Domestic Spaces of Affection: The Role of Vernacular Architecture, Material Culture and Memory in the Cases of two Brazilian Households

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Abstract

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This thesis explores the role of vernacular architecture, material culture and the establishment of spatial memories in the context of domestic environments. By critically analyzing the case of two Brazilian families, one living in Brazil and one living in Canada, I argue that Brazilian domestic vernacular architecture, objects used in interior decoration and memories related to household spaces can influence affection for a place. They perform as symbols of identity and belonging, demonstrating that the sense of affection can be associated with people, objects and buildings. The houses examined in this thesis have different backgrounds: the first family lives in northeastern Brazil in a home they started to build in the 1970s. The second family immigrated to Greater Montreal in the 2010s, where they moved to a house they did not construct. Through oral interviews, I investigated the collection of emplaced memories in specific domestic environments, the entwined sense of identity and space, and how people create their domestic settings through spatial practices. In addition to interviews, the participants drew memory maps and shared vernacular photographs and personal objects that illustrate their memories related to the house. This methodology helped me in analyzing examples of spatial practice concerning both self-built domestic vernacular architecture and found domestic spaces occupied and reshaped by the family, besides tracing the affective spatial relationships in each case.

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This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather, Aldery Barbosa Lima, who always told me stories whenever I asked and whose memories within our home will always be my favourite ones.

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Introduction

The story of a house is made by the residents.

- Maria Suely Barbosa Cardoso

As architectural historian and folklorist Henry Glassie points out, "all architects are born into architectural environments that condition their notions of beauty and bodily comfort and social propriety. Before they have been burdened with knowledge about architecture, their eyes have seen, their fingers have touched, their minds have inquired into the wholeness of their scenes."[1] However, this knowledge to which Glassie refers is not exclusive to architects. Architecture is one of the most widespread artistic expressions. One does not need to be an expert in architecture or engineering to understand a dwelling's internal disposition, as well as its functions, activities and social relations people perform inside it. In addition, many people worldwide build their own homes and thus contribute to the field of architecture without any or almost no professional knowledge. Such buildings are also known as vernacular architecture, an architectural practice without formally-trained architects.

As discussed by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in its 12th General Assembly,

> The built vernacular heritage is important; it is the fundamental expression of the culture of a community, of its relationship with its territory and, at the same time, the expression of the world's cultural diversity. Vernacular building is the traditional and natural way by which communities house themselves. It is a continuing process including necessary changes and continuous adaptation as a response to social and environmental constraints.[2]

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[1] Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), 17.

[2] International Council on Monuments and Sites, "Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage," Mexico: ICOMOS, 1999, last modified November 06, 2019, https://www.icomos.org/charters/vernacular_e.pdf, 1.

Because it is built by its users and uses locally available materials and labour, vernacular architecture is more likely to create affective bonds with its residents than other architectural styles. However, not every family participates in the process of the construction of the house it inhabits. Some families live in apartment units that building companies replicated several times in other buildings. Others live in homes that someone built a long time before they had moved in. So how can these families create bonds of affection to their domestic space?

According to Canadian philosopher Brian Massumi in his introduction to French philosopher Gilles Deleuze and psychotherapist Félix Guattari's book entitled *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*,

> *L'affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act. *L'affection* (Spinoza's *affectio*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body.[3]

The responses that affection produces in human beings do not happen only in relation to other humans. Translator and essayist Ewa Hryniewicz-Yarbrough observes that humans can also create an affective feeling with objects, especially in situations of adversity; people transform objects into "mute witnesses to human life [that] inspire awe and amazement at the mere fact of their survival. They connect us to the past and its messy materiality by making that past more concrete, more tangible."[4] Nonetheless, as Hryniewicz-Yarbrough suggests, since affection relates to the past, it does not develop quickly. People create this sense of affection by constructing emotions interconnected with memories from their lives. They relate these memories to some objects, someone, or someplace. The recollection of these lived moments can establish identity and a sense of belonging associated with a specific place or building.

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[3] Brian Massumi in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), XVI.

[4] Ewa Hryniewicz-Yarbrough, "Objects of Affection," in *Ploughshares*, 37.1 (2011): 155-164.

This view of the affection between humans and vernacular architecture led me to study the relationships between people and domestic environments. Although vernacular architecture is not a new way of building edifices, the study of this practice is recent. As architectural historian Dell Upton explains, architectural historians neglected the study of vernacular architecture, or "low" architecture, for centuries, studying only what they classified as "professional architecture" or high architecture.[5] In his essay, Upton proposes a new path to architectural history. This new form of studying architecture should observe a building not only as a built environment but also as constructing a cultural landscape. He points out the importance of studying the meaning of a building by its users and not only focusing on its architect or builder. He affirms, "every structure contains several different buildings as imagined by different segments of its public. None of these are necessarily consistent with the others, nor do any of them bear any necessary relationship to the intention of designer, builder, or client."[6] Just as Upton, I believe that architecture results from several agents, from its conception to its construction and use. Researchers and scholars should consider these different agents in their studies. Moreover, I argue domestic vernacular architecture can exhibit even more complex examples concerning affective studies and the history of architecture.

Vernacular architecture and its ability to create affective relationships between its dwellers within the domestic environment have struck me since I was a child. I have always had a strong affection for my grandparent's house in Fortaleza, Brazil. In contrast with the tiny home where I used to live with my parents as a child, the relative magnificence of my grandparent's two-floor house was, in my child's mind, a kind of castle. When I turned twelve years old, my parents decided to move to this castle. I still keep alive in my memory the moving day, when I gathered my most precious possessions (books and magazines) and moved to my

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5 Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History?" *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 4 (Aug. 1991): 195.

6 Ibid, 197.

castle hours before my parents, with the help of my grandfather, Aldery Barbosa Lima. As I was growing up, my interest in the house became more analytical. In 2015, when I was in architectural school, I decided to conduct some interviews with my grandfather to record his memories. We talked about his move from the countryside to the capital of Ceará, Fortaleza, as well as the challenges he and his sister, Maria Barbosa Lima, faced living by themselves in an unknown place, until they finally bought their own piece of land and, later, built their house by themselves.

Another aspect that contributed to developing a sense of topophilia for my grandparent's home was my curiosity for the objects in every room. The golden frames surrounding various paintings and the miscellaneous objects everywhere occupied me with hours of exploration. The oldest memory that I have from the earliest years of my life happened when I was about three years old. I stood still in front of a wall at the entrance of my grandparents' house. There was a reproduction of *El Pelo de Estrella* (n.d.) [And Fix the Hairs of the Star] on this wall, a painting by the Spanish painter Joan Miró. I remember observing the colours and forms in this painting for several minutes. Since then, I have admired this painting. As a child, I used to touch every object in the house that I could reach. But not this item. It was almost as if it was an inviolable component of my home. According to social psychologist and technology historian Sherry Turkle, objects "[hold] power because of the particular moment and circumstance in which they come into [someone's] life."[7] Because of the powerful memory I have of this painting, it is still my favourite among the works that my family displayed everywhere in the house. The affective bond I have with it is such that I took a photo of it during the last time I was in my grandparent's house before moving to Montreal

[7] Sherry Turkle, *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2007), 8.

(Fig. 1). The relationship I developed with this house and the objects within it over the years, together with the stories my grandfather shared with me while he was alive, inspired this thesis.

In what follows, I analyze vernacular architecture and material culture as symbols of belonging, affection and national identity in the lives of two Brazilian families in different geographical contexts. In the first case, I start with the story of my grandparents' house, which my family members built and renovated throughout the years, to analyze aspects of vernacular architecture in this domestic environment. In the second case, I expand my research outside Brazil to understand how a house elsewhere can express *brasilidade*[8] within it. I also analyze how a family can create affective bonds with a domestic space that they do not build, thus, a non-example of vernacular architecture. Through these examples, I aim to answer in my thesis questions: How does the agency to transform (whether through building or renovating a place) contribute to developing a sense of affection for space? How might oral history, memory maps, vernacular architecture and material culture studies be used to access bonds between people and the homes in which they live? How has a Brazilian family living in Montreal brought its Brazilian culture into their domestic space? How can someone develop an affective bond with a domestic space if they do not actively participate in its construction?

A key to explore affection between people and the domestic spaces they occupy is through their spatial memories. Oral history is a tool that researchers can use to understand emplaced memories in specific domestic environments, the entwined sense of identity and space, and how people produce domestic settings through spatial practices. I used oral history methods to interview two Brazilian families living in two different parts of the world to explore the mutually constitutive relationship between self and home. In addition to these interviews, I asked my interviewees to produce floor plans (memory maps). They also shared with me family

[8] Portuguese term to designate the quality of being Brazilian (literally: "Brazilianness").

photographs and personal objects that could speak to their memories related to the house. This methodology helped to trace the affective spatial relationships in each family.

I based my research on several scholars that discuss different aspects of domestic vernacular architecture. I used the works of human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan to delve into matters related to feelings of affection and practices of preservation of a place.[9] In addition, I drew from the approach of folklorist Henry Glassie[10] and anthropologist James Holston[11] to understand aspects of vernacular architecture and its role in strengthening people's relations among themselves during its construction. I also based my thesis on psychologist Giulia Mazzeo's analysis of the importance of memory maps to establish spatial stories.[12] Lastly, to discuss the importance of decorative objects in depicting people's history, relationships and culture, I based my research on works within the domains of visual arts (Emma Haraké),[13] oral history (Janis Wilton),[14] art history (Martha Langford),[15] folklore (Henry Glassie),[16] philosophy (Gillian Rose),[17] social psychology, and history of technology (Sherry Turkle).[18] My thesis validates several points that these authors presented in their research and combines

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9 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974).

10 Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*.

11 James Holston, "Autoconstruction in Working-Class Brazil." *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 4 (Nov. 1991): 447-465, www.jstor.org/stable/656164.

12 Giulia Mazzeo, "Maps of Places of Origin or Maps of Self: A Graphic and Conversational Analysis," in *Visual and Linguistic Representations of Places of Origin*. Perspectives in Pragmatics, Philosophy & Psychology, no. 16 (2018): 145.

13 Emma Haraké, "Arabic Speaking Objects: A Collaborative Research-Creation Project Exploring Recent Immigrants' Narratives of Displacement and Settlement," (Master's thesis, Concordia University, 2019).

14 Janis Wilton, "Imaging Family Memories: My Mum, Her Photographs, Our Memories," in *Oral History and Photography*, ed. Alexander Freud and Alistair Thomson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 269; Janis Wilton, "Telling Objects: Material Culture and Memory in Oral History Interviews," *The Oral History Association of Australia Journal*, no. 30, (January 2008): 41-49.

15 Martha Langford*, Suspended Conversation: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

16 Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

17 Gillian Rose*, Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public and The Politics of Sentiment* (Farnham, England: Routledge, 2010).

18 Turkle, *Evocative Objects*.

their perspectives as a means to determine the importance of each of these subjects in developing affective relationships between dwellers and dwelling.

In the first chapter, four of my relatives from the northeast of Brazil clarify their contributions to domestic vernacular architecture in Fortaleza, Ceará. The interviewees are Maria Cardoso Lima, my grandmother and the oldest member in the Barbosa Cardoso family; Maria Suely Barbosa Brito, my aunt and the oldest child in the family's second generation; Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, my uncle and the person most responsible for the latest renovations to the house; and Eric Barbosa Cardoso, my uncle and the youngest child in the family's second generation. In addition to these interviews, I analyzed older recordings of my grandfather speaking, in which he discusses the process of building the house. Chapter Two introduces the experiences of a Brazilian family living in and creating domestic environments in Montreal, Quebec. During the summer of 2020, I participated in an initiative organized by the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) at Concordia University to create connections, share ideas, and strengthen collective learning of oral history amongst some of its members. By participating in this initiative, I contacted Brazilians living in Montreal that some COHDS group members introduced to me. After thorough deliberation, I decided to include only one of the two families I interviewed in this thesis. I believe that their experiences and the examples of decoration practices in conjunction with the Brazilian material culture that they present, better illustrate the topics I will deal with in this thesis. The interviewees are Natalia Diaz and Thiago Martins, a couple who moved to Montreal in 2011 after Martins had received a job offer in Canada. In chapter two, I analyze aspects of their Brazilian cultural identity that influenced the decoration and organization of their Montreal home. By these means, my thesis examines examples of spatial practice concerning both self-built, domestic vernacular architecture and found domestic spaces that families have occupied and reshaped. By comparing the two cases, I analyze how different modes of agency of transformation contribute

to the willingness to care for space. Furthermore, I argue that the act of building or reshaping a home, along with the memories produced during these processes, contributes to developing a sense of affection for space.

Three themes contributed to the analysis of the relationship between these families and their houses. They are the family's history with the house in each location and how they bought, renovated or adapted to it; the living, spatial memories of each family; and the affection or feeling of attachment that a person has about their home. These three themes arose from the oral interviews. Interviewees discussed the amount of time they have been living in their house and changes in the neighbourhood. Interviewees also addressed the most significant changes their houses went through; their most remarkable memory lived in their houses; and stories about the houses grounded in a particular object. Finally, the interviewees considered the meaning of their houses to them, their role in shaping their homes, and how their homes shape their stories and develop an affective relationship with them. My thesis sheds light on the complex relationships between people and their homes and makes an original contribution to the study of domestic spaces and emotions. By asking my interviewees to share their spatial stories through the combination of oral history and descriptive drawings, this thesis illuminates the affective relationship between people and buildings and the emotional aspects of domestic architecture.

Case Study One – The Barbosa Cardoso Family

Vernacular Architecture in Fortaleza, Brazil

To discuss the examples of vernacular architecture that I introduce in this thesis, I start from a broader context and subsequently move to the more intimate context of the house. In the first chapter, I begin analyzing the architecture in a neighbourhood in Fortaleza, Brazil to position the first case of study. Brazil, the biggest country of South America and Latin America in general, has twenty-seven states divided into five regions: North, Northeast, Midwest, South, and Southeast. Among the nine states in the Northeast Region, Ceará is the eighth-largest Brazilian State by population (Fig. 2).[19] Its capital city is Fortaleza (Fig. 3). Before 1800, most of the houses in Ceará followed the colonial architectural features Portuguese settlers brought to Brazil.[20] In this period, people built most popular urban houses on narrow and long terrain, which limited their spatial possibilities. Therefore, most of these houses had similar floor plans. With its door and window facing the street, the front room housed the living room, while the bedrooms were the intermediate rooms, accessed by a side corridor and without openings to the outside.[21] This form of housing, then and still called *casa de porta e janela,*[22] (Fig. 4), was the most important architectural typology in Brazil until the end of the Brazilian Empire in 1889.[23]

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19 Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, "População Residente, Total, Urbana Total e Urbana na Sede Municipal, em Números Absolutos e Relativos, com Indicação da Área Total e da Densidade Demográfica, Segundo as Grandes Regiões e as Unidades da Federação - 2010," Sinopse do Censo Demográfico: 2010, Tabela 1.15, accessed March 27, 2021, https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=249230.

20 Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, *Quadro da Arquitetura no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 2000).

21 Paulo Lemos in Ana Cecília Serpa Braga Vasconcelos, "Casas Cearenses – Estudo de Caso: Um Lugar Para Sustentabilidade e Identidade", (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal do Ceará, 2008), 77.

22 Brazilian term to designate a house with only a door and a window in its façade.

23 Ana Cecília Serpa Braga Vasconcelos, "Casas cearenses – Estudo de Caso: Um Lugar Para Sustentabilidade e Identidade," (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal do Ceará, 2008); Solange de Aragão, *Ensaio Sobre a Casa Brasileira do Século XIX* (São Paulo: Blucher, 2017).

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, with the abolition of slavery[24] and the end of the Brazilian Empire, the colonial way of building and dwelling started to become obsolete.[25] As a consequence, Brazilians slowly started to perfect different construction techniques.[26] Humble families who moved from the countryside to urban areas began to build various examples of vernacular architecture with ordinary materials such as rammed earth,[27] adobe, rock, and clay (Fig. 5).[28]

In the first half of the twentieth century, many such houses still displayed construction techniques and architectural configurations that belonged to the nineteenth century. Industrialization came late to Brazil, meaning that building materials were produced on a comparatively small scale, which generated few architectural changes in this period. According to Brazilian architect Hugo Segawa, different documents published in the second half of the nineteenth century show Brazilians' first thoughts about the use of machines and different materials in construction. Segawa observes,

> A note published in the newspaper *O Agricultor Paulista*, from January 1860, drew attention to the existence of machines in the manufacturing of bricks in London, claiming it a 'big step' because 'the savings obtained by using the machines allow the

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[24] Slaves were the main workforce in Brazil until the abolition of slavery in 1888. Wlamyra R. de Albuquerque and Walter Fraga Filho, *Uma História do Negro no Brasil* (Salvador: Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais; Brasília: Fundação Cultural Palmares, 2006).

[25] The abundance of slave labour in Brazil until the end of the nineteenth century supported a specific type of construction technique and the use of buildings. After the end of slavery, these techniques and uses changed, with the size of houses decreasing. This reduction occurred because these domestic spaces no longer needed to have rooms to house some of the slaves who lived in the same house as theirs slavers. In addition, the maintenance of large houses became more difficult without slave labour. Furthermore, with the arrival of industrialization in Brazil in the beginning of the twentieth century, many families moved from the countryside, where the offer of land was greater, to the city, where the lots were smaller. This change of scenery also contributed to the emergence of a new type of architecture in 20th century Brazil. Filho, *Quadro da Arquitetura no Brasil;* Vasconcelos, "Casas cearenses;" Hugo Segawa, "Rumo à Industrialização: Arquitetura da Primeira Metade do Século XX," in *Arquitetura na Formação do Brasil*, ed. Briane Elisabeth Panitz Bicca and Paulo Renato Silveira Bicca (Brasília: UNESCO/Caixa Econômica Federal, 2006).

[26] Filho, *Quadro da Arquitetura no Brasil.*

[27] Also known as *taipa* in Portuguese.

[28] These techniques arrived in Brazil during its colonization along with the Portuguese. Brazilian indigenous peoples were unaware of such techniques. They built their homes with wood and round sticks, using straw and foliage as sealing elements. In addition to the Portuguese, the Africans they brought as slaves also used these construction techniques. Wilza Gomes Reis Lopes et al., "A Taipa de Mão em Teresina, Piauí, Brasil: a Improvisação e o Uso de Procedimentos Construtivos," *digitAR*, no. 1 (2013): 70-78.; Filho, *Quadro da Arquitetura no Brasil;* José Liberal de Castro, "Arquitetura no Ceará. O Século XIX e Algumas Antecedências," *Revista do Instituto do Ceará* (2014): 9-68, https://institutodoceara.org.br/revista/Rev-apresentacao/RevPorAno/2014/01_ArquiteturanoCeara.pdf.

