

MEMÓRIA E CONFLITOS URBANOS: FLORIANÓPOLIS PARA QUEM? MEMORY AND URBAN CONFLICTS: FLORIANÓPOLIS FOR WHOM?

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How to quote this text: Parode, M. and Castells, A., 2017. Memory and urban conflicts: Florianópolis for whom? V!RUS, 15. [e-journal] [online] Available at: <http://www.nomads.usp.br/virus/_virus15/?sec=4&item=9&lang=en>. [Accessed: 12 December 2017].

Abstract

This paper aims to draw some considerations about urban memory and its permanent construction, from the perspective of the search for a unique thought. Assuming that the product of cultural sovereignty's development is the civic inequality, considering the city of Florianópolis, one can perceive the dissimilarity between the Luso-Azorean image that the city sells, and the heterogeneous and multicultural space that is experienced daily on the footpath of the Historic Center. Between the capital and social, tradition and resignification, a look at the indigenous presence during the sale of handicrafts, highlights the contrasts between memory, identity, and sociability in the public space, demanding the questioning of this memory that is built under pillars of exclusion.

Keywords: Urban Memory. Indigenous people. Public space.

1 Introduction

At the beginning of the incursion to the founding center of Florianópolis, with a close look, and from within¹, we sought to analyze how the sale of handicrafts by indigenous women resignifies the place, begun to arise some questions about the memory of this city. Being seated on the floor, under a cloth, with children, and handicrafts displayed for sale, put mainly as showcase at this moment her identity (in this case specifically Guarani). These characters, immersed in contradictions before non-indigenous eyes, stumble upon one more, being indigenous in a city of references and ostentation of Luso-Azorean culture. Would the right to the city have a defined culture? Is citizenship dependent on identification with memory that one intends to construct?

Currently, contextualizing the city of Florianópolis is to reflect on the economic sector. The city is marked by the economic movement of the tertiary sector,² fomented in great part by the tourism. The insular part, cultural heritages such as the Hercílio Luz Bridge, the Historical Center, the Public Market, the numerous forts, churches, museums, and the forty-two beaches contributed to the city becoming the tourist capital of Mercosul.³ There is an intense tourist movement during the summer, mainly of people coming from Argentina and the States Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo. In this way, urban spaces, cultural and natural heritage are used as a marketing identity for the city, seeking to attract tourists and leveraging business (CASTELLS, 2014). The representation of the city in the media refers to a showcase, where the urban space becomes a postcard anchored in the Azorean culture, immobile, aseptic and depopulated, ready for the imaginary of the tourists (SOUZA,

2017); different from the dynamics social changes occurring daily in the pedestrian streets of downtown Florianópolis, due to the great concentration of the tertiary sector, which are multiple, varied, heterogeneous, and in some ways not appropriate to add to the image of the city. Neither are the indigenous characters who also compose this everyday landscape of various social actors, where they are presented in such a way that it escapes the conventions and norms established by the citizens, by the way of dressing, by the children who accompany them, and so on. The daily observations of human activities, photographs, and analysis of reports in local media enabled the construction of this writing that crosses questions of memory, identity, urban space, social actors, and among them indigenous women, leading us to questions about the development, permanence and continuity of a memory.

2 Past in the present

In the history of the ancient settlement of Nossa Senhora do Desterro (the name of the city of Florianópolis before being elevated to the condition of a city), the indigenous people called *carijós*, with Guarani roots, and "peaceful nature and fair skin" (CABRAL, 1971, p. 17), appear only as the first inhabitants of the Island - before the 16th century - and after the first migratory wave in 1748, the discourse of the city follows with the narrative of the predominance of the Azorean culture. The place where the migrant families of the Azores landed, next to the town square XV of November, Largo da Alfândega and Public market - the "heart of the city" (VAZ, 1991) - was essentially the main place of arrival to the Island until the 20th century. After being elevated to the category of city in 1823 and becoming Capital of the Province of Santa Catarina, the beginning of the 20th century inaugurated a period of great federal investments, also consolidating the city as a service provider, and with great expansion of the private sector, carrying out infrastructure works, including the Hercílio Luz Bridge, and the South and North Bay landfills (VAZ, 1991). Like world trends, Florianópolis began consider memories with a cultural and political bias in the last years of the twentieth century.

