Mercado Novo: an "out of place" building in Belo Horizonte

Mercado Novo: um edifício "fora do lugar" em Belo Horizonte

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Resumo

Este artigo objetivou analisar os usos do espaço chamado Mercado Novo através das transformações ocorridas em sua trajetória em Belo Horizonte (MG). A coleta de dados foi realizada por meio de observações participantes, pesquisa documental e entrevistas semiestruturadas com 77 comerciantes do Mercado Novo e 6 agentes públicos, e a análise dos dados foi feita por meio da Análise Linguística do Discurso. Desta forma, é possível afirmar que o Mercado Novo foi destinado a ser a central de suprimento da cidade, mas foi modificado por decisões da gestão pública municipal. Cinquenta anos após sua inauguração, ainda se apresenta como um espaço fragmentado pelos diferentes usos e se reterritorializa como um lugar "exótico" para um público de *status* social reconhecido, que o frequenta para saciar-se de experiências e significados não provisionados em outros lugares. Nesse sentido, buscamos avançar na compreensão das várias formas de apropriação e usos do espaço, os efeitos das políticas urbanas nos negócios, os impactos das diferenças espaciais no desempenho dos negócios e o surgimento do empreendedorismo espacial e seus impactos gerais a nível local.

Palavras–chave: Mercado Novo; espaço; lugar; território.

Abstract

This article aimed to analyze the uses of the space called *Mercado Novo* through the transformations that occurred in its trajectory in Belo Horizonte (MG). Data collection was done through participant observations, documentary research and semi-structured interviews with 77 *Mercado Novo* traders and six public agents, and data analysis was performed through linguistics discourse analysis. In this way, it is possible to affirm that the *Mercado Novo* was intended to be the central supply of the city, but it was modified due to decisions of the municipal public management. Fifty years after its inauguration, it still presents itself as a space fragmented by several different uses and reterritorializes itself as an "exotic" place for a public of recognized social status, who frequents it to satiate itself of experiences and meanings not provisioned in other places. In this regard, we seek to advance the understanding of the various forms of appropriation and uses of space, the effects of urban policies on business, the impacts of spatial differences in business performance, and the emergence of spatial entrepreneurship and its general impacts at the local level.

Keywords: Mercado Novo; space; place; territory.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to analyze the uses of a space called "Mercado Novo" (New Market) through the transformations that have occurred in the building's trajectory in the city of Belo Horizonte. These changes imply the intense urbanization process of the capital of Minas Gerais since the 1960s, which has transformed the way of life of the city inhabitants and the New Market activities. These changes include the depopulation of the downtown area of the state capital by the wealthier classes after the 1950s, the municipal policies for the requalification of the city centre (through the prohibition of street vendors on the sidewalks and the reconstruction of squares) and the transformation of the meanings the population attributed to that region after the intervention of the public administration – from a "degraded" place to shopping, entertainment and leisure spot.

Several studies attest to the importance of research on space in the field of organizational studies, as shown by Tyler and Cohen (2010), Cunliffe and Karunanayake (2013), McNulty and Stewart (2014), Petani and Mengis (2015), Wasserman and Frenkel (2015), Berti, Simpson and Clegg (2017) and Liu and Grey (2018), a fact that guides the development of this paper. Moreover, different studies also point to the increasing interest that these types of markets have had in the administration, especially in the Organizational Studies, due to their complex and peculiar dynamics (CAVEDON et al., 2010; ALVES et al., 2013; SARAIVA; CARRIERI; SOARES, 2014; FREITAS; MEDEIROS, 2017; PIMENTEL et al., 2017; VALE; JOAQUIM, 2017; BARRETO; DONEIRO, 2018). Therefore, we resort to specific concepts of Human Geography (space, place, territory, deterritorialization and reterritorialization) to understand the spatial dynamics involving the New Market in Belo Horizonte and that are also important for understanding the public administration of this city, a place where history and spatial planning merge.

The importance of this paper is justified because the incorporation of the spatial dimension to Organizational Studies is promising for the conceptual development of this field of knowledge (IPIRANGA, 2010; HYDLE, 2015), although most management studies do not consider the spatial conditions of organizations (RAULET-CROSET, 2008; LACERDA, 2015). According to Barros and Carrieri (2015), several advances in the field of administration have come from the systematic study of the manipulation of time and space. The improvement of Taylor's production speeding techniques, the reuse of organizational space by the Fordist assembly line, and the Toyotist re-evaluation of this reuse are examples of this.

The study of space also allows the understanding of how it is appropriated by organizations, since the identity in the organizational process, social dynamics, and spatial occupation are related processes. In other words, the social appropriation of space contributes to people's perception of the world and the construction of their identifications (ARENDT, 2012; BARRIOS, 2014). Adding that

the understanding of the (not always) harmonious relation between space and identification is essential to unveil certain management practices. As we shall see, the location of the New Market (hereafter, NM) in the central area of Belo Horizonte has contributed to different identifications (ARENDT, 2012) produced through the power relations established between the subjects and the municipal policies of use of space over more than 50 years of the market history.

