possible way of living. That is, the author says that there should be a "(re)appropriation of space and use in each one's way (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 31). Along the path proposed by Certeau, differences in which initially just uniformization and conformism can be seen must be taken into consideration. The "wily" movements of practices and their ways of using the products imposed by a place of power must be perceived.

The presence and the circulation of a representation, taught as the code of socio-economic promotion (by preachers, educators or popularizers) in no way indicates what it actually is to users. Its manipulation by those who practice it but did not fabricate it must also be analyzed (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 41). (*free translation from Portuguese*)

The military base is a space marked by hierarchy. Homes are often attached to function. Power, normalization, is as present as the possibilities of singularization of the uses of the space. The daily inventions by women, the wives of the military, and their families who live in this territory produce a "culture", a way of life. Hence, by using language, by acting, individuals build the daily life evidenced by practices and doings.

Different from other military bases, this space is surrounded by battalions. So, it must be mentioned that the daily life that will be depicted is the day-to-day of the residential compound, where, on average, are living 1,000 families of officers working in the 12 battalions that compose this territory.

In the discourse of the interviewed women, daily life is described highlighting the elements of the institutional culture of the Brazilian Army. They report that Vila Militar

wakens every day to the sound of the wakeup call and of the hoisting of the Brazilian flag at the local Battalions. Military Physical Training (TFM) is included in the routine of this territory. As part of the TFM the morning jogging - that happen every day at Avenida Duque de Caxias — are soothed by military songs whose sound is part of the events that mark this place. The military personnel go to their shooting and physical education training and fill up the day of the dwellers of the residential compound with the sounds that define the different moments of the day of this population. According to the interviewees, at 7 am they hear the bugle call that announces the beginning of the working period, and by the end of the day, the call that announces the end of the working day. It is not a signal as manufacturing plants sound; it comes from bugles, whose particular sound is recognized even by the children who live in that space. A fact that serves as a good example of this integrated living between barracks and homes was reported by one of the interviewed women, who said that every Friday a special event is held by the Paratrooper Brigade to welcome the Commanding General. The military get together and shout in unison: "Good morning, Mr. General". She reported that her son walks to the window and repeats with the servicemen the shout that wakes them up every Friday.

Another aspect observed in the interviews is that of the mustering events, when the officers assemble at a unit yard to celebrate a commemorative event. On these occasions the routine life of the base is changed. The PE (Army Police) marks the area and changes traffic. This affects both the dwellers of the residential compounds and the whole surrounding area. Additionally, everyday, by the end of the military working day, the PE is responsible to for marking the public thoroughfares that cross Vila Militar. The PE is also in charge of the security of Vila Militar and its surrounding areas, with traffic surveillance spots and patrolling vehicles circulating in areas under military jurisdiction.

Besides the quarters and homes, inside Vila Militar there are commercial establishments, such as bakeries, banks and pharmacies providing services to the military, their families and the surrounding areas. There are also two Catholic and one Evangelic Church, both under the responsibility of Army chaplains. Both priest and pastor passed public exams and are part of the organizational structure of the Army. Hierarchically they report to the 1st Army Division (DE)⁴. Inside that space several areas destined to the preservation of Brazilian Army cultural assets, although not all of them may be called museums, as there are no strict rules for handling the collections. The Centro Conjunto de Operações de

⁴ 1st Army Division, known as Division Mascarenhas de Moraes, subordinated to the Brazilian Easter Military Command. Under command of General João Batista Mascarenhas de Moraes, the 1st Infantry Division of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force was sent on August 9 of 1943, to fight in WW II. Currently the 1st DE is manned by 20 thousand servicemen and is the largest military garrison in Latin America.

Paz do Brasil (Brazilian Peacekeeping Operations Center) - CCOPAB⁵, for example, has a Cultural Center open to the public, which is not included in the tourist itinerary of the city of Rio de Janeiro, but helps to tell the history and addresses the immaterial assets of the city.

The commercial areas most frequently visited by the residents of Vila Militar, are Vila Valqueire and Marechal Hermes, for their proximity and because, the women say, they feel safer in these places. The shopping malls in the district of Jardim Sulacap and Bangu are also leisure and shopping options.

The Avenida Duque de Caxias crosses Vila Militar in the East-West direction. Part of it is destined to jogging and sport practice that the population of the Vila, the military and neighbors enjoy every day. In it is in the common areas, barbecue facilities and party rooms that events are held — fairs of arts and crafts sponsored by officer's wives, commemorative barbecues and end of the week meetings. One of the elements that represent a marked feature of this public is the various informal meetings. The interviewees report that as they have no local family in the area, barbecues and parties are the cheapest and safest leisure options, where they can meet people with whom they share some type of social connection.

Generally, at the EsAO, students come from the same class at the AMAN. Thus, they first met when they were still very young, spent five years together studying and training for their military career, and after graduation each one was deployed to a different place in the country. Separated by their choices, of both site and branch (specialization: Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Weapons and Supplies), they meet again in Rio de Janeiro, as required by the regulations and norms of Brazilian Army officer career: to take the two-year officer development course, one of them in-class and the other through distance learning. Thus, this experience in this territory is much more than just acquiring further officer qualification. It involves meeting again at another moment of their lives. They are now captains, and use this period of study and re-encounter to see fellow officers with whom they will only serve together in this space.

The "military family" anthropological category only exists at military bases. Without this geographic space, the symbolic space would not exist, as those who live off-base do not experience the support from neighbors, the study groups and all the symbolic apparatus this reality involves.

This way of living and of occupying the territory is specific to the Vila Militar do Rio de Janeiro. Similarities may be found in other military bases in the country, however, as the space of interest is an urban environment with a significant agglomeration of servicemen, its way of life is unique.

