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Between "Glórias": Landscapes of Forgetting in Glória Neighborhood — Rio de Janeiro

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ABSTRACT

The article looks at everyday public open spaces and the different forms of their appropriation in the surroundings of the short wall located in the neighborhood of Glória, in Rio de Janeiro, through a multiscale landscape analysis that identified the short wall as a landscape structuring element. The short wall is a vestige of the past, driving the 'displacement' and forgetting of the Guanabara Bay, while also being a remembrance of the place's bygone waters and histories. It also works as a physical limit that conforms different spaces, occupied mainly by social groups formed by workers, transvestites and homeless people who make these spaces their place of living, working and resisting, but even so continue to be "forgotten" by society and the government. This text results from the author's Master's research at the UFRJ Post-graduate Program in architecture, and from her personal experiences in the neighborhood of Glória. By identifying different landscape units, evaluation criteria were defined and divided into five perspectives, making it possible to characterize the territory through different aspects that shed light on the intangible dimensions of the landscape, particularly its conflicts and contradictions. The results are presented in maps and section cuts, and summarized in an analytical chart.

KEYWORDS: landscape, public open spaces, territorialities, multiscale analysis, narratives.

INTRODUCTION: CONCEALED MEMORIES - FROM KARIOCA TO CARIOCA

Located in the South Zone of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, included in Planning Area 2 (Figure 1), situated on the border with the Central Zone and at the foot of Santa Tereza Hill, the neighborhood of Glória was chosen as the territory to be analyzed. Considered as the South Zone's earliest neighborhood, its history intertwines with the beginning of urbanization in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro.

Before the city's colonization process, the territory was occupied by Tupinambá indians who lived mainly by the riverbeds. One of the main villages on the Guanabara Bay, called Karióka ("home of Carijó Indians", in Tupi-Guarani language) was located on the banks of the Carioca River, beside today's Outeiro da Glória (SILVA, 2015). In 1567, the place witnessed the battle of Uruçumirim, which marked the end of the villages and the beginning of European occupation.

The city as it is known today began to develop from the places with access to potable water, such as the mouth of the Carioca River – in the neighborhood of Glória –, and the paths previously used by the indians became the first roads around which the city grew. Despite the neighborhood's historical importance in the pre-colonial period, marked by the resistance of indigenous peoples, there is no memorial or mention to the Tupinanbá in the place.

Built during Brazil's slavery period, the short wall of Glória was one of the first interventions made in the city in order to contain the waters of the Guanabara Bay and silt up the mouth of the Carioca River. The place then became a dock for the unloading of ships, which was done by enslaved workers who, besides this and other services, collected water for use in residences.

During mayor Pereira Passos's administration, between 1902 and 1906, the then Brazilian capital went through an urban renewal process inspired by the remodeling of Paris in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, Rio de Janeiro became known as the "Tropical Paris", and the neighborhood of Glória became a symbol-place of this moment. This period of reforms was marked by the demolition and flattening of hills in order to provide inputs for the city's earth fills. Examples of major works were the opening of a road connecting the Botafogo and Central areas, on fills constructed with earth from the Senado Hill, the construction of Paris Square (1929) on another fill —

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this one built from the demolition of the Castelo Hill –, and in the 1960s the creation of Flamengo Park, redefining again the neighborhood's limits (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Map locating the neighborhood of Glória in the Planning Areas of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro, showing the neighborhoods' limits and identifying the earth fill area.

Source: The authors, on an image from the Sel-RJ Group, 2022.

Underneath the stones of the earth fills that make up the neighborhood of Glória lie hundreds of buried histories, especially those of the families displaced by the hill demolition processes. The short wall is a landmark of these historical filling processes, while also being a shelter for new narratives.

Johann Michel (MICHEL, 2010), among other authors, believes the construction of a collective narrative by governments is a central pillar in the predominant mode of public action. However, he says that these narratives supposedly seek to unite the members of a society around a common history, but end up saying more about the way in which power presents itself and about its values than actually about the collective memory it supposedly rests on.

Cities are made not only of iron and concrete, but also people. The erasure of the histories that make up the formation of the neighborhood – from the originary peoples to the enslaved populations to the displaced – reflect on various forms of forgetting seen nowadays. Today, this territory is occupied by other social groups "forgotten" by society, which include workers, transvestites and homeless people, and which make their presence a form of existence and resistance (TÂNGARI; SCHLEE; ANDRADE, 2009).

