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Abstract

The use changes experienced by architecture, as an environment built through urban requalification processes and the consequent preservation of this built heritage, metamorphose the public spaces. Along with it, the complex social and spatial ties that gathered people around it over the years are also changed. These ties are responsible for the collective memory of several urban groups that compose a society. It is the feeling of belonging to somewhere or to a social group that follows people almost as a shadow, which here we define as collective memory. The building of the Public Market, attached to the Florianópolis History Center, is part of the public history of the city in its main metamorphic moments. The expectation for its implementation and use as a locomotive for the upcoming progress of the middle of the 19th century turns it into an urban icon from its beginning. The idea is to search in the Florianópolis city's territory and its extension, the island of Santa Catarina, marks of the transformation of a city through a preserved architectural permanence. However, the new uses of this architectural object moves it away from the collective memory of the social group involved in its history. The collective memory that is present and helps to understand a recent past hit by internal migration, is a result of the mode of production that leads the city into an abrupt acceleration in its population growth. Studying this theme, i.e., the complex capture of a public space with its social and spatial ties, by the globalization process and the later gentrification, led us to comparisons to identical processes in central countries. These comparisons reveal the mistakes and raise the need for social policies that redistribute our riches, promoting to the population a new level of life quality and coexistence to mitigate the conflicts between social classes.

Keywords: Trade, Defense, Public space, Gentrification, Globalization

1 Introduction

The use changes experienced by architecture, as an environment built through urban requalification processes and the consequent preservation of this built heritage, metamorphose the public spaces. Along with it, the complex social and spatial ties that gathered people around it over the years are also changed. These ties are responsible for the collective memory of several urban groups that compose a society. It is the feeling of belonging to somewhere or to a social group that follows people almost as a shadow, which here we define as collective memory.

The building of the Public Market, attached to the Florianópolis History Center, is part of the public history of the city in its main metamorphic moments. This construction known by the native population only as "the market", summed to the significant load it brings, are part of the local imaginary since day one. The range of its forms, in contrast with the architectural surrounding, impacts the visitor. Its strategic location dominates the landscape. The expectation for its implementation and use, as a locomotive for the upcoming progress, awaken a feeling of such magnitude that, from its planning, consolidates it as an urban icon.

One must understand "icon" as an impacting construction, either by its strategic location, visibility, scale, form, appearance, monumentality or use. Icon is the construction that, from its very conception, causes expectations regarding its implementation (Hazan, 2008, p. 25, our translation).

The process of traditional architectural preservation that this space currently suffers does not contemplate, many times, the collective memory present in population. According to Dolores Hayden, the "memory of the place" will be, in fact, the key to the power of historical places in the aid of citizens to define their common past.

2 Commerce as a transforming agent

Commerce is the main impelling agent of this insular city, that had as generating element a defending outpost on southern shoreline of Brazil.

The commercial function gains importance from around the 18th century (Veiga,1997) making it unavoidable the emergence of a strong market by the militarized port. This market would have a building to shelter it only by the half of the 19th century. However, it can be confirmed that commercial activity in this building is the moving force of economic development of the city.

The course of this public space goes from the role of economic boost impeller of Vila de Nossa Senhora do Desterro - the first name of the current city of Florianópolis -, it crosses a period of economic stagnation that permeates the first half of 20th century, and advances to the position of main building of urban requalification process of Florianópolis City Historical Center, at the turn of the century.

The last 20 years' accelerated growth, increasing by 400% the insular city's population and the continental conurbations in 500% is a milestone in the city's recent history. The new residents, originated from all parts of the country, have promoted changes on local culture and costumes. The phenomenon also causes the fading or metamorphosis of preexisting cultural symbols and references. This process also reflects itself upon the land, transforming the urban landscape and the social-cultural profile of the city.

The port deactivation (1964) and following enlargement of urban area by means of a landfill over one of the bays (1974) subtracts from the set Public Market / Historical Center its relation to the sea. The whole city resigns its presence as Atlantic port and watches as the catalyzer building of this role transforms itself in just another commercial edification. Comes along the usual urban dynamic in historical spaces of the 80's cities. The whole region and its immediate limits plunge in a process of devaluation that helps its acquisition by great corporations, its use change and consequent revaluation within gentrification processes.

