

THE LOGIC OF THE CONDOMINIUM AND THE NEOLIBERAL SUFFERING

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When we enter one of these modern condominiums, designed with the faintest urban engineering, we have the tender pacifying feeling that at last we find some order and security. We quickly realize that there is a way of life in which precariousness, risk, and indeterminacy would have been abolished. The whole space is homogeneous, according to certain rules of style. Within this space the seats are well laid out. Within these places the positions are comfortably occupied.

The police seem really present, although private. The streets are well paved and marked, in spite of the slight excess of messages indicating ways and conditions of use. The houses display their unfailing front garden *without fences*. Everything else is functional, managed and clean. The image of this island of serenity captures the illusions of a medium-sized Brazilian dream of consumption. A region, isolated from the rest, where one could freely exercise the coexistence and the sense of community among equals. A return to nature, a life with less concern, full of leisure in the coexistence between equals. A destination community that presents itself in many variants: vertical, horizontal, residential, commercial, private and even public.

In older condos we still note that styles variable boldness, which passes abruptly from a French *chateau* for a Russian mansard, an imposing imitation for a decent *chalet* in the Swiss Alps, all this side of reconstruction to Postmodern construction of an old colonial headquarters of coffee plantations in São Paulo. This is not a dormitory district, which is technically correct, nor is it housing planned for the rational use of space. It is also not a case similar to New Yorkers suburbs, "*upper class*" as New Jersey, real and affordable alternative to the overpopulation of the island of Manhantan. The thematic variation of the older greener, airy and suburban condominiums contrasts with the sober monotony, in cardboard aspect, that we find in the more central condominiums, full of technology, of ostensive biometric security, that slowly re-colonized big cities in Brazil.

At the behest of Napoleon, between 1862 and 1875, Georges-Eugène Haussmann created a new Paris. Based on a star of 12 wide avenues around the Arc de Triomphe, large mansions were erected on the ruins of the old city. Wide avenues and squares emerged with a new style of gardening, meticulously planned to provide the public rite of seeing and being seen. But what the demolishing artist did not count on was that the squares and avenues would be empty by the mutation that the Parisian culture lived at the end of century XIX. The long family walks were gradually replaced by passages, by fast transports, by picnics in the

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suburbs. The central squares were empty even if they could be inhabited by strangers, immigrants and Bohemians without definite origin.

Also when the first Brazilian condominiums appeared, in the decade of 1970 a new way of life was being meticulously planned. Independent service entries, chancellas and strictly prescribed paths. Here again we find the experience of emptying. According to Teresa Caldeira² the only parties actually used for public coexistence were *play-grounds* where nannies and children from different social classes, and diferente races, could cohabit a playful and care experience.

Condominiums in Brazil are like those old castles in cut and paste cards, which we built as children, only life-sized ones. The movement came from the periphery to the center, beginning with the small workers' villages, bought in bulk, and soon transformed into six or eight pairs of twin and germinated dwellings, with high electrified walls and opaque majestic guardhouses. No one would believe that descended from Portuguese yards, the Italian *villas* or the Spanish *plazas*. They are the reconstruction of a second architectural nature, combining the spontaneous practices of family occupation, partition of the land, and the good preservation of cultural origins.

The case model and first of the Brazilian condominiums is called *Alphaville*. Formed in 1973 with the acquisition of a large area outside the city of São Paulo, it became, after Brasília, a major sign of our capacity to plan and build new life forms. Accidentaly, 1973 is the same year when Augusto Pinochet raised power in Chile, through military coup, opening a new economic way of governing: neoliberalism.

An artificial neighborhood formed by a series of condominiums interconnected with a business and commercial center in an area formerly occupied by squatters, destined by zoning and master plan to non-polluting industries. The last occupational objection goes back to the fact that there was also an area for an indigenous reserve. In the 1980s the neighborhood association functioned as government able to release the local juridic alownness for themself. Time in which strict rules come into force: prohibition of prefabricated houses, high constructive requirements, style recommendations. This prevented the transformation of the project into a weekend allotment. In the mid-1980s is the profusion *Residential*, then the vertical, which makes the concept of the project a success. Model for future housing projects of high luxury, which appeared in adjacent areas, *Alphaville* houses today includes more than 150 thousand people floating population and 50.000 fixed residents. Living in *Alphaville* became, in the 1990s, a dream of consumption for the new middle and upper rising classes. Redefining the notion of housing in direct association with a lifestyle is at the origin of the current "smart apartments."