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THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPEN SPACES

In order to study the landscape's intangible aspects – affectivity, territoriality, struggles and conflicts – and thus interpret different forms of perceiving the environment on a day-to-day scale, this work employs the concepts of "territoriality', 'preference atmospheres' and *pracialidades*¹.

In an article developed by the SEL-RJ Group (SCHLEE et al., 2009), the authors outline a panorama of the concepts aggregated into the Open Space System (SEL), based on Miranda Magnoli's definition of **urban open spaces** as "building-free spaces: backyards, public or private gardens, streets, avenues, squares, parks, rivers, woods, mangroves, and urban beaches, or mere urban empty spaces" (MAGNOLI, 1982, p. 243).

The same authors define territory as the binding power over a space (in spatial, geopolitical or socioeconomic terms) and the social construction that incorporates economic and productive processes which manifest on a physical base, delimiting marks and landmarks of cultural identity (SCHLEE et al., 2009). In psychology, **territoriality** involves behavior and cognition related with a particular place. In this approach, Lamounier and Yamaki consider that "territoriality is a pattern of behavior and attitudes that is kept by an individual or group, based on the control of a particular physical space, which may involve usual occupation, defense, personalization and demarcation" (LAMOUNIER; YAMAKI, 2005, p.15).

The understanding of a city through everyday experience is based on reflections approached in the text, where the authors argue that the concept of **atmospheres** encompasses a landscape's intangible aspects, understanding the idea of **preference atmospheres** as memorable day-to-day atmospheres related to experiences in the city on a more intimate scale and which compose the collective imaginary (LAMOUNIER et al., 2019).

For a better understanding of the spontaneous appropriations identified in the spaces conformed by the short wall, this study uses the concept of **pracialidade**. The term, coined by the researcher Eugênio Queiroga, defines forms of public, participatory and spontaneous appropriation of open spaces. The author considers that spaces endowed with pracialidade emerge as elements of a place's identity, initially providing a compensative solution for the scarcity of quality open spaces. He also stresses that areas endowed with pracialidade, adapted or improvised as they may be, are sometimes the main spaces in the sphere of public life, used for leisure, social interaction and playing by the local population:

A good part of these areas are not officially destined for leisure, revealing the contempt of the official production of the city regarding the demand for public facilities for the poor, who most need free spaces for their leisure. The state's action is feeble in creating open areas in underserved suburbs and housing blocks. Few squares are actually built and maintained by the government in such neighborhoods, but the "open spaces" informally created by the population itself are fundamental (QUEIROGA, 2001, p. 220).

The system of public open spaces is the focus of the analyses conducted in the neighborhood of Glória, which aim to study the scale of everyday life and the different forms of

¹ T.N.: The term *pracialidade* refers to square- or plaza-like spaces, or the set of attributes that enables the use of a particular urban open space as a square.

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appropriation based on the investigation of everyday practices which manifest there and on the narratives of different urban agents who experience these areas through their work and resistance.

These concepts underpin the analysis described below. The ideas of preference atmosphere and of territoriality address the different forms of perceiving and appropriating spaces, while pracialidade applies directly to the type of open space to be studied in its relationship with a sense of affectivity.

READING THE LANDSCAPE: WHAT THE STREET SPEAKS

The methodology applied in this article looks into the studied territory, proposing to unveil its layers and come closer to its imbricated urban and social dynamics. Through the method of landscape partitioning developed by the Orla Project (BRASIL/MMA, 2002), landscape units are identified in the defined area. This method is all the more pertinent because, even its limit being constantly altered, the focus of the study is characterized as a coastline area.

This procedure consists in dividing and subdividing an area into diverse units, enabling the deepening of the analysis on multiple scales. In this context, landscape unit is understood as a delimited territory with a certain degree of configuration homogeneity, depending on the scale of analysis, characterized by the similar disposition and dimension of the four elements that define a landscape: physical support; drainage structure and pattern; vegetation; and form of occupation (MAGALHÃES; MANETTI; TÂNGARI, 2013).

Once the landscape units have been defined, territory evaluation criteria are established. In Glória's units, five criteria were used that were proposed by the discipline of Landscape Architecture: (I) landscape design and contradictions; (II) morphological structure and conformed landscape; (III) socioenvironmental and sociocultural conflicts; (IV) occupation and vacation patterns; and (V) affectivity and territoriality.