> brick, so important in buildings, to be plentiful and cheap' (…). The *Guide for students of the 1st subject of the 1st year of Civil Engineering*, published by André Rebouças, in 1885, included a survey of the materials used and available in construction, assessing the quality of granites, the availability of clays for making bricks and roof tiles, and affirming that rammed earth as a construction technique was falling into disuse in the then province of São Paulo.[29]

Overall, Brazil focused its early twentieth-century architecture on perfecting construction details, at the same time that architects were trying to create a modern style "within the Brazilian context (…) [dealing with] issues of nationality and national autonomy"[30]. Most houses' programs and volumetric solutions[31] almost always repeated the vernacular design of the early years of the Republic.[32]

The implementation of gardens at the front of the house was one of the most significant twentieth-century developments in the Brazilian domestic vernacular. It was an attempt to combine the characteristics of urban homes with those of older, rural houses, which were in vogue during the period in which slavery dominated (Fig. 6). These houses generally had no lateral boundaries on the lots. In most cases, the dwellings had a few meters' long setbacks from public roads. It was in this space that families cultivated small gardens. These front gardens and small-scale, ornate façades accentuated the importance of the house's frontage and served to conceal the simplicity of the rear elevation and treatment.[33]

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29 Segawa, "Rumo à Industrialização;" Caio Prado Júnior, *História Econômica do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1981), 315-16.
"Uma nota publicada no jornal *O Agricultor Paulista*, de janeiro de 1860, chamava a atenção para a existência de máquinas na fabricação de tijolos em Londres, um 'grande passo' porquanto 'a economia obtida pelo emprego das máquinas permite que o tijolo, tão importante nas construções, seja abundante e barato' (...). *O Guia para os alumnos da 1ª cadeira do 1º ano de Engenharia Civil*, publicado por André Rebouças, em 1885, trazia um levantamento sobre os materiais empregados e disponíveis na construção, relacionando a qualidade dos granitos, a disponibilidade de argilas para a confecção de tijolos e telhas, e registrava a taipa de pilão como uma técnica caindo em desuso na então província de São Paulo." Translated by the author.

30 Hugo Segawa, *Architecture of Brazil: 1900-1990* (New York: Springer, 2013), 27.

31 Volumetric solutions are architectural practices that change the overall dimensions of the building, such as balconies accompanying shutter windows along the façade.

32 Filho, *Quadro da Arquitetura no Brasil.*

33 Ibid.

The *Bairro de Fátima* is the forty-first largest neighbourhood of 121 neighbourhoods in Fortaleza, Ceará by population[34] (Fig. 7). The houses built during the 1970s in this neighbourhood still present some of the characteristics from the earlier period. The neighbourhood's name, an allusion to Our Lady of Fatima, illustrates the close relationship between Catholicism and the foundation of the community.[35] After the creation of the neighbourhood in 1956,[36] several families moved to this area and built their houses without engaging architects or other construction professionals. The residents of Dom Sebastião Leme Street gradually improved their dwellings over time, as funds became available. According to Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso,

> When we arrived [in the neighbourhood], the houses [were made] of rammed earth. Then, over time, people were working, improving their lives… and renovating their houses. Each of them was slowly [renovating their houses], in the same way [as we were]. None of the houses were quickly made from scratch... [Most neighbours] had made a part [of their home], then another. It has been like this [since then].[37]

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34 Instituto de Planejamento de Fortaleza, "Fortaleza em Bairros," Fortaleza em Mapas, 2020, accessed March 27, 2021, https://mapas.fortaleza.ce.gov.br/fortaleza-em-bairros/.

35 Our Lady of Fatima is a reference to what is believed to be a series of prophetic apparitions by the Virgin Mary in Portugal in the early 20th century that became important for popular piety around the Catholic world. In 1952, after leaving from Cova da Iria in Portugal in 1947 and touring several European countries and Brazilian states, a pilgrim image of Our Lady of Fatima visited the Bairro de Fátima. After the pilgrim image's visit had gathered thousands of people while passing through different places in Fortaleza, Colonel Pergentino Ferreira, owner of some land in the area, decided to donate one of the plots of land where the image had passed for the construction of a sanctuary. The engineer Luciano Ribeiro Pamplona designed the sanctuary's project. On December 28, 1952, the city hall founded the church's cornerstone. In 1955, the sanctuary became a parish, changing its name to Church of Our Lady of Fatima. In 1956, a year after the church's inauguration, councilman Antônio Fernando Bezerra drafted, and mayor of Fortaleza, Acrísio Moreira da Rocha (1907-2004), sanctioned bill 1072, which gives the area where the church is the name of Bairro de Fátima, officially creating the neighbourhood. Marco Aurélio de Andrade Alves, "Das Antigas Praças da Cidade de Fortaleza a Contemporânea Praça de Fátima: Entre Usos e (Re)apropriações nos Espaços Sínteses de Hibridizações," (Masters thesis, Universidade Federal do Ceará, 2012); Miguel Nirez Azevedo, "O Dia de Hoje na História de Fortaleza," Facebook, October 13, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=3956827801000364&set=a.100692453280604; Eduardo Fontes, *As Pouco Lembradas Igrejas de Fortaleza: Subsídio à História dos Templos Católicos de Fortaleza* (1983), quoted in Lauriberto Carneiro Braga, "Igreja de Fátima de Fortaleza Completa 63 Anos de Fundação," Blog do Lauriberto, last modified September 13, 2018, https://www.blogdolauriberto.com/2018/09/igreja-de-fatima-de-fortaleza-completa.html.

36 Alves, "Das Antigas Praças da Cidade de Fortaleza a Contemporânea Praça de Fátima".

37 Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Skype, October 20, 2019.
"Quando nós chegamos [na vizinhança] as casas foram [feitas] de taipa. E aí, com o tempo, as pessoas realmente foram trabalhando, melhorando de vida... E foram reformando [as casas]. Cada um foi fazendo aos poucos, do mesmo jeito [que a gente]. Nenhuma casa aqui foi feita tudo do zero, rapidinho não. [Todos os vizinhos] foram aos poucos, fazendo, fazia uma parte, fazia outra, reformava uma parte, reformava outra, era assim." Translated by the author.

Until the early 1990s, the community felt a sense of security that allowed people to spend several hours of their day outside their homes interacting with each other. Back then, one of the neighbours' most common habits was to meet on the sidewalk in front of someone's house to talk. Residents would bring their chairs outside or even sit on the floor while their children played on the sidewalk. The architecture in the area also expressed this sense of security. Eric Barbosa Cardoso recalls that many neighbourhood houses had a front garden. Low walls of about one meter high delineated these gardens, with a small iron gate serving as the entryway (Figs. 8 and 9). This popular, local architectural configuration also allowed more significant interaction between neighbours, who could talk to each other without leaving their domestic boundaries.

However, in the 1990s, this feeling of security was replaced with a sense of danger after violence in the city increased.[38] Aldecy explains,

> The Bairro de Fátima was once a very, very calm neighbourhood. Very safe. And, over time, progress has happened, and it is evident that things are changing... Nowadays, the neighbourhood is no longer so calm [as before] ... The neighbours [stay] more indoors. In the past, it was common to see people outside, sitting on chairs, on sidewalks. Nowadays, there is no such thing anymore... Today we cannot say that the Bairro de Fátima is a quiet neighbourhood, a safe neighbourhood. No, you can never say that. We are afraid of everything when we are leaving and arriving [to our homes]. We leave our gates tightly closed... This started to change in the '90s. Things were changing a lot.[39]

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[38] This sense of danger is not unique to *Bairro de Fátima*. The socioeconomic inequality existing in the city of Fortaleza in general is responsible for the increase in crime in the second half of the twenty-first century. Thus, the increase in the collective sense of insecurity is a result of the increase of robbery, theft, and homicide in the city. Fabiano Lucas da Silva Freitas, "Fragmentação e Expansão Urbana: Espaços do Medo na Região Metropolitana de Fortaleza-Ceará," (PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Ceará, 2019); Jamilly Ferreira Oliveira, "Mapeamento da Criminalidade na Cidade de Fortaleza/CE," (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Federal do Ceará, 2019).

[39] Aldecy Barbosa Lima, interview by the author through Zoom, October 04, 2020.
"O bairro de Fátima já foi um bairro muito, mas muito calmo. Muito seguro. E, com o passar do tempo, o progresso vai acontecendo e é óbvio que as coisas vão mudando... Hoje em dia o bairro já não é mais essa coisa de tão calmo [como antes] ... A vizinhança se torna mais dentro de casa. Antigamente, ainda via as pessoas fora, sentadas nas cadeiras, nas calçadas. Hoje em dia não existe mais isso... Hoje a gente não pode dizer que o bairro de Fátima é um bairro calmo, um bairro seguro. Não, jamais você pode dizer isso. A gente tem medo de tudo, hora para sair, hora para chegar. Deixa o portão realmente bem fechado... Isso começou a mudar na década de 90. As coisas foram mudando muito." Translated by the author.

The change in the community's atmosphere influenced the architecture of the area. To protect themselves against this feeling of insecurity, many dwellers began to replace their front gardens with higher walls, even wholly enclosing the space and giving it another function (Fig. 10). In some cases, residents turned these areas into garage entrances. They also started to use more robust iron or aluminum gates and put bars on their windows. Nevertheless, some of these houses still preserve the second half of the twentieth century's architectural characteristics. For instance, some homes do retain the front gardens. And in other cases, it is still possible to see the old delineation of the houses' walls that neighbours set back in the terrain to make space for the front gardens.

Even though these examples of vernacular architecture carry some general similarities in their façades, some crucial elements that differentiate these dwellings from each other. Architectural historian Henry Glassie and anthropologist James Holston discuss the capacity for vernacular architecture to produce unique dwellings. Glassie classifies vernacular architecture and its features as communication devices that express the "householder's interior and taste"[40] in different cultures. Meanwhile, according to Holston, "autoconstruction" is marked by a "[striving] to personalize the [home] by displaying it fashionably, knowledgeably, and creatively,"[41] usually through its exteriors. Holston explains that autoconstruction methods often convey "a particular style of façade, certain decorations, the display of appliances, a specific finish or material, and so forth."[42] Drawing from this series of characteristics, Holston focuses on Brazilian façades, arguing that this type of architecture embodies and depicts their owners' tastes and their desire to display their uniqueness. The houses in Dom Sebastião Leme Street exhibit this uniqueness by displaying different wall colours and cladding material in their façades, along with distinct types of sidewalks (see fig. 10). Another essential characteristic

40 Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*, 66.
41 Holston, "Autoconstruction," 458.
42 Ibid, 456.

contributing to the distinction between the houses in the neighbourhood is the difference in height among buildings. The area has houses with one, two or three floors, without a standard height, even in homes with the same number of floors. Furthermore, the treatment of the openings in iron fencing is also unique to each dwelling, with the dwellers using different materials, geometric patterns, and colours for doors, gates and windows (see fig. 10). Therefore, these buildings and their façades not only provide a form of dwelling and a source of protection. They also represent a source of pride for the residents through their aesthetic choices.

House #615

One house that transformed throughout the years on the Dom Sebastião Leme street is #615 (Fig. 11). This is the Barbosa Cardoso home, a building with a façade of stone blocks and aluminum framing. While this house is almost 50 years old, it is not the first example of vernacular architecture in this location. In the early 1950s, Aldery Barbosa Lima, the Barbosa Cardoso family patriarch, moved from the countryside to Fortaleza to live with his sister, Maria Barbosa Lima, also known as Teinha. Before buying the lot in *Bairro de Fátima*, the siblings lived in several rented houses in different neighbourhoods of Fortaleza. Aldery explains,

> Teinha brought me [to Fortaleza] when I was 16 years old… She rented the house of a friend of mine, Inácio, in Nogueira Alcioli Street, and we spent a year there. Then we moved to Senador Alencar [Street], close to Montenegro Matos,[43] where we used to work… We lived there for about six years. Then when we left there, we came here [to the current house].[44]

The move to Dom Sebastião Leme Street in the *Bairro de Fátima* happened in 1968, six years after Aldery married Maria Cardoso Lima. The house they moved to was an example of vernacular architecture from the beginning of the century. It was a small house made with

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43 A building supply store.

44 Aldery Barbosa Lima, conversation with the author in Fortaleza, Ceará, Brazil, July 19, 2015. "Teinha me trouxe pra cá com 16 anos... Ela alugou a casa de um colega meu, Inácio, na rua Nogueira Acioli, nós passamos um ano lá. Aí nos mudamos lá pra Senador Alencar, perto da Montenegro Matos, que a gente trabalhava lá... Aí nós moramos lá uns 6 anos. Aí quando saímos de lá, viemos para [a casa atual]." Translated by the author.

rammed earth built only in half of the lot. It has a big yard in the back and a front door divided in the middle (see fig. 5 for a similar example). Although most urban houses no longer display this type of door, people used it widely in urban areas until the second half of the twentieth century. As Aldecy explains, "the door cut in half [was used] because you could leave the top of it open, and the bottom closed, so the house was neither all closed nor all open."[45] This door typology is also an example of a common architectural element prior to the 1990s, when the feeling of safety prevailed. At that time, people used to open the top half of this door to have contact with the outdoors without having to go out themselves. While leaning on the door's bottom half, the resident could gaze at the street and talk with their neighbours, using the door as a window.

Through the floor plan Aldecy drew to illustrate this house (Fig. 12), it is possible to observe that the house had two bedrooms, one living room, and one kitchen, with the bathroom outside in the backyard. Teinha, Aldery, Maria, and the couple's first three children, Suely, Aldecy, and Júnior, lived in this house for six years. According to Maria Cardoso Lima, the walls inside this house were low, with no doors, meaning little privacy. The rammed earth that the previous owners used to build this house was not waterproof, resulting in several incidents during the rainy seasons. Parts of the walls would collapse, a serious problem that the family could not resolve immediately due to lack of money. Aldecy recalls,

> This house was very fragile. So, [one day] it was raining a lot, and a wall fell, the kitchen wall made of rammed-earth. We spent a lot of time [living without the wall], the rain falling and us having lunch, eating in the kitchen and seeing the water falling.[46]

In 1974, after facing several structural problems in the house, the family decided to build a new one from scratch with some money Teinha saved after selling a property in the countryside.

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45 Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Skype, October 20, 2019.
"A porta era partida ao meio exatamente porque você poderia deixar aberto só em cima e a parte fechada embaixo, para a casa não ficar toda fechada ou então toda aberta." Translated by the author.

46 Ibid. "Essa casa, ela era muito frágil. Então tipo assim, [um dia] era muita chuva, e uma parede caiu, a parede da cozinha de taipa. Nós passamos um bocado de tempo [vivendo sem a parede], a chuva caindo e a gente almoçando, comendo na cozinha e vendo a água caindo." Translated by the author.

With the absence of professionals in the construction field to work on the house, the family hired self-taught workers to build it. Without much knowledge of building practices or contemporary architecture, the family chose to reproduce features they found in the surrounding domestic architecture. As with most of the building sites available in the nineteenth century, my family's plot was long and narrow. The house had a front garden, with a door and a window facing the street, as most neighbourhood houses did (see figs. 8 and 9). As shown in Aldecy's floor plan (Fig. 13), the backyard's size decreased to give space for the seven rooms of the house. The new dwelling housed the entrance hall, two bedrooms, a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, and a bathroom.[47]

In 1982, when Suely, the oldest child in the family, turned eighteen years old, Teinha gifted her a car. Aldecy's floor plan (Fig. 14) shows that this new acquisition contributed to another renovation. To keep the car safe, the family transformed the bedroom facing the street into a garage. In the process, the front garden also disappeared. This renovation also led to the closure of a concrete pergola above the hallway (see fig. 13 for comparison) that the family had built in the first renovation to create a winter garden.

The decision to transform one of the two bedrooms into a garage made the family members' distribution inside the house even harder since the dwelling housed eight people.[48] According to Eric, "it was a living room, a bedroom, a dining room and a kitchen. Then three used to sleep in the living room, three in the bedroom and two in the dining room."[49] While describing the dwelling environments of English families, geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argues that crowded homes are places where everything is shared: "In the congested home of an English

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47 One of the bedrooms faced the street, an unusual configuration even for that period since most of the houses had the living room as the main room facing the street.

48 By that time, Aldery and Maria had two more children, Suiane and Eric, in addition to the previous three who had lived with them in the rammed-earth house.

49 Eric Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Zoom, October 13, 2020.
"Era sala, quarto, sala de jantar e cozinha. Aí dormia três na sala, três no quarto e dois na sala de jantar." Translated by the author.

worker's family, it is difficult to be alone, to think alone, or to read quietly. Not only things but people are shared. Mother is 'our mom,' father is 'our dad,' and the daughter is 'our Alice.'"[50] Aldecy's comments on the memories he has at home reinforce Tuan's affirmation. He explains,

> This house for me has always been so [associated with my] family that, for me, what I do in it alone, I do with people at home. There is not much to do alone because I never lived alone in this house. If you ask me questions about what I remember [about one subject or another], about the family itself, then I [have memories]. I remember Christmases, New Year's Eve, these [moments] with everyone. But [moments of me alone, I don't remember], because I never lived [at home] alone.[51]

The family members had to share the rooms until 1987 when they built a second floor. As shown on the floor plan drawn by Aldecy in Figure 15, the new second floor comprised a veranda facing the street, three bedrooms, and a bathroom. The family also decided to reserve a small room in between two bedrooms to build another bathroom in the future, but it ended up becoming a multi-purpose room.

After the family constructed the second floor, the house underwent other renovations of varying scales. The most significant renovation happened around 1992 when the family built a veranda for Teinha's bedroom in the back of the house. All these renovations took place over long periods. The family was only able to undertake such changes to the house when there was enough money. Aldecy explains that,

> The balcony, I [paid to build it] ... Your mother came [to live here with you and your father], then... she [paid for the] yard to be fixed... And then, little by little, everyone helped... Eric helped with the second floor at a time when he came [to live at the house] ... He paid to install new wood [in the rafters of a room on the second floor] ... Your aunt [Suely], when she lived here, she and I bought that big window outside [on the second floor] ... It is like this. Everything [is done] little by little.[52]

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50 Tuan, *Space and Place*, 64-5.

51 Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Skype, October 20, 2019.
"Essa casa pra mim sempre foi tão [associada à minha] família que, pra mim, o que eu faço nela só, eu faço com as pessoas em casa. Não tem muita coisa assim de fazer só porque eu nunca vivi só dentro dessa casa. Se você me perguntar coisas sobre o que eu lembro [de um ou outro assunto], da família em si, aí eu [tenho lembranças]. Lembro dos natais, dos réveillons, desses [momentos] com todo mundo. Mas [momentos meus sozinho eu não lembro], até porque eu nunca morei [na casa] só." Translated by the author.