Under Brazilian law a condominium expresses the concept of a right simultaneously exercised by many over the same object or property. That is, the same thing belongs to more than one person who share rights, coexist and contribute in the expenses necessary for the maintenance of parcels that are necessarily used and administered in common. According to a law from 1964, date of the coup witch started dictatorship period, and its respective addenda, a condominium has

² Caldeira, T. (2000) **Cidade de muros**. Crime, segregação e cidadania em São Paulo. São Paulo: Editora 34.

certain powers established against foreign: free use of the thing, freedom of alienation, defense of possession against others, competition common expenses, inviolability of Common thing without the consent of the condominium owners. Unlike North American *gated communities*, which are based on the previous concept of community, or the Anglo Saxon *condominium*, derived from the use and established property, the Portuguese and Brazilian status of the condominium comes from the concept of defense, whose model is fortress of occupation. This is not a question of gates, which restrict and guide the movement of pedestrians, or fences, which symbolically delimit the belonging and care obligation of the territory, but of defense walls, whose military purpose is to prevent entry, to hide the presence of strategic resources and facilitate the observation of the enemy.

A year after the approval of the Brazilian law on condominiums, Jean Luc Godard directed the film *Alphaville* (1965). The strange adventure of Lemmy Caution is a syncretism between the genres of dystopian science fiction, like Huxley's, 1932, *Brave New World* and *noir* detective story inspired by the classic Jean Cocteau, *Orpheus* (1950). The story takes place on another planet, but the film is shot in Paris. With no special effects worthy of note, the future is represented by modernist architecture in glass-walled concrete buildings. The hero is a veteran of World War II, now a secret agent (003) disguised as a journalist, whose mission is to rescue a missing agent, capture the creator of *Alphaville* (Dr. Von Braun) and destroy the computer that controls and manages the city (Apha 60). In *Alphaville* is prohibited all forms of love, poetry and emotion. All interrogative construction as *why?* was banned and must be replaced by the *because* explanatory. Transgressors, when are not eliminated, are sent to other galaxies, with the explicit purpose of inciting revolts, strikes and student disturbances. In each house there is a kind of dictionary, continuously updated, containing the words suppressed in function of their potential affective connotation. Caution falls in love with Dr. Von Braun's daughter, also called Nosferatu. His cunning consists in confusing the computer, which controls Alphaville, with poetic phrases of Jorge Luiz Borges or Paul Elouard.

So, before we even owned our own closed condominiums, we learned to associate them with the image of happiness, which, not without some irony, we could reap in the movies and television, clothed with asceticism. Thus, when the first projects of this type gained body in Brazil was also a prefabricated illusion that found its sign of reality. They regained the old ideals of modernization as planning and anticipation, but now abdicating their universality. Hence we have a way of life characterized by the proposal of articulation between the dialectic of love and friendship, expressed in a community of care that is an integrated extension of the family, with the dialectics of law and ethics. A self-governing life according to a requirement of self-realization, where style functions as an element of theological-metaphysical unification of the different symbolic systems. But it is precisely at this point that something seems to escape the expected. The way of life in condominiums has been portrayed systematically as full of distasteful, invested with artificiality, superficiality and emptying, as the parisian *Boulevard* of the XIX century.

If we look back at the search for precedents for this kind of planned, ascetic, and controlled way of life based on the rational use and administration of space, place, and position, it is not naturalistic utopian dreams like *Walden* or medieval cities of Campanella, or the utopian cities of the New World, as Italo Calvino portrays them, which appear on the horizon behind us. The clearest precedent of our modern managed condos, according to the hygienist use of reason, are, of course, the great psychiatric hospitals re-built and expanded in the mid-nineteenth century. A visit to *Salpêtrière* in Paris or to *Steinhof* in the vicinity of Vienna or even to Barbacena in Minas Gerais or to Franco da Rocha in the same suburb periphery of *Alphaville* of São Paulo will show the irreconcilable similarity. Remove the poverty and apparent signs of madness and what will remain is a proto-condo wooded, full of places for meditation, care and treatment centers, regulations and routes of circulation. Spaces that are at the same time producing health and reproducing a lost way of life.