To achieve the proposed goal, we have developed a qualitative, exploratory approach. Data were collected through documentary research, participant observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews with 77 NM traders and six public agents appointed by the first group, focusing on the historical trajectory of this space in the state capital. In turn, data analysis was performed through Discourse Analysis.

2. SPACE DYNAMICS AS A MEANS TO ADDRESS MANAGEMENT

In his work, Corrêa (1995) compares the *space* to a multipurpose sports court, where human activities are carried out simultaneously, with their own rules and dynamics. In turn, Santos (1985) suggests the categories of form, function, structure and process for a better understanding of space. All of them have dialectical relations. The *form* is the visible aspect, external to an object, either seen in isolation (as the appearance of space) or the arrangement of a set of objects (such as a city). The *function* is the role played by form; to inhabit, to work, to buy and to have leisure time are some of the functions associated with the city. The *structure* is the social, economic, and historical matrixes that create and justify spatial forms and functions. Finally, the *process* is the structure in its movement of transformation through its internal contradictions (SANTOS, 1985).

It is worth mentioning that part of the considerations about space brings up the discussion about the *place*, regarded as a portion of the space appropriated of life, a human product produced and reproduced in the daily and historical relationship between space and society, individual and collective (COLOMB, 2012). These relations are configured both between subjects and between them and nature, so that this interactive process forms a unique network of meanings (cultural, emotional and social) and identities (individual or collective) (CASTROGIOVANNI, 2007, 2013; STEPHENSON, 2010). However, despite being only a *part* of the whole, the *place*, due to its density and social interactivity, can be studied as representative of the *whole* (LEITE, 2008; ANDRADE; BAPTISTA, 2015).

It is possible to affirm that the *place* has three characteristics: (1) it produces identifications, (2) it is relational and (3) it is historical (AUGÉ, 1995; SÁ, 2014). It produces *identifications* because it represents a set of possibilities, prescriptions and prohibitions to individuals (square goers, house residents, etc.). It is *relational* for it is the common ground of shared experiences. Finally, it is

historical because it takes shape in and through time. That is since its inhabitants "live in history," the place becomes a "place of memories" of an experienced past. (Ibid.)

In opposition to *places*, Augé (1995) and Sá (2014) propose the idea of *non-places*: spaces of transit and ephemeral occupation where people only pass by and where the contact with others is limited. In non-places, the functional logic of speediness in the satisfaction of the needs and movements of society prevails. According to the authors, the concepts of place and non-place are ideal types that, although opposed, do not exist separately, for they always share certain features of each other.

For Castrogiovanni (2013) and Silvano (2015), the formalization that creates the *place* also creates the *inter-place*, understood as an intermediate space that unites *places* and *non-places*. Located between flow spaces and different places, these intermediate spaces shelter distinct spatial and symbolic identities, allowing the existence of cultural hybridism. Therefore, they become nexuses capable of sharing cultural codes during the process of symbolic interaction.

In turn, the concept of *territory*, although intrinsically linked to the concepts of *space* and *place*, should not be confused. Subordinate to the conception of *space*, the territory is linked to "land appropriation", but not to "land ownership." Such appropriation may occur in three ways: *politically*, by groups or institutions on a segment of space; *affectively*, deriving from spatial practices according to income, race, age, etc.; or *both ways* (HAESBAERT; LIMONAD, 2007).

Social change can also represent a territorial dynamic with identity factors and can be seen in terms of *territorialization*, *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* (APPADURAI, 2012). *Deterritorialization* is the process that empties a territory from the social and cultural roots recognized by subjects. Identity meanings are lost face to the occupied space, as well as the relational content that allowed the mutual identification between subjects and territory. After the emptying caused by *deterritorialization*, various types of *reterritorialization* will emerge, i.e. new social and cultural bonds will be created, replacing those that have been lost. Thus, we have the geographical processes of Territorialization-Deterritorialization-Reterritorialization (T-D-R), in which the creation of territories would be represented by the territorialization, its emptying and its destruction (even though it is temporary) by deterritorialization and its re-creation by processes of reterritorialization (HAESBAERT, 2004).

The spatial categories – space, place, territory, deterritorialization and reterritorialization – gain strength and dynamics when one observes the occupation movements in the metropolis. After all, a city is a vast "organizational web, dense and virtual", a plural whole constituted of several organizational units (street vendors, shopping malls, etc.); an organization full of meanings and estrangement, which constructs and deconstructs identities through the displacement of people,

demolitions and new constructions, codes of urban occupation, among others (FISCHER, 1997; SALINGAROS, 1998; SARAIVA; CARRIERI, 2012).

However, although human geography considers the relationship between "people and places", this is not a practical concern of urban planning. Its instrumental scope is still based on the representation of the space as a map, an undifferentiated space that can be manipulated according to the criteria of efficiency and, therefore, disregards the meanings of the "experienced world" (STEPHENSON, 2010).

