GOVERNANCE FROM WITHIN IN SÃO PAULO'S FAVELAS

A dissertation presented to

the Faculty of the School of Architecture

University of Virginia

In partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in the Constructed Environment

By

Patricia Basile

July 2018

Dedicated to my beloved brother Tiago.

The Dissertation Committee for Patricia Basile certifies that this is the approved version of the

following dissertation:

GOVERNANCE FROM WITHIN IN SÃO PAULO'S FAVELAS

Committee:

_____
Dr. Ellen Marie Bassett
Urban and Environmental Planning Department – University of Virginia

_____
Dr. Barbara Brown Wilson
Urban and Environmental Planning Department – University of Virginia

_____
Dr. Ira Bashkow
Department of Anthropology – University of Virginia

_____
Dr. Sheila Crane
Architectural History Department – University of Virginia

I have a lot of people to thank so I ask you, the reader, to bear with me. Without these people, this manuscript would not exist.

First and foremost, I extent my deepest gratitude to my advisor Ellen Bassett whose support and feedback made my work what it is today. Ellen's challenges and suggestions pushed me towards making this project better and I could not have done it without her. I also thank Ellen for opening her house to me in the Summer of 2016. I am indebted to Sheila Crane, whose mentorship throughout these four years was critical in my development as a scholar. Additionally, Sheila re-introduced me to the world of Lefebvre and changed my life forever. I will always fondly remember our one-on-one talks and her awesome afternoon seminar classes. Those exciting discussions helped shape my critical thinking skills as a scholar.

I also express my sincere appreciation for Barbara Brown Wilson, who has generously contributed to my intellectual and professional development, as well as the completion of this dissertation. A role model for me, Barbara guided me when I felt lost and consistently encouraged me with kind words of support, always helping me to think of the big picture. I extend a special thanks to Ira Bashkow whose ethnographic methods course changed my dissertation project dramatically (and for better). Ira continuously helped me think outside the box of a planner's mind and into the realm of anthropological scholarship. His insights played a critical role in the development of this dissertation and I am grateful.

wait to spend the rest of my life by your side. I am also thankful to Dr. Perrone, Mrs. Perrone, and Emily who have welcomed me to their family with open arms. Your existence in my life has made these last couple years much happier.

I am grateful to my family and friends in Brazil and in the U.S. and who have been with me throughout this journey. I am especially appreciative of Edi, my second mother, who has continuously taken care of me, my brother Tiago, and my family for so many years. I am thankful for my amazing grandmother Dirce, who at 89 years old continues to amaze me with her intelligence and hunger for knowledge. Words cannot express the love and gratitude I have for my parents, Oswaldo Basile and Márcia Toledo. My father's love for his profession and commitment to excellence helped shape the determined and hard-working person I am today. My mother's life work as a social worker inspired me to leave my comfort zone and look beyond my own self and into working to challenge inequities in our world. My parents have consistently encouraged me to go further and be the best I can be, and I am extremely thankful for that. I love you, mom and dad.

Finally, I thank my brother, Tiago, who was the one who came to me with the idea of applying for a scholarship to pursue a PhD in the United States. He encouraged me and believed in me. His friendship, support, and love have contributed to who I am today. I wish Tiago was here to celebrate this achievement with me today. Obrigada, Ti. Te amo! Lastly, I thank God who gave me life, love, friendship, humility to admit my privilege, awareness of the world of inequalities that surround me, and the courage and determination to try to do something about it.

Favela is a term used to categorize self-built urban communities in Brazilian cities that are widely considered precarious, disordered, chaotic, and illegal. These characterizations have contributed to the stigmatization and criminalization of favelas and their residents, totaling over 11 million people in Brazil today. Drawing from six months of ethnographic fieldwork in two favelas in the city of São Paulo, this project provides a detailed understanding of favela residents' efforts towards a process of self-governance through the production and maintenance of space, through everyday practices and collective mobilization. The analyzed cases offer insights into residents' modes and levels of grouping and action, including the family as the most fundamental unit of self-governance efforts in these two communities. While grasping with favelas' logic of spatial formation and organization, this dissertation contributes to the conceptualization of favelas as sites of resistance and political claims for the materialization of favela residents' fundamental rights as Brazilian citizens.