52 Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Zoom, October 04, 2020.
"A varanda, eu [paguei para construírem] ... A tua mãe veio [morar aqui com você e seu pai], aí... mandou ajeitar aquele quintal... E aí aos poucos foi todo mundo dando uma mãozinha... O Eric ajudou com a parte lá de cima, numa época que ele veio [morar em casa] ... Ele mandou botar tudo madeira nova [nos caibros de um quarto do

Even though the changes happened at a slow pace, with some unfortunate events along the way,[53] and without any professional assistance, the family built a home that met their needs and reflected their identities as individuals and as a group (Fig. 16). As Maria states, "I prefer that we do [the house] slowly, depending on what we agree on, what we have, how much we have. When it works out that we agree with everything, then it gets better. A better deal comes out. A deal with more affection."[54]

As a consequence of building their respective houses in the vernacular style, while living in those houses, the neighbours in the Dom Sebastião Leme street developed close relationships with each other. According to Glassie, vernacular architecture also contributes to "[shaping] relations between people."[55] Vernacular architecture worldwide is the product of the assistance and knowledge of friends and neighbours who participate in the construction process. Holston also remarks on the importance of social networks for autoconstruction: "on weekends, holidays, and after work, the process is carried out at the initiative of each family with the help of relatives, friends, neighborhood groups, and occasionally the services of a building professional."[56] One of the consequences of this close relationship between the Barbosa Cardoso family and their neighbours was the exchange of building materials. For example, in 2004, after deciding to replace the precast concrete that worked as *brise-soleil*[57] on the façade's second floor (Fig. 17) with glass bricks (Fig. 18), Aldecy sold this architectural

segundo andar] ... Tua tia [Suely], quando morava aqui, eu e ela compramos aquele janelão lá de fora [no segundo andar] ... É assim. Tudo [é feito] aos poucos." Translated by the author.

53 The worst event the family experienced occurred during a renovation in 1987. During this renovation, the bricklayer responsible for building the second-floor access staircase entered the house and stole some of the family's belongings while they were sleeping.

54 Maria Cardoso Lima, interview by the author through Skype, October 20, 2019.
"Prefiro a gente ir fazendo [a casa] devagarzinho, conforme o que a gente concordar, o que a gente tiver, quanto a gente tiver. Quando dá certo a gente concordar com tudo, aí fica melhor. Sai um negócio mais bem feito. Um negócio com mais carinho." Translated by the author.

55 Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*, 22.

56 Holston, "Autoconstruction," 451.

57 *Brise-soleil* or sun breakers are elements in façades that allows the indirect entry of sunlight and ventilation into the house. Modernist architecture in Brazil and other Latin American countries commonly use these features. Daniel A. Barber, *Modern Architecture and Climate: Design Before Air Conditioning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

component to the neighbour across the street, who used it in turn on her façade (Fig. 19). In the same way that shared experiences in the production of vernacular architecture contributed to the bond among local families, elements within the individual dwelling environment also helped to strengthen ties among the Barbosa Cardoso family members. To depict these ties, the interviewees shared some photographs, objects and drawings of the house's floor plans that I discuss in the following pages.

Floor Plans as Memory Maps

I asked each interviewee to produce floor plans of the house at #615 Dom Sebastião Leme Street. According to psychologist and psychotherapist Giulia Mazzeo, "From a psychological point of view asking a person to draw and comment about one's place of origin means to activate a complex narrative re-elaboration that involves cognitive, emotional and relational processes."[58] Hence, these floor plans also worked as memory maps, helping interviewees recollect the renovations throughout the years and their memories associated with the house. After drawing and redrawing the floor plans, each interviewee was able to represent, in their own way, the internal organization of this house in a way that was consistent with each other's recollections (Fig. 20).[59] This accumulated accuracy shows that the fusion of both oral and visual memory strategies contributes to a richer description of a place.

Another critical aspect these memory maps highlighted is the difference in the types of language each interviewee used to depict their floor plans. Using the representation of doors as an example, Maria Suely Barbosa Brito represents this element by writing the word *porta*[60] inside little notches (Fig. 21). Aldecy also writes *porta* in his floor plans (Fig. 22), but in his case, he places the word under the drawings of notches with an X inside them. Maria represents

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58 Mazzeo, "Maps of Places of Origin or Maps of Self," 145.

59 Each interviewee produced their own floor plan independently of one another, at different moments and without consulting with each other.

60 Translation: door.

the doors in her floor plan through rectangles (Fig. 23) as if she saw them in a frontal elevation. Eric represents doors using two notches, with nothing inside them (Fig. 24). These floor plans' details acted as a point of dialogue during the interviews since the interviewees had to explain what they were drawing. Through their explanation, they clarified issues about the house, as well as described their place-based memories.

Within the House: The Role of Decorative Objects as Agents of Memory

Along with the drawings, family photographs from the last thirty years helped interviewees recall events and stories. Professor Janis Wilton explains that "a photograph can trigger or even shape a memory shared through an oral history interview."[61] Supporting Wilton's viewpoint, art historian Martha Langford posits that "[Photographic albums'] personal nature and intended restriction to a circle of intimates, even to an audience of one, licenses singular arrangements of situational images that need explanation and are enhanced by a tale."[62] Inspired by Wilton's and Langford's analysis of family photographs and their power for storytelling and memory work, I asked the interviewees to look at photographs that depicted different parts of the Barbosa Cardoso house. They each provided a narrative to accompany and explain the content of each picture, thus providing further details about different rooms of the house.

One of the photographs that the interviewees analyzed was an image of an interior window that had once been a feature of the stairwell (Fig. 25). The window looked out over the living room from the main entrance. Though a renovation long ago had removed this window, an image of this feature still summons distinct memories for different family members. In the 1990s, Eric was a young adult in his 20s. At that age, he used to use this window to secretly re-enter the house, late at night, without waking anyone up. He explains:

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61 Wilton, "Imaging Family Memories," 269.
62 Langford, *Suspended Conversation*, 5.

> When I went out at night… I would go out and take my key to open [the steel] door (Fig. 26), but *Painho*[63] locked the glass door (Fig. 27), so he could know the time I was arriving… So [to enter the house without waking anyone up], I used to climb in the chair, open the glass window and enter through it… Then, on the other day, he would ask, 'how did you enter the house?', [and I would answer him] 'through the door, you left… it was open.'[64]

For Suely, a sociable person, the window represented a way to communicate with people. She points out that "[the window] was conveniently used when we were going up the stairs. We could talk to anyone that was [in the living room]."[65] For Aldecy, however, the window was just an architectural feature of the house that did not have a useful purpose. He recalls, "there was a window there that I put precisely to have a view [of the living room], but then I saw it was unnecessary because when someone was going down or up, who was [in the living room] could see whoever was passing, so I thought it used to take the privacy away."[66] Considering the several viewpoints regarding the same interior window, it is clear that one architectural feature has different meanings. In this case, the window represented a way to come back home after being outside, a space to communicate with people, and a sense of compromised privacy the family needed to regain by removing this element.

In addition to photographs and memory maps, the participants also discussed the material culture of the house. Material culture studies focus primarily on the objects and built environments that surround humans. According to Glassie, "Material culture is as true to the

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63 A term that Aldery's children used to refer to their father, common among northeastern people from Brazil. There is no formal translation in English. It literally means "little dad," and is similar to "daddy," but not in a way that infantilizes the speaker.

64 Eric Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Skype, October 14, 2019.
"Quando eu saía à noite... Aí eu saía e levava a minha chave para abrir o portão [de metal] só que o painho trancava a porta de vidro, que era pra saber a hora que eu ia chegar... Aí o que é que eu fazia [para entrar na casa sem acordar ninguém], eu subia na cadeira, abria a janelinha de vidro e entrava pelo buraco da janela de vidro... Aí no outro dia ele perguntava '[você] entrou por onde?' 'pela porta, o senhor deixou... [estava] aberta.'" Translated by the author.

65 Maria Suely Barbosa Brito, interview by the author through Skype, October 18, 2019.
"[A janela] era tão boa quando a gente ia subindo a escada, ainda falava com a pessoa que estava ali [na sala]." Translated by the author.

66 Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Skype, October 20, 2019.
"Tinha a janelinha ali que eu coloquei exatamente pra ter uma visão [da sala], mas aí meio que foi bem desnecessário porque assim, às vezes você tá descendo e subindo, quem [estava] ali [estava] vendo quem [estava] passando, aí eu achei que tirava muito a privacidade." Translated by the author.

mind, as dear to the heart, as language, and what is more, it reports thoughts and actions that resist verbal formulation."[67] People bond with these elements by creating memories from the possession and interaction with different objects or places. The development of this bonding contributes to the establishment of feelings of affection. People can transmit these feelings to others by addressing or caring for these objects and places. According to cultural theorist Stuart Hall, "we give things meanings by how we represent them—the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them, the ways we classify and conceptualize them, the values we place on them."[68] Therefore, within the boundaries of a dwelling, household members often express their relationship with other family members, household objects, and the house itself through the act of decoration. In the same way that we store memories in our minds, the house is also a holder of memories that family members experience and associate with distinct feelings. Ornamental artist Kent C. Bloomer and postmodernist architect and theorist Charles W. Moore propose that "rituals over time leave their impression on the walls and forms of the interior and endow the rooms with artifacts which give us access to previous experiences."[69] In addition, Australian feminist scholar Sara Ahmed proposes that "spaces are not exterior to bodies; instead, spaces are like a second skin that unfolds in the folds of the body… The objects that we direct our attention toward reveal the direction we have taken in life."[70] Thus, in a home where various hands have contributed to the building's decorative program, different parts of that house can be analyzed as a physical representation of the occupants' tastes and values.

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67 Glassie, *Material Culture*, 46.

68 Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (1997), quoted in Emma Haraké, "Arabic Speaking Objects: A Collaborative Research-Creation Project Exploring Recent Immigrants' Narratives of Displacement and Settlement," (Masters thesis, Concordia University, 2019), 12-13.

69 Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 50.

70 Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 9; 32.

Aldecy's physical representation in the Barbosa Cardoso house is a colourful room with several objects with a history behind them. He explains, "I like colours a lot. I think they bring life; it has more to do with me. I am a person who likes positive things, not bland things... I value more work that has more depth of details."[71] Figure 28 depicts the living room on the second floor, a space that embodies Aldecy's physical presence in the house. This room has blue candlesticks, yellow bottles, an orange, yellow and white rug, and two sets of two armchairs, one orange and the other yellow. It also displays different-sized portraits with reproductions of art pieces and interior spaces that he took from architectural magazines.

Meanwhile, the most representative aspect of Maria's personality is in her bedroom. On the top shelf of her headboard, seen in Figure 29, she displays several Catholic statues that participate in her private devotional life. "[There is] a statue of Our Lady of Fatima, there is a statue of Our Lady of the Apparition, one of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, one of the Sacred Heart of the Holy Mary, there is one of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. [There is] a picture of the Heart of Mary [on the wall]."[72] By displaying these objects in her headboard, Maria brings her faith that she shares with others in the neighbourhood to her most private space in the house, her bed. Such statues and images are often considered as a source of temporal and physical protection for its users.[73] According to Maria,

When I pray, I say the name of [all the saints] to ask for what I want. [For example], Sacred Heart of Jesus, Holy Wounds of Jesus, Our Lady of Aparecida, Our Lady of Fatima,

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[71] Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, interview by the author through Zoom, April 13, 2020.
"Eu gosto de muita cor. Eu acho que dá mais vida, tem mais a ver comigo. Eu sou uma pessoa que gosta de coisas mais para cima, eu não gosto daquela coisa morta... Eu valorizo mais um trabalho que tem mais profundidade de detalhes." Translated by the author.

[72] Maria Cardoso Lima, interview by the author through Skype, April 13, 2020.
"[Tem] Nossa Senhora de Fátima, tem Nossa Senhora Aparecida, tem Sagrado Coração de Jesus, Sagrado Coração de Maria, tem Jesus, Maria e José. [Tem um] quadro do coração de Maria [na parede]." Translated by the author.

[73] While it is beyond the scope of this thesis, there is much literature on the subject of Catholic material culture, such as: Joseph Sciorra, *Built with Faith: Italian American Imagination and Catholic Material Culture in New York City* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2015); Hillary Kaell, *Everyday Sacred: Religion in Contemporary Quebec* (Montreal; Kingston; London; Chicago: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017); David Morgan, *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (London: Routledge, 2010); Juliana Beatriz De Souza and Ronaldo Vainfas, *Brasil de Todos os Santos* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2000); and Marilu Torres, *Brasil: Terra de Todos os Santos* (São Paulo: Panda Books, 2014).

Saint Hedwig, protector of the indebted, Saint Joseph, Divine Holy Spirit, Eternal Father... I pray for [all the saints] and I speak for [all of the family].[74]

While Maria spatializes her faith in her own personal area, the room representing Aldecy is a collective space in the home that all occupants use. In the same way that Holston discusses the role of façades in depicting their owners' tastes and their desire to display their uniqueness on the house's exterior, Aldecy's living room shows that this domestic space can be an extension of this desire. Living rooms are usually the first space where hosts welcome their guests in their homes. Thus, dwellers usually decorate this spot in a way that testifies to their taste and social status.

In addition to their capacity to evoke memory, photographs are important interior decorative elements that communicate the Barbosa Cardoso family history in several rooms of the house, such as the upstairs living room and the TV room on the ground floor (Figs. 30 and 31). To Suely, photographs help to tell a house's story, making the dwelling unique for its family. She asserts,

> The story of a house is made by the residents, in my viewpoint. So, nothing better than the people who made the house's history to be there [in the photographs]. I find that very, very, very interesting. Very nice. I like this. I think it is pretty. Especially for us who keep looking [at these photographs], it gives that sense of nostalgia, but also of happiness, right? Of having a family.[75]

While other objects in a house such as couches, tables, and lamps are mass-produced, family photographs are different from one family to another, displaying moments that only the house's dwellers participated in. Therefore, the photographs of the dwellers displayed around different house rooms also create a unique domestic space. In her study of the practice of family

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[74] Maria Cardoso Lima, WhatsApp message to the author, August 03, 2021.
"Quando eu vou rezar, eu falo o nome de [todos os santos] para eu poder pedir o que eu quero. [Por exemplo], Sagrado Coração de Jesus, Jesus das Santas Chagas, Nossa Senhora da Conceição Aparecida, Nossa Senhora de Fátima, Santa Edwiges, protetora dos endividados, São José, Divino Espírito Santo, Pai Eterno... peço por [todos os santos] e falo por [todos da família]." Translated by the author.

[75] Maria Suely Barbosa Brito, interview by the author through Zoom, October 07, 2020.
"A história de uma casa quem faz são os moradores, na minha visão. Então, nada melhor do que as pessoas que fizeram a história da casa estarem ali [nas fotografias]. Eu acho muito, muito, muito interessante isso. Muito legal. Eu gosto. Eu acho bonito. Para gente mesmo que fica olhando [as fotografias], dá aquela nostalgiazinha, mas aquela felicidade, né? De ter a família." Translated by the author.

photographs, philosopher Gillian Rose remarks that "putting photographs in lots of different places in a house is one way in which all but one of my interviewees transformed a house into a homely space."[76] Family photographs thus depict the spaces of the home and transform those same spaces as decorations. Rose writes that photographs can "turn a flat or a caravan or a house into a home."[77] In this sense, family photographs are tools that transform a space into an emotional *place* for those who share that space.

My interviews with the Barbosa Cardoso family show that a family's story is expressed through the domestic vernacular architecture of their house and in the material and immaterial elements within it, such as their photographs and objects. Altogether, this set of experiences, memories, and features represent aspects that can also exist in the houses of other Brazilian families living inside or outside Brazil, as it is the case of expatriate families experiencing and creating dwelling environments elsewhere.

However, what happens when Brazilians, for different reasons, move from Brazil to other places around the world? In his works, Yi-Fu Tuan used the term "topophilia" (literally: the love, *philia,* of place, *topos*) to describe "the affective bond between people and place or setting."[78] He believed that the perception of a space is directly affected by one's cultural background. According to Tuan, "No two social groups make precisely the same evaluation of the environment. The scientific view itself is culture-bound—one possible perspective among many."[79] Thus, how can a Brazilian family living outside Brazil bring aspects of its Brazilian identity into its domestic space in a new country? Oral interviews conducted with one family living in Greater Montreal, Canada, provides insight into this question.

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76 Rose*, Doing Family Photography*, 41-2.
77 Ibid, 45.
78 Tuan, *Topophilia*, 4.
79 Ibid, 5.

Case Study Two - Natalia Matheus Oviedo Dias e Thiago Lima Martins

In this chapter, I discuss the case of Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz and Thiago Lima Martins, a Brazilian couple who moved to Montreal in 2011 and live in Saint-Hubert, Longueuil, a suburb of greater Montreal. Before I start discussing Diaz and Martins' case, it is essential to clarify that the building typologies and the well-established rental culture in Montreal do not allow for the same kinds of autoconstruction that I presented in the first chapter. Thus, while the first case study deals with matters relating mainly to vernacular architecture, this chapter will primarily explore material culture.[80] As Diaz and Martins could not build their home as the Barbosa Cardoso family did, I will analyze how the Brazilian couple reshaped a house in Montreal to reproduce their own culture in order to create an affective relationship with their domestic environment.

Living in the Montreal Metropolitan Area, Canada

As in the first case study, I will start by briefly explaining the architecture in Saint-Hubert to give the broader context of Thiago Martins and Natalia Diaz' case, followed by a

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[80] Although my thesis does not address Montreal's vernacular architecture, I am aware of its architectural history and relevant literature. Some examples of works that are fundamental sources to discuss the unique aspect of vernacular architecture in Montreal: Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Eliot Perrin, "'It's Your City, Only You Can Save It!': Save Montreal's Grassroots Opposition to Urban Redevelopment," (Masters thesis, Concordia University, 2016); David B. Hanna, "Montreal, a City Built by Small Builders, 1867-1880," (PhD diss., McGill University, 1986); Marc-André Carignan, "Shoebox," 2020, in *Nos maisons*, produced by Savoir Media, video, 28:22, https://savoir.media/nos-maisons/clip/shoebox?fbclid=IwAR23u0N5sBOK3AtuaIHTRQoh4dnp81zQfwqEVXHaHWD6gNT-2CkBGXcaG88; Desmond Andrew Bliek and Pierre Gauthier, "Understanding the Built Form of Industrialization Along the Lachine Canal in Montreal," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 35, no.1 (Fall 2006): 3–17. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43560187; Gérard Morisset, *Quebec: The Country House = Québec: La Maison Rurale* (Québec: le Bureau, 1959); Gérard Morisset, *L'Architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Québec: Éditions du Pélican, 1980); Raymonde Gauthier et al., *L'architecture de Montréal* (Montréal: Libre Expression: Ordre des Archives du Québec, 1990); Lucie K. Morisset and Luc Noppen, "Le Bungalow Québécois, Monument Vernaculaire: La Naissance d'un Nouveau Type," *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec* 48, no. 133 (April 2004): 7–32; Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset, *Québec de Roc et de Pierres: La Capitale en Architecture* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Editions MultiMondes; Québec: Commission de la Capitale Nationale du Québec, 1998); Luc Noppen, Claude Paulette, and Michel Tremblay, *Québec: Trois Siècles d'Architecture* (Montréal: Libre expression, 1989); Yves Laframboise, *La Maison au Québec: de La Colonie Française au XXe Siècle* (Montréal: Éditions de l'Homme, 2001).

more intimate context of their home in a townhouse condominium. Saint-Hubert is one of the three boroughs in Longueuil, on the south shore of Montreal (Figs. 32 and 33). In the 1850s, the relationship between the South Shore and Montreal strengthened after the construction of the Victoria Bridge, which contributed to migration to the area. In the 1960s and 1970s, the urbanization of cities on the South Shore increased, creating a shift from the area's mainly rural character in the past.[81] In the 1990s, the construction of condominiums (*copropriété*) started to become popular in Saint-Hubert, replacing the old model of single-family houses. According to urban historians Francine Dansereau, Nevena Mitropolitska and Julie Archambault,

> The phenomenon is explained not so much by a slowdown in demand as by constraints on supply: insufficient building land, difficulty in providing the infrastructure necessary for development, high cost of materials and labor in periods of turmoil in the Montreal regional market, etc. In such a context, local authorities favor the intensification of land use, that is to say medium and high-density projects.[82]

Among the most popular house typologies present in the borough, townhouse condominiums[83] are affordable dwelling models for families looking to become homeowners. They are a type of medium-density housing that provides for 6 to 8 single-family attached homes in a single building. Overall, the architecture of townhouses has been adapted to the reality of very dense urban areas.