The appeal to life in the form of a condominium is based, like the old leprosariums and hospices³, on the promise of recovery and reconstruction of the lost experience. The old notion of healing has no other meaning than a kind of reconquering a lost place in the world, fixed a new position in life and restore the relation between ethical and natural space⁴. Perhaps it is not for other reason that one can not associate new life in condominium with any relevant artistic or cultural expression. The distant relationship with postmodernism itself as an architectural style can be reduced to the pastiche of involuntary parodies, inverted kitsch quotations (as *Alphaville* for the “apha” people to live), and bad-chosen self-ironies. This alone would already be an exception in view of the historical recurrence between urban transformations and aesthetic creation. The logic of the condominium is premised on precisely excluding what is outside its walls, so deep down there is nothing to think about the tension between this walled place and its exterior. The place is already conceived and lived as a false universal. That is why the ones that are outside are without place, without land, without ceiling, without destiny, without face. They can only dream more securely whose model is supplied to them within walls.

The two things, desire for security and inattention of the State, compete with other reasons. The condo is an experience of exclusivity, so it is defined by segregatory walls. It creates, imaginatively, an inner identity, formed by “people like me” and excludes the dangerous enemy. The logic of the condominium requires the idealization of a fully realized life, the construction of an artificial dome, the walls, which say in the background that “salvation is for the few.” It further demands the emergence of the trustee and the over-regulation, small exercises of power, which indicate that the reappearance of the evil is there where he had been outlawed. Finally, it is a structural effect of life in the form of condominiums, the appearance of more or less typical symptoms of this way of life: narcissism of small differences, boredom and apathy, comparison and performance syndrome, excess alcohol and drugs.

³ Foucault, M. (1965) *História da Loucura*. Perspectiva: São Paulo, 1988.

⁴ Dunker, C.I.L. (2011) *The Constitution of the Psychoanalytic Clinic. A history of its structure and power*. London: Karnac.

I emphasize that life in the form of condominium is not exclusive to those who live in closed homes with guaritas and gates, but a kind of relationship logic, which we find similarly in the favelas, prisons and Shopping Centers. These are spaces in which we live with the feeling that the State and its institutional form of managing the relationship between the public space and the private space do not enter. They are other laws, and other geography are other normative expectations. This is both an archaic and modern way of life, or a postmodern life. If we had a basic alternative between changing the world or changing ourselves, today there was another alternative: changing the landscape, changing the environment, mimicking space in such a way that it functions as a modulator of sensations. If before we lived the modern dream of a planned but disciplined and directed life, whose example is Brasília (planned new capital built in 1960) or Belo Horizonte (renewed to a modern style since 1943), today we seek a network of open and flexible experiences. Paradoxically this control can only be achieved with a brutal reduction in the size of the world, the size of the world that matters. Hence the tendency to build an "advanced" way of life, but which at the same time shows itself to be a lessening of the world, and virtually of ourselves.

This sense of exclusivity, artificially produced by the condominium is ostensibly part of its rhetoric. It is based on two fundamental affects that define neoliberalism's way of individualizing people: fear and envy. Fear is responsible for the idea that deep down the condominium is not a luxury, but a necessity, it is not an exclusion from others, but a defense against a dangerous society. But this argument that no one will doubt hides a second infiltrated, not always very confessable, rhetoric that accompanies every conspicuous consumption, that is, the intimate feeling that others are envying us, after all they are still in the world out there dangerous and violent. This joy, clinically trivial, generally cuts across all our acts of consumption. We consume to fulfill needs, but also because consumption, and its markers, become signs of our social position. The way we consume tells us, directly or indirectly, who and how we want to be recognized. The guy who spends an additional amount on a brand-name sneaker, an imported car, or a "designer" place of residence, such as condominiums, is interested in quality gain, but also in the social value that this quality gain brings with it. This is what Lacanian psychoanalysis calls *jouissance*⁵, or more than enjoyment. One of its most common aspects is the enjoyment of envy, in which I am satisfied to have, and I am even more satisfied because the other has not, did not have or will not have. The acute reaction of many critics to this trivial idea is an example of how the relations between rich and poor are still very poorly thought out in Brazil. Many rich people can not perceive that their style of consumption, their often boisterous displayism, can be perceived as an aggressive message, arousing a kind of envy based on humiliation, which will sooner or later develop into hostility and violence. In this way, what in theory would be a protection and an escape from violence, such as condominium, ends up producing a reverse effect that nourishes social resentment and with it hatred. Then we have the hatred of those who remain outside and the envy of those who remain

⁵ Lacan, J. (1968) *O Seminário Livro XVII O Averso da Psicanálise*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1988.

inside as two fundamental affective determinants of our tendency to condominium. The condominium life for mis a neoliberal way of administrate suffering as a kind of a new business. Accidentaly, 1973 is the same year that give birth to the third edition of the DSM Psychiatric Manual of Mental disorders, edited by American Psychiatric Association. The overture of a new diagnostic racionality⁶ organized by separation of symptoms with no narrative unity.

