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BARRA DA TIJUCA TERRITORY: FROM THE CARIOCA HINTER- LAND TO GATED COMMUNITIES

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Abstract: Part of the research *Territory and territoriality*: from the “countryside in Rio de Janeiro” to the closed condominiums of Barra da Tijuca, this article has as a scenario two condominiums in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro – Barra Sul and Pontões da Barra –, located side by side in the neighborhood of Barra da Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro. Initially, the first population formations in the researched territory were rescued, in order to deepen the social meanings constructed, as well as to verify the emerging social and cultural characteristics, including the organizational dynamics of the subjects who live there. Hence the emphasis on the concept of space as intercessory and capable of being crossed by other meanings, which end up giving it different angles and meanings. THE methodology is linked to qualitative and participatory research, focused on thematic questions about social everyday life in its cultural and identity developments. For this, a mapping of the potentialities of the studied places and of the users who live or transit there was made, through the analysis of interviews, as a way of incorporating the subjective dimension to the spatial territory, in an approximation of the lived and built territories. As a neighborhood designed to preserve public areas and maintain a standard distance between buildings, Barra da Tijuca returns to the promotion of a lifestyle that aims at well-being and quality of life in the integration of Man/Nature. Its geography, with a large plain surrounded by the sea, lakes and mountains, favored the construction of condominiums, shopping malls and large vehicle circulation routes; however, the greatest particularity of this area is its diversification character, uniting various social classes that live/travel/study/work there. By having its history documented, including the settlements and the geographical composition of the

beginning of the 17th century, the area allows a research directed to the social and territorial composition.

Keywords: Territory; Space; Social Significants; Organizational Dynamics.

INTRODUCTION

By entering the field of territories, I intended to approach, in this article, the transformation of the Barra da Tijuca area, West Zone of Rio de Janeiro, from the beginning of the 17th century to its present-day spatial -social configuration, in order to deepen the social signifiers constructed. The theme will be presented here in its historical aspect, as part of my thesis (in progress), which also covers contemporary studies, with their ways of life, habits and social relationships.

Regarding the historical importance, Sposito (1988) states that understanding the city in the dynamics of a space – in constant structuring – implies “considering all the economic, social, political and cultural determinants that, over time, build, transform and rebuild the city”. The process responds and at the same time gives “support to the transformations engendered by the flow of social relations” (p. 9).

The condominiums Barra Sul and Pontões da Barra, right on the border between Barra da Tijuca and Recreio dos Bandeirantes, were chosen as scenery, and both neighborhoods, in their original configuration, were part of the same lowland of Jacarepaguá, but today they are transformed into independent, albeit contiguous, territories. Aggregating in one place many of the offers spread in traditional neighborhoods (schools, commerce, churches, fairs, clubs), I realize how much a condominium is composed of organizational dynamics and community experiences. Andrade (2003) establishes a link between everyday life and space that

explains the relationship between culture and the built physical space: “Cities were created and developed to meet human needs, so that man could live together, in a community organization” (p. 99).

As more than one subject builds the identity of a given territory, it is up to each one to print the representation with which they most identify, taking into account that a representation is never fixed or impervious to new looks, since it is substantiated by elements influenced by the time and across space.

For Giddens (1991), modernity produced new ways of life, causing “all traditional types of social order” to be radically broken: “Both in their extensionality and in their intensionality, the transformations involved in modernity are more profound than the most types of change characteristic of preceding periods” (p. 10).

Maffesoli (2005) reveals the multiple identifications present in this period of the 21st century, in an exchange of roles (and not functions) in the spheres of life (family, professional, religious). For him, societies live from circulation, exchange, openness to otherness and also from the reduction of the individual character to reinforce the collective. Postmodernity, for the author, operates in the rupture of the logic of the must-be and the conjunction of the archaic (emotional order) with cutting-edge technologies (rational order), with affectivity and technology in communion, and contrary values in coexistence.