For each of these, this work proposes a specific perspective that seeks to come closer to a day-to-day scale that allows focusing on the research objectives. The evaluation criteria articulate with those perspectives in the following manner:

- I. Landscape design and contradictions. For this criterion, the study looked into the role of the (a) unit's **physical support** and main configurations, emphasizing the open spaces that conform the unit;
- II. Morphological structure and conformed landscape. This is further developed by identifying the (b) physical and symbolic **limits**, indicating barriers, bars, walls, uneven grounds, separations and forms of control;
- III. Socioenvironmental and sociocultural conflicts. This criterion focuses on the (c) **disputes and disconnections**, particularly regarding space use conflicts, sidewalk space disputes, and the confrontation of demand vs. supply, pedestrians vs. vehicles;
- IV. Occupation and vacation patterns. The focus is on the relationship between (d) **occupation days and hours**, considering the distinction between daytime and nighttime occupation, particularly concerning the vacation of open spaces, as well as the presence and absence of people;

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V. Affectivity and territoriality. This criterion shifts the focus to the (e) "strangers", shedding light on social groups and spaces "forgotten" by society and the government.

The application of these criteria from their corresponding perspectives allows comparing the landscape units without missing the overall picture. To facilitate the understanding of the whole, section cuts were used which link the identified units, in addition to a chart that summarizes the analyzed information. Both the section cuts and the chart are presented in the next section.

BETWEEN GLÓRIAS

Situated between the South and Central Zones of the city of Rio de Janeiro, the neighborhood of Glória presents aspects of both profiles regarding management. The landscape is characterized by this type of "undefined zone" (FUÃO, 2019), marked by instances of urban forgetting, neglect and "indiscipline" (SIQUEIRA, 2016). The neglected monuments, closed facilities and the pollution of the Guanabara Bay are some of the signs of the state's neglectfulness, while the presence of workers, homeless people and transvestites characterizes forms of resistance that bring up memories buried by oppressive narratives.

To understand the configuration of spaces and the different dynamics established in them, five landscape units were identified in the neighborhood of Glória, presented in plans and section cuts (Figures 2 through 5). Each unit presents defined limits and configuration homogeneity, separately described below.

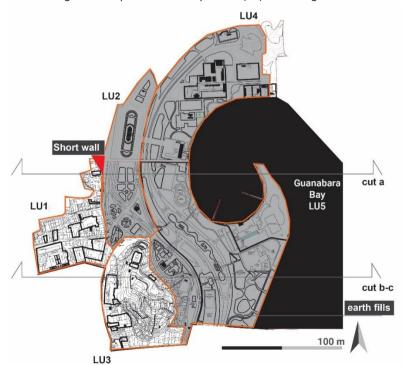


Figure 2: Map of the Landscape Units (LU) in the neighborhood of Glória

Source: The authors, based on a plan from the municipal land registry of Rio de Janeiro, 2021

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Unit 1 - the plain and the short wall: concentrated in the occupied area with no earth fills, it is characterized by the junction between the neighborhood's plain portion and Santa Tereza Hill's slope. It is delimited by the short wall and comprises mixed use buildings, a wooded sidewalk near the buildings, and a wide promenade with a parking lot along the street, overlooking Paris Square and Flamengo Park;

Unit 2 - the square and the speedway: situated in the lower portion of the short retaining wall, on an earth fill area, it is limited to Paris Square, major arteries and groundcover beds. On its lower limit, it is bounded by the slope of Glória Hill;

Unit 3 - the hill and the earth fill: it encompasses the relief area with winding side streets and old, mostly residential houses. It is marked by the strong presence of the Catholic church, evidenced by Outeiro da Glória Church;

Unit 4 - the park and the Bay: defined by the public open spaces and metropolitan-scale public facilities built on an earth fill area. It includes Flamengo Park, Russel Square, the Modern Art Museum, and Marina da Glória;

Unit 5 - the water and the sea beyond: it encompasses the Guanabara Bay and is marked by the water element, its seashore panorama, and its pollution. Relationships there are mostly economic, involving services and sparse leisure and sports activities.

By the above described history of Glória's construction, most of the territory is located in an area of successive earth fills. Understanding this helps to define the identified units, where it is possible to observe the predominance of public open spaces used for leisure and the circulation of vehicles (Units 2 and 4). The non-fill areas (Units 1 and 3) concentrate buildings for residential and commercial use, consisting mostly of old houses and medium-rise buildings. It is worth stressing that the Guanabara Bay is understood here as a unit in itself (Unit 5), and while it is major landscape element, it is separated from the other elements by a speedway, being scarcely connected to the neighborhood's daily life.