Going after culture incentives offered by the federal government, the local management started to see the Center also as a way to gather resources, using its preservation as pretext. Within this point of view, in August 4th, 1992, the whole central area is claimed as Florianópolis' City Historical, Artistic and Architectural Heritage Site.

The emergence of the Cities Ministry (2003) aids in the gathering of many resources from state and city government; many projects were pitched, although none was tackled with the necessary responsibility. Only on March 2005 the government of Santa Catarina unveils its first urban preservation project: the renovation of Hercílio Luz Bridge (23 years after it was closed). Several other projects follow, including the renovation of the Public Market building in the projection of two other bigger projects called "Viva a Cidade" ("Live the City") and "Centro Sapiens".

This renovation proposes a traditional architectural restoration that considers only the physical aspect of the building. All of its social space and the ties to the building, i.e. all of the population that has a dialogical history with this place is rejected, weakening the immaterial patrimony of the city. By transforming the use of the Public Market in a species of "Shopping Mall" and elite gastronomical consumerism touristic spot, one definitely expels the popular classes, its historical visitors.

3 Approaching the historical center of Florianópolis

The foundation of Florianópolis city, island of Santa Catarina, capital city of its homonymous State by southern Brazil, is assigned to the vicentist pioneer Francisco Dias Velho, in a date surrounded by controversy since it does not match the date engraved on a rock cross at the construction site of its first chapel: 1651, and the official historiography that adopted 1673 (Pauli, 1978).

The chosen site for this settlement foundation is the center of the west coast, where island and continent are separated by a canal of only 500m, forming two bays (one at south, the other at north). Thus, by mid-17th century, we have the official occupation of Santa Catarina island within the common principle of Portuguese insular occupation: a chapel facing a square, surrounded by colonizers' homes, trailing the coastline. The south bay was chosen for it was the best-covered one. Póvoa de Santa Catarina, then Nossa Senhora do Desterro and, in 1894, Florianópolis were the names that followed the evolution of this place through the centuries.

The strategic importance of this island on the Portuguese conquest of the Brazilian southern coast is shown soon after its foundation. Dias Velho himself, on January 1680, sent by General Governor of Rio de Janeiro, Manuel Lobo, founds Sacramento — the first attempt at establishing a colony (1679 / 1681) — on the current territory of Uruguay, by the borders of Rio da Prata, facing Buenos Aires. This episode marks the most advanced southern site of Portuguese colonization in America.

In 1687, the island of Santa Catarina is attacked by pirates and the settlement is destroyed. Its reconstruction is slow and it will only regain its importance as the 18th century starts. This importance recovery goes beyond the geostrategic features of the island; it is also consequence of the South-Atlantic coast discovery by the great mercantile companies of the time, as reminds us Chang (Chang, 2009) about the mercantile exploration of the meridional South-Atlantic coast of America.

Rio de Janeiro's port was the main partner of Desterro's port, but its outgoing products reached further, up to Recife at north and Montevideo at south. (Mamigonian, a, in Campos, 1991). The importance of this mercantile shifting manifests itself in the report of Lieutenant Colonel João Alberto Ribeiro, captaincy governor by the end of the 18th century:

In 1796, the island's population was of 3,757 inhabitants, of which: 2,652 white, 110 freed and 99 slaves, along with 1,027 military personnel. There were 18 cloth tents with a variety of products from cotton strings to gold and silver buttons, white fabric made of cotton and linen, tobacco, white and colored wool, socks made of wool and silk, blankets etc. 43 storehouses sold food; their products were olive oil, sugar-cane rum, cotton, butter, raisins, wine, tea etc. This year the port received 116 ships coming from Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, São Sebastião, Pernambuco, Goitacazes, Ilha Grande, Paranaguá, Parati, São Francisco, Laguna, Rio Grande, Santos and Biscaya. Artisans that serve the local population were: eight tailors, nineteen shoemakers, four barbers, four blacksmiths, two carpenters and one of each of the following professions: locksmith, butcher, painter. One could also find on tents for agriculture and cattle breeding: two tanners and two veterinarians. Export was varied: manioc flour, rice, corn, beans, honey, sugar, whale oil, wood, dried fish, whale meat, onions, leather, whitewash, tiles, bricks, etc. (Peluso Junior, 1999, p. 44, our translation)

Such diversified social division of work reveals the intention of colonial administration in projecting the port of Desterro by highlighting the geostrategic importance of the island in between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, the two main cities in America's shoreline. This support to navigation creates a commerce of provisions at the whole region, which will add to the site's own necessities. It is in this context that an informal market consolidates itself along the shore facing the church square (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. On the left, the market by the end of the square; on the right, the same market by the beach. Source: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Santa Catarina, 2018.