Therefore, we can consider that the culture of memory has been constructed and justified with pretensions to compensate the destruction of modernization in the social world. However, just as the past recalled with vigor can nourish our unconscious desires and guide our more conscious actions, it can also become a mythic memory. A memory that walks the fate of fossilization, and can become a stone in the way of the needs of the present, rather than an openness to the continuity of history (HUYSEN, 2000, p.69). The mythical memory of the city of Florianópolis began to be built, more precisely, in 1948, during the 1st Catarinense Congress of History, held in that same city, which aimed to commemorate the 200 years of Azorean colonization in Santa Catarina. The event represented, above all, a fundamental landmark in the rediscovery of the Azorean roots, which until then had been forgotten or badly remembered. The studies were intensified with the Catarinense Folklore Commission, until the creation of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) in the 1960s, and its implementation in the city of Florianópolis, which would mainly intensify the dialogue between the Azores and Santa Catarina.

In addition to building relations between cities, the Núcleo de Estudos Açorianos - Azorian Studies Center - (NEA) (still present at the University), in the 1990s, emphasized actions outside the academy, with the goal of restoring to the communities of Azorean origin the "pride of their roots" (LEAL, 2007, p.55). Then began a phase of dissemination and defense of the Azorean cultural heritage, such as architecture, the Festa do Divino, the *boi-de-mamão*⁴, among many others. This construction of memory was initiated by the University in the sixties, passing by the election of the mayor Angela Amin in 1996, based on the motto "culture of the people", where it adopted a clearly Azorean agenda and culminating with the Franklin Cascaes Foundation, created in 1987, extremely active in the Azorean preservationist theme (LEAL, 2007).

The recreated culture then became popular, transforming Florianópolis and other coastal cities of the state into a great showcase of Azorean culture, marketizing it mainly in the framework of tourism, the so-called tourism marketing. In the search for a uniform discourse, the natives of the island became the immigrant settlers, suppressing the natives, and all the miscegenation among newcomers of the Azores, indigenous and black people.

The forgetfulness and detachment of certain identities and cultures for an urban memory usable for marketing, according to James Clifford, reduces identity movements and policies to a view of culture and identity based on presuppositions of oneness, homogeneity, continuity, and closure (CLIFFORD, 2000, p.97). The line that separates ethnicity as empowerment and prison is tenuous, and according to Gutmann, "the cultural sovereignty of groups (...) may conflict with respect for civic freedom and equality" (GUTMANN, 2003, p. 47). The predominantly Azorean urban memory provides links between identity, exclusion and xenophobia.

At the moment, the signs and announcements in the urban area of Florianópolis opened the doors of the memory. There is the Villa dos Açores condominium, the Açores Shopping Center, the Açoriana Stationery shop, the Açores Restaurant, and several other service and commerce establishments that use the reference in practically all parts of the Island, even though the actions of memory retrieval by the power the public have entered a new phase, from the beginning of the XXI, "more passive" (LEAL, 2007, p.102).

3 From the place of memory to hybridization

Nowadays, thinking about the public space, the memory, the new uses, actors and resignifications of the, and in the Center of Florianópolis, becomes emblematic as we go through the history of its "colonization", foundation, and the practices that shaped space built of the Island. It is necessary to emphasize the importance of the central area for the dynamics played throughout the city, and all the symbolism that the Azorean culture represents, seeking to build a memory that is profitable, and consequently build a city ideology to continue leveraging tourism. However, what is not exposed to the world through the local media is the place practiced (DE CERTEAU, 2008, p. 93) daily. This place, where movement occur, spontaneity, originality, consumption tactics, adaptation, modes of reappropriation of places, modes of making, of use, and daily practices conform a space.