In contrast to the Brazilian houses Holston described in "Autoconstruction in Working-Class Brazil," the North American townhouse typically does not allow its occupants to express their tastes through creative approaches to the exterior (Fig. 34). Architect Andrea Wiegelmann

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81 Jean-Pierre Collin and Claire Poitras, "La fabrication d'un espace suburbain: La Rive-Sud de Montréal," *Recherches Sociographiques* 43, no. 2 (2002): 275-310.

82 Francine Dansereau, Nevena Mitropolitska, and Julie Archambault. *Le Logement des Aînés à Saint-Hubert* (Montréal: Institut National de La Recherche Scientifique/Urbanisation, Culture et Société, 2006), 25. "Le phénomène s'explique non pas tant par un essoufflement de la demande que par des contraintes sur l'offre: insuffisance de terrains à bâtir, difficulté de fournir les infrastructures nécessaires au développement, cherté des matériaux et de la main-d'œuvre en période d'effervescence du marché de la région montréalaise, etc. Dans un tel contexte, les autorités locales favorisent l'intensification de l'usage du sol, c'est-à-dire les projets à moyenne et forte densité." Translated by the author.

83 Townhouse condominiums are also known as terraced houses, row houses or *Maison de Ville*.

explains that this architectural type is "integrated into a single ensemble through a uniform structuring of the façades. A common façade design is also possible, which means the individual house is then no longer recognizable as such."[84] In addition, several condos also have by-laws about what is permissible in relation to areas outside the house. Furthermore, there are specific buildings codes and norms that are in place in Canada, which makes autoconstruction much more difficult.[85] In this sense, townhouse residents rely mainly on interior decoration to display the family's taste and preferences that they cannot show on the façade. Recently, construction companies have started offering buyers the opportunity to choose some of the house's interior features to promote some small-scale architectural autonomy for these families. By forming partnerships with other companies (e.g., flooring companies), these construction companies allow the buyers to choose some details in order to promote a sense of agency in the personalization and construction of their home without affecting structural features or other large-scale characteristics. The Quartier Vauquelin-2, in Saint-Hubert, Longueuil, is an example of this type of housing practice.[86] It is in this area that Natalia Diaz and Thiago Martins live.

Like other Brazilian families at the beginning of the twenty-first century,[87] the couple decided to move from Salvador, Bahia, to Quebec when Martins received a job offer in Quebec. As Marcus Vinicius Fraga states in his master's thesis entitled "O Canadá na rota das migrações

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84 Andrea Wiegelmann, "Living in Terraced Housing," in *Semi-Detached and Terraced Houses*, ed. Christian Schittich (Berlin: Birkhäuser, 2006), 9.

85 Canadian Commission on Building and Fire Codes, *National Building Code of Canada: 2015* (Ottawa: National Research Council of Canada, 2015).

86 The Groupe Sovima (Sovima Habitations) is the construction company responsible for the Quartier Vauquelin-2, in Saint-Hubert, Longueuil. The company bought the area close to the Montreal Saint-Hubert Longueuil Airport in 2012. It assumed the development of the streets that gave access to about 500 condos of eight-plexes of different sizes. Over the years, new families continue to move into finished apartments while the construction company continues to build other units; MTL Skyline, "Le Quartier Vauquelin 2, un Projet de 552 Condos à Longueuil," Skyscraper Page, last modified December 13, 2012, http://skyscraperpage.com/forum/showpost.php?s=ec948ce4b85de7c95bf918b3eb8f45dd&p=5935964&postcount=148.

87 Marcus Vinicius Fraga, "O Canadá na Rota das Migrações Internacionais: Brasileiros em Quebec," (Masters thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2013); Rosana Barbosa, "Brazilian Immigration to Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 41, no. 1–2, (2009): 215-225.

internacionais: brasileiros em Quebec," some push factors in Brazil allied with pull factors in Quebec contributed to the migration of many Brazilians to the Canadian province. Among the push factors, Fraga mentions the increase of urban violence in Brazilian cities in the second half of the twentieth century due to the growing population and lack of social equality.[88] Fraga mentions the talks that the Quebec provincial government held in Brazilian cities in Brazil to attract French-speaking immigrants to the province as pull factors.[89] After considering these factors, Diaz and Martins decided to start their lives as a family in Canada. Martins was the first to arrive in Quebec in May 2011. As Diaz was completing her undergraduate degree in Salvador, she only moved to Quebec in August 2012. Two months later, they got married in Montreal.

For the first year in Quebec, Diaz and Martins lived in Sainte-Thérèse, the same city where Martins worked (Figs. 35 and 36). In the following year, when Martins started to work in Montreal, they moved to an apartment in LaSalle (Fig. 37 and 38). Both places were 4 ½ apartments[90] with no backyards. Although the couple had bought some furniture to furnish both houses, they did not attempt any modifications to these dwellings. According to Martins, they decided not to execute any changes since they knew they would eventually move out. They applied this decision even to features in the house that they were not satisfied with. The couple remembers,

> MARTINS: When we moved [to the house in Saint-Thérèse,] there were curtains. We could change them, but if [the house] already had some, why would we change them?

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88 From 1950 to 1975, the Latin-American population living in the city increased from 39% to 54%. While the rapid urbanization in Brazil brought the modernization of certain sectors of the population in some large urban centers, public policies neglected other areas, mainly on the outskirts of cities. Thus, the inefficiency of Brazilian politics in providing its citizens with quality public services (health, education, housing, transport and public safety) more equitably to everyone contributed to the increase in urban violence in the country. Fraga, "O Canadá na Rota das Migrações Internacionais."

89 Since 2004, the Quebec government has implemented talks in different cities in Brazil to attract immigrants to the province. One of the reasons for this campaign was to increase the French-speaking population in Canada. To achieve this, the Quebec government also invests in free French courses for immigrants with the aim of further integration with French-Canadian society. Fraga, "O Canadá na Rota das Migrações Internacionais."

90 A Montreal apartment is equivalent to a 2-bedroom apartment.

> They were even kind of ugly... We moved to rented houses that had good paintings. One, the LaSalle's one, had a room that ... what was the colour? Was it red?
> DIAZ: I think it was a child's bedroom that was blue and orange.
> MARTINS: Yes, it was.
> DIAZ: We did not even have a child. And we didn't really like [the colours], right?
> MARTINS: Yes. But it was the other bedroom. It was not the main one. Then we did not even bother, because we knew it was temporary.[91]

From the couple's decision, we can witness in practice what Glassie and Holston observe regarding the absence of renovations in cases where the residents do not own the house they inhabit. In Glassie's *Vernacular Architecture* and Holston's "Autoconstruction in Working-Class Brazil," both authors argue that renters tend to believe that it is not reasonable to make changes in a place that is not theirs. Glassie presents the case of members of a farming community of Ballymenone, Ireland. He affirms that only after they won the right to the property did the farmers in Ballymenone decide that "it was worth their effort to rebuild the walls in firm materials and to make the interior more comfortable."[92] In his article about working-class housing in Brazil, Holston affirms Glassie's argument, declaring that working-class dwellers living in Brazilian peripheries are afraid to renovate or expand their houses until they own the property where they live.[93] The willingness to start adapting the home they inhabit in a way that could reflect their tastes and cultural background occurred in 2014 when Diaz and Martins moved to the house they bought in the Quartier Vauquelin-2.

House #4064

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91 Thiago Lima Martins and Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 10, 2020. "Martins: Quando a gente se mudou já tinha cortinas. A gente podia trocar, mas se já tinha, porque é que a gente ia trocar? Era até meio feinha... A gente pegou casas alugadas que tinham pinturas boas. Uma, a de LaSalle, tinha um quarto que.... era o quê? Era vermelha?
Diaz: Eu acho que era um quarto de criança que era azul e laranja.
Martins: Era
Diaz: Então, a gente nem tinha filho e também não era muito o nosso gosto assim, né?
Martins: Era. Mas era o outro quarto, não era o principal. Aí a gente também nem se incomodou, porque a gente sabia que era temporário." Translated by the author.

92 Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*, 138.

93 Holston, "Autoconstruction," 447-465.

Diaz and Martins moved to the suburbs of Montreal when the developers were building the first houses in the neighbourhood. By visiting and taking photos of the showroom (Figs. 39 and 40), the couple decided how they would organize their home before it was built. After visiting the showroom, Diaz and Martins went to different stores with partnerships with the building company. They could choose cabinets, tiles, countertops for the kitchen, and other details such as the chandeliers and the finish of the footers and doorknobs. Along with the choice of materials, the couple took advantage of Martins' experience with graphic design to explore different organizational options and to predict how the house would look with the materials they chose. Figure 41 shows Martins' design for the house's kitchen. After Diaz and Martins made their selections, the building company finished their home (Figs. 42 and 43).

Five months later, the couple moved into #4064 (Fig. 44). When they arrived in the house, Diaz was pregnant with their first child, Daniel, who was born three months after they moved. Despite some differences in the main façade (such as the roof shapes and coating materials), the houses in the area, like townhouses in general, follow a similar pattern (Figs. 45 and 46). There are eight dwellings in each townhouse (Fig. 47). The corner houses have entrances on the townhouse's side (Fig. 48), while the central house has access through the staircase in the middle of the cluster. The upper dwellings have two floors, while the residences in the semi-basement have one. Since the buildings in the area are not attached to each other a single row, they have gardens on their side (see fig. 48). Because Diaz and Martins live in a townhouse, they cannot realize large-scale renovations in their residence, even though they own the property. They explain,

> MARTINS: We have a very thick book... A manual related to the limitations of what can be done related to the house. Because there is a co-ownership...

> DIAZ: Yes, mainly external renovations, we need to consult with other residents. A meeting to take a vote, you know? For everyone to agree.[94]

By analyzing Diaz' and Martins' explanations concerning their permissions and limitations when it comes to renovation, it is possible to see that the couple does not have as much power of decision as the Barbosa Cardoso family has in their house. Because both cases represent different housing typologies (independent house and townhouse), each family's restrictions regarding renovations are different. While the Barbosa Cardoso family can make changes that involve building an entirely new floor, Diaz and Martins need to consult a manual to make sure that they can execute their ideas for their own house. Internal large-scale renovation, such as the demolition of a wall, for example, is not possible. These restraints cause dissatisfaction that Diaz and Martins described when Diaz showed me her drawing of the house's floor plans, as I explain in the next section.

Floor Plans as Memory Maps

Diaz and Martins' home is the upper unit in their townhouse's corner (dwelling 01 in figure 47). Diaz' floor plan in Figure 49 shows how the corner entrance leads to the living room on its right and the dining room on its left, with a wall separating both rooms. The living room gives access to the bathroom and the laundry room, while the dining room provides access to the kitchen and the backyard with a deck. In the living room, the staircase leads to the second floor. On the second floor (Fig. 50), there is a bathroom, two small bedrooms, and one bigger bedroom. The couple sleeps in the bigger bedroom, while their children Daniel and Ana Luisa[95] occupy the other rooms.

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[94] Thiago Lima Martins and Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 10, 2020. "Martins: a gente tem um livro bem grosso... Um manual relacionado às limitações do que pode ser feito relacionado à casa aqui. Porque existe uma copropriedade...
Diaz: É, principalmente as reformas externas, a gente precisa consultar os outros moradores. Uma reunião para fazer uma votação, sabe? Para todos estarem de acordo." Translated by the author.

[95] Ana Luisa was born two years after the family moved to the house.

Even though their house is the biggest unit in the complex, the couple is not satisfied with its internal organization on the second floor. The lack of a bedroom with a private bathroom is also an inconvenience for them. They also think that the distribution of the bedrooms could be better. According to Martins, while the couple's bedroom is too big, the children's bedrooms are too small; there is not enough room for a play area. "It was better to take [our bedroom] and make two rooms there, and we would stay in the space that today is the two rooms... But [the construction company] said we could not just take that wall [between the two small bedrooms] off to put another wall in the [bigger bedroom]."[96] So, if the couple can realize neither external renovations nor large-scale renovations in the interior of their house, how can they create an affective bond with their domestic space as the Barbosa Cardoso family did with their home?

To embody their tastes and meet their needs within the house, Diaz and Martins modified some of its features. The most striking example of this modification is the renovation they made in the bathroom on the first floor (Fig. 51). They decided to apply a wooden panel on one of the bathroom walls after looking for some ideas. Martins cut and applied the wooden panel himself. This type of renovation, according to Martins, was not possible in the other houses they lived in before. Another element that the family adapted in the house was the backyard (Fig. 52). Besides surrounding it with a fence to obtain privacy, Martins rented a stone cutting machine to build a flower bed in the backyard area (Fig. 53). However, we cannot say that these interventions are enough for the family to develop strong ties with #4064 house. The emergence of connections between the family and this space happened when they started to take care of it. By taking care of the garden, the family transformed this house's spot into a

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96 Thiago Lima Martins, interview by the author through Zoom, August 10, 2020.
"Era melhor pegar [nosso quarto] e fazer dois quartos ali e a gente ficar no espaço que hoje são os dois quartos... Só que não, disseram que a gente não podia simplesmente tirar aquela parede [entre os dois quartos pequenos] para colocar outra parede [no quarto maior]." Translated by the author.

homely space, as this activity is responsible for establishing new memories among the family members. At the same time, it also contributes to evoking old memories from Diaz' life while living in Brazil.

In her master's thesis entitled "Arabic Speaking Objects: A Collaborative Research-Creation Project Exploring Recent Immigrants' Narratives of Displacement and Settlement," the visual artist and researcher Emma Haraké discusses the role of objects in "[triggering] emotions, nostalgia, and memories"[97] to define the personal identity of each of her interviewees. At the same time, people can also develop habits in everyday life to connect someone with a faraway place or recreate old habits. French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard explains, "over and beyond our memories, the house we were born in is physically inscribed in us (...) the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting."[98] In Diaz' case, she spent about ten years living in a *sítio*[99] in her childhood. Regarding her memories in this *sítio*, she explains that,

> [Living in a *sítio*] made a real, lasting impression in my life because I spent a lot of time in there… [The neighbours used to] exchange fruits, right? 'Oh, I have a lot of coconuts here.' Then they would give [them to each other] ... I really like *sítio*. Trees, fruits, I like a life in a *sítio*. I miss it because here there is a climate limitation. We cannot have a garden, a tree that bears fruit during winter.[100]

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97 Haraké, "Arabic Speaking Objects," 95.

98 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1994).

99 In Brazilian Portuguese, we have the words *sítio* and *fazenda* that are both translated to "farm" in English. However, these two words have different meanings. A *sítio* is a smaller place (between 12 and 97 hectares) that owners can use for farming or leisure. It is usually a house with some green area (usually many trees) surrounding it. In some cases, a family that owns a *sítio* goes to it only during weekends or vacation (they have employees that live and take care of the place when they are not there). In others, the owner plants on their land only enough to support their family (subsistence agriculture). A *fazenda* is a bigger place (with an area bigger than 97 hectares) which the owner uses for the practice of agriculture, fish farming and livestock. A *fazenda* can have other buildings in its land beside the main house, such as areas used for cattle breeding or for growing different species of fruits and vegetables. Therefore, I decided to maintain the term in Portuguese in Diaz' narrative to highlight this difference. Andréa Oliveira, "Descubra as Diferenças Entre Chácara, Sítio e Fazenda," Cursos CPT, accessed July 27, 2021, https://www.cpt.com.br/artigos/descubra-as-diferencas-entre-chacara-sitio-e-fazenda.

100 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 10, 2020.
"[Morar no sítio] me marcou muito, porque eu passei um bom tempo [nele]... [vizinho] trocava fruta, né? 'Ah, eu tenho muito coco aqui.' Aí davam [uns aos outros] ... Eu gosto muito de sítio assim. Árvores, frutas, uma vida assim de sítio eu gosto. Eu sinto falta porque aqui tem a limitação do clima. A gente não consegue ter um jardim, uma árvore que dê fruto durante o inverno." Translated by the author.

Diaz' longing for this place, together with the need she felt to take care of the house's backyard, contributed to creating a family hobby in which the children participate. "While we are outside [taking care of the plants], they are with us too, riding their bicycles in the parking lot... or they also want to move the soil or water [the plants]. They are always close... These simple things remain a lot in memory."[101] Therefore, this practice mimics Diaz' memory in the *sítio*. In addition, it also helps Diaz to create new memories by reproducing part of her experience with her children. And how can the family embody these moments to represent the memories they forged together? In the case of gardening, different species that flourish in the flower bed are responsible for illustrating these moments. However, these are ephemeral elements that come and go according to the changes in the seasons. How then can the family embody their shared cultural family memories in a domestic space through permanent features and develop affective ties with that space? According to Glassie, "material culture is culture made material; it is the inner wit at work in the world. Beginning necessarily with things, but not ending with them, the study of material culture uses objects to approach human thought and action."[102] In this sense, I will discuss the objects the family brought from Brazil to decorate the #4064 house in the next section. As we will see, these objects act not only as a depiction of the family's Brazilian identity; they are symbols of the memories they create together as a family.