Chanlat (1996) and Oliveira (2015) also problematize the issue of instrumentalized spatial planning. Once the space receives affective, material, professional and political investments, all spatial planning becomes a risky game and a challenge. A risky game because, from the availability of space, actors seek to appropriate it through power relations; and a challenge because the granted space is a possible space among many others and, once realized, will always be submitted to the critique of the experienced space (CHANLAT, 1996; OLIVEIRA, 2015). In this sense, a place can become a discursive resource, and through negative labels and descriptions, groups can resist against and delegitimize the administrative interventions that they disagree with (BROWN; HUMPHREYS, 2006).

Finally, regarding the organization-city, most public managers ignore, when officially designing the municipality, the singular designs that arise spontaneously, as well as their specific economic, social and cultural nuances. As this study will show us, we must understand the city without simplifying it. Along these lines, it would be possible to design urban interventions based on the identities of the city and of the communities that inhabit it (FISCHER, 1997; SALINGAROS, 1998; SARAIVA; CARRIERI, 2012).

3. METHODOLOGICAL PATH

To achieve the proposed goal of analyzing the uses of the New Market through the transformations that took place in the city of Belo Horizonte, we developed qualitative, exploratory research, for in this method, researchers, acting as *bricoleurs*, are free to choose, combine, and create methods they find more appropriate to the object they wish to study (COLBARI, 2014).

Data collection followed the triangulation, which consists in a combination of multiple research methodologies to analyze the same phenomenon (JICK, 1979; MATHISON, 1988; BLAIKIE, 1991), to consolidate the construction of social theories and ensure a deeper understanding of what is being investigated (PATTON, 2002), since such a procedure allows the phenomenon to be analyzed in different ways, or by means of different methods, in time and on the basis of different sources (SCRIVEN, 1991; WEISS, 1998; FLICK, 2013).

In relation to the typologies, we emphasize that in this study was performed the triangulation of data, of investigators and of theory (DENZIN, 1989). The first refers to the combination of different sources of data collected at times, local or with different people. Thus, we used semi-structured interviews, documentary research from secondary sources and participant observations as complementary techniques. The investigator triangulation occurred through the systematic analysis and comparison of data from the perspective of different researchers. And we use the theory triangulation when approaching the phenomenon from different theoretical perspectives, including from other disciplines (FLICK, 2009), as well as from Human Geography and Public Administration.

We believe that the use of an integrated and systematic process of triangulation techniques is beneficial to the study not only because it increases the validity of the research (JONSEN; JEHN, 2009) since the reliability of the research is at least increased (GRAY, 2012), but mainly for having the researcher revise the method of knowledge construction and thereby refine and sophisticate his research (STAKE, 1995). In addition, we highlight as advantages of triangulation the possibility of understanding the phenomenon studied in a more comprehensive way and a deeper insertion of the researchers in the context researched (SOUZA; ZIONI, 2003), as well as for providing new ways to understand research problems (JICK, 1979).

Initially, we made a preliminary observation of the New Market together with a collection of documents, photos and reports from the Municipal Public Archive, the State Public Archive and some institutional sites, such as the Belo Horizonte Town Hall. Then, at the *loci* of the study, we conducted participant observations and in-depth semi-structured interviews with traders and public agents. To maintain methodological consistency, we systematized the investigations by means of a conventional process, that is, as the subjects agreed to grant interviews. These participants later named other subjects to be interviewed, characterizing the technique known as "snowball sampling", which has been widely used in qualitative social studies (SURE, 2011).

The interviews were conducted between July 2014 and December 2015, with the help of a semi-structured script that allowed greater flexibility with the questions. We interviewed 77 traders currently working at the New Market and six public agents – Town Hall inspectors – indicated by the traders, all of whom are identified by the codes E1, E2, ..., E83, respectively. In addition, informal conversations and field notes are taken from the participant observations were recorded in field journals. By doing so, we aimed to capture the signified in everyday life of the social group that gives meaning to their practices (ways of working, negotiating, supervising, managing, etc.), the uses of space and the transformations that occurred during the trajectory of the New Market in Belo Horizonte.

The interviews were fully transcribed, keeping the original structure of the participants' speeches. In turn, data was analyzed through Discourse Analysis (DA). DA is a theoretical-

methodological apparatus for the study of discourses based on articulations between linguistic and social aspects (PÊCHEUX; FUCHS, 1997) and has been widely used in the field of Organizational Studies (CARRIERI; SOUZA, 2014). The meanings of discourses must consider the social context in which the subjects are inserted, their identities and the conditions under which discourses were produced. In this sense, DA allows researchers to grasp the context in which discourses were constructed and their relationships (ORLANDI, 2007).

Therefore, we were able to identify two semantic paths regarding the uses of the New Market that mark out the spatial transformations in the building, namely: (1) the discourse of the interferences deriving from the public management and (2) the discourse of the daily business practices (re)constructed by the traders established there. The history of these articulations will be dealt with in the following sections.

4. PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND THE "HYGIENIZATION" POLICIES OF DOWNTOWN BELO HORIZONTE

The first planned city in Brazil, developed by engineer Aarão Reis, Belo Horizonte was inspired by the experiences of Paris and Washington. A modern and positivist city that rejected the tortuous and rugged alleys of Minas Gerais mining towns, it was designed to break with the past and celebrate the beginning of a new era: The Republic. In addition to methodical planning, there is still an effort by the local government to control the occupation of the territory through the separation of social classes in the space. To achieve this purpose, Contorno Avenue operates as a segregation device (GOMES; LIMA, 1999).

The 1950s and 1960s in Belo Horizonte marked the beginning of the movement away from downtown by the upper classes. The southern zone, a "wealthy/noble" area where the most prestigious classes have settled and remained, consolidates as these classes segregate themselves from the other ones. Because of this displacement, the downtown area was first abandoned as a housing alternative, then as a choice for shopping and leisure. Forsaken by high-income social groups, the centre of the capital, in the eyes of the same group, fell into "decay". Villaça (1998) argues that the decline of central regions is a phenomenon provoked by the power of the elites over the urban space and the urban commuting system. Some causes of this abandonment would be the growing flow of vehicles and people, which consolidates the city centre as a passing place, and the commitment of real estate capital to make it obsolete and promote new real estate fronts.

After the abandonment of the city centre by the upper classes, space was appropriated by the popular classes, which in turn, has depreciated this region. As it ceased to be an interesting place for consumption and housing of upper-class families, downtown Belo Horizonte no longer attracted

capital investment, and the buildings located in the area had their exchange-value reduced to the detriment of other regions that became the new destination of the state capital (VILLAÇA, 1998).

It is important to emphasize that the residents of the city outskirts are the main customers of downtown businesses, precisely because they are the biggest beneficiaries of the goods and services offered there. However, they are systematically treated by the city administration as "inadequate" as for what is planned for that region and referred to as "visitors and solvable users" (VAINER, 2002). Regardless of that, they insist on visiting this zone and so do the informal traders (represented by the street vendors) operating there. In this sense, the absence of public policies for the peripheral areas, increasingly enlarged, has repercussions downtown, where the demands for goods and services are allocated by a portion of the population that is not served in their own places of residence.

It is in this context that urban intervention projects are highlighted, in order to improve the image of the city through the reuse of infrastructure, dynamism, local commerce, etc. This would be the period of Urban Reinvention, begun in the 1990s, whose main objective would be to carry out actions on the city's economy to generate employment and income (MASCARENHAS, 2013; OLIVEIRA, 2015), hence determining the *form* and *function* of that space (SANTOS, 1985).

In this context, the analogies of urban planning with biology become popular. The city is understood as an *organism* that needs surgical intervention so that it achieves good health and aesthetic beauty (VASCONCELLOS; MELLO, 2015). "Medical" interventions gave rise to the "*hygienization*" process. In Brazil, this set of procedures was guided by the modernist ideals of aeration and dispersion, justifying the demolition of buildings and the withdrawal of their inhabitants, even though this process of deterritorialization produced social segregation when it fractured the urban fabric and the neighbourhood bonds (VASCONCELLOS; MELLO, 2015).

This movement of hygienization of the centre of Belo Horizonte has been repeated periodically. Jayme and Trevisan (2012) state that in the early twentieth century, prostitutes and other low-income characters were removed from downtown under the hygienist justification of cleanliness, whose discourse constituted one of the pillars of the normalization of human life in the new state capital. Within this new conception of public order, linked to the imperatives of production and backed by a discourse that disqualified the lower class, a range of individual and collective behaviours were repressed or banished to other urban territories as they could not be remodelled.

In the 1990s, interventions projects in central urban areas reappeared in a new form. Resorting to the business jargon, this model was designed to meet the demands of the new phase of flexible capitalism and the dominance of the tertiary sector. In it, the cities would compete among themselves for the international capital of tourism, taking advantage of their spatial attributes (VAINER, 2002; MASCARENHAS, 2013; SOJA, 2013). In this sense, amid the global competition

for resources, cities should be managed as efficient businesses in order to find their strategic niche and attract potential customers by promoting their comparative advantages (HARVEY, 1996).

In addition, from the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988, a new stage in Brazilian urban planning began, when this policy was transferred to the municipal public power, which was in turn required to draw up a master plan for cities with populations greater than 20,000 inhabitants (BRASIL, 1988). As a result of the new legislation, since July 2003 Belo Horizonte has had a "*Código de Posturas*" (PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE, 2003) regulating the use and occupation of the urban space by its citizens. Briefly, this code disciplines the usage of the city. Thus, by observing reality as *flâneurs*, we are interested in the way downtown Belo Horizonte has undergone a makeover, like every commodity in capitalism (DEBORD, 1997). Besides the resignification of space as exchange value, it is also interesting what uses/functions the city has sought to conceal, rearrange and favour while using the regulations of space as an instrument.