Thus, without shame, particularly in our middle classes, the idea that a good education must be based on love and that the best way to show love to children in this "dangerous" world is to protect them. In the name of this undisputed moral premise, we create schools that segregate differences, companies that homogenize their cultures, life forms that are less diversified culturally, ethnically, religiously and even linguistically. This has a particular political precedente: neoliberalism of the 1970s. But mainly a kind of resignation that the State practiced in relation to the public space that he did not want, could not or could not administer. We get used to it so that things like education, health, social assistance, communication and culture, not to mention the extreme of the dwelling with the condos, could be "contracted". We then have trustees everywhere, in government, in the restricted areas of the economy, in radio and television concessions, in football. The trustee is someone who governs a regulation according to management principles, that is, he does not need to understand the activities purposes, as it is said, it is enough that he knows how to manage the business, whether it is the transfer of public funds, or it is the circuit of regulations And superspecialized standards.

Now, from 2013 to 2016, this dream of consumption is becoming expensive and becoming a nightmare because we have reached a level of war between condominiums. A time when the public thing has become felt as strongly as ownership of a group that when this does not happen in practice we have to Emergence of this hatred, this division, this deaf opposition that took over the country. The phobia is a condition linked to fear, as depression is conect with envy. Both togheter give us panic and anxiety. Generally it is formed by replacing an earlier fear that you will gradually forget about your own with formative process. Something more or less similar occurred with the Brazilian condominiumization. We erect walls to protect us from fear, and then we become hostages to the fear that the walls cause us. But the same walls and cameras are remembering us what exists on the other side, but whose real face we forget. The phobia can thus denounce a weakness to read, interpret and cope with the difference, making it immediately dangerous. So, at the end we have children who suffer from selective mutism, teenage gang members, homophobic, religious adults whose fundamental affection is hatred. Victims of a uncompreension of the major law of neoliberalism: do your life as a business made of competition between individuals.

Psychoanalysis teaches us to recognize with suspicion such social productions, which with capture our fantasy with a promisse around a region of protected extraterritoriality, a sheltered space where the

⁶ Dunker, C.I.L. (2014) Discontent, Suffering and Symptom: Reading Lacanian Diagnostics through Amerindian Perspectivism. *Crisis and Critique*, 2014, Vol1. http://crisiscritique.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/CC_Special%20Issue_Final.pdf

realization of the retreating pleasure of freedom would be concentrated. Neurotic learned from experience that the mounting has three times a fantasy, in which organizes the calculation of neurotic enjoyment⁷.

In the first ideal and real time they are reconciled in an image in which the oppositions that divide the subject are suspended. It is the time in which the fantasy is lived as a state of exception. There is no more division between needs and excess, between sacrifice and redemption, between castration and desire, between crime and punishment.

In the second time of fantasy, what was experienced as exceptional, contingency becomes a necessity. The subject perceives himself in a strange feeling of servitude and emptying. This chains him to the repetition of a same routine, in which the realization of the fantasy is parasitized by the superego and its imperative voice. More often than not there is a third stage. In it are dispersed acts that try to correct the paradox of fantasy, either by the purification of excess or by the proliferation of the law, now admittedly senseless, insufficient and nonetheless instrumentalized in normative procedures.

The third time of the topology of segregation, in condominium fantasy, repositions the fault. In the meantime, compensatory set-ups are created, possibly based on the erotization of loss, on the cultivation of fragmentation and bodily estrangement. It is the time in which the malaise appears as anguish, in him the difference between what we lack (represented by the phallus) and what we put in its place appears as irreducible difference. The *object a*, cause of desire is a concept developed by Lacan to indicate this element, apparently magician, who gives a style of its appearance unmistakable unicifade. As a paradoxical object, it can only be captured inside a series, as a repetition of something that remains the same within the variety, as a rule of deformation of the series or as a negative element, included and excluded from the series.