The market's opening on January 6th, 1851, along with the mentioned informal market, brings a new development stage to the enclave, which will supplement itself with improvements to the port and enlarging the urban mesh around it.

The now named Nossa Senhora do Desterro village enters the 19th century with its port and market perfectly integrated to the intense America's South-Atlantic coastline commerce. This integration will turn this territory into an attraction spot over the immigratory currents. During the 19th century, the European populational exceed and the Middle-East wars will induce a strong migratory current towards America in search of better life conditions. This immigrant flow becomes more intense from 1850 onwards with non-Iberic Europeans arrival to the island (Italians, Germans and Polish) and contingent from their immediate east. Darcy Ribeiro states on this matter:

The third historical-cultural South region configuration is formed by Brazilians of German, Italian, Polish, Lebanese and Japanese heritage, along with others introduced as immigrants from the previous century, mainly its last decades. (Ribeiro, 1999, p. 427, our translation)

The urban space in question will suffer a sudden development surge thanks to this population increase. Immigrants from northern Europe bring the industrial revolution machines, and the "Turks" as were called the Syrian and Lebanese, revolutionize the commerce. All of these incentives change the population's social conditions with the uprising of a local, revenue-concentrating bourgeoisie. This dynamic demands a new building for the Public Market, which opens on 1899, 500m farther westbound from the old building, closer to the sea (Fig. 2).

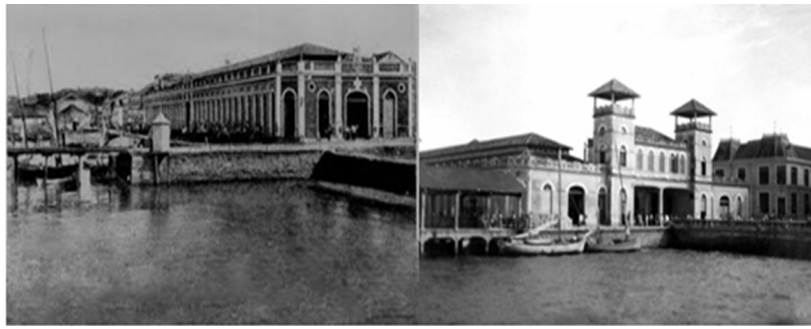


Fig. 2. The current Florianópolis Public Market was built in two stages: the first one, between 1896 and 1899, had only one aisle. Afterwards, in 1912, the work was completed with ramps, storehouses and a canopy that put together the whole extent of the shore-facing front. Only between 1928 and 1931 the second aisle was built, along with the towers, the bridges that interconnect those and the central pass. Source: IHGSC, 2018.

The 20th century starts a development surge, with the population becoming more heterogeneous, the division by class gaining depth and an overall desire for change. Modernity supports this desire for changes and the promise of the construction of a connection from the island of Santa Catarina to the nearby continent materializes this desire, as a visa to enter Florianópolis in this new era. Hercúlio Luz (05/29/1860 to 10/20/1924) executed this work on the second of his three terms (1918 to 1922) as governor. A series of works are performed, aiming to improve and consolidate Florianópolis as a city turned to the world and matching modern cities; even if being, in this case, a "peripheral modernity", as Beatriz Sarlo (Sarlo, 2010) puts it, according to the manifest post by Silveira da Costa:

Florianópolis did not catch up with the speed of urban improvements of cities such as Rio de Janeiro, the country's political capital and economic center of the time. This way, a distant and peripheral modernity was constituted (Silveira da Costa, 2007, p. 16, our translation).

The urban formation of Florianópolis happens around a mist, the current "XV de novembro" square with the church and the local bourgeoisie occupying its north sector; and the workers and less privileged population to the south, by the shore. The market and the port forced the first expansion of the urban mesh, with its intense moving. This first occupation indicates city development in the north-south axis, route that was consolidated by the beginning of the 20th century. With the opening of Hercúlio Luz's bridge, the city suffers a shift on people, vehicles and trade flow that circulated the North-South course and now start to circulate the East-West course (Fig. 3).