According to the Urban Control Manager for the Central-South Regional Management Secretariat, the CP came about due to the need to solve the problem of street vendors who populated the city centre. The project for the revitalization of the city centre took place between 2001 and 2008 when 2,371 street vendors were removed and relocated to markets and sheds that became "popular shopping malls" (ZAMBELLI, 2006). According to the law, this process of reterritorialization took place under the Municipal Code, which provided, among other things, the prohibition of commerce by street vendors and *toreros* in public places (PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE, 2003). Institutionally, the transfer of street vendors from the streets to the markets is part of the "*Centro Vivo*" program, conducted in partnership with the Belo Horizonte Chamber of Commerce (CDL-BH), Telemar, among other organizations. On the official website of the Belo Horizonte Town Hall (PBH), the Centro Vivo program is described as "a set of social projects and actions focused on social, economic and cultural inclusion, urban and environmental requalification and social security"[1].

However, despite the impression of being a novelty, the Centro Vivo program only came to operationalize the guidelines of public intervention in the urban structure of the city centre, already provided for by article 12 of the Belo Horizonte Master Plan (PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE, 1996), and to integrate a series of actions and projects that had already been happening in that region, although disorderly. In this sense, it was a very well-anchored response by the negative diagnosis of the Central Area Project (PACE), a milestone of downtown public policy, carried out in the mid-1970s, regarding the passing of pedestrians through the city centre, which perceived street trade as part of the problem (SOUZA; CARNEIRO, 2003). Since it is destined for immediate consumption, the transhipment economy present in the "inter-places" of the state capital would harm

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[1] PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE. **Programa Centro Vivo**. Retrieved from http://lproweb.procempa.com.br/pmpa/prefpoa/vivaocentro/usu_doc/belohorizonte.pdf. Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.

the "noble" functions of the city centre, which should be revitalized as a "market place" with metropolitan characteristics (SOUZA; CARNEIRO, 2003).

The expulsion of street vendors, whose permanence was associated with illicit activities (such as smuggling) and visual pollution (overcrowding of stalls installed on sidewalks), helped the symbolic production of downtown Belo Horizonte as a place to live, work, consume and spend leisure time. According to the Town Hall and the local press, there was a great acceptance among the people who live, work and use the areas managed by the Centro Vivo program[2], which aimed at the general redevelopment of the city through occasional interventions (ARANTES, 2002, 2013) and sought to disseminate the image of a safer city in the eyes of the population, the consensus of the importance of improvements to the region with benefits for the whole city, the promotion of the spirit of belonging and participation, among other aspects.

Thus, even though the policies implemented by the Town Hall have been more punitive in relation to the region street vendors, their impacts have been felt elsewhere, such as in the city markets[3], as was the case of the New Market, whose spatial identity was transformed with the presence of middle and upper-class youngsters attending night parties promoted at the venue – a movement, in part, motivated by public policies to avoid emptying the city centre[4].

5. THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW SPACE IN THE CITY

Started in 1963 from an enterprise carried out by Sobrado Construction company, the New Market was a renovation project that aimed to create, through private initiative, a supply model for Belo Horizonte that was very different from the existing space, called the Municipal Market (hereafter MM), which is now known as Central Market (CM). The New Market project was part of an attempt by the Town Hall to change the city's food commercialization and supply, which implied the replacement of the Municipal Market. At the time, the MM was a roofless space with dirt roads, mud puddles and canvas tents, which would be transformed into a leisure plaza, compromising the business of many traders (E12). Thus, the NM project mainly aimed at selling store spaces to the MM traders (E32).

The place chosen for the construction of the NM was an abandoned trolley graveyard. Its location, close to the MM, gave it a role of articulation with another low part of the metropolitan

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[2] RADAR OFICIAL. **Prefeito participa de debate sobre o centro de BH**. 2004. Retrieved from http://www.radaroficial.com.br/d/4709889951662080. Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.
[3] EVANS, L. **Mercados distritais de BH completam 35 anos**. 2009. Retrieved from http://wwo.uai.com.br/UAI/html/sessao_2/2009/02/06/em_noticia_interna,id_sessao=2&id_noticia=98250/em_noticia_interna.shtml. Accessed 20 Jun. 2019.
[4] According to a report published in "Estado de Minas", on 07/29/2003: "[...] living in downtown Belo Horizonte is living between heaven and hell. Easy and quick access to commerce and services attracts older people, despite heavy traffic, noise and pollution, but violence worries and distracts the young, who need to have fun, especially at night".

centre, where the activities of a low and middle-class population were also grouped (SOUZA; CARNEIRO, 2003). However, in a move not foreseen by the Town Hall, the MM traders joined forces and purchased that old space, now known as Central Market, removing the municipal body from the management of that space. This action resulted in the default of the business conceived by the Town Hall and Sobrado, for the traders who gathered to finance the construction of their stores in the MN gave up investing in the project, which then found itself in financial difficulties.

As a counter-response to the interruption of the project, an open-air market of horticultural products was established to guarantee the commercial activities at the NM. The disorganized and rushed inauguration of this fair aimed at the rapid occupation of the new space, as well as its own identity. Also with the purpose of consolidating the commercial activities in that partially constructed space, the traders of the ground floor founded an association – the *Associação do Novo Mercado* (New Market Association), which acquired the rights of administration and management of that part of the building, acting with the Town Hall to defend the interests of its members. Over time, between conflicts and cooperation, the spaces located there, which used to be open and freely accessible, were divided and transformed from stalls into stores.