The center of a city, in particular, represents the multiplicity of these ways of making of the social groups that the city shelters, imprinting in this clipping its own identity, resonating in the identity of the city in its totality. The cities of today, in general, are emerging in a conflicting multiculturalism, and are the scene that best shows the decline of the historical metanarratives, of the utopias that imagined an upward and cohesive human development through time. Even in cities laden with signs of the past, such as the capital of Santa Catarina, the shrinking of the present and the perplexity of uncontrollable sociability reduce temporal experiences and privilege simultaneous connections in space. Mental maps, narratives, and memories, which once ordained spaces and gave a global meaning to behaviors and crossings, are fading (CANCLINI, 2003).

You can no longer walk through the windows of the boardwalk in the center of Florianópolis looking for an artifact to buy, without being approached by someone handing out leaflets that advertise some establishment. Or, sit on a bench in XV November Square, waiting for a peaceful reading room, without being suddenly invaded by a conversation with another, or by a musician who plays waiting for some contribution. This, the place practiced, is where movement, spontaneity, originality, consumption tactics, adaptation, modes of reappropriation of places, modes of making, of use, and daily practices conform a space. A place that is mainly of memory, of lived records, of memories, of scenarios and references eternalized in each individual.

However, from a multicultural world - juxtaposition of ethnicities or groups in one city or nation - we move to another intercultural and globalized. Interculturality refers to confrontation and entanglement, to what happens when groups enter into relations of exchange. Both terms imply two modes of production of the social: multiculturalism supposes acceptance of heterogeneous; interculturality implies that the different are what they are, in relations of negotiation, conflict and reciprocal loans. With the freer and more frequent circulation of people, information, capitals and messages, we relate daily to many cultures. Our identity can no longer be defined as one (CANCLINI, 2003).

Studying cultural processes and memories, rather than leading us to affirm self-sufficient identities, serves to know ways of situating ourselves in the midst of heterogeneity and to understand how hybridizations occur. Hybridization understood as a process of intersection and transactions, making it possible for multiculturalism to avoid what it has of segregation and to become intercultural in the urban environment. Hybridization policies work democratically with divergences, "seeming to have two exits, to live in a state of war or in a state of hybridization" (CANCLINI, 1995, p. XXVII). Cities appear as a means of conditioning hybridization. It is the urban centers where hybridization fosters greater conflict and greater cultural creativity. How can we discern where ethnic power ends and where the boundaries between political power, social and economic structures begin? Will the permanent construction of memory be able to add hybridity to the dominant culture? And the cultures of forgetfulness will have the opportunity to enter the front door into the urban memory?

4 Florianópolis and its center: to whom?

Can we see several cities in the repercussion of the current Florianópolis, the Azorean, the tourist, the technological, and the "city-city" where is it? If we take into account the relationship of interdependence between memory and tourism, the dynamics of the urban center tends to remain only in the experience of the daily actors. While the musealization of urban centers widens in urban trends (HUYSSSEN, 2000), the Historic Center resists.

The large concentration of the tertiary sector and the increase of the pedestrian movement, in the pedestrian area of the streets Felipe Schmidt, Trajano, Deodoro and Conselheiro Mafra, made the place become a symbol of strong socio-spatial representations, where the maximum symbols of social life, full of history, are materialized in space (houses and their typologies, coatings, lamps, and handicrafts, etc.). It must be considered

A consensus on the Florianópolis tourist vocation was built on the social imaginary as if it were an inevitable way to be followed by all over the city, but to which the traditional center resists and opposes (POZZO, 2010, p.154, authors' translation).

This resistance can define the traditional Center as a counter-hegemonic place, where several economic activities are implemented. There is the retail trade of clothing, household appliances, sound and pictures, books, etc., domestic supply trade; Wholesale; services provided by professionals; public services and the banking system; education and cultural services, entertainment and leisure; sale of handicrafts and small industry; lodging and food, among others. These activities, some informal, and others regulated by the public power, derived from their configuration and from the daily practices established by the population on these routes by pedestrians, carried out by merchants, can be characterized as a "floating or semi-permanent tertiary" (VAZ, 1991, p. 67), such as street vendors, and popcorn vendors, shoe factories, newsagents, taxi drivers, car keepers (Image 1). Activities that eventually occupy portions of the public space, characterized as penetrations of the private sector in the public space, however, "the way they lead to the appropriation of public spaces differs from the main eventual activities, because they are part of the everyday in the process of symbiosis with him" (VAZ, 1991, p. 68). They use visual and sound appeals, without physical barriers, only influence and compact with the dynamism of daily activities. It is a historical heritage materialized in the physical organization of the Historic Center.



