/DIADORIM

A CASA CAI: UNVEILING GEOGRAPHIES OF EXCLUSION AND VIOLENCE

A CASA CAI: DESVELANDO GEOGRAFIAS DE EXCLUSÃO E VIOLÊNCIA

Katia Costa Bezerra[1]

ABSTRACT

Favelas have existed for more than a century and have been historically portrayed as spaces of violence, criminality, and poverty. Over the years there have been different efforts to eliminate them from the wealthiest parts of the city. In spite of the different policies to remove them, the presence of favelas persists in areas close to wealth neighborhoods such as Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon. In 2014, Marcelo Backes published the novel *A casa cai.* The book tells the story of a former seminarist who leaves the priesthood after his father's death. While investigating documents from his father's safe, he realizes that part of his family's fortune was made from real estate investments at the place where it used to be the Favela da Praia do Pinto. Drawing from David Harvey's discussion on neoliberalism and urban space and Neil Smith's notion of gentrification, the essay explores the ways in which the novel engages with questions of urban policies, displacement, violence, and memory. In so doing, it attempts to unveil the close association between capital, favela eradication programs and issues of inequality and discrimination. I argue that the novel is part of a larger debate over the struggle between social justice and the reproduction of capital. I also contend that Backes's novel is part of a revisionist project that attempts to bring other facets to the military dictatorship in Brazil.

KEYWORDS: Urban space; Favelas; Gentrification; Memory; Military regime.

---

1   Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Professor and Associate Head World Literature Program, Director - University of Arizona, USA.

RESUMO

As favelas existem por mais de um século e têm sido historicamente representadas como espaços de violência, criminalidade e pobreza. Através dos anos, diferentes esforços foram feitos para eliminá-las das partes mais ricas da cidade. Apesar das várias políticas para removê-las, a presença das favelas persiste em bairros ricos como Copacabana, Ipanema e Leblon. Em 2014, Marcelo Backes publicou o romance *A casa cai*. O livro conta a estória de um ex-seminarista que abandona o seminário após o falecimento do pai. Enquanto investiga documentos que estão guardados no cofre do pai, o narrador percebe que parte da riqueza da família se origina de investimentos imobiliários num lugar onde costumava existir a Favela da Praia do Pinto. Tendo por base a discussão de David Harvey sobre o neoliberalismo e o espaço urbano e a noção de gentrificação de Neil Smith, esse ensaio explora as formas como o romance traz à tona questões de políticas urbanas, deslocamento, violência e memória. Ao fazer isso, o romance procura desvendar íntima relação entre o capital, programas de erradicação das favelas e questões de desigualdade e discriminação. Eu argumento que o romance é parte de um debate mais amplo em torno da luta entre justiça social e a reprodução do capital. Eu também argumento que o romance de Backes é parte de um projeto revisionista que procura trazer outras facetas para a ditadura militar no Brasil.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Espaço urbano; Favelas; Gentrificação; Memória; Regime militar.

> O dia das mães nunca mais seria festejado do mesmo jeito naquele lugar, e meu pai ainda pensou que ele e os seus bem poderiam ter escolhido uma ocasião melhor para expulsar de uma vez por todas aqueles importunos que infestavam o nobre terreno da Zona Sul do Rio de Janeiro [...].
> (BACKES, 2014, p. 116)

Celebrated in films, songs, and literature for its beauty, the city of Rio de Janeiro has undergone several waves of gentrification. In the beginning of the 20th century, Mayor Pereira Passos carried out urban transformations that changed the city's landscape. Tenement houses were destroyed, opening space to large avenues and new urban developments. Having as a model the Parisian boulevards designed by Haussman, the main goal was to increase the importance of the city on the international scene (BRANDÃO, 2006, p. 37). The urban interventions carried out let to profound modifications in the physical, social and economic structure of the city. In the beginning of the 1940s, there were attempts to improve life in favelas but, at the same time, efforts were made to eliminate favelas from more affluent areas. The creation of BNH (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento) in 1964 and CHISAM (Coordenação de Habitação de Interesses Sociais da Área Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro) in 1968 were part of a large-scale favela removal program paired with a massive relocation effort in which displaced favela residents were settled in public housing compounds located on the city's outskirts (BRUM, 2013, p. 182).