The NM rents flattened the commercial opportunities downtown, allowing individuals with no commercial background to settle in that space. These either worked in low-paid activities or did not have available capital to purchase a shop in the central area. Therefore, the Town Hall and the construction company no longer had goals (to replace the MM) or responsibilities (the completion of construction by Sobrado) for that place, they paved the way for other creators to *reterritorialize* the NM project.

Today, the NM has four floors in addition to the ground floor, which is almost a gallery, an *inter-place* where pedestrians cross from one street to another. This floor houses the trade of horticultural crops and is managed by the New Market Association. On the first floor, goods are loaded and unloaded, and most shops operate there. On the second, there is a large parking lot as well as some shops. On the third, there are several unfinished retail spaces, with only some in operation. This is the floor where "Mercado das Borboletas" (Butterfly Market, BM) is installed, a space for club nights and cultural events for middle and upper-class youngsters. These three stories are managed by the *Condomínio do Mercado Novo* ("New Market Condominium", CMN). Finally, the fourth floor is the terrace, owned by the Town Hall.

Due to its initial improvised characteristic, the NW space has gone through different stages in its history, marked by the commercial preference of the "lower" spaces compared to the "upper" levels. From the discontinuity of the initial design by the Town Hall, a new *reterritorialization* became urgent, at the cost of an equitable occupation of the four floors of the building. If the lower part of the building initially defined and positioned itself in favour of profitable trade, standing out

from the rest of the New Market, in the upper levels the disinterest of traders and the construction delays disintegrated the perspective of its initial purpose, which was to operate as the main commercial sector of the NM. Therefore, while the upper part was used as a garbage and materials storage, the lower contributed to the commercial and material rise of many traders, hence *reterritorializing* the initial project. As a respondent recalls, "the second floor was so empty" that "neighbouring buildings threw their garbage on it" (E17).

Only a few years after their construction the stores on the first, second and third floors began to be commercially used, although still unevenly. A peculiar fact is that taking advantage of the disinterest in the upper part of the building, an avid buyer purchased most of the stores installed there. As his interest was real estate speculation, all the stores remained vacant and the condominium fee was not paid, which contributed to the commercial stagnation and poor conservation of this part of the market. Lacking financial resources, the CMN lost its role as manager of this part of the property, contributing to the inertia of space that was unattractive for both clients and new traders alike. Currently, out of the 950 stores available in the market, about 600 are vacant. The ventures that have invigorated these empty spaces are the print shops, workshops and garments industries, for these activities require larger spaces but not the circulation of customers, as they work by order. These businesses were attracted by the low rents in downtown Belo Horizonte, configuring a different *place* within the same market space.

In addition, the fourth floor – owned by the Town Hall – remains roofless and abandoned, since it is not used for any purpose. In fact, in the view of the traders, the Belo Horizonte Town Hall opposes to the prosperity of the market, either because of excessive oversight, poor tax incentive or difficulties in providing operating permits (E28). Thus, the Belo Horizonte Town Hall emerges as something harmful to the New Market, contributing to the building's low occupancy.

One explanation for this lack of interest by the local administration in the development of the NM, for no apparent reason (E20), would be the fact that the Town Hall has other interests for the building, such as installing a popular mall and pursuing its urban hygienization policies (cf. CARRIERI et al., 2008). Another explanation for the disinterest would be the tourist spot status achieved by the Central Market, as reported: "Now, the advantage of the [other] market is that their political power is very strong precisely because it's a tourist spot. (...). We are a little discriminated here" (E1). Therefore, the tourist activity comes as a solution to the problems faced by the NM, which is a place lacking political power. In this case, it is understood that, although it sustains activities more closely related to supply, unlike the Central Market, the conditions of the New Market are regarded as inadequate. The solution would be tourism, which would attract the attention of the media and the public authority, promoting a reterritorialization (APPADURAI, 2012) of this city space.

A fact that was silenced in most interviews is that the precarious relationship with the Town Hall is also the result of a fire that struck the second floor in 2004, burning about 40 shops in the process. To this date, the burn marks on the smoky roof remain, and the incident contributed to legitimizing the image of precariousness disseminated by the media.

In addition to the Town Hall and the media, other processes have influenced the survival practices of the NM traders. In 1974, as part of a national policy to supply the cities, the State Supply Center (CEASA) was inaugurated in Contagem, a neighbouring city in the metropolitan area of Belo Horizonte. Many changes took place in the New Market after the foundation of this mixed-economy federal company. According to the respondents, the establishment of this new supply centre was necessary, since the New Market no longer met the demand (E32). Therefore, after the market was prohibited by the municipality from acting as a *wholesale*, the *retail* became the main business option for the traders who remained in the NM.

However, with the establishment of CEASA, the retail competition increased in the city, due to the emergence of greengrocers and the sale of horticultural products in neighbourhood supermarkets (E6). The response to this was a commercial diversification in the New Market, where three sectors stood out: the sale of meals for downtown workers and residents; the establishment of "mini-wholesale" shops for street vendors and traders; and the manufacture of packaging material for supermarkets and other businesses. However, a major change in the role of the New Market for the city would occur with the institution of a new use for that space, not linked to its commercial function.