The spatio-temporal representation of the highlighted territories interferes with the progress of the administrative organization, which holds norms/statutes/conventions, producing its own organizations – an observation that led me to the initial question: To what extent do neighboring condominiums allow themselves or not to be contaminated by the proposals of the other, to the point of

forming a single identity or, on the contrary, distancing themselves and following different organizations?

To answer it, I searched for the historical records of the occupation of this large area. Initially called the “sertão carioca” (Corrêa, 1936), the place remained, until the mid-20th century, almost virgin, with little human interference. The picture, however, changed with the opening of new accesses (bridges, tunnels and viaducts) and the execution of the Plano Piloto by architect Lucio Costa, during the government of Negrão de Lima (1965-1971) – public interference that, to a certain extent, in this way, it explains the urban configuration that the region has reached today, where the system of condominiums, shopping malls and major highways prevails. This process brought with it new ways of life, habits and social relationships.

Inhabiting these spaces (residents) or being located in them (population passing through or working/studying) naturally implies an organizational dynamic that includes subjective formations and distinct sociocultural characteristics, that is, considering the multiplicity of people living together and in circulation, it is possible to say that these spaces function as “microneighborhoods”, both from the structural point of view (commerce, school, church, club, restaurant) and from the complexity of managing the high resources collected and that are rotated there/ generated.

The multiplicity of social interactions established there results in a cultural plurality (beliefs, customs, values) inherent to any human being. Your daily life expresses a *modus* characteristic *vivendi*, an attempt at accommodation to allow collective life. In this regard, Oliveira and Sgarbi (2008) emphasize the difference between common sense daily life (routine) and social daily life. For the authors, everyday life concerns

a spatiotemporal dimension, allowing it to be interpreted as a space (*locus*) where a production (always ideological) derived from social life emerges and which can suffer the effects of transformation over time. They are the “knowledge- powers woven daily by different social subjects”, which become effective as “knowledge- powers for emancipatory actions” (p. 69).

Condominiums named as closed (Freitas, 2005) resist completely opening their physical borders. with _ only one or two entry and exit routes, most of them have fences separating the public space and guardhouses with private security, in a way of exempting the State from certain responsibilities and in a clear outsourcing process. In this regard, the “defense of the place”, a community issue, is the responsibility of the neighborhood, which generates debates at condominium meetings, according to Bauman (2003):

Where the state has failed, can the community – the local community, a community embodied in a territory inhabited by its members and no one else (no one ‘not part of’) – provide that ‘safe being’ which the wider world clearly conspires to destroy? (p. 102)

Bauman ‘s question gains even greater dimension in the reality of violence in which Rio de Janeiro finds itself, whose population feels like prisoners of their homes. The phenomenon is mentioned because the properties sold within closed condominiums are, in general, more valued from a financial point of view, because of the surveillance devices. This “sensation of danger” will, according to Giddens (1991), “do more than simply weaken or force us to prove the assumption that the emergence of modernity would lead to the formation of a happier and safer social order” (p. 15).

It is natural that each condominium builds its identity according to its form of

representation, but this does not guarantee that this composition remains fixed and immutable, because, if the identity is a mirror of the cultural system that surrounds it, it is always in movement, subject to the rapid changes brought about by time.

By verifying the social and cultural characteristics and organizational dynamics in the individual-culture-educational environment relationship (municipal public schools and parish, in the case of), the social signifiers stand out, emphasizing that the lived culture and the environment where it takes place are interconnected; at the same time that cultural characters are shaped by individuals in the place where they operate (organizational systems), they imprint on those same individuals marks that guide them to certain self- links, according to whether or not they identify with their traits – a process that evolves into new identity characteristics, expressed both by similarities and differences.

As for the condominiums object of analysis, when observing the daily life of their organizational structure, I notice that there are different “niches” (security, club, commerce, schools, churches) interspersed with the most varied “tribes” (young, elderly, workers, students, religious), which together require complex self-administration.