Favela da Praia do Pinto is one of these cases. Its history is revisited by Marcelo Backes's novel *A casa cai,* published in 2014. The plot revolves around a former seminarist who leaves the priesthood after his father's death. While investigating documents from his father's safe, he realizes that part of his family's fortune was made from real estate investments at the place where

it used to be the Favela da Praia do Pinto. The narrator thus unveils the connection between his father's economic projects and the dictatorship. Drawing on David Harvey's discussion on neoliberalism and urbanization and Neil Smith's notion of gentrification, this essay examines the ways in which the novel engages with questions of urban policies, displacement, violence, and memory. In so doing, it attempts to unveil the close association between capital, favela eradication programs and issues of inequality and discrimination. I argue that the novel is part of a larger debate over issues of social justice and the reproduction of capital. I also contend that Backes' novel is part of a revisionist debate that attempts to bring alternative facets to the military dictatorship in Brazil.

Rio de Janeiro and Favelas:

According to 2010 Census, there are around 763 favelas in Rio de Janeiro alone. The 2014 Brazilian Population Census informs that about 20% of Rio de Janeiro's population is made up of favela residents, more than one million people living in communities marked by socioeconomic differences. The proliferation of favelas can be explained by massive migrations from rural areas to the cities, the ever-present shortfall of housing and a precarious and expensive transportation system that forces many low-income workers to live close to their workplace. When favelas first appeared in Rio's landscape, they were mostly ignored. According to Brodwyn Fischer, isolated or small groupings of shacks were common throughout the nineteenth century. It was only in the early twentieth century that favelas emerged as a problem due to Brazil's concern with "European standards of civilization, culture, hygiene, and race" (FISCHER, 2014, p. 16). The perception of favelas as uncivilized, violent and unhealth areas justified the implementation of policies that attempted to eradicate them. As a consequence, diverse programs of sanitation and public policies were implemented on several occasions, targeting low-income populations. This was the case of the demolition of tenement houses by Mayor Pereira Passos's urban reform from 1902 to 1906. According to Roberto Segre, Pereira Passos's urban reform "almost eliminated the tenement houses (*cortiços*) of the center of the city, which housed approximately 100,000 people in 1890 (SEGRE, 2008, p. 77). The data provided by different censuses can give us an idea of the rapid rates of urban growth. In 1849, Rio de Janeiro had around 205,906 inhabitants, while in 1890 this number had gone up to 522,621, and in 1903 the population was around 805,335 (FISCHER, 2008, p. 22). The growth of favelas can be attributed to the lack of state policies that could address housing problems of the poor segments of the population. Without places to live, low-income and landless segments of the population settled on hills near their workplaces or were forced to move away to the suburbs. Wood-and-zinc shacks sprang up rapidly on hills, leading to neighborhoods deprived of the most basic municipal services such as running water, electricity, sewage, and trash collection (FISCHER, 2008, p. 22).

This same dynamic was present in the demolition of Morro de Santo Antonio. Located

in downtown Rio de Janeiro, Morro de Santo Antonio had around 1,314 shacks in 1910 (Segre 77). In 1950, the city census estimated a population around 2,840 residents (FISCHER, 2008, p. 84). Perceived as an "excruciating blight of urban misery" that could jeopardize the image of a civilized city, by the late 1950s the houses of the poor had been completely destroyed and part of the hill was gone (Edmundo p. 249-252, 266). Only the church and the convent were preserved due to their significance as part of the colonial history of the city. The earth removed from the hill was dumped on the Flamengo beach, creating a new waterfront park (Aterro do Flamengo).[2]

The fact is that the perception of favelas as dysfunctional territories within the city has influenced and justified the way urban policies have been structured over the decades. Historically inscribed as territories of dangerous, irrational, poor, and uncivilized black individuals, the close proximity with affluent neighborhoods has made them more visible. For this reason, one of the major goals of the urban policies adopted in diverse historical contexts has been to civilize and modernize the city, which has resulted in the eviction of those who do not fit in with a certain perception of the city. Forms of intervention that, as David Harvey reminds us, serve private interests due the locations of some favelas in more affluent neighborhoods. As can be seen, we are faced with urban interventions that, attuned to the market and the ambition of a local elite, attempted to establish "how and by what means space can be used, organized, created, and dominated to fit the rather strict temporal requirements of the circulation of capital" (HARVEY, 1985, p. 37).