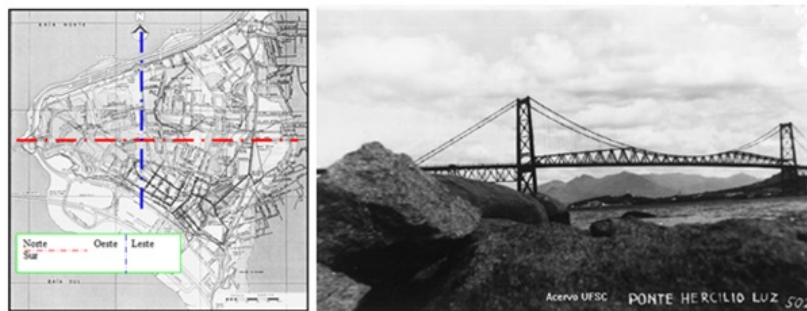


Fig. 3. To the left, the city's flow change. To the right, the Hercúlio Luz bridge. Source: The author about illustration of VEIGA, E. V. (Figure to the left). Federal University of Santa Catarina Archives (Figure to the right), 2018.

This change in the direction of the city's functioning will have significant importance in the consolidation of its social-spatial feature. Among other things, it draws an imaginary border that separates the rich and the poor: the rich to the north and the poor to the south, instigating the dissociation of these two groups for a long time. Newly-freed black slaves, former sailors, laundresses, the floating population from the port, prostitutes and merchants form this population by the south of the "Praça XV" [XV Square], which appropriates of public spaces and its buildings - the market, the customs, the town hall (old "Council and Prison House"), the maritime station -, transforming the port's parallel streets in a space of free market, cheap food, provisional work, artisanship, fixing parlors and a strong wholesaling commerce, led by newly immigrants. The population that gives a daily movement to this side occupies the tenements and the single family habitations over the commerce spaces and, little by little, form the first slum (Mocotó) over the slopes of Antão hill, by the south exit of the historical center. The elite population from the north of the square expands and starts to inhabit small stately houses and ranches by the sea of the north bay. This population only rarely transposed the imaginary border; women would never transpose. Shopping in markets were made by servants and transported on the many rent-wagons (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Population from the South of the square, the commerce and the rent-wagons. Source: Federal University of Santa Catarina Archives, 2018.

The deep social division as a result of the endemic bad income distribution in the country physically divides the city between the rich, to the north, and the poor, to the south. The first half of the 20th century is marked by what is commonly called the "two deaths of the city": the first one, a consequence of Florianopolitan opposition to the Federalist Revolution of 1894, which led to the execution of part of the local elite, the appointment of a blood-thirsty intervener (Moreira Cesar), that besides the city's name change (Florian City - Florianopolis) to pay homage to Floriano Peixoto; the second one being the resistance to Getúlio Vargas' coup (the Getulian troops cannot take the island, that resists under siege). The price of this revolt is the physical isolation of the island, leading to a great stagnation, mainly after the New State [*Estado Novo*].

4 Florianopolis and globalization

The reflexes from the diverse stages of Brazilian modernity, the adoption of highways focused project and the consequent economic and political transformations that start with the called "Brazilian developmentism" in the 50s, only reach the mentioned city from the 70s. The close relation between the military people, from March 1964 coup, and the local elites brings to the city many federal investments. The implementation of Santa Catarina's Federal University, the arrival of ELETROSUL (federal company of mixed economy), the conclusion of highway BR-101 and other less important investments are such examples. Pushed by the National Development Plans (NDPs or PNDs) of authoritarian governments, and contemplated by the worldwide victory of neoliberal ideas of the 80s, the local economy consolidates its transformations; that is: wealth and poverty increase, but never on the same ratio.

The contact of this new economy with the archaic structures of power distribution and its peripheral economy instigates a shock, repressing part of the local elite. One of the signs of this archaism is the concentration of income in individual form or small family groups, rigidifying the markets, mainly the real estate. This rigidness, opposing to what the world new economic order defends, results on vast urban emptiness, mainly in the center of the city and justifies the local economy delay for a few years.