Fig. 1: View of the boardwalk with lots of people. Felipe Schmidt Street. Source: the author, 2017.



Fig. 2: Daily use: singers who use the public space. Source: the author, 2017.

In observation moments, one can perceive the daily dynamics of the place and the actors. There are various types of street vendors, such as groups of Senegalese, African, Colombian, Peruvian, etc. immigrants, who sell clothes, accessories, handicrafts, household goods, among other items of lower prices; there are people who distribute folders to advertise services and various trades, or that somehow contain the "word of God"; can also be sighted and heard various artistic manifestations (Image 2), among them painters, singers, performances, etc., with the objective of receiving financial incentives. There is also the hurried population that buys or works in the surroundings, and the tourists to the walk (Image 3). In this dynamic are also inserted relatively new characters, and that are not associated with the urban environment, in the imaginary of city dwellers: women (most of the time) and indigenous children (also mostly Guarani Mbya) who sit on the sidewalks, next to the buildings, under cloths, distribute handicrafts and herbs, and wait for long periods of possible buyers, or someone who wants to help them with some "little money" (money change) (Image 4).



Fig. 3: Daily Use: Craftsmanship. Source: the author, 2017.



Fig. 4: Daily Use: Native handicraft seller. Source: the author, 2017.

In the heterogeneous and mixed picture that is visualized every day in the Historic Center, it becomes complex to look for defined characteristics of the socio-spatial dynamics and the urban identity of the place. It is in this small space cut that the contrasts between the old and new buildings are present, where all the times of the city are present, and the transformations of uses, and sociabilities, their singularities create a unique city (MOREIRA, TEIXEIRA, 2012). In addition, as demonstrated earlier, the process of urban development based on "progress" has marked the city with migratory cycles of populations looking for a better quality of life, both higher classes and smaller classes that even occupy irregular areas. These outsiders/foreigners/immigrants coexist with the island's oldest inhabitants, known as *manézinho*.⁵ Between the *manézinho* and the foreigner, the tension arose of the responsibility for an accelerated growth, not accompanied by the appropriate infrastructure. There is a permanent conflict (SIQUEIRA, 2008). In the Center, especially in the pedestrian paths of the Historic Center, the pedestrianized condition and the buildings that make up the space, the place allows meetings, conversations, exchanges, relations, negotiations and conflicts between different classes, cultures, ethnic groups, genres, etc.

In the complex scenario that is organized every day, what seem to be even more "foreign" in the eyes of the tourists, like Florianopolitan itself and the authentic *manézinho* - as in other cities of the country - are the Indian salespeople. In large part, the Brazilian narrative based on the exclusion of these characters, building the country from the "discovery" and Portuguese colonization. Even today, the ideals of the urban and non-indigenous population foresee that the place of residence of these populations, be restricted only to the villages, by the way the Indians were subjected to the missions and settlements, in the last century (NEVES, 1978). The State itself provides elements to think of the indigenous as an identity linked to the jungle, even today, in the current Statute of the Indian (Law no. 6,001 - December 19, 1973) as "silvicultural", that is, "the one who is born or lives in the jungle; wild" (OLIVEIRA; FREIRE, 2006).