A typical feature of this third time of fantasy is what we might call the legislative compulsion characteristic of condominium management. For example, a bicycle in the guide gives opportunity to stumble an old lady, which results in the involuntary release of her pet dog, causing irreparable losses to the flowers of the neighbor. Solution: ban the bikes out of place, then the flowers and finally the old rides. The enunciation of the receiver, in this case might be, *you are free to do whatever you want, but is willing to bear the risks that run on your own?* This is the new kind of neoliberal authority. Although the walls and liquidators, in the condominium arise unexpected events, unforeseen forms of encounter and clash, outbursts of life *as it is*. Once established the determinative suspension state that creates the condominium, such events are necessarily interpreted as symptoms. They must be dealt with immediately with new prohibitions, sanctions and prescriptions.

The first phase of fantasy has an important role in delimiting the discomfort and its consequent specification in the form of suffering. It is *in the name* of insecurity, indeterminacy, estrangement, and their consequent judgments of difference, that we form walls, arenas and gardens, protected spaces within which conflict can be administered. Reduced the length of the word and expand proportionally the size of the ego. Digital experience appears to confirm this law. We can say that at

⁷ Dunker, C.I.L. (2002) *O Cálculo Neurótico do Gozo*. São Paulo: Escuta.

this time malaise is read as a suppressed anomie. Conflict ceases to be perceived as systemic, and as such unperceivable by self, and begins to appear mimetically in a small manageable antagonism, a regimented struggle:

“Correspondingly the formation of the I [Je] is symbolized dreamily by a fortified camp, or even a stadium, which distributes the internal arena to its wall, to his belt of debris and marshes, two opposing fighting fields in which the individual threads into the pursuit of haughty and distant castle within whose shape symbolizes *this* amazingly.”⁸

In the inhabitants of condominiums we have this recurrent dream around the *glass house*. A solution that some tricky analysts are to represent (*Rücksicht* *Darstellbarkeit*) simultaneously transparency function and the function distance than the first prescribed phase fantasy. Typically this dream culminates in themes around representation, stage, twisting between public and private, intimacy and debauchery, automatons and dolls. Very often this series is interrupted by the emergence of obscene characters: dictators, masters or overseers. If we can extract the third stage of the series, it shows the dismemberments, the partitions and decompositions of the body, the erotization of death or violence, the joyful figurations of violence.

Now we can grasp four steps of the condominiumization process. First we must define what is a new productive space, which must become territory. Outside you produce an unproductive space, which will remain in anomie. Note that the difficulty here is not in knowing how a space is productive, but in defining the criteria of unproductiveness.

Secondly, it is necessary to establish walls, borders, marks, which fix the place in and out, the crossing areas and the zones of interdiction. Then we have a way of life in which malaise is named. A new division emerges, now between productive space and reproductive space. By reproductive life is meant a set of safe, moral, aesthetic, hygienic, alimentary procedures as well as a set of cares, attentions, dispositions, updates, warnings as well as a set of charges, fees, and biopolitical "necessary" obligations for life to continue.

Thirdly, emerges the function of the syndic, who must manage the suffering of life in the reproductive space, in such a way as to transform it into palpable forms of dissatisfaction and consequently make reproduction productive. The syndic is a manager who does not deal with productive space, but the space in which life reproduces, restores itself. Its function is to show that where we read only amorphous variations of modality of living there is a potential of use and consumption. This is pure uncolonized suffering as feedstock to a new law, to extract a plus jouissance of production.

Finally we find, in the fourth period, the passage from fantasy to the development of symptoms, which would be its symbolic expression of the contradictions we are describing. Each form of return from what has been suppressed binds to a kind of suffering. We can then propose a first division of these pathologies, bound to the neoliberal condominium logic :

⁸ Lacan, J. (1949) O Estádio do espelho como formador da função do Je, tal como se nos revela na experiência psicanalítica. In *Escritos*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 1988.

1. Those that come from the return in the Real which was denied by the imaginary territory. Expropriated from the experience of difference with the otherness the self segregatory space is separated and governed by the laws exception ction. This particular exception engenders loss of experience, and raises up an *excess of productive experiences of determination*. The effects are: anesthesia, freedom, and also feeling of unauthenticity, malaise and discomfort that we find inside a universe overly organized, controlled and sanitized.