Favela da Praia do Pinto:

In the 1940s, with the increase in population, politicians and speculators became more interested in the perpetuation of favelas. With promises, politicians could attract favela voters and residents could rent a room or open a small business to make the ends meet. As a consequence, some projects were created to improve housing conditions and sanitation (SEGRE, 2008, p. 78). In the 1960s and 1970s the government created housing projects to eradicate favelas from more affluent neighborhoods. Favela da Praia do Pinto was one such case. Located in Leblon's wealthy south zone, Favela da Praia do Pinto completely burned down in May 1969. On the following day of the fire, the police tore down the few remaining houses that were still standing and everyone was forced to leave. The plan to remove Favela da Praia do Pinto dates back to the 1950s but for a while the families were able to resist. According to data from the Favela Census (1949), in 1949 at least 20,000 people lived in the location. Favela da Praia do Pinto was considered the largest horizontal favela in Rio and

---

2   The Convent of Santo Antonio had its origins in a small chapel, which stood on the banks of the pond that was occupied in 1592 by Franciscan friars, Fray Antonio Martyrs and Fray Antonio das Chagas. However, its construction only began in June 1608 under the presidency of Fray Vicente do Salvador and in 1615 opened a part of the Convent and Church of Santo Antonio, where the first Mass was celebrated on 8 February.

most of the residents were removed to housing projects in the suburbs of the west zone. This removal was part of a larger project that transferred from 1968 to 1975 almost 50,000 families from affluent neighborhoods to the outskirts of the city. Mario Brum reminds us that the main concern was the implementation of an urban beautification plan as part of a project of social cleansing. One of the strategies used to encourage favela residents to leave their houses was the promise that there would be improved-housing conditions in the new areas – a promise that, of course, the government never fulfilled (BRUM, 2013, p. 184). Some of the residents were allocated at Cruzada São Sebastião, located between Rodrigues Freire Lagoon and Praia do Leblon. Cruzada São Sebastião was launched by D. Helder Câmara, the auxiliary archbishop of Rio de Janeiro in 1955, as an alternative to solve the problem of favelas in Rio. Comprised of 10 apartment buildings of 7 floors each without elevator, and with a total of 910 residences, Cruzada's main goal was to provide permanent residency for families living in favelas "with satisfactory conditions of hygiene, in comfort and safety" (VALLADARES, 2003, p. 78).

In the capitalist logic, investment in built environment is considered a secondary sector of capital accumulation that can absorb impacts generated from industrial production. One consequence is the inevitable ascendancy of real estate companies that profit from the replacement of dilapidated urban spaces by upscale buildings and facilities. In the case of the Favela da Praia do Pinto, it is not only the contrast between a poor housing areas and nearby luxurious condominiums that justifies the intervention but also the perception of favela population as black and criminal – individuals who did not belong there. The fact is that the removal of Favela da Praia do Pinto residents opened a new area to the construction of a middle –middle/upper class condominium known as Selva de Pedra with 40 buildings, 2251 apartments, four internal streets and a central square.[3]

It is precisely this episode that the novel evokes when the main character examines his father's safe and understands his decisive role in the fire. As the citation that opens this essay makes it clear, favelas and their residents were perceived by an elite as a stain imprinted or infesting a noble (wealthy) neighborhood. The use of words such as "infested" bring to mind some of the terminology used in the nineteenth century to explain human differences. As discussed by scholars as Thomas Skidmore (1974), in the nineteenth century we witness a strong association between eugenics and hygiene as an attempt to regulate bodies and practices. Miscegenation was the focus of the discussion about the nation and, from the deterministic analysis, intense mixing could promote racial degeneration (physical, intellectual and moral anomalies). In reproducing some of this terminology in the novel, the author does not only unveil the beliefs of the main character's father and his neighbors but the terminology allows us to trace back some of the discourses that have contributed to the perception of favelas and their residents as a source of stigma and discrimination.

---

3   The 1960s is a period marked by a large real estate boom in the neighborhoods of Leblon, Ipanema, Gávea and Jardim Botânico (BRUM, 2013, p. 185).