Therefore, the presence in the urban centers of the most diverse indigenous societies⁶ and the different way in which they use this public space is the object of innumerable contradictions in the eyes of non-indigenous people, both in territorial issues and in identity, cultural and social issues. In his studies, Canclini (1995) presents some questions about the city of São Paulo in the

1980s, in the period of intense migration of populations from the north of the country, and brings us elements to think about the natives in Florianópolis - although of course it is a differentiated migration, we could call circulation. The author then describes a period that the Paulistas blamed the Northeastern for the decadence of the memory of the city, in the face of the migratory wave. They believed that the city of the past, which they imagined splendid, would then have been ruined by these "inferior quality" migrants (CANCLINI, 1995 p. 109). Just like happens in Florianópolis today. There is a set of conflicts and negotiations. The indigenous presence that faces an important azorian condition for the main economic activity of the city, tourism, and the social dynamics of the built space, where they are alien to the codes of the city to the moment they bring a new way of exploring, and appropriating (transforming) the place. When browsing the web pages in search of narratives about this subject in Florianópolis, one of the sequences of matters of January of this year of 2017, of the *Diário Catarinense*, called attention, and contributes to exemplify and analyze the recurrent emblematic episodes between public space x memory x indigenous,^Z that involve the society, the State and its institutions, and the indigenous sellers themselves.

Trying to summarize this episode, in the last summer season, as it has been perceived for several years, the amount of indigenous that were in the city for the sale of handicrafts was significant and gained greater visibility from Florianopolitan population and tourists when they started their localities to stay (in tents) under viaducts and elevated in the central region of the city. The municipal public power, feeling pressured, allowed the families to stay temporarily in the mezzanine of the Rita Maria Bus Terminal, and later transferred them to an idle area in the Saco dos Limões neighborhood, the Tisac (Saco de Limões Integration Terminal), that according to the conceptions of the municipal public power, could better shelter the natives with all the structure of bathrooms, kitchen, and with some stalls. However, after locally installed, the natives perceived the lack of security (an isolated place of the neighborhood) and the distance from the center (necessitating daily transportation), which would reduce their profits. The Federal Public Ministry then decided to transfer the approximately eighty indigenous who were installed in the Tisac to the Casa José Boiteux, listed by the Historical Patrimony, headquarters of the Historical and Geographic Institute of Santa Catarina and the Santa Catarina Academy of Letters, where it "houses the most precious official documents of 300 years, "as described on the institution's website, located in the center.

With the title of "Decision of Judge of the Environmental Court on indigenous causes outrage in Florianópolis", the newspaper *Diário Catarinense*, published the column of Moacir Pereira, that the determination that a group of eighty-five indigenous occupy the Casa José Boiteux, "caused great perplexity in the cultural media and strong indignation among the intellectuals", including "cultural entities considered the decision the most aberrant in the history of Federal Justice in Santa Catarina" (the possible permanence of natives in an important patrimony of the city). After the great repercussion of the decisive decision of the judge Marcelo Borges, he in his third decision on the situation, decided to retract and to determine that the group returned to occupy the Tisac.

That is, the production, cultural reproduction of subjects that build (and are) memories officially and institutionalized in the city of Florianópolis, has defined ethnicity, the Azorean (currently, "pseudo-Azorean"). It is clear that the decision of the judge was against the historical and cultural occupation of the building, which perhaps was not really the most appropriate physical space, due to the large number of indigenous people (although the House employees were in recess), and functional issues like toilets and kitchen that would accommodate everyone. But what was seen before the great repercussion and indignation between the "intellectuals" and society in general, was the discomfort with the symbolism that the situation brought up: the fact that people with customs and traditions so different from the Florianopolitan Portuguese-Azorean narrative, excluded from the non-indigenous way of life, settled down in a building that is a symbol of Florianópolis, due to its grandeur, architectural style and original function of the Polytechnic Institute. There is what one can call

(...) something like a unique thought of cities - which marries the economic interest of culture and the cultural allegations of economic command - that round cities in competition for scarce funding in the world system, and therefore even shared by default of the political-ideological preferences of the administrators of the shift (ARANTES; VAINER; MARICATO, 2009, p. 67, authors' translation).