2. The arising of real in the segregation of the symbolic (social antagonismo, racial difference, and so on. In this case we have the pathology of the wall. New division in the subject, which appears in the form of fragmentation and squizotype experience or *psicasthenie legendaire*. Here we have feelings corporal inadequacy, dislocation, anomie, according to the *deficit of productive indetermination experiences*.

3. The imaginaryzatoin of the law and its effects under the symbolic authority. Here we have the pathologies of the manager and the over confidence in regulations. The subject become incapable of a proper recognition of the other. We have the upraise of the of deception, false recognition and insoluble conflict between promise and perform. The *excess of unproductive experiences of determination*, the hiperinflation of rules, norms and the control devices produces a Strong expectation of transgressive experiences, we will see in drug abuse, risk behaviour, disruptive violence, and so on

4. Pathologies that present as anomalies of enjoyment, the lack of the imaginary and the symbolic allowing the real segregation to come. In this case we have all forms of suffering that revolve around the social ethics of intrusive object. Prejudice, fear for strangers, feelings of disrespect, anger and the belief that some objects are excedente, and as far as we can destroy them order and Peace will be restore. The other is abducting a fragmente of my jouissance, so he or she is too much well known as a cause of the disorder. Here we go back to the first point. The *lack of productive experiences of indetermination*, that proced from the contact with the otherness is translated in fear and invy.

The logic of the condominium can now be understood as the necessary correlate of a lifestyle that Boltanski and Chiapelo called a city by projects, based on the orientation of production to the form of networks and information for the mode of connections. Thus we can navigate all parallel and virtual universes, having free access everywhere, but with the solid guarantee that in "real life" we have our own condominium that denies, point by point, all aspects of virtual life. Production is displaced, employment becomes precarious, social security declines, and exploitation is combined with exclusion. There is then a type of work, by project, that manages to circumvent social benefits and expensive labor or union protection, generating with it a kind of opportunism of production:

"Deplaced from space [in the nation-state conception], without an instance of representation, nor preminent position, dominated by the demand for unlimited expansion of networks, it remains indifferent to justice, and more generally to morality. Moreover, the demand for autonomy and the individualist ideal of self-surrender, self-realization as a superior form of success (...) contribute to

making the man of the networks little aware of the debt as a legitimate source of social links. "⁹

The logic of the condominium is the familiar, private and intimate face of this process. That is why almost all the attributes verified in the productive process will be found, with the signal exchanged, and inversely in the condominium, where the reproductive life prevails. It is a strongly delimited place, with instances of representation as the manager. He has a position as a social index of class or origin, is not indifferent to justice. His codes and regulations are above all, a moral space. He is taking care of the ideals of self-realization and success gain substance. After all, a condominium is usually acquired through extensive debt, which signals the subject to a future commitment. The role of this debt, which can be replaced, exchanged overestimating the value of real estate, showed its importance in the economic crisis of 2008 in United States, Spain, Ireland, Greece. In almost all cases the crisis triggered like a real estate crisis.

Brazil had no slave fortress as we see in Portuguese colonization on the coast of Africa. Here the colonization process in the XVI century was centered in hereditary captaincies. The first forts, had essentially defense structure, orientade to occupation and not for commerce and distribution. This seems to have marked our relationship with the walls, recovered as a defense, builing up enclaves of self segregation in the processo f inner colonization, neoliberalism proposed since the 1970. Not just of separation and delimitation of space.

After the inflationary period, that stopped in 1992, Brazil developed a new life forms linked to the condo, thinking as a structure. That is, a life surrounded by walls, based on its own legislation, governed by strict separation between residents and staff, who represented our great Brazilian consumer dream and our great sign of upward mobility. In this short period we can talk about the brazilization of capitalismo. We have to understand how this endeavor uses suffering in a new manner, not as a kind of obstatacle to prodution, but as a kind of a new feedsotk. Specific types of pain (social resentment, emptying of self, relationships artificiality) are compreensible as a denial of the malaise that can find in this form of life. This is not just about the rich community of condos but has three fundamental covariance: the prison, the slum and the *Shopping Center* .

⁹ Boltanski L & Chiapello, e. (1999) *O Novo Espírito do Capitalismo*. Martins Fontes, São Paulo, 2009: 391.