The urge to act and clean the "noble land" justifies the adoption of a policy of removal that involves violence, the bribery of the police and community leaders, and even the arrest of those who resisted eviction with the excuse that they were communists. As we know, Brazil was under a military dictatorship from 1964 to 1985. The military justified the 1964 coup as a necessary measure to protect Brazil from communism. The regime violently suppressed any opposition, arresting, killing and disappearing members of the armed resistance and community leaders. One of the premises of the military regime was to look for strategies to become integrated to the international capitalist market, increasing state intervention in all spheres of social life. In his work, Harvey (1989) calls attention to the ways the capitalist logic of power creates territorial configurations through the privatization of land. This spatiality of capital accumulation has given rise to an intense struggle that goes on to determine whose interests and needs will prevail. In partnership with the state, the private capital engages in projects convenient to them that not only affect communities' lives but that of everyone living in the city. It is not by change that in various moments the narrator mentions the role played by an authoritarian state in the success of his father's business project since those who tried to oppose his father's project were arrested as communists. In order to put into question discourses that justified the evictions in the name of development and beautification, the novel brings the dramatic impact of the fire on the local community. In so doing, the narrator not only highlights the contrast between the two realities but also the insensibility of the "good" residents of Leblon to favela residents' tragedy:

> Pessoas corriam, desesperadas, para fora de seus barracos, crianças e velhos eram arrancados da cama, uma garota que passou correndo olhou pro meu pai implorando silenciosamento por ajuda […] Alguns velhos choravam na calçada, dúzias de crianças zanzavam perdidas no meio da multidão […] Enquanto isso a Lagoa dormia placidamente ali perto (BACKES, 2014, p.116, 117)

The favela is set on fire as a pre-condition to facilitate a process of displacement since Leblon is experiencing a rapid increase in gentrification. However, it is not only poverty that justifies the eviction of the residents but race becomes a fundamental factor in the effort to restructure and re-present the community. The displacement is thus a response to the racialized construction of territories that need to be cleansed if gentrifiers want to attract higher income residents as the narrator attests when he refers to:

> O branqueamento benfazejo da Zona Sul, o isolamento da pobreza em lugares distantes e regularizados era levada a cabo por planos governamentais, e meu pai aproveitava sua chance, já que a instituição fundamentava com empenho seus projetos mais ambiciosos. (BACKES, 2014, p. 119)

The narrator illustrates how in the minds of a Brazilian elite blackness was incompatible with a modern, civilized society. He points to the ways in which systems of domination and oppression have constructed and maintained a practice of segregation, through the exclusion

Diadorim, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 21, Especial, p. 99-108, 2019.

104

of blacks from the "good, wealthy" neighborhoods. What happens is that discriminatory educational and employment practices and prescriptive racial stereotyping keep blacks low in standards of living and this gives support to white prejudice, creating a vicious circle. Therefore, by denouncing the racism that underpins social practices, the novel challenges discourses that celebrate Brazil as an egalitarian, multicultural and racist-free nation, as a model of a cultural and racially hybrid nation. It points to the presence of a subtle racism that lurks behind and tends to conceal or naturalize racial and territorial power relations.

However, the disappearance of Favela da Praia do Pinto does not mean that the "good" community was free from the undesirable residents. Cruzada São Sebastião is also perceived as a stigmatized territory in Leblon - a neighborhood "onde havia um pouco mais de vinte mil domicílios apenas, e menos de cinquenta mil moradores bem selecionados" (BACKES, 2014, p. 291). Some of the comments voiced by these well-selected residents and ironically reproduced by the narrator contribute to the reproduction of racism as a form of domination albeit in different ways as we can see in the examples when members of the elite refer to Cruzada São Sebastião: ""Agora a cidade vai conviver com essa doença até o fim dos tempos, os ratos vão ficar pra sempre na casa-grande"" (BACKES, 2014, p. 125), "[é] mesmo o cancer do bairro, a sujeira eterna debaixo do tapete." (BACKES, 2014, p. 125) The comments unveil a hierarchical construction of groups to whom are attributed specific collective, biological naturalized traits that characterize them as inferior. Traits that may primarily relate to physical and biological features but also include cultural practices, customs and traditions that are evaluated as negative, and backward when compared to the hegemonic desired ones. As Kátia da Costa Bezerra discusses on her work on the relationship between favelas and urban policies:

> Although questions of race are usually erased from discussions on urban policies, it is only when we start to consider their impact on the daily life of individuals and low-income communities that we can understand how urban policies reproduce and reinforce structures of inequality and exclusion. This process of racialization of space, however, is usually occluded under discourses that claim for the common good or the urge for progress/beautification—a process that dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century, as described by Fischer. (BEZERRA, 2017, p. 134)