6. WE WANT FOOD, FUN AND ART: THE *MERCADO DAS BORBOLETAS*

Since the end of 2010, the third floor of the New Market has undergone a "cultural occupation" (E23). It is the "Mercado das Borboletas", (Butterfly Market, hereafter MB), an allusion to the appearance of butterflies in degraded natural environments, indicating the recovery of life. The third floor was idle, and the last attempt to install a popular mall there had failed. Faced with this scenario, the son of the largest owner of New Market shops wanted to install on that floor the winning project of a contest for the occupation of another market, located in the neighbourhood of Santa Tereza. The space revitalization project included the installation of artistic and cultural activities centres, as well as an Arts and Sustainable Business Incubator. According to the respondents, the purpose was twofold: to take advantage of the 309 vacant stores and the hall on the third floor, which would be leased from the maintainer of the upper level, owned by one of the partners of the enterprise; and to facilitate the market insertion of cultural goods and services (web design companies, photography studios, etc.), which would boost the city's cultural industry.

It is interesting to note that, even without the public incentive, the project would be adequate to the new uses of spaces outlined by the Town Hall, especially regarding the cultural policy guidelines provided for in the city's Master Plan (PREFEITURA DE BELO HORIZONTE, 1996). Without the help of the local government and having failed in some ventures, (such as the "Christmas Hippie Fair"), the solution was to promote concerts and club nights there, making the profit from the events the final goal of the project. As narrated by one of its creators: "We decided to sponsor ourselves with our art, by holding several events, but mainly through cultural parties" (E51). In fact, the personal connections of the Butterfly Market members in the local artistic community, as well as the ease of access and large parking lot enabled the realization of themed parties and consolidated the business.

The BM has similarities and differences when compared to other large venues. As elsewhere, there is a ticket office, a smoking area, a dance floor, a stage, an administrative office, etc. Unlike other places, however, the events are fleeting: the rental of audiovisual equipment and the hiring of employees is temporary, and the parties are publicized by the urban tribes through social networks.

All this is reinforced by the ill-finished aspect of the space, caused by years of abandonment of the upper levels of the market. In fact, its poor conservation would be *reterritorialized* as an egalitarian place, a hiding spot "where all tribes can express themselves freely" (E51). In turn, this would counteract the hyper-clean and air-conditioned spaces of shopping malls. This "other type" of space, with sculptures, graffiti and coloured lights was named by one of the respondents as "sustainable cultural mall" (E52). Nevertheless, the municipal administration is viewed with suspicion, as it is by the market traders as well first, because they report a lack of public policy targeted at creative business entrepreneurs, and secondly, on account of the requirements by the municipal inspection for the space to keep operating.

It is interesting to note the similarities between the new spatial configuration of the third floor of the New Market and the recent and unplanned formation of cultural zones in large metropolises of the Northern Hemisphere (ZUKIN; BRASLOW, 2011). Like these cultural districts, the Butterfly Market does not owe its existence to explicit public policies in favour of the "creative class" or the "cultural industries", although, in the scope of intentions, these were a concern of the Town Hall. Therefore, processes already observed in neighbourhoods of large cities occur in this space: the absence of financial investments and government intervention devalues real estate; the low rents attract the artistic class; this class creates the impression of a "different" place through its small cultural ventures; this place becomes a commercial catalyst for a "deviant taste" for creative goods and services; finally, this draws the attention of the media. In this sense, it is possible to think of the third floor like a *piece*, according to Magnani (2003), where the regulars recognize one another as

they share the same symbols, tastes, orientations, values and ways of life, with quite evident codes of recognition and communication.

With the arrival of the artists, the third floor of the NM was reborn as a creative place for performance and consumption of differences; an effective marketing tool to attract the cultural consumers who are allowed to "represents a place where people can perform their difference from mainstream behavioural norms and social roles in relative safety, with few negative consequences to themselves or to the district as a whole" (ZUKIN; BRASLOW, 2011, p. 136). This is an important feature because the installation of a private venture on the third floor attracted the attention of Belo Horizonte Town Hall, the owner of the terrace, which, after the implementation of the City Code, increased the requirements for the Butterfly Market to adapt to the space revitalization policies designed for the city centre. Consequently, this would represent the return of the local government to the market, decades after its first interventions in the space.

Thus, 50 years after its inauguration, the New Market still presents itself as a space fragmented by different uses. On the ground floor, traders develop their survival strategies. On the first and second floors, other types of commerce emerged, independently of the ground floor. In common, the traders of these three floors do not feel that their claims are met, due to the absence of a politically strong association. The third floor, which is now part of the city's cultural circuit, seems to be more effective in producing its identity, receiving greater recognition from the external public, namely the consumers of cultural goods. The stakeholders of these four floors have in common the negative perception of the municipal administration. Finally, the fourth floor, which is owned by the Town Hall, ensures the presence of the local government in the market, leading to conflicts and mistrust.