The section cuts underscore the relationship between the units and highlight the landscape's main elements.

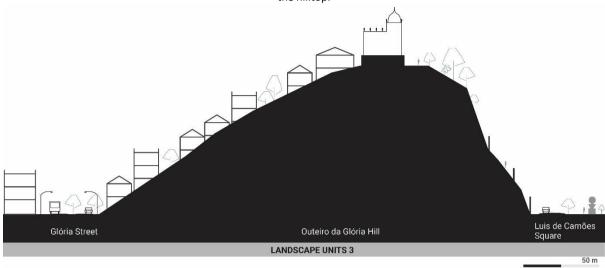
Figure 3: Section cut (a) of Landscape Units 1, 2, 4 and 5. Relationship between the higher and lower portions of the short wall; predominance of public open spaces interrupted by speedways; Guanabara Bay's separation from the other elements.



Source: The authors, 2021.

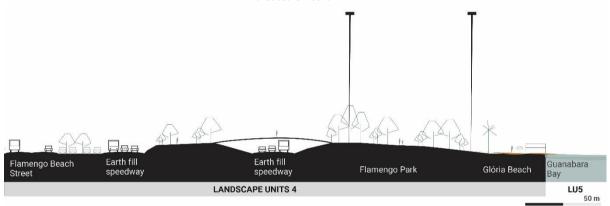
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Figure 4: Section cut (b) of Landscape Unit 3. Relief standing out in the landscape, emphasizing Glória do Outeiro Church at the hilltop.



Source: The authors, 2021.

Figure 5: Section cut (c) of Landscape Units 4 and 5. Predominance of public open spaces interrupted by speedways; note the light poles characteristic of Flamengo Park; footbridge designed by Affonso Reidy; artificial beach created on earth fill.



Source: The authors, 2021.

Each Landscape Unit was analyzed using the earlier mentioned evaluation criteria, which were organized in the chart below (Chart 1). It should be stressed that the evaluations were based on maps, photographs and accounts, but also on personal observations and experiences over years of interaction with the neighborhood of Glória, between 2008 and 2019.

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Chart 1: Summary chart with the landscape units and evaluation criteria.

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	(I) Landscape design and contradictions	(II) Morphological structure and conformed landscape	Evaluation criter (III) Socioenvironmental and sociocultural conflicts	(IV) Occupation and vacation patterns	(V) Affectivity and territoriality
	Perspectives				
Landscape Units	(a) physical support	(b) limits	(c) disputes and disconnections	(d) occupation days and hours	(e) the strangers
	wooded sidewalk near the buildings, wide promenade with a parking lot, and short wall	limits; earth fill areas separate the water from the rest of the landscape; separation marked by the short wall; promenade	disputes over territory on the sidewalk – street vendors vs. passers-by demand for drinking water vs. fountain out of service heritage conservation vs. use	pedestrian circulation, sidewalks used by street vendors and as a motorcycle taxi stand	feeling of emptiness caused by the absence of street vendors (fear of the unknown creates prejudice against workers and homeless people) ruined water fountain marks lack of use
and the	below the containing wall, major artery,	barrier formed by the uneven ground, bars around the square, speedways	pedestrians vs. vehicles use conflicts: transvestites vs. residents, homeless people vs. municipal repression	stops, leisure and sports at the square, and market on Sundays night time occupation:	homophobic allegations, next to transvestites' soliciting spot monuments: Marshall Deodoro da Fonseca Monument (houses
LU3 the hill and the earth fill	houses mainly for	uneven ground at the foot of the hill, reduced visibility due to high		daytime occupation: presence of few tourists in Outeiro Hill, circulation area with access to the park night time occupation: vacation of spaces	
		public cultural facilities (Museum of Modern		and sports, parking and circulation	monuments: World War II Memorial
LU5 the water and the sea beyond	Guanabara Bay. Use for transport, navy services, industrial and fishing activities, leisure and sports	insufficient collective transportation	1	economic activities night time occupation:	ignorance of the earth fills'

Source: The authors, 2021.