With this episode involving a symbol that "contributed to the new image that the city wanted to present" (MULLER, 2002, p.112) and still contributes to the Casa José Boiteux, it is evident that Florianopolitan society feared its identity (rediscovery through a constructed memory), invaded and uncharacterized by a culture "inferior to its", making it possible to open precedents for new situations such as this - in view of the increasingly recurrent indigenous presence -, putting in question its Azorean narrative, "intellectual", cultural, building memories; therefore the economic sector. What is seen in Florianópolis is a part of society linked to a past of symbolism, defined architectural, urban, and social icons, and that wants the urban space to remain as a museum - free of judgment and criticism - however nowadays, if confronts with the most disparate stimuli, with the new forms of uses, and different actors, making in and of the city.

5 Final considerations

The rescue of the Azorean memories of the city of Florianópolis was assimilated and incorporated by the private sectors, public, and society itself, as local popular culture, and as a showcase used strategically as a tourist marketing. Overwhelmed by the time of great federal investment in the infrastructure, the search for seaside resorts and natural landscapes was allied, Azorean cultural tourism, such as the Festa do Divino, the *rendeiras*, the walk to the Public market, etc. At the same time, as an instrument of power, the memory that is elect, buries other identities and cultures, and in this process of initially creating memories for a cultural rescue, later for tourism, using the media as mediator, important pieces of what rides daily on the boardwalk of the Historic Center are set aside.

As explicit throughout the text, what in the official discourse appears as homogenized and unique, in the daily experience of city does not corroborate. In the near future, that is, we will remember the landscape created by the indigenous artisans during the sale of handicrafts, who expose their artistry seated in front of a nineteenth-century building and next to a cartoonist and

street musicians? Is it possible that cultures like the indigenous collaborate in the construction of an "Azorean memory", and could be understood as a cultural hybrid memory?

It is not of our competence to get such answers. However, given the questions raised, it is assumed that once subjected to this analytical prism, the permanent construction of an urban memory may take on less omnipotent forms, interrupting the obsessive effort to conceive "authentic" cultures to the same extent as less vertical decisions, would allow populations such as the indigenous population to legitimately be present in the urban landscape, admitting new memories and their resonances (GONÇALVES, 2005, p.18), and minimizing urban conflicts.

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1 As Magnani propõe: The characteristic term of ethnography, however, in this research of participant observation, helped to "describe and reflect on patterns of behavior, not on atomized individuals, but on understanding them as multiple, varied and

heterogeneous, that run their daily lives in the landscape and depend on their equipment "(MAGNANI, 2002, p.17), aiming to incorporate social actors and practices into the dynamics of the city.

2 The tertiary sector accounts for 58.3% of the municipality's GDP. It is also the sector that most employs people, about 236,696. Data from 2013. Source: <http://cidades.ibge.gov.br>.

3 Data available in the presentation of the city, in the online page of the city hall. Source: <http://www.pmf.sc.gov.br>

4 A brief introduction on practices can be found in: <http://www.deolhonailha.com.br/turismo/atrativos/cultura-e-tradicao.html>

5 The term *manézinho*, has already been used in a pejorative way, to adjectivate only the islet of humble origin, who works in fishing and crafts, with little study. Now, it still designates people who were born in the island, with peculiar way of speaking and living, generally in certain communities in the interior of the island. Today, for many it represents a source of pride, which refers to the feeling of belonging, of identification with the Island (Lacerda, Filho, 2014).

6 The Guarani Mbya, Kaingang, and Xokleng are among the natives, who circulate daily through the city of Florianópolis or are settled during the summer period who may be residents of Biguaçu, Palhoça or the Island itself, who are present at the Center more often, or residents of localities in the interior of Santa Catarina (such as Chapecó), and even other states that seek better sales opportunities during the summer season.

7 See articles on Diário Catarinense® online: <http://dc.clicrbs.com.br/sc/estilo-de-vida/noticia/2017/01/cerca-de-70-indios-que-estavam-na-rodoviaria-de-florianopolis-sao-transferidos-para-o-tisac-9500487.html> and <http://dc.clicrbs.com.br/sc/colunistas/moacir-pereira/noticia/2017/01/decisao-de-juiz-da-vara-ambiental-sobre-indigenas-causa-indignacao-em-florianopolis-9535023.html>