7. FINAL REMARKS

This study sought to analyze the uses of the space called New Market through the transformations that occurred in its trajectory in the city of Belo Horizonte. The study of space is important for management, for it observes public or private organizations "from the outside in" and, in this case, it was possible to highlight the Spatio-temporal transformations and the processes of territorialization-deterritorialization-reterritorialization and their overlap with the contexts local-global.

In this regard, our contribution to this study is that we demonstrate how urban policies of embellishment for space consumption can serve as a means for the emergence of symbolic entrepreneurship, such as entertainment. Thus, spaces that were previously considered degraded are revitalized through public planning and acquire a new value. This is potentially important for

organizational studies to understand in the long term the various forms of appropriation and uses of space, the effects of urban policies on business, the causes of spatial differences in business performance, and the emergence of spatial entrepreneurship and its general impacts at the local level.

Over its history, it was possible to understand the different uses of the NM by traders installed there, as well as the transformations resulting from the processes of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization of this space. Since it is a space, the building deteriorated because of the interruption of the initial project, the lack of interest of traders and the real estate speculation. It had its functions modified because of the changes in its structure, as for example, the transformation from wholesale of horticultural products into different types of "mini-wholesale" and services. These transformations took place because the market has been, for decades, a scenario for intention and implementation of projects designed by the local administration and for the daily survival practices of the traders, amid competition for customers against CEASA, greengrocers and supermarkets.

We have seen that the ground floor, an inter-place, is reterritorialized by the retail activity, becoming the centre of the commercial activities of the market. On the other hand, the upper levels, lacking interest by traders, turn to speculative activity and reterritorialize themselves, for the most part, as non-places. Another example of reterritorialization also takes place on the third floor, with the Butterfly Market. In this sense, the building reterritorializes itself as an "exotic" place for an audience of recognized social status, which attends it to indulge their desire for experiences and meanings that are not provisioned in other places.

The biggest opposition that business partners point out against the success of their venture is the Town Hall, whose actions seem intent on closing the MB. However, *les extremes se touchent* and what appears to be opposition becomes similarity, at least in three respects. First, the two organizations are run as a business. The BM certainly is, for it is a concert venue; that is, something that theoretically should not apply to the municipal administration. However, the whole city now seems to operate as an enterprise, even if this change is not complete. Productivity, competitiveness and subordination of goals to the market logic (mainly the real estate market) are the elements that make up the commodification of urban management, a widespread ideology that has deepened the allegedly public use of space.

Second, as both aim to attract a specific consumer market, they must discard politics – understood as a means to build civic consciousness. As for MB, although it is proposed to be a cultural occupation, it is not, in the sense of aggregating actors for political engagement, such as the "*Duelo de MCs*" and "*Praia da Estação*", two social movements also localized in the downtown. For its part, the Town Hall urban project, which implies the appropriation of the city by business interests, depends, to a great extent, on the banishment of conflict and the conditions for the exercise of civic

consciousness, so typical of politics. We see this from the deterritorialization of street vendors, with the purpose of reterritorializing middle-class residents and traders. Therefore, the public administration prefers to serve its target audience (solvent users) to the detriment of social inclusion. Transfigured into an enterprise, the city is weakened as a political space, inhabited by citizens, in favour of well-articulated rulers who embody the business project.

Finally, both the Town Hall and the Butterfly Market have placed culture at the centre of their activities. In this sense, for the MB, there was a resignification of the place for consumption purposes. In the case of the Town Hall, there is the marketing of a "downtown-image" to bring back an audience regarded as "appropriate" for that region. And it seeks this with cultural strategies of urban redevelopment. The first one, as the Code of Postures showed, is the determination of the handling of the visual and tactile aspects of the city. The second is the skilful articulation of growth symbols and promise of job and business opportunities, present in the discourses of both the Town Hall and the local media. The last is the search for alliances with the business circle for the preservation and promotion of museums, architectural complexes, etc. - whose best example is Town Hall's "Adopt a cultural good" program.

In both cases, in Town Hall and MB, the market culturalism is at the centre of their concerns. The culture of the image ended up moulding both those groups that identify themselves by the consumption of styles and loyalties to brands; as the few providers of them. This is important because, within this context, the strategic urban planning will mobilize people through the marketing of a new commodity – the city – which is not sold without a proper "image-making" policy.

Thus, at a time when the "brand" gains unprecedented importance, the imagery business seems to be the new frontier of accumulation of power and money, a situation that allowed it to infiltrate the economic, social and political domains to reconfigure and value them. In this context, culture can be understood as "star commodity", exercising the same strategic function of the railroad and automobile in earlier times. Whether in the hands of urban planners or cultural promoters, culture becomes the principle of antiproductivist resistance to the decisive part of the world of public and private business. In this sense, in a symbiosis of image and product, the "cultural-enterprise-city" would be determining the uses of metropolises since the late twentieth century. These are almost one-dimensional uses defined by this new form of urban management, but which, as we have seen, have systematically failed to find a place in the New Market.

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