As argued by SILVA et al. (2013), territorial analyses are configured considering different landscape transformation agents, making way for the debate of conflicts and contradictions. In this context, this work starts from the investigation of everyday practices manifested in the surroundings of the short wall and in the narratives of different urban agents who experience these areas through

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their work and resistance. Thus, in order to further this debate on the scale of everyday public open spaces occupied by social groups "forgotten" by the government, Units 1 and 2 were analyzed in greater detail.

LANDSCAPES OF FORGETTING

These two units were selected considering that these territories are part of Glória's day-to-day and home to a diversity of conflicts resulting from the coexistence between different urban agents. Through its analyses and theoretical foundation, the study sought to link the form, use and different modes of appropriation of the spaces, shedding light on the instances of forgetting that pervade the neighborhood's dynamics.

Units 1 and 2 – "the plain and the short wall" and "the square and the speedways" – are marked by the presence of the short containing wall, which works as a landscape structuring element, establishing a spatiality divided into a higher portion and a lower portion. The short wall is nearly three meters high, forming a stone wall and a sill composed by banisters. In its symbolic aspect, it emerges as a vestige of the past, driving the displacement and forgetting of the Guanabara Bay at the same time as it is a remembrance of the place's bygone waters and histories. The short wall also works as a physical limit that conforms different spaces (Figures 6 and 7), mainly occupied by populations "forgotten" by the government (the social groups mentioned earlier).

These spaces were subdivided into three micro-territorialities: the "higher sidewalk", the "promenade" and the "lower sidewalk". The different occupation patterns during the day and at night underscore the different forms of appropriation of the spaces by distinct groups.

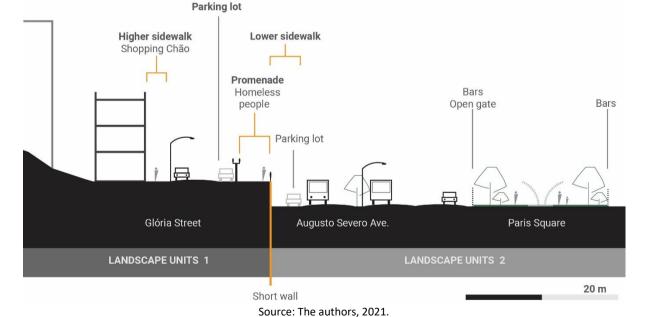


Figure 6: Section cut of Units 1 and 2 during the day, highlighting the different forms of occupation.

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Parking lot Lower sidewalk Hither sidewalk Transvestites' sol. spot Bars Promenade Closed gate Bars hopping chão 'burrinhas' Paris Square Glória Street Augusto Severo Ave. LANDSCAPE UNITS 1 20 m Short wall

Figure 7: Section cut of Units 1 and 2, nighttime, highlighting the light-shadow relationship in the spaces.

Source: The authors, 2021.

The "higher sidewalk", located on the short wall, is disputed by pedestrians and street vendors of used goods, known as 'shopping chão' (ground mall). These workers recognize themselves as "urban prospectors", and they travel the city in search of miscellaneous objects which are then sold on cloths stretched on the ground. The dispute over sidewalk space is often troubled, causing conflicts between residents, workers and passers-by. Because the profession is not regulated and the prospectors are not granted space for their work, the municipal police are often called to remove the people and their objects.

During the day, the workers stretch their cloths, demarcating the sidewalk on the short wall and conforming a micro-territory. The organization and disposition of the objects are forms of personalization which mark the work that is done by shopping chão (Figure 8). This form of space control is defined by patterns of behavior and attitude (LAMOUNIER; YAMAKI, 2005) of this group of workers. As soon as they arrive, they start to sweep and prepare the place, showing their care for it, and reinforcing another aspect that composes the idea of territoriality.

Figure 8: Photo of cloths stretched on the ground by shopping chão vendors on the sidewalk in the neighborhood of Glória. Record of homeless people using the short wall as a place for their meals.



Source: Images from the documentary "Shopping chão: garimpo urbano e resistência" (Shopping chão: urban prospection and resistance), co-directed by the author, 2018.

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The "promenade" is a space delimited by the street and the short wall, formed by an esplanade overlooking Paris Square and Flamengo Park. The linear parking lot along the street (Figure 6) keeps pedestrians away, which causes dual feelings: it conforms a secluded and protected space, while also causing a feeling of insecurity in some. Because of these characteristics, the "promenade" becomes a quieter environment, used by the homeless population for everyday activities, such as cooking, rest and leisure.