⁵ Espaço Cultural Sérgio Vieira de Mello, CCOPAB. The center has a permanent exhibition dedicated to Marshal Rondon and named Rondon, the Marshal of Peace.

The two residential compounds reserved for the homes of Army officers - and which are the target of the research — are the PNR I and the Vila Verde. The PNR I comprises the older apartments buildings and houses adjacent to Avenida Duque de Caxias. The Paratrooper Brigade and its battalions are located between Vila Verde and the PNR I. Vila Verde is surrounded by operational Military Units and faces the wall of Campo dos Afonsos. Thus, many aspects of the routine and the daily life of these spaces are influenced by their location. The women who live in the residential compounds, most of them wives of the EsAO students whose stay in Rio de Janeiro is limited to one year, try to engage in some professional activity inside the base itself. Nowadays, many women offer beauty services, items for parties, crafts and food items. There are no commercial establishments close to Vila Verde; several suppliers of readymade food have access to the base at a pre-determined time of the day, announcing that they have arrived to sell their products.

On weekends there are no uniforms around, and the routine of Vila Militar is similar to that of any other neighborhood. Most of the residents are not cariocas and according to the interviewed wives, they use the weekends to enjoy the city, visit tourist attractions and to go to the beach. Many do not leave home to faraway places as they are afraid of violence. The wives of the EsAO students explain that often they stay in the base because their husbands need to study. As a rule, in these preliminary contacts, all wives tell us how much they like the Vila because of its security aspects, but all also emphasize how precarious are the surrounding areas.

The fact is that the neighborhood is too restricted to assume the entire urban desire; the comforts it offers also cannot meet all types of consumer behavior. Other places are needed to be enjoyed by users to enrich their dominion over the of the urban space in general (CERTEAU, 2013, p. 157). (free translation from Portuguese)

Beyond the physical space offered by the neighborhood and the city, the women who live at Vila Militar have found a way to expand the borders of this space and to create modes of virtual contact in the social networks. Nowadays, the space has ceased to be just physical and its limits were expanded, reaching dimensions that differ from those praised in modern times. The worldwide web and the advent of social networks changed the space-time relationship, allowing people to find other ways to meet.

Virtual communities appear as a space for sociability where people colligate as they find in others some type of ethnic, religious or ideological link, that is, for perceiving primary identifications (CASTELLS, 2001). The relationships established in these spaces break the time-space as it is perceived in the concrete territory. The virtual territories appear with new contours, new ways of producing and building identity (RANGEL; TONELLA, 2014).

People with common territorial interests get together virtually. Most of the residents of the territory Vila Militar do Rio de Janeiro were not born in Rio de Janeiro, do not know the region or the city. Thus, the virtual space generates innumerable opportunities. It works as a tool for advertisement of the work-related activities of the wives, dissemination of information about day-to-day life on the base and for social exchanges. Thus, virtual communities enable echoing the dissonant voices of the hegemonic existing in the real territory.

The virtual territory promotes this meeting between residents, reflects and invites its members to exchanges and swaps in the real environment. What happens in the real space drives movement in the virtual space and vice-versa (RANGEL; TONELLA, 2014).

Relationships in this space are social actions of territoriality. These are the limits there are no solid borders, borders that can be located. Some of the members even know each other, others never had any personal contact and, even though, this relationship creates new realities, new references. The *intercombination* between virtual and real enables much more than just means to produce and receive information about the events in the real territory. It paves the way for manifestations of the subjectivity of social actors. It allows opinions to be expressed, social visibility, "do not obey the rules of the social time of daily, habitual action, or astronomic time: day, night, close or faraway" (RANGEL; TONELLA, 2014, p. 7).

Thus, Vila Militar is an urban space, dealing with all issues any big city faces. The requirements of a city working on its structure to host large events and the daily challenges faced by residents and workers. The intersection zones, established within the context of the new information and communication technology, with the real life of the residents provides further evidence of what has been previously discussed: that the political, economic, symbolic and cultural issues are connected to the whole surrounding environment.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

These considerations about the territory open the door to possibilities of discussion about the daily life and the history of the occupation of the Rio neighborhoods, and enable consideration of models of interdisciplinary research and analyses, taking into account the subjectivity of the resident of this place, the history, the socialities that go across the construction of these subjects and the ideology they represent through their discourse and doings.

Furthermore, the organizations and institutions are microcultures with their own rites, symbols, heroes and language. Experiencing this culture influences the way its members think and act. Similarly, the military institutions appear as microcultures, specter of the Brazilian culture. And thus, the process of internalization of the organizational symbols and elements of the Army

does not occur just with their agents. Their children live and share the institutional experience, as most of them live in military bases, where all neighbors are co-workers of their fathers. The social events involve the family, routine runs around the professional demands. This group of families share significates, produces social memories and they refer to neighbors as members of a single family.

Moreover, this place is a territory for meeting and meeting anew. The officers meet again after a gap of several years between AMAN and the EsAO and they often get together as they find in each other the possibility of belonging to a family: the military family.

Thus, preliminarily it can be said that the military family, needs the military base to affirm itself. It is in this space that the subjects, by means of the historical and social doings, materialize in their relationships the references that reflect the institutional ideology of the Brazilian Army.

In a certain way, the process of subjectivation of their wives and children is influenced by professional choices and by the development of the career of their husbands. Thus, the professional ties of husbands determine the construction of the identity of their wives, an identity that is built socially and shared in the territory of the military base.

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The concept of authorship adopted by Meira Mattos Collection is based on substantial contributions to each of the persons listed as authors, following the categories below:
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