Within the House: The Role of Brazilian Material Culture as Agent of Memory

Besides the small-scale renovations and gardening practices, objects that the family brought with them from Brazil to represent their culture transforms this Montreal apartment. In *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Tuan explains that the way humans

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101 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 10, 2020. "Enquanto a gente [está] lá fora [cuidando das plantas], eles [estão] com a gente também, brincando de bicicleta ali no estacionamento... ou [estão] querendo também mexer na terra ou regar [as plantas]. Estão sempre perto.... Essas coisas assim, simples, ficam muito mesmo na memória." Translated by the author.

102 Glassie, *Material Culture*, 41.

organize their rooms indicates the importance that objects have in their daily life. When decorating their home, Diaz and Martins use several objects they brought from different trips they made to Brazil. According to Rose, the homely aspect of a place is not limited to the interior of a house but "often [stretches] across long distances."[103] In this sense, some of Diaz and Martins' decorative objects, such as souvenirs from Brazil, reproduce characteristics of Brazilian culture. Diaz explains,

> [Martins] came to [Canada] first, and I arrived a few months later. And I remember that I packed my suitcase. I got presents, lots of presents. And I took a lot of things that my mom did not use [anymore]. Because, as I said, for me, it had value. She painted [them]. [I brought some] souvenirs from home, from [my] childhood too. So, what I managed to get, I got. [I brought some] tablecloths too, because I [went] to Fortaleza and there is a market[104] there, so I bought those Richelieu towels...[105] We want [our house] to look like this, like our culture, you know? We think it is beautiful.[106]

By choosing to use these Brazilian objects to decorate their home in Montreal, the family creates spaces that are tied with their memories lived in their homeplace. Furthermore, they create a unique ambience that cannot appear on their façade. Among the objects Diaz brought on her first trip from Brazil to Canada is a vase for flowers (Fig 54) and a traditional tea set (Fig. 55) her grandmother painted. Because of the sentimental value the tea set has, Diaz usually only uses it when she receives visitors at home. Therefore, although these elements have no physical characteristics that relate them directly to Brazilian culture, they are vital in bringing forth Diaz' memories of her origins.

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103 Rose, *Doing Family Photography,* 42.

104 The Fortaleza Central Market is a building in the capital of Ceara with stores that sell several artisan's works such as leather goods, textiles, jewelry and souvenirs.

105 Widely known in Brazil, the northeastern handicraft of embroiderers is very popular with Brazilian and international tourists. One of the most well-known embroidery techniques in the Northeast of Brazil is the Richelieu embroidery, which embroiderers apply to towels, clothes, tablecloths and bedspreads.

106 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 28, 2020.
"[Martins] veio para [o Canadá] primeiro e eu vim alguns meses depois. E eu lembro que eu enchi a mala. Ganhei presentes, muitos presentes. E peguei muita coisa que minha mãe não usava [mais]. Porque, como eu falei, para mim, tinha um valor. Ela que pintou. [Eu trouxe algumas] lembranças de casa, [da minha] infância também. Então o que eu consegui trazer, eu trouxe. [Eu trouxe] toalhas de mesa também, que eu cheguei a ir a Fortaleza e tem um mercado lá, aí comprei aquelas toalhas de Richelieu... A gente quer que [nossa casa] tenha essa cara, da nossa cultura, sabe? A gente acha bonito." Translated by the author.

In addition to familial objects, the house also displays items directly connected with different aspects of Brazilian culture. Over the years, every time they travelled to Brazil, the family bought these objects back to Montreal to decorate their home. These objects, which the couple did not have while living in Sainte-Thérèse and LaSalle, help create a unique ambiance in different rooms of their house in Saint-Hubert (figs 56 and 57). One example is the couple's *cabaça*[107] doll which they have displayed in their home (Fig. 58). Brazilian culture is entangled with Indigenous and African[108] traditions. Aspects of these cultures surface in Brazilian religion, crafts, and cuisine. The *cabaça* embodies this cultural syncretism. According to Luiza Barros Snege, educator and producer of the cultural NGO Macamba N'goma, the *cabaça* "'is present in African tales, *quilombolas*[109] and Indigenous creation myths, which associate the beginning of life with the feminine. This element is used by these people as objects of everyday life, of the kitchen, as handicrafts, musical instruments, religious [items], toys and other infinite uses.'"[110]

Another striking element that the couple used as a decorative object is the clay dolls representing Lampião and Maria Bonita (Fig. 59). Lampião was the leader of *Cangaço*, a term that refers to the practice of banditism, very common in the Northeast of Brazil between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The *cangaceiros* fought against the government for land, resisting the misery in the Brazilian Northeast. Although the Brazilian

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107 Translation: gourd.

108 Portuguese colonizers trafficked people from different parts of Africa to use as slave labour in Brazil. Albuquerque and Filho, *Uma História do Negro no Brasil*.

109 *Quilombola* is a term that refers to slaves in Brazil that ran away from their slavers to the Quilombo, the maroon settlement in Brazil. Albuquerque and Filho, *Uma História do Negro no Brasil*; Clóvis Moura, *Dicionário da Escravidão Negra no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2004).

110 Luiza Barros Snege, quoted in Sesc São Paulo - Editorial "Uma Reverência às Origens Africanas e Indígenas," *Sesc São Paulo*, February 05, 2019, https://www.sescsp.org.br/online/artigo/12955_UMA+REVERENCIA+AS+ORIGENS+AFRICANAS+E+INDIGENAS.
"está presente em contos africanos, quilombolas e também em mitos indígenas sobre a criação do mundo, o início da vida, sendo muito associada ao feminino. Essa matéria é utilizada por esses povos como objetos do cotidiano, da cozinha, como artesanatos, instrumentos musicais, [itens] religiosos, brinquedos entre outros infinitos usos." Translated by the author.

government saw the *cangaceiros* as criminals, many Northeasterners, mostly from low-income families, saw them as heroes.[111] Lampião and his partner (the first woman to join the group), Maria Bonita (Fig. 60), are such striking characters in northeastern Brazilian culture that crafters still represent them in handicrafts.

Some objects that represent both Catholic and Candomblé[112] religions among the decorative items in the house. One of them is a statue of Iemanjá, an *orixá*[113] associated with rivers in African-based religions (Fig. 61). During African slavery in Brazil (from the first half of the 16th century to 1888), white families prohibited their slaves from practicing their own religions, forcing the slaves to convert to Catholicism. In order to continue worshiping their deities, slaves wore images of Catholic saints while practicing their faith. As a result of this religious syncretism, Candomblé emerged. Among the various *orixás* in Candomblé, people usually associate Iemanjá with Our Lady of Conception or Virgin Mary from Catholicism.[114] It is the most revered *orixá* in Bahia, where Diaz and Martins come from.[115]

In addition to objects purchased from artisanal shops, Diaz and Martins also have some works by Brazilian artists, such as Romero Brito and Chico Liberato. Romero Britto is a Brazilian artist from Recife, Pernambuco. He is a painter, serigrapher, and sculptor well known for using vibrant colours and bold patterns in his works (Fig. 62). Chico Liberato is a Brazilian plastic artist and filmmaker from the city of Salvador in the state of Bahia. His works refer to *sertanejos*,[116] the culture of Indigenous and Black Brazilians, as well as to religiosity (Fig. 63).

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111 Billy Jaynes Chandler, *The Bandit King: Lampião of Brazil* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1978).

112 Candomblé is an African diasporic religion that slaves developed in Brazil. Albuquerque and Filho, *Uma História do Negro no Brasil*; Moura, *Dicionário da Escravidão Negra no Brasil*.

113 *Orixás* are deities of several religions in the African diaspora, among them Candomblé in Brazil. Albuquerque and Filho, *Uma História do Negro no Brasil*; Moura, *Dicionário da Escravidão Negra no Brasil*.

114 Manuel Quitério de Azevedo, *O culto a Maria no Brasil: História e Teologia* (Aparecida: Santuário, 2001).

115 Waldemar Valente, *Sincretismo Religioso Afro-Brasileiro* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976).

116 *Sertanejo* is a term that refers to people who lives in *sertão*, a general term for rural backlands in Brazil.

Unlike the items Diaz's grandmother painted, these Brazilian objects are not unique since Diaz and Martins bought them in souvenir places where there are several others similar to them. Nevertheless, they represent a different culture while living in a Montreal house, at the same time that they have a vital significance in their owners' lives because of the memories of home and culture attached to them. In relation to her own research on object attachment, Haraké states,

> My participants agreed that ordinary objects produced for mass consumption acted as a unique reservoir of memories or "living archives" (Dunya, personal communication, February 27, 2018) which helped them stay connected to people and distant countries despite the rupture between one's past and present.[117]

In this way, it is possible to conclude that an object's importance is more related to the meaning it holds or the people whose memory it summons, rather than the physical object itself. These items are vital to connecting people living away from their homeland, relatives, and friends. As a form of material culture, the objects work as reminders of loved ones, as well as different places and periods of their life. By analyzing the objects Diaz and Martins chose to decorate their house with, it is possible to observe the connection between the experiences they accumulate in their lives and the items they hold in their homes. As Diaz affirms, "We like that the objects of the house have a history."[118] In the same way that we store memories in our minds, the house's center is also a holder of memories that family members experience and associate with distinct feelings. Bloomer and Moore propose that, "rituals over time leave their impression on the walls and forms of the interior and endow the rooms with artifacts which give us access to previous experiences."[119] This way, the objects in Diaz and Martins' house help them embody the Brazilian identity they hold and act as holders of the memories they created while visiting Brazil in their vacations.

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117 Haraké, "Arabic Speaking Objects," 86.

118 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, August 28, 2020. "A gente gosta que os objetos de casa tenham uma história." Translated by the author.

119 Bloomer and Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture,* 50.

Nonetheless, although the Brazilian objects that decorate the house contribute to display the family's Brazilian identity and to turn its interior unique, they only embody the moments the family lived in Brazil, not in Montreal. Furthermore, these are items that the family could bring with them to any other house in the world, where they would do the same work of displaying their identity and family memories. It could be argued, then, that it is not precisely these objects that create the affective bond between the family and the #4064 house itself. What else can contribute to creating lasting ties between people and their domestic space? Over the past six years, visits from Brazilian relatives were essential for building important memories that nourish their affection for the house. For Diaz and Martins, the most significant memory they have of their Montreal home is related to the birth of their children.[120] On both occasions, Brazilian relatives came to help the couple in their first days of raising their children (Figs. 64 and 65). According to Diaz, "these moments, they are very much alive in my memory. [Mostly] the arrival of the children, because they were born and their first home is this one."[121] Besides the children's arrival, other moments that also created meaningful moments for the family were celebrations of the children's birthdays with friends and relatives (Fig. 66). Occasions like these are also extremely valuable for them because they mark the first time Diaz and Martins can welcome their guests as a family in the first house they have ever bought. The lack of freedom to change the home as they might wish gives the couple a reason to think about moving to another place, the memories they constructed together as a family in this dwelling make them want to stay in it. As Diaz proposes,

> We even thought about moving, right? To have a bigger house... Then I see the photograph of the homes [for sale] and think about [our relationship with this house]. Because I like my house. Precisely because we built it, we chose the footer, you know? Doorknob. Everything like that... So, it's our taste, you know, it has our face. And then, in a house that is already built, I think it will start to have [more of] our look with

120 Daniel was born three months after they moved to the house. Ana Luisa was born two years later.

121 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, September 11, 2020. "Esses momentos, eu tenho bem vivo na minha memória. [Principalmente a] chegada dos meninos, porque eles nasceram e a primeira casa deles é essa aqui." Translated by the author.

> [renovations], but it will take time, it has a cost. So, I keep thinking about this too. Because here, from the beginning, it is [made] our way.[122]

For Martins, the memories people built together as a family are what bestow value to a place. He explains,

> More potent than anything decorative are the experiences lived in the house... Sometimes a family from the hinterlands of Bahia, where there is not much, [has] just a little house, with a clay filter, a small mattress... And yet, they have a lot of memories. They have a lot of affective connections with the place. Because I think, what builds [this connection] the most is the family's experience. The person's experience in the environment in which they are. And then there are things that they do that strengthen [this connection]. That makes them expand a little more the relationships they may have with the place they live. If they want to put a different wall and are married. And they are deciding together, they are thinking together. Then there they are already creating a story... Then this wall is part of [this story]. It is there. It is decorative, built. But the base is the story that was made to achieve the wall... I think what remains the most is the person's experience.[123]

Diaz and Martins' opportunity to have a semi-active role in shaping the architecture of their house strengthens their bonds with the place. Furthermore, the objects and other decorative features the couple brought in Brazil are crucial to the expression of who they are and where they came from. In addition, this material culture also evokes the memories that the family has built over the years. This case study has shown that the element responsible for developing the most substantial connection between a family and their house is the creation of memories, which make the house a home.

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122 Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, interview by the author through Zoom, September 11, 2020.
"A gente já pensou até em se mudar, né? Para ter uma casa maior... Aí eu vejo a fotografia das casas [à venda] e penso nisso. Porque eu gosto da minha casa. Justamente porque a gente construiu, a gente escolheu o rodapé, sabe? A maçaneta. Tudo assim... Então, é o nosso gosto, né, tem a nossa cara. E aí, numa casa que já está pronta, eu acho que ela vai começar a ter a nossa cara com as construções, mas isso vai levar um tempo, tem um custo. Então, eu fico pensando nisso também. Porque aqui, desde o início é do nosso jeito." Translated by the author.

123 Thiago Lima Martins, interview by the author through Zoom, September 14, 2020.
"Mais forte do que qualquer coisa que seja decorativa, são as experiências vividas na casa... Às vezes uma família do sertão lá da Bahia, onde não tem muita coisa, [tem] só uma casinha mesmo, com filtro de barro, um colchãozinho... E ainda assim, tem muita memória, tem muita ligação afetiva com o local. Porque, eu acho que, o que mais constrói [essa ligação] é a vivência da família. A vivência da pessoa no ambiente que tá. E aí tem coisas que ela vai fazendo que fortalece [essa ligação]. Que faz ela expandir um pouco mais essas relações que pode ter com o local que mora. Se ela tá ali querendo colocar uma parede diferente e ela é casada, e eles tão decidindo juntos, tão pensando juntos, então ali já tão fazendo uma história... Aí a parede faz parte [dessa história]. Ela tá ali, é uma decoração, construída. Mas a base mesmo é a história que foi feita para chegar na parede... Eu acho que o que mais fica é a vivência da pessoa." Translated by the author.

Conclusion

This thesis has analyzed vernacular architecture and decorative elements as symbols of taste, affection, and belonging to two Brazilian families living in and outside Brazil. By analyzing two cases with different architectural typologies and status in terms of the respective families spatial agency, or capacity to transform their space, I conclude that an assemblage of factors contributes to the feeling of affection a person or a family has for their house. These factors are associated with vernacular architecture, namely renovations, the integration of decorative objects, and the collective and individual creation of memories within the domestic space. In the case of the Barbosa Cardoso house, the family, owning the lot where they built their home, had complete freedom to construct the dwelling exactly as they wished and at their own pace. In a mutual relationship, the house in Fortaleza, Brazil, grew simultaneously with the family it shelters. In this sense, it changed to adapt to the different needs of the family. A front garden and a bedroom turned into a garage when the family bought a car, and an entirely new floor emerged to house bedrooms for the five children of the family.

Along with their neighbours, they experienced the growth and transformation of this community throughout the last sixty years, adapting their house to changes in the neighbourhood. By slowly building the #615 house only when they could save money to do so, using ideas they gathered from magazines or homes they visited to construct or adapt rooms in the house, the Barbosa Cardoso family created a unique example of vernacular architecture within the well-established typology. Together with the memories they gathered throughout the years living in the house, this agency of transformation granted the family a sense of affection and belonging to the area that contributes to their desire to never move to another place.

In Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz and Thiago Lima Martins' case, they cannot make major changes (such as removing or adding non-load bearing walls inside the house), even though they live in a home that they own, in which they had the power to choose some design elements. This partial spatial agency happens mainly because of the house typology they own. As they live in a townhouse development with seven other families, their home cannot grow with them as did #615 in the *Bairro de Fátima* case of the Barbosa Cardoso family. This co-ownership status means that the family has found other ways to transform their Canadian house into a home that displays Brazilian material culture and other objects that speak to their Brazilian origins.

At first, the stories presented in both chapters might seem very different from each other. The Barbosa Cardoso family built their house in Brazil based on their particular taste and needs. They modified and added rooms at will and at their own pace. Meanwhile, Diaz and Martins bought a pre-built house where they had some influence in its construction. Although they own the house, they cannot adapt it to their lifestyle through further building. What do these two families have in common, and what is the main factor that connects both stories? The first element that brings both cases together is the slow pace both families took to turn their houses into reflections of their identities. Just as the Barbosa Cardoso family slowly adapted their home to their needs, so too did Diaz and Martins not acquire all the objects they display in their place at once. Every time they travel back to Brazil to visit their family, they bring some items as *souvenirs*. When this happens, the family adjusts their interior decoration to give space to these *souvenirs* that reflect the new stories they share as a family. In addition, just like Diaz and Martins, the Barbosa Cardoso family also collects and displays objects in different rooms that help in telling their story. Whether it is a set of family photographs or objects acquired to represent Brazilian culture and origins, it is clear that objects are as important as the house's architectural elements in the story of these families.

Furthermore, an important element that is equally present in the two cases is the creation of memories tied with the establishment of both families in their respective houses. In the #615 house in Brazil, Maria Cardoso Lima and Aldery Barbosa Lima raised their five children with the support of Aldery's sister, Teinha. When they moved to #615 in 1968, their oldest child, Suely, was four years old. Altogether, the eight-member family grows old and creates memories with each other in the house boundaries. These memories forged within this building are essential to strengthening the bonds they have with this place. In the same way, Diaz and Martins started their family in house #4064, as they got married and started living together after they moved to Montreal. As a result, the couple's children have been born and raised in this house. In addition, for the first time in their lives, they own a home to which they can welcome friends and relatives from Brazil. Together, these factors have contributed to the development of these families' sense of affection for their homes.

My oral history interviews with two Brazilian families and my analysis of related photographs, and memory maps, bring me to conclude that vernacular practices in domestic space and the memories shared within such space contribute to developing the sense of belonging and affection for a specific house. Furthermore, my thesis has shown that practices concerning both self-built domestic vernacular architecture and pre-built domestic environments were vehicles for the spatial articulation of Brazilian identity whether living or not in Brazil. In my case study of the family living in Brazil, members expressed their identity through every part of their house, including the façade, having created a work of vernacular architecture from the ground up. In the case of the Brazilian family living outside Brazil, family members could articulate their Brazilian identity within and through their domestic space by decorating it with elements that represent their *brasilidade*. The family expressed this *brasilidade* by prioritizing the acquisition and display of cultural and familial artifacts in their pre-built, Canadian home. In both case studies, the family used material culture within their

domestic environments as a means of celebrating their identity, and embodying key, shared memories. The oral history interviews I conducted for this thesis were imperative to understand that while vernacular practices and material culture do help to generate a sense of attachment to a place, they are not the full explanation. Ultimately it is the memories shared between family members, the special moments marking key milestones, and the building and objects that contain these relationships and memories that are indispensable for developing the irreplaceable relationship between self and home.