Maffesoli (2005) points out that the importance given to the collective within a space was accompanied by the phenomenon of sociality, in the sense of sharing references, experimenting with different knowledge of everyday life, with the appreciation, including, of group cultures, in unveiling of a tribalist society where groups function as a unit and in deliberate networks. Each one defends the right to have their values, without the others having to follow them. Hence also the alliances that solidify certain social structures or that guarantee a plurality that is always to be made.

I perceived as a resident and frequenter of the common parts, that cultural identities vary according to the territory to which they are subjugated. Therefore, it is noteworthy that, although Barra Sul and Pontões da Barra are separated by a single avenue and that there is an intermittent transit of people between them, their sociocultural signifiers are not identical, nor are their resident public. Such relationships need to be theoretically constructed and validated by analysis to be officially confirmed. At this point, the existence of a relational mode would determine certain practices as “properties that belong to them at a given moment, from their position in a given social space and in a given situation of supply of possible goods and practices” (Bourdieu, 1996), p. 18). A good example is the maintenance/conservation of collective areas, much more cared for in one than in the other, revealing belonging to different orders. In this case, one can detect a set of social positions that is exposed when compared to another set with which it maintains a relationship and whose meaning is only established in this double way.

ELEMENTS AND METHODS

The research justification was given by considering that the phenomenon involves beliefs and values arising from the subjects and the components that sustain it, as a way of manifesting the ideological image of their system, in the act of promoting relationships; therefore, the need to delineate space as intercessory and, at the same time, capable of being crossed by other meanings.

Theoretical supports are multiple. Social psychology is the meeting point for theorists that permeate geographic spaces, territories and territoriality, in union with contemporary concepts of culture. I say this because, from the position of researcher in the field of Social Psychology, it is not possible to adopt only

theories concerning this area, considering that the themes border the areas of geography, sociology, history, social sciences, among others.

However, this fact does not imply the loss of the identity and characters of Social Psychology, whose main assumptions, since the beginning, have been part of my path, giving me a place of belonging that I called “studying the world of the territory”. Faced with this challenge, I chose to seek a methodology that could reflect these contradictions and produce a synthesis. I took into account that social experiences are sometimes taken by participation in a social group, sometimes by interpersonal or intergroup reactions.

As for closed condominiums, the range to be explored is vast, including for Social Psychology, as it enters a scenario rich in diversities, since the dynamics of relationships are processed in communion with general or specific actions. As stated by Santos (2013), there is a relationship between territorial dynamics and the manifestation of social consciousness, originating from a central structure - administration, residents' councils, security - and surroundings, such as: shops, schools, mobility systems, for example.

Although the “Barra da Tijuca condominiums” model was established in the 20th century, it still remains pulsating because it represents a kind of “fusion area”, since it is related to the dynamics of the city with its positive and negative consequences, in addition to conserving a lifestyle reserved for those who wish to establish themselves within a closer and more shared community spirit.

Aiming at achieving these purposes, a qualitative and participatory research aspect was adopted, focused on thematic questions about social daily life in the cultural and identity developments. With that, I opted for the action research bias, in a way to promote the association of different forms

of collective action. In order to complete the work, I propose the use of cartography as a collaborative participatory research tool, as it is appropriate for reflection, organization and action around a specific physical and social space. The composition of a cartography facilitates the mapping of the potentialities of the studied places and of the users who transit and, in addition to referring to a spatial territory, it incorporates the subjective dimension and serves as an instrument of approximation of the lived and built territories. According to Souza and Francisco (2016), cartography proposes “other ways of weaving understandings about men and the world, mapping landscapes, diving into the geography of affections, movements and intensities” (p. 811).

Interviews with the local population are planned, in order to establish a dialogue between theory/practice (data collected in the field) and as a way of building new narratives. Such dynamics promote the approximation of the researcher with his object of study, enabling the elaboration of a theoretical framework, either to confirm an already recognized knowledge, or to present new data.