As tourism comes in the 70s, it points at the north of the island as the sweet spot for investments of this industry. Such investments, guided by "location logic", concentrate on the northern shoreline. Presence of tourism as a territory organizer is revealed by the local tertiary sector's boom. The arrival of big supermarkets, shopping malls, hotels and transportation development created an exalted urban landscape on the north of the island. The historical center, that is, the traditional heart of the city, will initially suffer a process of steep commercial decline and consequent physical degradation. Florianopolis does not deviate from the old strategy of real estate speculation, which leads to historical centers' decay in order to be acquired afterwards on depreciated values; then, forcing immediate urban revitalization processes, issued by public administration, putting the area value back up and taking property of the differential income. The recomposition of the historical center is worthy of note at the beginning of the 21st century. The association between speculative capital proceeding from varied latitudes and the selfish, unproductive capital from local elites will change the morphology of this space; all through new architectural typology on decayed and newly-acquired areas, added to the agrarian reserves from urban emptiness.

The resident population was expelled, except for a few old residential buildings. The popular commerce takes the whole vicinity of the Public Market. This commerce is performed between merchants of the most diverse products and services and their clients that, even though they don't inhabit this space, still make daily use out of it.

5 Tourism and gentrification

The Florianopolis population profile change, as of the second half of the 20th century, is impressive. The attraction the island of Santa Catarina triggers over inhabitants of other states due to economic progress and the myth of quality life improvement, both exalted by touristic marketing, instigated an intense internal migration. In 30 years, the population increased from 115,547 inhabitants in 1970 to 421,240 by 2010 (IBGE) and in the metropolitan region of Florianopolis from 192.000 inhabitants in 1970 to 1.012.831 (IBGE) inhabitants in the same time frame. This population boost of almost 400% in Florianopolis and 500% including conurbation continental cities, have roots from beyond simple touristic marketing; some of them reflecting the national economic complications of the period, others specifically connected to regional issues. According to the project "Santa Catarina Migration Observatory", linked to the Center of Human Sciences and Education (FAED) of Santa Catarina State University (UDESC):

Out of the 421,240 inhabitants of Florianopolis, 219,819 of them were not born in the city, that is, 52.18% of the resident population is not natural to the city. Furthermore, 127,978 inhabitants of Florianopolis were not even born in Santa Catarina, which corresponds to 30.38% of the resident population of the city. Many of these new inhabitants came to the city only recently, as shown on Table 1. (UDESC, 2013, p. 6)

Region or City	Resident Population	Immigrants in the last 5 years	% of resident population that arrived in the last 5 years
Santa Catarina	6,248,436	736,702	11.7
Greater Florianopolis	994,095	144,307	14.5
Florianopolis	421,240	63,215	15
São José	209,804	31,461	14.9
Palhoça	137,334	20,944	15.25

Table 1. Resident population and migration in the last 5 years (selected regions, 2010).Source: IBGE, 2013.

Reflections of this population increase are soon felt along the territory. Commercial activity, initially concentrated in the historical center, will migrate to regions immediately peripheral - consolidating secondary centralities in new neighborhoods, reinforcing the importance of the founding core of Florianópolis. The other cores gain new visibility, their centralities are refreshed and incite new peripheries in the inner island.

Commerce at the historic center on the north side of Praça XV was replaced by a service provision center where big corporations and freelancers take "offices" in new buildings. Streets acquire a new homogenic state of contemporary architecture, spectacularly incremented in the last years by real estate demand of this typology, obeying what Milton Santos calls a corporative urbanization planning:

From the point of a selective territory outfitting, we have a rapidly growing corporative urbanization; corporative cities and metropolises come to sight where, on one side, the modernization of build environment favors the big companies and, on the other, the success of social groups' vindications will depend on corporative pressure. Under these conditions, an important share of public resources is directed to a selective urban asset, which is interesting to hegemonic economy and the hegemony of social layers (Santos, 2009, p. 37, our translation).

Within this frame of profound and radical transformations of urban and social space in the island of Santa Catarina, cultural values also change. The freshly-arrived populations, responsible for the steepest growth of a Brazilian city/capital in three decades, also bring along new habits.

The new Florianópolis of the 21st century sees in the tourism industry its new great strategic project. Depleted the exploration of natural touristic myths, of the 42 beaches, white-sand dunes and sails at the sea, the local administration turns itself to the historical center - stimulated by the appearance of cultural incentives from the federal government -, starting to face this space as a new way of gathering resources using its revitalization as motivation. The word "gentrification" soon shows up as new in the creation of new products of touristic offers. From the English "gentry" it is understood, in its initial context (England in the 60's) as area elitization. Inspired in this foreign example, social and space mutations took place that converted, in other latitudes, decayed spaces into elite consumerism offering spaces, blending art, design and nightlife.