In our specific case, the connection with a determinist discourse and the reference to a colonial past are clear examples of how these images are recycled to solidify and reproduce a certain social order, pointing to the ways in which the relationship between space, race and the reproduction of capital is established. This means to say that Favela da Praia do Pinto or Cruzada São Sebastião become the commodity for profit-seeking capital through a process that involves racial/social cleansing and low-cost land. As discussed by Smith, the search for a high return on investment is the primary goal behind gentrification (SMITH, 1979, p. 542). Of course, as the novel continuously reminds us, the adoption of an economic model based on the free interplay of market forces as a new basis for capital accumulation, implied suppressing

Diadorim, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 21, Especial, p. 99-108, 2019.

105

opposition wherever it appeared and the making of new political coalitions and social alliances. The final goal was to insert Brazil into a different international economy as a strategy to overcome a serious economic crisis and mounting competition.

The fire of Favela da Praia do Pinto and the consequent construction of the Selva de Pedra condominium demonstrate the ways in which the relations of production attempt to reproduce themselves. The events point to the impacts of gentrification on local community's life and social practices, the way they try to eliminate the possibility of difference by re-inscribing a certain spatial order. In so doing, these events highlight the dialectical dynamics between the capitalist and the territorial logic of power, unveiling the connection between urbanization, race, and inequality. It is not by change that, little by little, physical barriers were constructed around the Selva de Pedra condominium to avoid that "moradores, marginais e favelados, saíssem de seu espaço subqualificado [da Cruzada São Sebastião] e frequentassem livremente as áreas da bem mais gloriosa Selva de Pedra" (BACKES, 2014, p. 297). Yet, the gentrification process does not stop with the eviction of the undesirable residents from Favela da Praia do Pinto. There is a second moment of gentrification when, as predicted by the narrator's father, little by little the middle class residents of the Selva de Pedra condominium were displaced by the influx of higher-income newcomers:

> Em sua astúcia, meu pai inclusive parecia ter adivinhado desde o princípio que a Selva de Pedra acabaria mudando o perfil, apesar das vizinhanças irremovíveis da Cruzada. Ele sabia muito bem o que eu só agora descobria, quanta coisa eu descobria, que os planos nem um pouco inocentes e bem interesseiros de acabar com a Praia do Pinto […] tudo porque o Leblon, sempre mais ao Sul da Zona Sul, era o norte pro qual apontava a bússola assaz convicta da especulação (BACKES, 2014, p. 126-127).

As for Cruzada São Sebastião, although many consider it a vertical and unmovable favela, nowadays a twenty-one-square meter apartment can be sold by R$ 265.000,00 depending on its location (TROVIT). According to the record of the residents' association, a 20-square meter studio apartment can be home of up to ten people. With a population of around three to four thousand residents from low income to middle class families, in 2015 the state government proposed to upgrade the condominium with the installation of elevators, restoration of the buildings and the regularization of property titles (COSTA, 2015). Of course, this would have an impact on the state and municipal taxes and a significant increase in the real estate value in the neighborhood that could trigger another process of gentrification.[4]

The urban interventions are thus orchestrated by cycles of investment in which the ultimate

---

4   Built in 2006 next to Cruzada São Sebastião, Shopping Leblon is one of Rio's most exclusive and upscale malls. It was an investment strategy that contributed to the neighborhood value appreciation. In spite of its constant projects to engage the Cruzada São Sebastião's residents in social projects, we cannot deny its strategic position (with its back to Cruzada) isolates or hides one side of Cruzada São Sebastião.

goal is guided by a profit-driven market economy. The fact is that land values "increase most rapidly during periods of particularly rapid capital accumulation and decline temporally during slumps," giving rise to cyclical processes of spatial expansion (suburbanization) and expansion in situ (gentrification) (SMITH, 1979, p. 541). It is a process of economic growth and urban development characterized by further marginalization through land speculation. In order to reverse this unequal pattern of development, marginalized groups challenge an official rhetoric that, although advocating social equality and democratic channels of discussion, its inherent objective is completely different. As discussed before, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, for decades a discourse of consensus has been used to justify targeting interventions to spaces occupied by the so-called problematic, marginalized, criminal segments of society. It is a dominant mode of representation that reduces the issue of inequality to a territorial problem rather than structural economic and political issues. There is no doubt that the project of gentrification described by *A casa cai* is still under way. Only that, in recent years, it is the increase of taxes or the possibility of profit that will probably force old (poor/black) residents to move to other less expensive/upscale neighborhoods. Therefore, in spite of an inclusive legal framework of the 1988 Constitution and the constant discourses on social inclusion, many marginalized groups still struggle to assert themselves as equal and legitimate citizens.