This mapping deals with the representation of the space in focus, within the social perspective, in order to be able to check relational, natural and other indicators. From this perspective, the important thing is to obtain a line of conduct based on the notion of “here and now”, so necessary for the research that I propose.

For that, some methodological procedures will be carried out: Field diary, to help in the composition of the spatiality and temporality experienced by the researcher; semi-structured interviews, online and in person, combining closed and open questions; iconography, with photos from the internet and personal collection.

INITIAL RESULTS

Although the main research question cannot yet be properly answered – the thesis is in progress at the moment some advances can exemplify the process of occupation/transformation of the space in the Baixada de Jacarepaguá.

An excerpt from Lefebvre’s theory (2006) clarifies the continuous process by which society transforms nature through work and how much space ends up directly affected by the strategies of construction, reconstruction, housing, abandonment, depending on the interrelationships and new or the same parameters.

For Lefebvre (2006), social space is formed by social relationships, such as biological reproduction, labor force, exploitation-domination, production of space. It is through them that man interacts with nature or modifies it.

In terms of the researched space, Barra da Tijuca, it is interesting to portray the transformations in social relations that the production of space undergoes. According to Lefebvre (2006), the production of space unfolds in three elements: 1) spatial (social) practice – space **perceived** by individuals – “It (society) produces it (space) slowly and surely, dominating it. the and of it appropriating. For analysis, the spatial practice of a society is discovered by deciphering its space” (p. 65); 2) representations of space – space **conceived** by scientists, engineers, planners, etc. – “It is the dominant space in a society (a mode of production). The conceptions of space would tend (with some reservations on which it will be necessary to return) towards a system of verbal signs, therefore, intellectually elaborated” (p. 66); and 3) the spaces of representation – space **directly lived** by individuals – “It is the dominant space in a society (a mode of production)” (p. 66).

Such explanations make it possible to understand that spaces start from a geographical delimitation, but the production movements of society compose a framework where “forms, functions and meanings are intertwined in the act of living” (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 139).

Conceived within a certain and limited space, cities reflect society and its own social structure. For Oliven (2007), “cities are the most dynamic centers of complex societies; and they also represent spaces in which the contradictions of this type of society become more evident” (p. 17). As representatives of contradictory spaces, cities, in their dynamics, constitute the “context in which various social processes and phenomena develop” (p. 17).

About the biggest urban contradictions in Rio de Janeiro, historically it can be said that they were born in the beginning of the 20th century, when the mayor Pereira Passos, in order to transform the capital of Brazil into a great world metropolis, promoted the spatial structuring of the city, with the widening and opening of major avenues, having, for this, promoted numerous acts of social segregation, with the relocation of residents to the periphery. It was the time of the expansion of the city to the periphery. According to historian Souza (2008):

Belle Époque Rio de Janeiro, the then capital of the newly founded Brazilian republic, was one of the Latin American cities where the ruling elite best embodied urbanization as an urgent need for a society that needed to ‘civilize’ itself. The reforms, which in a few years redefined functions for the central areas of the city, created conditions for a new spatial arrangement with the emergence of new elite zones in the southern part of the city (p. 69-70).

Streets were destroyed and large avenues emerged (President Vargas, Rio Branco, Beira-Mar), with vast expropriation of properties. Neighborhoods such as Botafogo, Gávea, Jardim Botânico, Laranjeiras gained large mansions, amidst the exuberance of nature, “while a good portion of the population had to recompose their lives in the suburbs and hills, spaces where popular culture was effervescent” (Souza, 2008, p. 70).

The city expanded along the coastline and towards the suburbs, according to Fonseca (2019): “Rio de Janeiro spread along the coast and penetrated the interior, taking its cosmopolitan heritage. At least during the 19th century it was the most successful city in the task of being a global intersection point in the southern hemisphere” (p. 168).