Figures

Figure 1. Wanessa Cardoso, *Reproduction of El Pelo de Estrella (n.d.) by Joan Miró found in the house of the Barbosa Cardoso family*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 2. Unknown, *Ceará in Brazil*, October 18, 2011. Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ceara_in_Brazil.svg (accessed June 08, 2021).

Figure 3. Unknown, *Fortaleza in Ceara*, December 19, 2018. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brazil_Ceara_Fortaleza_location_map02.svg (accessed June 08, 2021).

Figure 4. Google Street View, *Door-and-window houses in Fortaleza*, Ceará, Source: Map data ©2020 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@-3.738779,-38.5362315,3a,75y,42.24h,89.72t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sY3Gf0RjcKvJrtlY4MU-KvQ!2e0!7i16384!8i8192?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed July 25, 2021).

Figure 5. Hélio Costa, *Rammed earth house in Coreaú, Ceara*, January 06, 2013, Digital Image. Source: Hélio Costa, https://heliocostacoreau.blogspot.com/2013/01/casa-de-taipa-entre-araquem-e-coreau.html (accessed June 08, 2021).

Figure 6. Google Street View, *Houses with front garden in Fortaleza, Ceará*, Source: Map data ©2012 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@-3.7469348,-38.5270516,3a,90y,263.98h,91.22t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1szx0Qe6yElit4Or1FtSkcAQ!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR (accessed June 08, 2021).

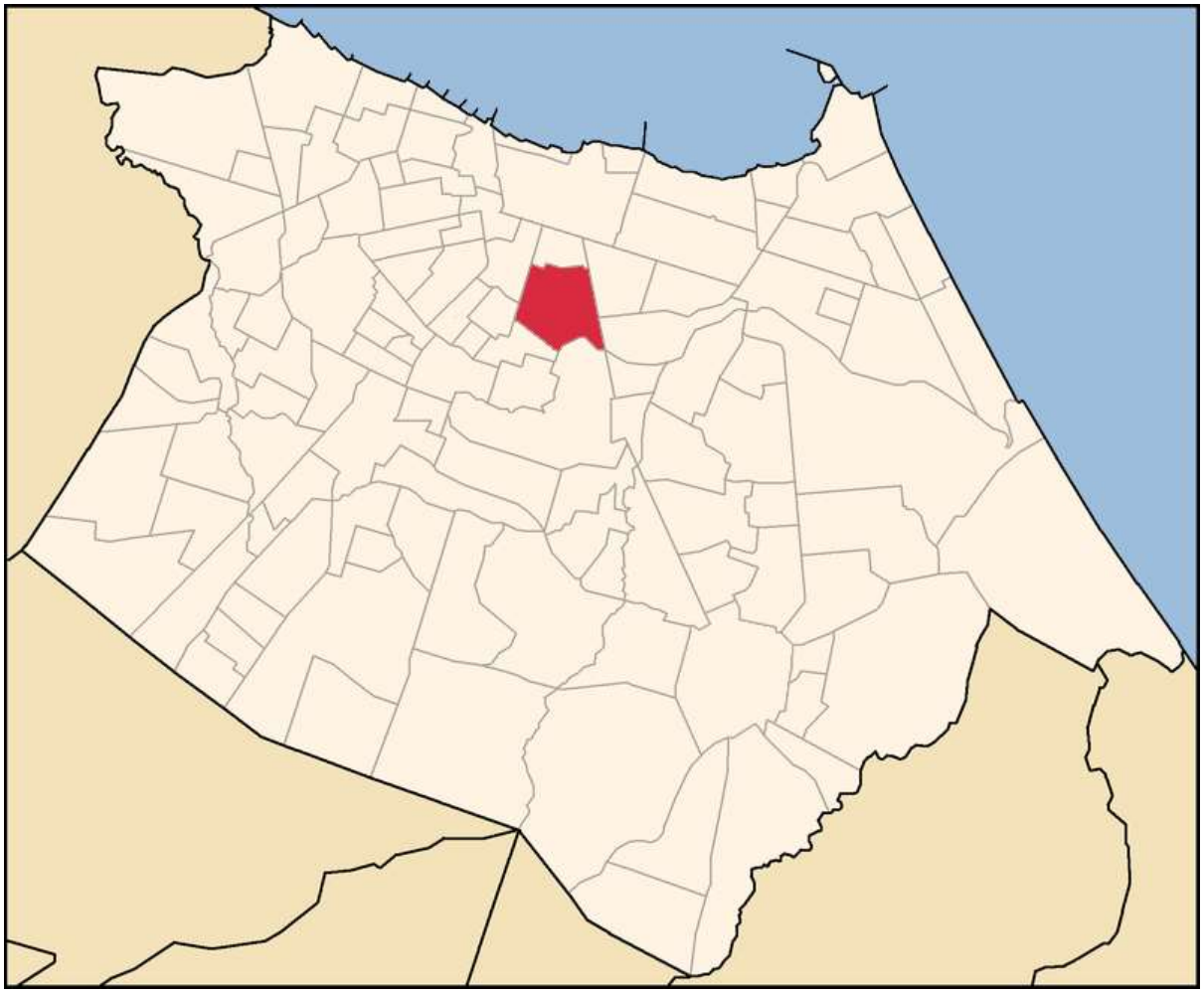

Figure 7. David Andrade, Bairro de Fátima *highlighted in the city of Fortaleza*, July 8, 2008. Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortaleza_bairro_Mucuripe.PNG (accessed 12 November 2019) (edited by the author).

Figure 8. Eric Barbosa Cardoso, *House #690 in Dom Sebastião Leme Street with a front garden*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2021. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 9. Google Street View, *House #574 in Dom Sebastião Leme Street with a front garden.* Source: Map data ©2012 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@-3.7466943,-38.526173,3a,51.2y,233.83h,82.33t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sdZTQ1hybQP0QlukUxhtdcA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656 (accessed June 08, 2021).

Figure 10. Google Street View, *Different façades on Dom Sebastião Leme Street*. Source: Map data ©2012 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@-3.746892,-38.5261401,3a,75y,208.13h,90.25t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1smYSoDQT8coXXiCJxB9RwZA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656 (accessed June 08, 2021).

Figure 11. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Façade of #615 Dom Sebastião Leme Street*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

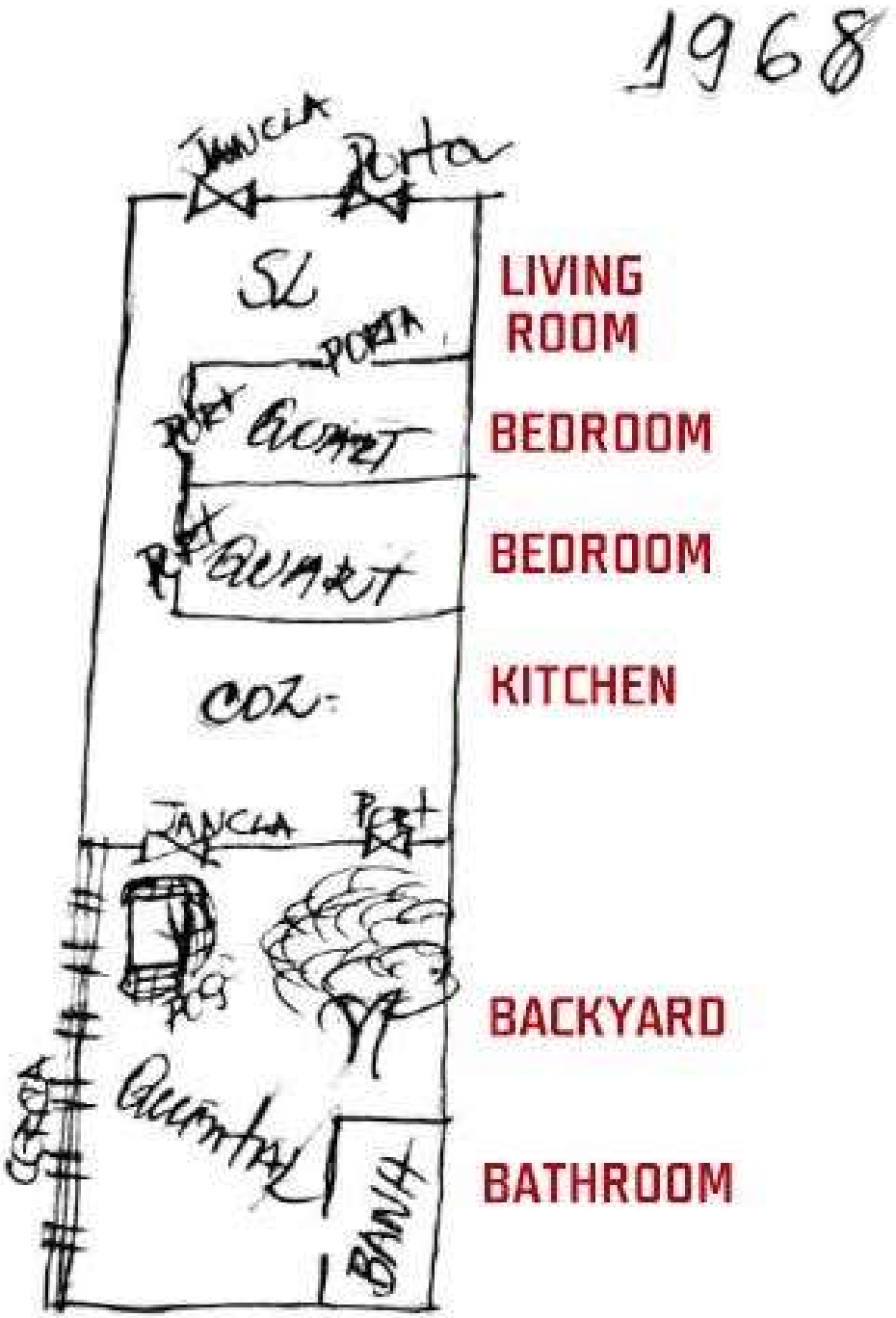

Figure 12. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Previous #615 house's floor plan in 1968*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

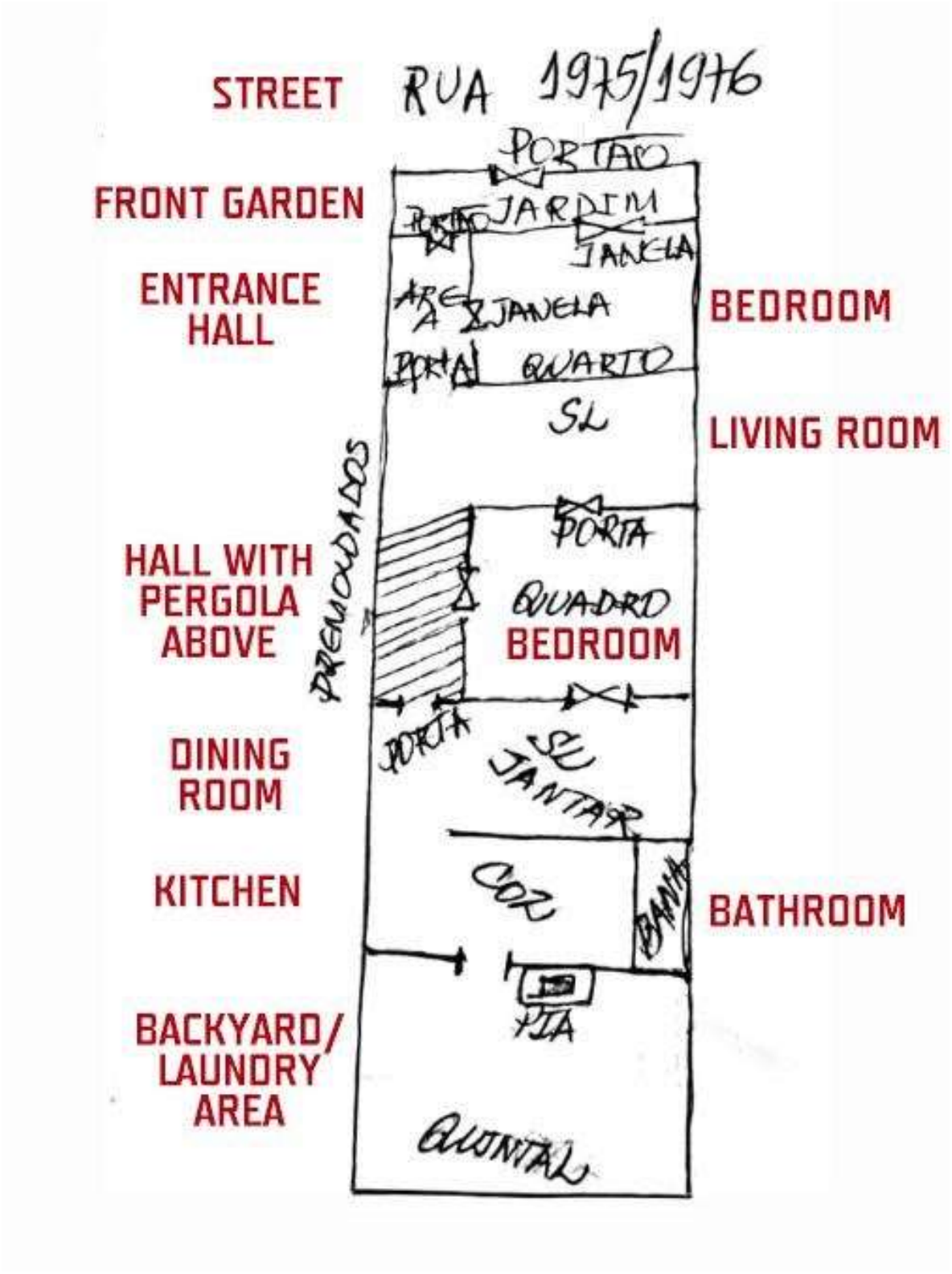

Figure 13. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *#615 house's floor plan in 1974*. Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

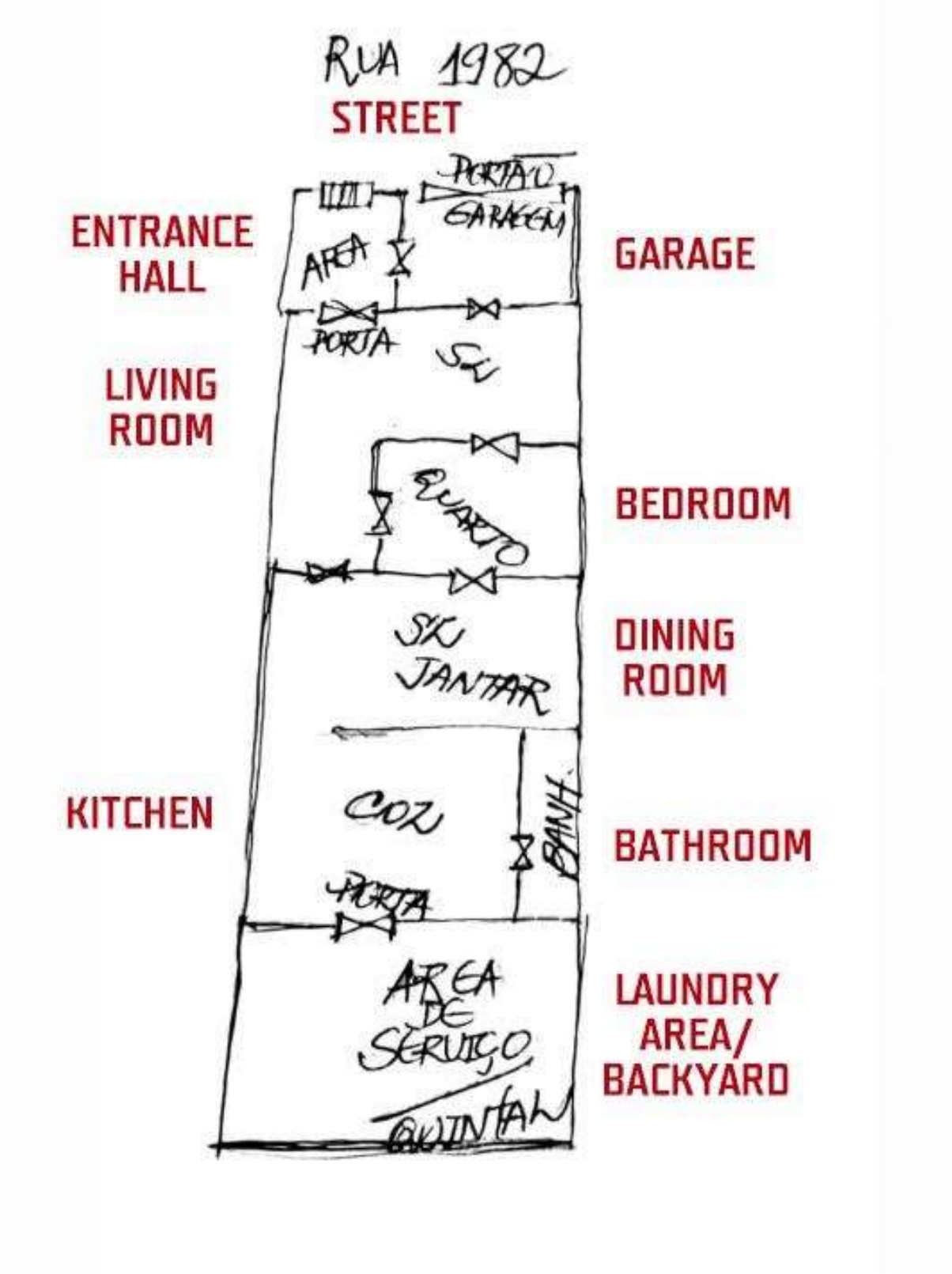

Figure 14. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *#615 house's floor plan in 1982*. Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