However, the novel does not restrict itself to a sharp criticism of the connections between urban policies and capitalism but it also proposes alternative frameworks to rethink the past. The novel questions a dualistic logic (the struggle between the military and left-wing groups) traditionally used by diverse discourses to refer to the Brazilian dictatorship, opening the conditions for the emergence of alternative experiences. In selecting the disappearance of Favela da Praia do Pinto as his point of departure, Backes explores the impact of the military regime on favela residents – stories usually absent from the official record. In so doing, the novel thus gains a supplemental status in which "se junta a outros processos de armazenamento e divulga-ção da memória […] para o estabelecimento da mediação entre passado e presente que afirma o vivido como experiência coletiva" (JORGE, 2017, p. 28). It can be argued that by proposing more complex ways of revisiting the past, *A casa cai* offers a sense of inclusion to forgotten experiences and stories, inaugurating new dimensions to the mapping of the social and cultural memory of the nation – a crucial step if we want a more inclusive, democratic society.

References

BACKES, M. *A casa cai*. Rio de Janeiro: Companhia das Letras, 2014.

BEZERRA, K. C. *Postcards from Rio*: favelas and the contested geographies of citizenship. New York: Fordham University Press, 2017.

BRANDÃO, Z. Urban planning in Rio de Janeiro: a critical review of the urban design practice in the twentieth century. *City and Time*, 2006, p. 37-50. Disponível em: http://ceci-br.org/novo/revista/docs2006/CT-2006-53.pdf. Acesso em: 22 de agosto de 2019.

BRUM, M. Favelas e remocionismo ontem e hoje: da ditadura de 1964 aos grandes eventos. *O Social em Questão*, v.11, n.29, p. 179-208, 2013.

CENSO demográfico 2010: Aglomerados subnormais. *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistic*, dez. 2011. Disponível em: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/censo2010/aglomerados_subnormais_informacoes_territoriais/default_informacoes_territoriais.shtm. Acesso em: 10 dez. 2016.

CENSO das favelas: aspectos gerais. Prefeitura do Distrito Federal, 1949. Disponível em: https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv81075.pdf. Acesso em: 04 jan. 2017.

COSTA, C. Governador inaugural restauração do conjunto Pedregulho, ícone da arquitetura moderna. *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 11 dez. 2015. Disponível em: https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/governador-inaugura-restauracao-do-conjunto-pedregrulho-icone-da-arquitetura-moderna-17462917. Acesso em: 22 de agosto de 2019.

EDMUNDO, Luiz. O Rio de Janeiro do meu tempo. 2. Ed. Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1957.

FISCHER, B. A century in the present tense: crisis, and the intellectual history of Brazil's Informal Cities. In.: FISCHER, B.; MCCANN, B.; AUYERO, J. (eds.). *Cities from scratch.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014. 9-67.

FISCHER, B. *A poverty of rights*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

HARVEY, D. From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geofrafiska Annales*, v. 71B, p. 3-17, 1989.

HARVEY, D. *Consciousness and the urban experience: studies in the theory of capitalist urbanization.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1985.

JORGE, S. R. Literatura, memória e resistência. *Revista Diadorim*, v. 19, n. 1, p. 19-29, 2017.

SEGRE, R. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: The articulation between formal and informal city. *Understanding meaningful environments: architectural procedents and the question of identity in creative design*. Eds. K. Amsterdam: NLD, 2008. 77-89.

SKIDMORE, T. *Black into white: race and nationality in Brazilian thought*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

SMITH, N. Toward a theory of gentrification: a back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, v. 45, n. 4, p. 538-548, 1979.

TROVIT. Apartamento com 1 quarto à venda no Leblon, 21 m². Rio de Janeiro, 2018. Disponível em: https://imoveis.trovit.com.br/listing/apartamento-com-1-quarto-a-venda-no-bairro-leblon-21m.1DqoD1V1f1z1A. Acesso em: 19 de agosto de 2019.

VALLADARES, L. P. *The invention of the favela.* Trans. by Robert N. Anderson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003.