But not all neighborhoods developed at the time. The region of Jacarepaguá and Barra da Tijuca had late causes of settlement, as well demonstrated in the publications of Corrêa (1936). Diving into the narratives of his book is equivalent to undertaking a journey back in time, the first half of the 20th century, when the lands of Jacarepaguá, Barra da Tijuca, Camorim, Grumari, Itanhangá, Joá, Recreio dos Bandeirantes, Vargem Grande and Vargem Pequena, today belong to the XXIV Administrative Region of the Municipality of Rio de Janeiro, made up the same area, named by the author of “Sertão Carioca”¹, in reference to the low density of population in areas far from each other and the lack of services offered by the public power.

Since the embryonic phase of the development of Rio de Janeiro, the ideas of geographers (Claval, 1999; Souza, 2000) who established the close connection between

1. I note that the name “Sertão Carioca”, coined by Corrêa (1936), is still referred to today, according to a report by Rubin, M. (2021, October 29), reporting on municipal decree number 49,695 (published on 27 /10/2021, in the Official Gazette), which “establishes the creation of the Environmental Protection Area (APA) of Sertão Carioca, which covers the most urbanized sections of Vargem Grande, Vargem Pequena, Recreio and Camorim” [electronic version]. *The globe*. <https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/bairros/decreto-municipal-cria-apa-do-sertao-carioca-que-abrange-areas-de-vargens-recreio-camorim-25257626>.

the territory and the power exercised by the State, to the point of delimiting the borders of each power established by the different land managers – a determining factor for the socioeconomic and cultural configuration of the entire region.

Part of this large territorial extension was divided, in the colonial period (16th century), into two large sesmarias. Nunes-Ferreira (2014) declares that Salvador de Sá, nephew of Governor General Mem de Sá, was appointed to govern the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro and donates the sesmarias to the Portuguese who fought the French, with Jerônimo Fernandes and Julião Rangel de Macedo the allotments of the entire Baixada de Jacarepaguá. The sons of Governor Salvador de Sá, Martim Correia de Sá and Gonçalo Correia de Sá, claim the donated lands, and the sesmarias are granted to them. The area that belonged to Gonçalo was leased to third parties, transforming them into villages. The allotment that belonged to Martim was preserved as a rural area and became known as the “plain of the eleven mills” (Peixoto, 2019). With the deaths of Martim Correia de Sá (1575-1632) and Gonçalo Correia de Sá (1575-1634), Gonçalo’s widow and daughter, Vitória de Sá, sold most of their land to Salvador Correia de Sá and Benevides, son of Martim Correia de Sá.

Nunes-Ferreira (2014) also records the death of Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides (1688), with his sons inheriting the land. Martim Correia de Sá e Benevides took the eastern portion of the current Barra da Tijuca (or Fazenda da Restinga), while João Correia de Sá e Benevides took over a large area around Engenho D’Água.

And it is at this point, precisely in this division, that the difference in the paths taken by the new purchasers regarding the neighborhoods begins to be drawn.

While Jacarepaguá remains in rural conditions, Barra da Tijuca is successively sold until the 20th century, when it passes into the hands of the Singaporean naturalized Brazilian Tjong Hiong Oei, who died in 2012, who would become known as the “Chinese of Barra” (Nunes-Ferreira, 2014, p. 45).

In a report written for the O Globo portal, Alves (2012) records the death of Oei and his actions:

Oei’s plans for Barra were carefully planned. To attract residents, he first invested in Clube Marapendi. With the leisure and social life of the inhabitants guaranteed, it allied with a construction company to build the Nova Ipanema condominium, followed by Novo Leblon. As the housewives were reluctant to go to the almost deserted Barra, which did not even have a supermarket, Oei personally went to France to negotiate the arrival of Carrefour, which ended up being installed on one of his lands.