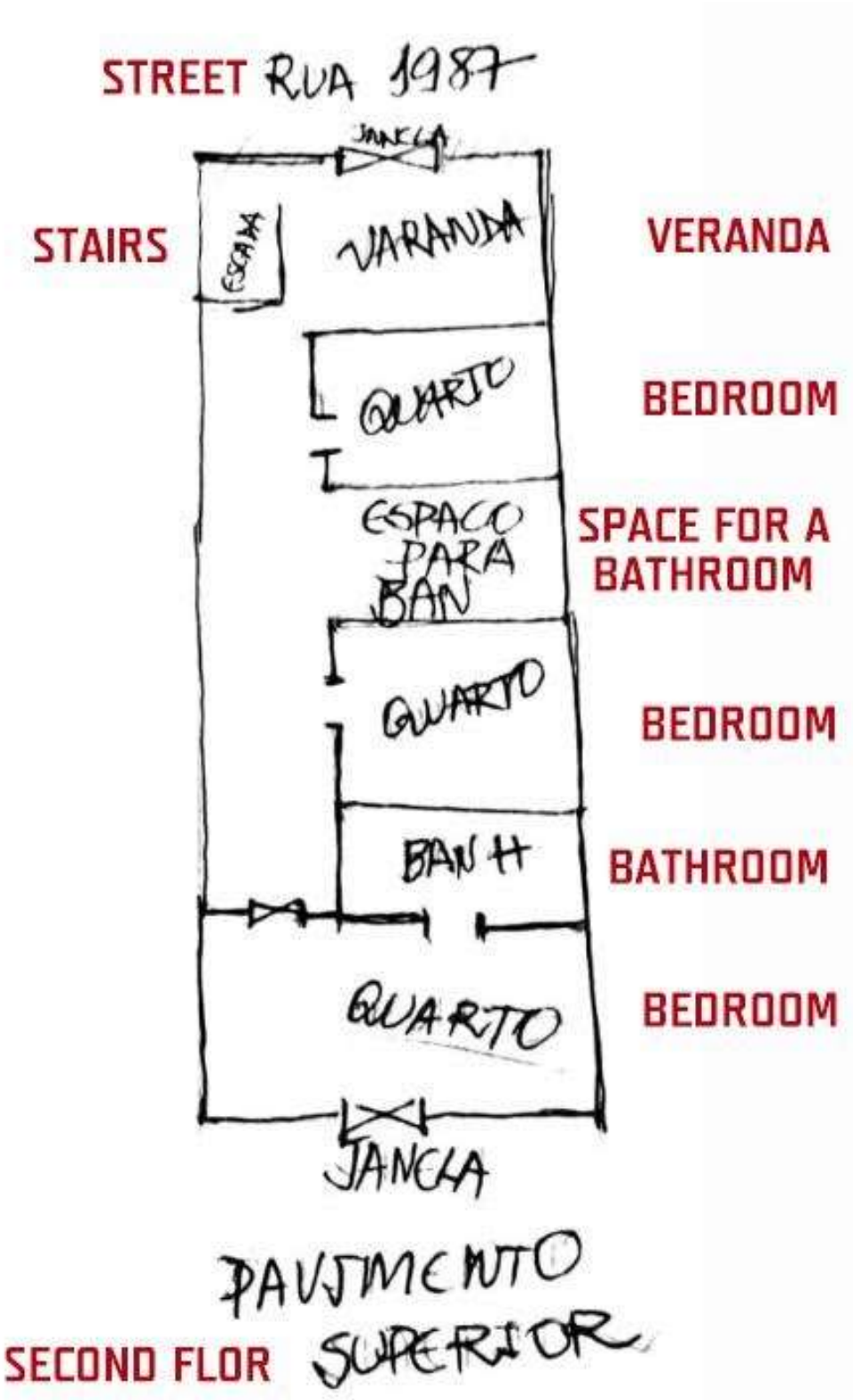

Figure 15. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *#615 house's floor plan in 1987*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

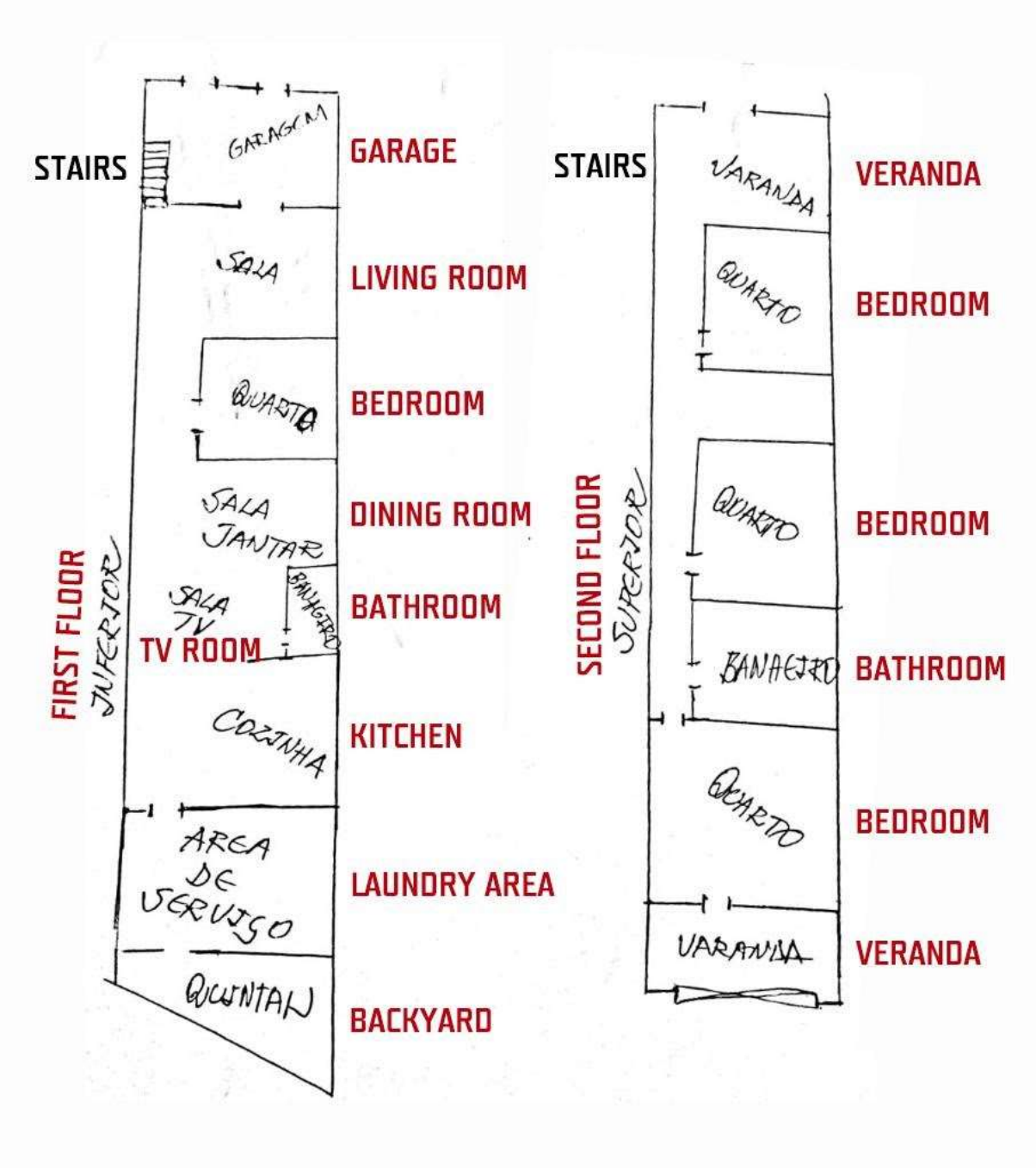

Figure 16. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *#615 house's first and second floors in the present*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

Figure 17. Unknown (Cardoso family member), *Precast concrete on the second floor of the house,* Photograph cropped from the original for privacy reasons. Fortaleza, CE. 1994. Source: Personal Collection.

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Figure 19. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *The precast concrete in the neighbour's house*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

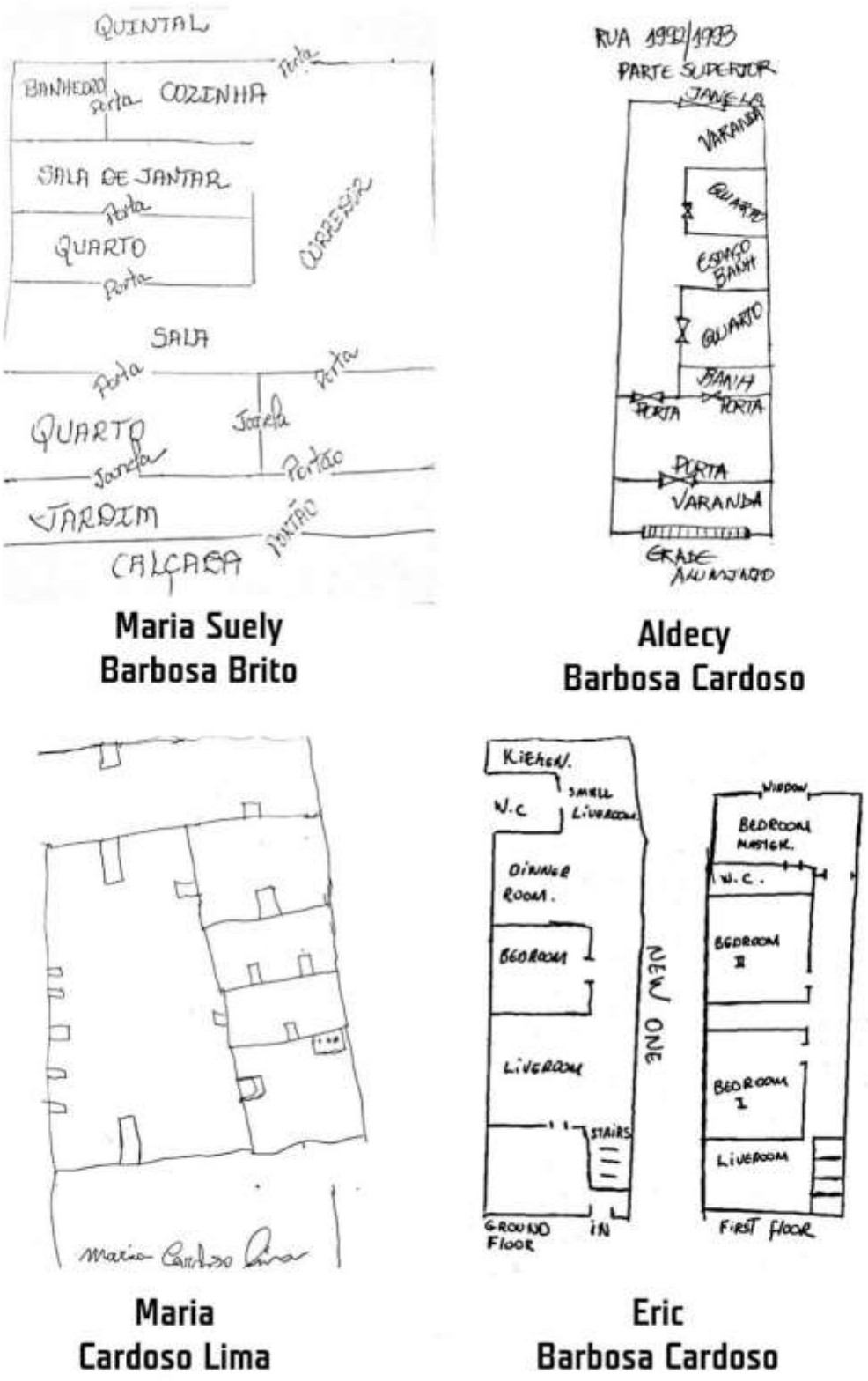

Figure 20. *Collage with the floor plans each interviewee produced*, Digital Image. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 21. Maria Suely Barbosa Brito, *Floor plan with the word porta inside little notches*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection (annotated by the author).

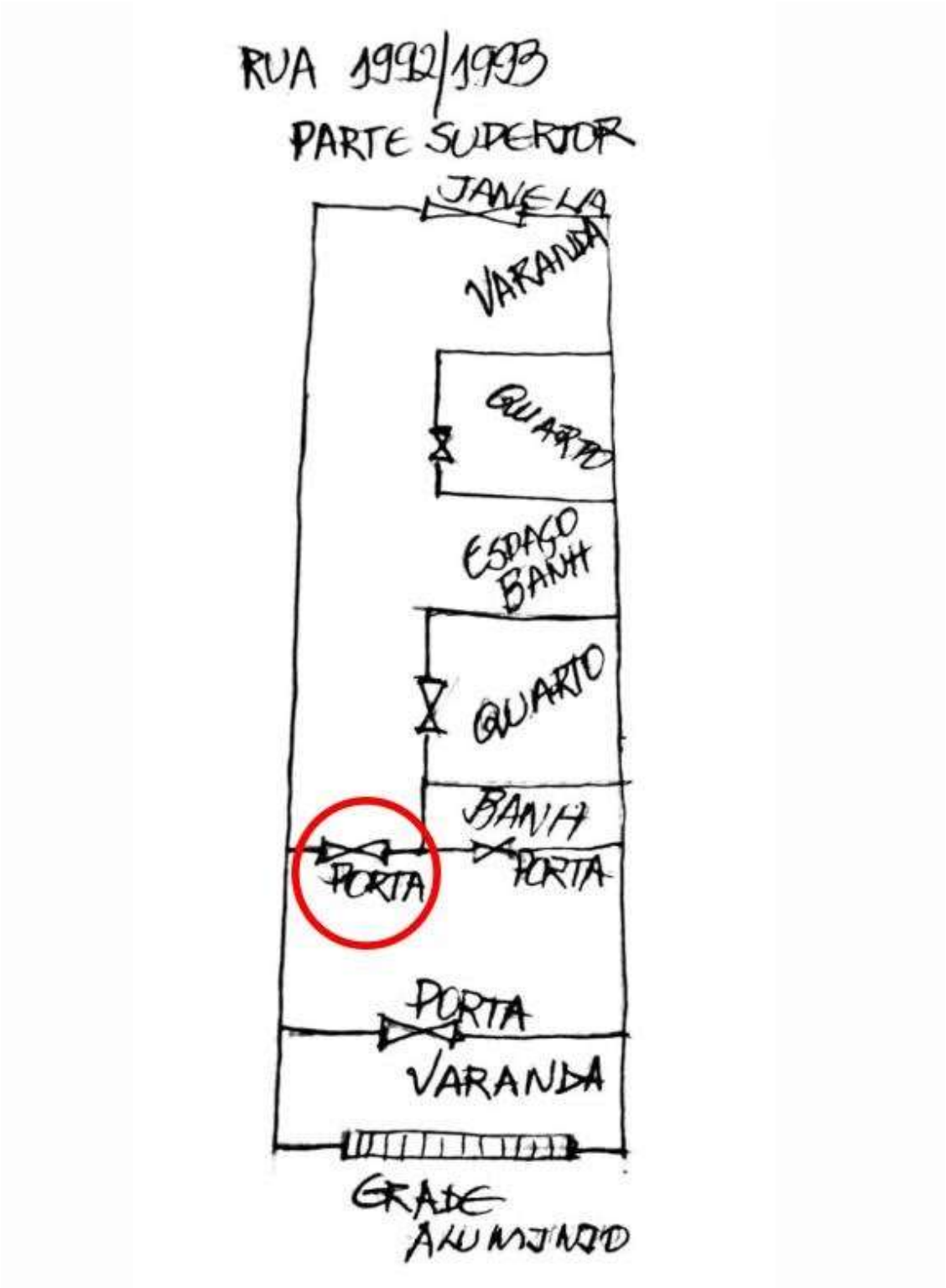

Figure 22. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Floor plan with the word porta placed under the drawings of notches with an X inside them*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

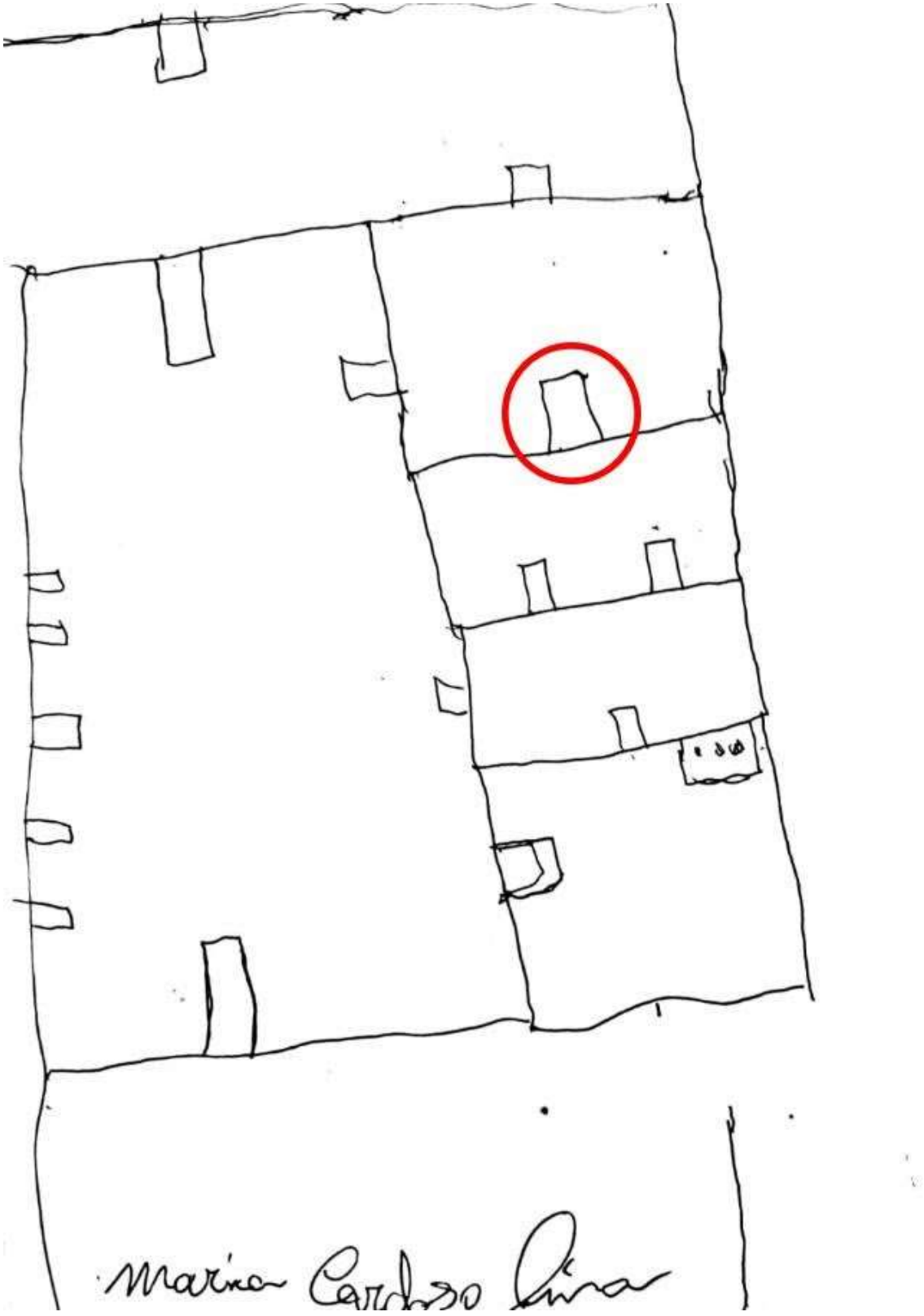

Figure 23. Maria Cardoso Lima, *Floor plan with rectangles representing the doors*, Digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