At night, the 'promenade' is used as a parking area for 'burrinhas' – trolleys where shopping chão objects are kept – and new relationships are established. The dim, yellow lighting from old poles (Figure 7) creates an intimate atmosphere, helping this population feel secure from the rest of the neighborhood. Through the night, the workers have moments of rest and exchange.

This place is related with aspects of intimate life and composes the collective imaginary of these groups. The idea of "preference atmosphere" helps to understand the use of this space, since the authors emphasize its relationship with the sphere of different day-to-days and the possibility of assigning multiple meanings related to distinct visions (LAMOUNIER et al., 2019).

The "lower sidewalk" is limited by the nearly 3 meter high wall – which creates a "shadow area" in the lower portion – and by the corridor formed by the linear parking area along the arteries (Figure 6). During the day, the place is scarcely frequented, serving only as a circulation area – except on Sundays, when the Glória market is held. At night, enjoying the privacy afforded by the shadow area and the heavy circulation of cars, it is occupied by groups of transvestites working as sex workers (Figure 7).

The conformation of this atmosphere also generates dual feelings. While for residents and passers-by it may cause feelings of insecurity and neglect, for others – such as the sex workers – it is a quiet, intimate space. The permanence of this group generates conflict situations in the neighborhood, since their mere presence defies concepts of morality, thus configuring an existence marked by resistance.

Thus, as shown, these places emerge as the main spaces in the sphere of public – and also private – life for the groups marginalized by society. Based on these analyses, the short wall is confirmed as a landscape structuring element which configures micro-territorialities.

One of the ways of analyzing micro-territorialities is through their status of "pracialidade". In general, the concept of pracialidade is used when addressing poor outskirts and suburbs – places that tend to have few open spaces – understood as places which are appropriated by the population for various uses (MENDONÇA, 2018). In Glória, open spaces are abundant, but the places around the short wall play a defining role in their public, participatory and spontaneous appropriation and can therefore be understood as endowed with pracialidade.

Latour and Santos defend cities as places of sheltering and affection that aim to foster collective well-being, believing that urban spaces can help to consolidate social and affective relationships (LATOUR, 2020, SANTOS, 2020). It should be stressed, however, that in tandem with these goals, it is also necessary to strengthen movements for housing and workers rights.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: FORGETTING AS STANCE

The neighborhood of Glória can be, in a way, directly linked to various ideas of forgetting. The type of forgetting that is seen there, however, is fundamentally different from what can be

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detected in more peripheral parts of the city. Unlike most low income suburbs, Glória possesses an abundance of open spaces of various types and with different characteristics, and its urbanization developed in a planned manner, since it was the focus of a number of urban remodeling processes, including an attempt to reproduce a European architecture profile.

However, the feeling of forgetting that the neighborhood evokes, visible in the monuments (and the decisions on who is represented and, most of all, who is not represented in these monuments), streets, squares and in the people who build their lives in this area, is an issue not only of the present. It marks the neighborhood's own history. The place is itself a tangle of memories, histories and affections forgotten, buried by the city's growth – and by a particular form of city making. It is forgetting as political stance.

Thus, the analyzed spaces and their various forms of occupation are themselves a form of resistance. The established relationships are a portrait of social injustice, since numerous groups are marginalized and remembered only in moments of control, from a discriminatory perspective. However, these social groups are fundamental parts of the web of connections that form the territory delimited today by the neighborhood of Glória. They are, in a way, the neighborhood itself – representatives not only of today's forgetting, but also of the whole accumulated history of instances of forgetting and erasure of the past.

The presented studies shed light on the spaces and, most of all, the people and day-to-day practices which manifest in them. They also highlight the importance of different views on and appropriations of the neighborhood of Glória, which are not always acknowledged by dominant narratives. The planning and interventions for this type of spaces must be thought of taking into account also the perspectives of these groups.

The method of landscape analysis was fundamental for understanding the layers that compose the neighborhood, particularly as it considers different landscape transformation agents. The recognition of distinct narratives and the intangible landscape dimensions was deepened through the evaluation criteria and selected perspectives, which contributed to highlight the debate on the studied conflicts and contradictions.

Through a multiscale approach, it was possible to deepen the local scale and thus understand these everyday public open spaces and the different forms of appropriation established in them. Moreover, it was noted, in the study, that organizing results in a comparative manner allows stressing the singularity of each landscape unit while keeping the understanding of the whole and its structure.

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