In short, to attract the attention of families from Rio de Janeiro, Oei cedes part of the land to contractors for the installation of large enterprises, such as: Fazenda Clube Marapendi, Jardim Marapendi; condominiums Nova Ipanema, Novo Leblon, Park Palace, Mandala, Vivendas do Bosque; commercial establishments Barra Shopping, Casa Shopping, Makro, Carrefour and Shopping Via Parque, in addition to Parque Terra Encantada (Nunes-Ferreira, 2014).

Official owner of Agricultural Territorial Sanitation Company (ESTA S/A) Tjong Hiong Oei took advantage of the modernization brought about by public planning (Plano Piloto Lúcio Costa), between the 1970s and 1990s, to establish these partnerships and to strategically donate to the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro a part of the area that was in dispute - Parque Arruda Câmara (Bosque da Barra), Lourenço Jorge Hospital and Parque das Palmeiras, better known as Cebolão (Nunes-Ferreira, 2014, p. 48).

It can be seen, once again, that the public-private partnership continued its course, with intensity, intermediated by works on the main access roads to Barra and Recreio dos Bandeirantes and, more recently (2016), by buildings that could house the athletes who came to compete in the Olympics and other professionals and family members involved.

Human well-being results from a set of material and immaterial factors, which include economic and social capital, where culture is inserted and where the construction of the territory emerges.

The territory, for Milton Santos, “does not only have a passive role, but constitutes an active datum, and must be considered as a factor and not exclusively as a reflection of society. It is in the territory (...) that citizenship takes place as it is today, that is, incomplete” (Santos, 2007, p. 18).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

If society demands transformations, especially in the use and management of a territory, new types of citizenship also emerge or, in the words of Santos, “a citizenship that offers us respect for culture and the pursuit of freedom (Santos, 2007, p. 18). It is the reaffirmation of the territory in accordance with the social, natural, political, economic and cultural aspects, that is, the material dimension and the dimension of representations are clearly contained in a territory focused on the interaction between man and nature. This approach also values the sporting aspect of socio-territorial identity, built from the relationships and traditions elaborated/inherited by the subjects and resignified in the timeline (Haesbaert, 1999). “Social identity is also configured as a territorial identity, considering that in the same space social relations are the ones that delimit the territory” (Haesbaert, 1999, p.178).

Finally, I cite the music of “Leme ao Pontal”

as a representative of the appreciation of this part of the Rio coast, where the beautiful Pontal beach (Recreio dos Bandeirantes) is located. Known as “The flat manager in Barra district”, the songwriter and singer Sebastião Rodrigues Maia, Tim, wanted to pay homage to the beauty of Rio de Janeiro, the city he was passionate about. Later, he came to live in the region, in the 80s, to live in peace, until his death, in March 1998. In an interview with the researcher, on 04/17/2021, by telephone, Carmelo Maia, the singer’s son, explained that the joke around his father’s title of trustee began at Christmas, when the employees of the Parque Palace apart-hotel took the Golden Book for the musician to sign. Tim Maia saw how much the trustee had contributed and gave extra money, putting it next to his own signature: the trustee. The real liquidator then added a little extra money and, from there, the game between the two continued until reaching a level of contribution that favored the employees. There always came a time when the superintendent could no longer keep up with him. Thus, the last signature was always his: “Tim Maia, the flat manager”.

Knowing the history of Parque Palace, musician and friend Jorge Ben Jor, in the song *W/ Brasil*, made a chorus where he says: “I’ll call the superintendent: Tim Maia! Tim Maia! Tim Maia! Tim Maia! Tim Maia!”. The nickname was also given to him by Ben Jor believing that Tim, with his strong temper, could put everything in order, including the sound adjustment. Then, in fact, he started “to call himself the superintendent of his building”, in the condominium where he lived. In everyday life, he shared this space with his studio, in a house in Recreio dos Bandeirantes.

In the figure of this artist, it can be said, feelings of appropriation of a space are combined and, therefore, of a territoriality that causes pride and the feeling of joy. After all, “smile, you are in Barra”.

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