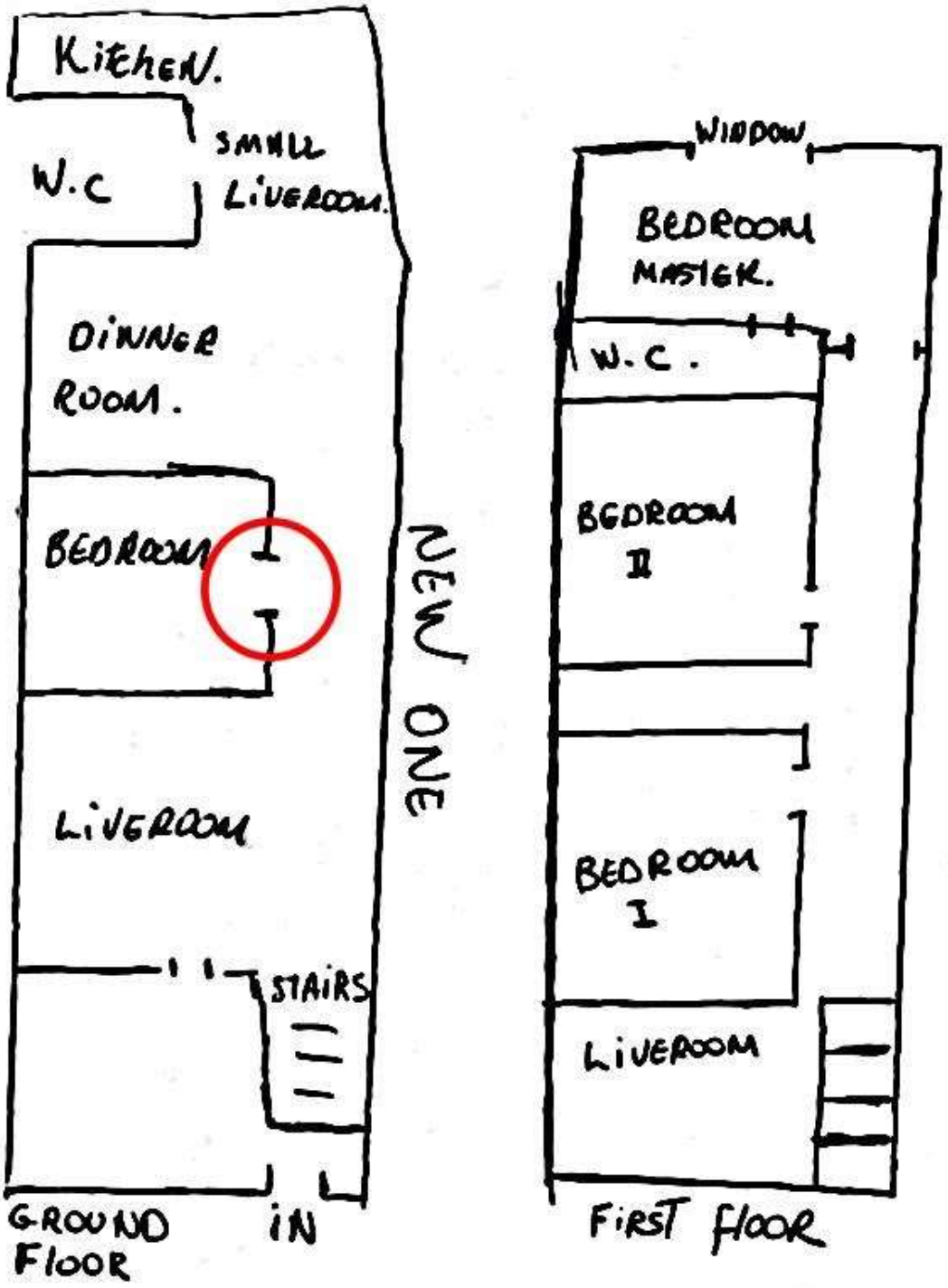

Figure 24. Eric Barbosa Cardoso, *Floor plan with notches representing the doors*, Digitally reproduced from the original. London, England. 2019. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 25. Unknown (a family member), *A piece of the old window in the living room during my second birthday*, Photograph digitally reproduced from the original. Fortaleza, CE. 1996. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 26. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *The steel door in the living room*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2012. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 27. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *The glass door in the living room which Aldery used to lock to know when Eric arrived at home. The red circle represents the place where the window used to be*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2012. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 28. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *The upstairs living room represents Aldecy's personality*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2012. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 29. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Maria's display of Catholic statues*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 30. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Photo frames in the upstairs living room*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 31. Aldecy Barbosa Cardoso, *Photo frames on the TV wall panel*, Digital Image. Fortaleza, CE. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

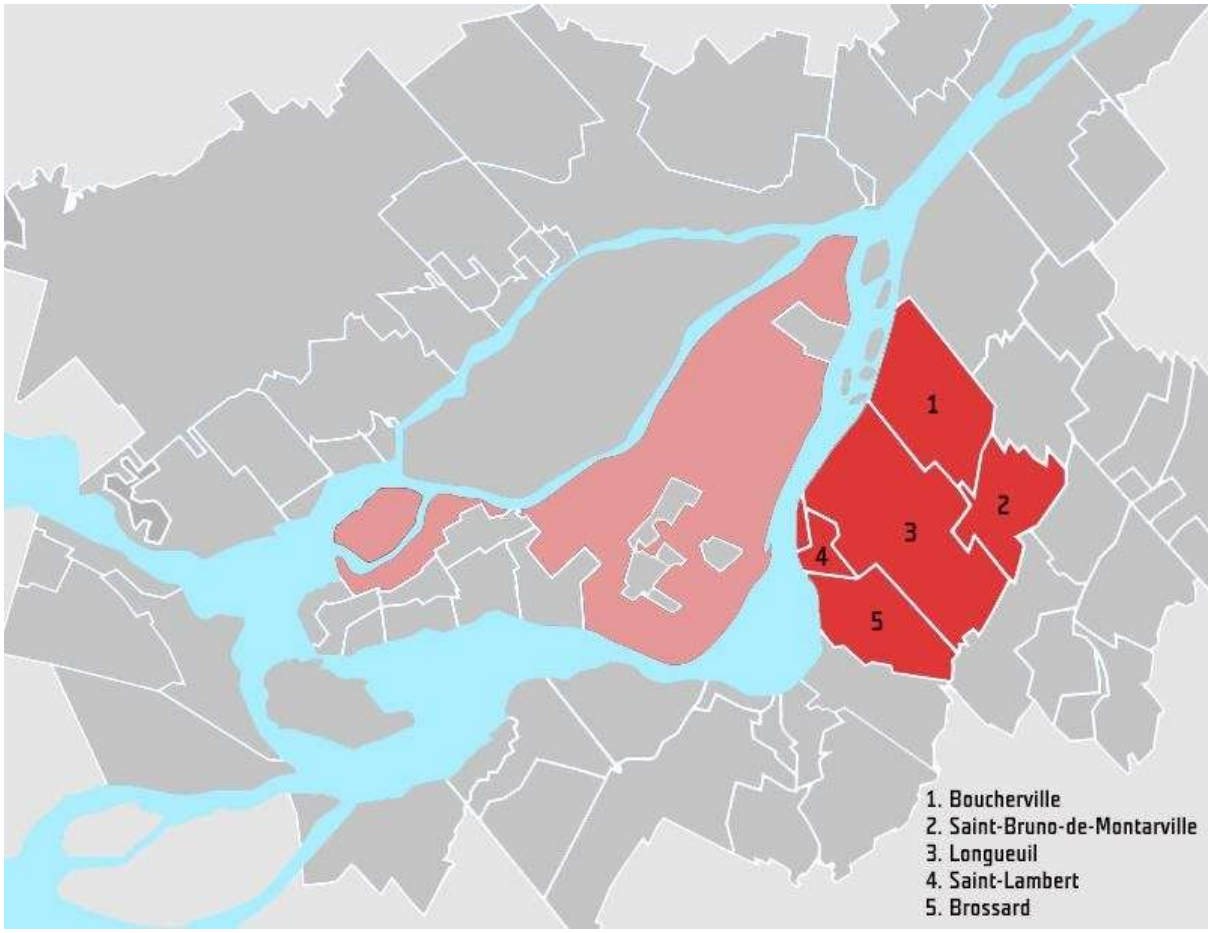

Figure 32. Chicoutimi, Map of Greater Montreal highlighting the Saint Lawrence River (in blue), the City of Montreal (in pink), and the Urban Agglomeration of Longueuil (in red), September 4, 2011. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Montreal#/media/File:CMM_-_Montr%C3%A9al.svg (accessed 13 April 2021) (edited by the author).

Figure 33. Longueuil Citoyen, *Map of Longueuil with Le Vieux-Longueuil in green, Greenfield Park in orange, and Saint-Hubert in blue*. Source: Longueuil Citoyen, https://longueuilcitoyen.com/english/elus/ (accessed 13 April 2021) (edited by the author).

Figure 34. Google Street View, *An entire area in Montreal with several townhouses*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.516949,-73.7096546,3a,46.3y,299.38h,105.98t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sNm2ytc-J25yrIwC9uyNq0A!2e0!7i16384!8i8192?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed February 18, 2021).

Figure 35. Photographer unknown (Diaz or Martins), *Living room in Saint-Thérèse with view to the kitchen*, Digital Image. Sainte-Thérèse, QC. 2012. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 36. Photographer unknown (Diaz or Martins), *Living room in Saint-Thérèse with view to the balcony*, Digital Image. Sainte-Thérèse, QC. 2012. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 37. Photographer unknown (Diaz or Martins), *Living room in LaSalle*, Digital Image. LaSalle, QC. 2013. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 38. Photographer unknown (Diaz or Martins), *Kitchen in LaSalle*, Digital Image. LaSalle, QC. 2013. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 39. Thiago Lima Martins, *The showroom's kitchen*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 40. Thiago Lima Martins, *The showroom's bedroom*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 41. Thiago Lima Martins, *Design for the kitchen*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 42. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The entrance hall under construction*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 43. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The kitchen under construction*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 44. Google Street View, *The townhouse where Diaz and Martins live*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.5238694,-73.4311482,3a,75y,111.09h,94.8t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1srlr7cc7K0mhIK8lKYCJRwg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed February 24, 2021).

Figure 45. Google Street View, *Example of another Townhouse in the neighbourhood*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.5234087,-73.4317866,3a,72.8y,18.85h,91.04t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sGoC7-fg4Rr9abigfKl6mpw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed July 20, 2021).

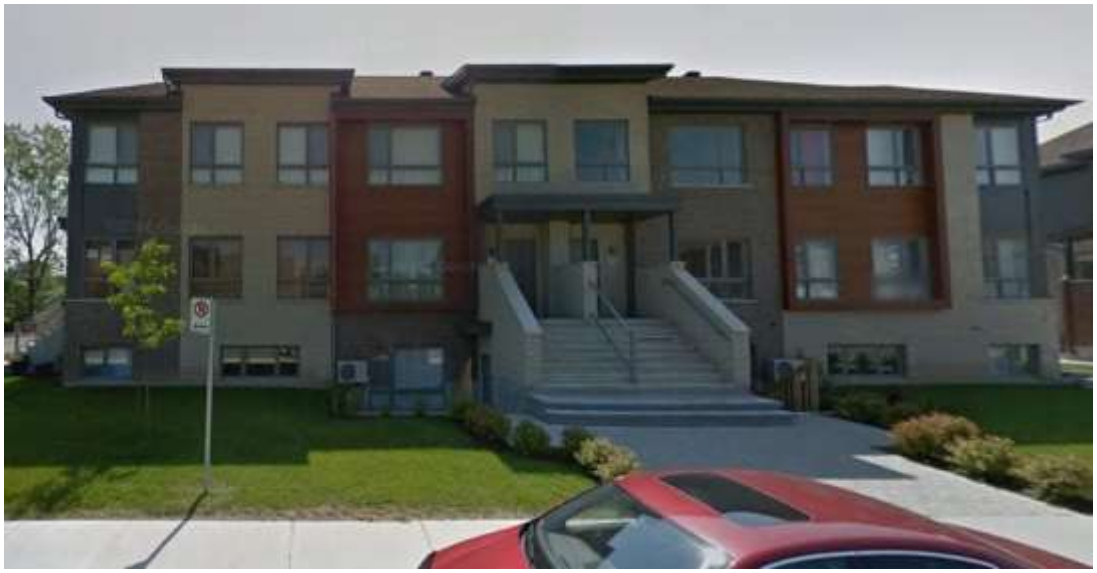

Figure 46. Google Street View, *Example of another Townhouse in the neighbourhood*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.5242217,-73.4309606,3a,75y,109.55h,92.57t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sBHiLyEFE0eKR7nx5gygPRA!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed February 24, 2021).

Figure 47. Google Street View, *Delimitation of each dwelling in the townhouse*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.5238694,-73.4311482,3a,75y,111.09h,94.8t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1srlr7cc7K0mhIK8lKYCJRwg!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed February 24, 2021) (annotated by the author).

Figure 48. Google Street View, *Side entrance for the corner houses*. Source: Map data ©2021 Google, https://www.google.com.br/maps/@45.5243217,-73.4305123,3a,46.6y,223.69h,97.17t/data=!3m6!1e1!3m4!1sjANa0goAWdqnsVtfJtfkmw!2e0!7i13312!8i6656?hl=pt-BR&authuser=0 (accessed February 24, 2021).

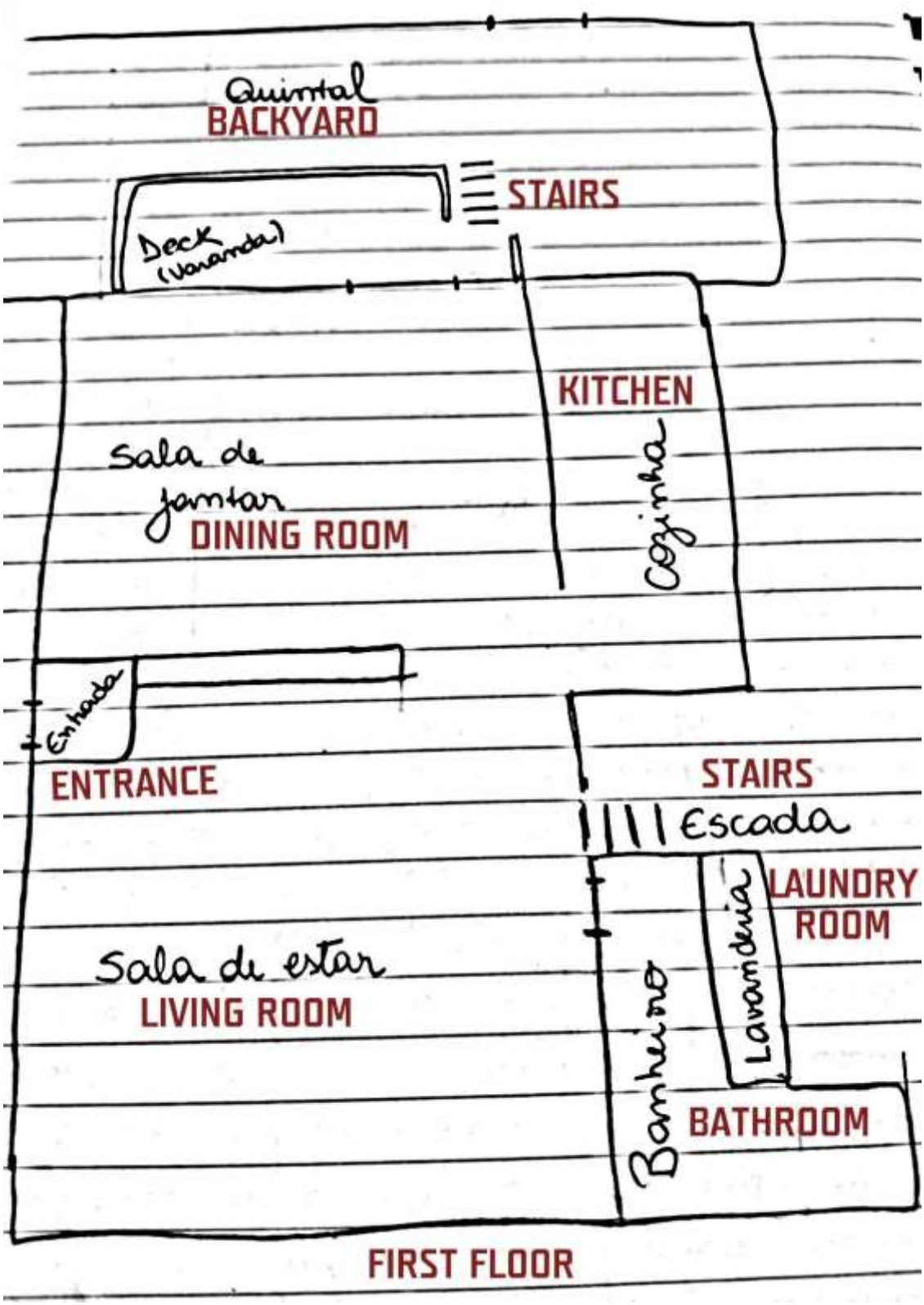

Figure 49. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *#4064 house's floor plan*. Digitally reproduced from the original. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 50. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *#4064 house's second floor*. Digitally reproduced from the original. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 51. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The wooden panel that Martins applied in the toilet*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 52. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The family's backyard*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 53. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The flower bed that Martins built in the backyard*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 54. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Flower vase that Diaz' grandmother painted*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2021. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 55. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Tea set that Diaz' grandmother painted*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2021. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 56. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Decorative objects on a shelf above the TV*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 57. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *A round shelf with some of the decorative objects Diaz brought from Brazil*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 58. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *The bottle-gourd doll as a symbol of indigenous and African culture in Brazil*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 59. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Lampião and Maria Bonita as symbols of Northeastern culture in Brazil*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 60. Benjamin Abrahão, Benjamin Abrahão with Maria Bonita and Lampião in the northeastern hinterland, Photograph digitally reproduced from the original. Brazil. 1936. Source: Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Benjamin_Abrah%C3%A3o_com_Maria_Bonita_e_Lampi%C3%A3o.jpg (accessed February 26, 2021).

Figure 61. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *statue of Iemanjá*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 62. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Britto 3-D Elephant Figurine – Limited Edition*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 63. Natalia Mateus Oviedo Diaz, *Reproductions of panels exhibited at the* Aves Aves *exhibition by Chico Liberato at Salvador Airport (BA)*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2020. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 64. Thiago Lima Martins, *Diaz and her mother Marileide in the couple's bedroom in the week Daniel was born*, Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 65. Unknown (a family member), *Diaz and Martins in their living room in the week Daniel was born,* Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2014. Source: Personal Collection.

Figure 66. Unknown (a family member), *Daniel's first birthday party,* Digital Image. Saint-Hubert, QC. 2015. Source: Personal Collection.

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