6 The new Public Market

Within this process of renovation, the new Public Market was the central piece. This equipment, as explained throughout this paper, has always been the catalyzing element of its vicinities' commercial dynamic, serving as mediator of products between sea and city.

The relations to the sea started to increase, from collection technique and rudimentary traps to capture crustacean and fish, thanks to means of transportation such as canoes and more resistant whalers, the cotton-fiber nets, hooks and harpoons initially imported. The hunt to aquatic mammals, whales, which were numerous in these latitudes, became the first great business related to maritime resources, triggered by a company that has only used Azorean and Afro-Brazilian stock as workforce. Oil, obtained in frames, was important for lighting and as an edification waterproof agent (Lago, 2000, p. 36, our translation).

With the distance from the sea (1974), market's dynamic changes, although its function remains the same: a commercial outpost in which fish stores, butcheries and produce workers where the main movers and many cheap bars and restaurants would add to the offer. Peddlers around it would sell all sorts of products. The frequency was punctually popular. This frame is to be consolidated at the run of forty years. In 2014 such changes arrive at the Public Market (Fig. 5). After a fire of suspicious origin, the whole market is closed down and the renovation starts a couple of months later. In the following year, a new space is revealed at the cost of sixteen million Reais, originating from public safes, resulting in the sale of 104 commercial rooms. Nineteen of those dedicated to haute-cuisine and the remaining splits among general commerce with emphasis on the food industry. A retracting ceiling will be installed at the central aisle where there will be pubs, driving forward night shows.

In a city of brutal social unbalance, it is noticeable the lack of coexistence of classes in collective space. The new space becomes, simply due to consumerism offer, exclusive of the privileged classes and wealthy tourists. To the thousands of people who were daily frequenters of this space, many of which survived from there, remains the 160 employment positions to be created according to the Florianópolis Municipal Government.

The social space changes where old populations are shifted by groups of higher income are the most identifiable symptom of the phenomenon of gentrification in the whole world. However, as already affirmed, there is aggravation related to how income differences scale apart and, in the case of this study's territory, we see one of the biggest income difference in the planet. Therefore, every repurposed or revitalized space transforms itself in a space of elite consumerism, generating suburbs - where urban spaces with lack of public power support and low investment suffer overwhelming decay by the lack of infrastructure and basic services.



Fig. 5. The market gentrified. Source: Florianópolis Local Government, 2018.

7 Conclusion

Finally, even facing the difficulty of demonstrating in an article the broadness of the ongoing investigation, we present here the idea of seeking signs of a city transformations over the territory of Florianópolis and its growth, along with the isle of Santa Catarina, through the architectural persistency, determinant in its history. These transformations, however, do not contemplate the collective memory of the place, still present in the imaginary of the involved social groups.

In the family of globalization and technique imaginary, there is the idea that, diffused out with exuberance, velocity constitutes a non-reversible data in production of history, chiefly upon reaching the current paroxysms. In fact, however, only a few people, companies and institutions have high velocity, and the ones who use it are even lower in number. One could say that such velocity is twice a data for politics and not for technique. On one side, it is about a choice related to the power given to agents and, on the other, the legitimization of the said choice through means of justification of a civilization model. In this sense we state to be more a politics data than technique itself, since this could be used differently in function of the set of social choices. Indeed, the extreme use of velocity ends up being the imperative of hegemonic companies and not the remaining, to which the sense of urgency is not constant (Santos, 2001, p. 134, our translation).

Thinking on the city's issue is crucial, mainly when these metamorphoses prevent a significant share of population from reaching public space. Transforming public places and buildings into commodities for touristic consumerism is part of predatory strategies. The processes of central spaces gentrification in developing countries are the creators of slums and decaying suburbs, contributing for a dramatic urban segregation in these cities.

It is relevant to study this subject, that is, the city, its social vein, urban evolution and building patrimony within its captivation by globalizing process. Such study drives us to make comparisons with similar processes in central countries, revealing the need of social policies that redistribute our wealth, promoting a new standard of life quality and coexistence to the population, even soothing conflicts between social classes.

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