Image 1: Diagram positioning this study within existing scholarship
Image 2: The self-governance framework
Image 3: Map indicating the locations of the Vietnam and the São Remo favela in the city of São Paulo. Made by the author.
Image 4: Theoretical model of favela development's diagram. Made by the author.
Image 5: The favela plant. Source: http://faunaefloradorn.blogspot.com/2010/11/favelacnidoscolus-quercifolius-pohl.html . Accessed on June 11, 2018.
Image 6: Map showing the 14 favelas on the borders of the Água Espraiada Stream. Favelas are the areas within the orange borders. Source: Silva (2015) and SEHAB
Image 7: Boys playing soccer in the street leading to the Vietnam favela. Photo by Raoni Madalena. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website
Image 8: Vulnerability map. The Vietnam favela is identified by a black circle. Areas in red and orange are where the most vulnerable population lives. Areas in purple, pink and light blue are where the least vulnerable people live. Source: Centro de Estudos da Metropole.
Image 9: Construction of the canal from 1993 to 1996. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website.
Image 10: Construction of the Água Espraiada avenue. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website.
Image 11: Água Espraiada Stream and favelas before the removal process in 1995. Source: Amaral D`Avila Engenharia de Avaliações
Image 12: Água Espraiada Stream and favelas before the removal process in 1995. Source: Amaral D`Avila Engenharia de Avaliações
Image 13: Água Espraiada Stream region and favela occupation in 1993, before the removal process. Purple: areas occupied by favelas; yellow: other uses. Dotted lines delimit the areas for expropriation. Source: Alfredo 1999
Image 14: Água Espraiada Stream region and favela occupation in 1999, after the removal process. Purple: areas occupied by favelas; yellow: other uses. Dotted lines delimit the areas for expropriation. Source: Alfredo 1999.
Image 15: 1954 map of the area and the Vietnam favela boundaries in yellow. Retrieved from the GeoSampa online database in December 5, 2017. Source:
http://geosampa.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/PaginasPublicas/_SBC.aspx
Image 16: Estadão newspaper story published in December 13, 2009
Image 17: Main entrance to the Vietnam favela. Made by the author.
Image 18: Main plaza at the Vietnam favela, leading to all directions inside the favela. Made by the author.
Image 19: Vietnam favela map showing the entrances to the favela, and the houses' number of floors. Made by the author.
Images 20 and 21: The end of the Coriolano Durand street and beginning of the Vietnam favela and the hidden entrance to the favela. Photos by the author (2017).
Image 22: The second entrance through the Coriolano Durand street. Photo by the author (2017).

Image 23: Topography of the area and the Vietnam favela boundary. Retrieved from the GeoSampa online database in December 5, 2017. Source: http://geosampa.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/PaginasPublicas/_SBC.aspx

Image 24: Wooden shacks made with reused wood by the stream at the Vietnam favela. Source: Yabaquara blog - Photo by Anderson Nascimento

Image25: The Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: Rede Brasil Atual - Photo by Raoni Madalena

Image 26: The Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: G1 - Photo by Raphael Prado

Image 27: Concrete bridge built by residents over the Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: Jornal Sao Paulo Zona Sul

Image 28: Folha de São Paulo newspaper cover picture of the fire at the Vietnam favela, published in January 18, 2008

Image 29: Dona Celinha and a volunteer distributing the milk at the Conquering a Space Residents Association. Photo by the author (2017).

Image 30: The Conquering a Space Residents Association telecentre. Photo by the author (2017).

Image 31: The self-governance framework.

Image 32: The Vietnam favela's houses. Photo by the author (2017).

Image 33 and 34: The spaces in-between the houses at the Vietnam favela. Photo Silva (2015).

Image 35: Vulnerability map. The SR favela is identified by a black circle. Areas in red and orange are where the most vulnerable population lives. Areas in purple, pink and light blue are where the least vulnerable people live. Source: Centro de Estudos da Metropole.

Image 36: São Remo favela aerial image. The university owns the areas in blue and areas in red represent privately owned land. Source: Prefeitura de São Paulo.

Image 37: Zoning plan of the University of São Paulo's campus from 1952. Source: USP Prefeitura.

Image 38: São Remo favela aerial image from 1979. Areas in yellow were not occupied yet in 1979. Source: Tanaka 1991.

Image 39: São Remo favela street in 1979. Source: Residents Association's archive; retrieved from http://www.usp.br/cje/saoremo/noticia.php?n=103.

Image 40: São Remo favela street in the early 1980s. Source: São Remo favela resident.

Image 41: Estadão newspaper story published on September 23, 1979, calling Mr. Viotti "the president."

Image 42: Estadão newspaper article published on July 17, 1979

Image 43: Alley at the SR favela named after the residents' association president Mr. Viotti. Source: São Remo FAUUSP. Photo by Ana Maria Haddad, 2017.

Image 44: São Remo favela existing infrastructure in 1988. Red is the existing sewage network. Yellow circles are public payphones. Blue marks the dumpsters. Source: CECOI 1988.

Image 45: Estadão newspaper article published on September 23, 1987

Image 46: São Remo favela site plan in 1988. Source: CECOI 1988.

Image 47: São Remo favela land use in 1988. Dotted area is residential; orange is residential and commercial; black is residential and services; pink is institutional; blue is commercial, and green is service. Source: CECOI 1988.

Image 48: Estadão newspaper article published on April 4th, 1989

Image 49: Urbanization project proposed by the municipal government in 1993-1994 (USP 2004, 38)

Image 50: Estadão newspaper stories published on November 6, 1997. The main story says: 'Body of missing boy found at US.' (Estadão November 6, 1997, C9).

Image 51: Area donated by USP in yellow. Source: CDHU and USP.

Image 52: The latest proposal for urbanizing the SR favela. Source: CDHU.

Image 53: São Remo favela in 1996. Photo by Bethany Opalach; retrieved from https://favelissues.com/2013/04/09/the-old-gang-in-the-new-neighborhood/

Image 54: Map of housing access. The houses in yellow are the only ones accessible through streets. Source: CDHU.

Image 55 and 56: Alleys at the SR favela that are shaped by the houses surrounding them. Photos by the author.

Image 57: SR favela's topography. Source: CDHU.

Image 58 and 59: Houses by the Riacho Doce stream – Photo and schematic section by the author.

Images 60 and 61: To the left, types of coating that exist at the SR favela and, to the right, the most common location of coating. Source: CDHU.

Images 62: Map showing the houses with coating. Houses in orange are the ones without coating. Source: CDHU.

Images 63: SR land use map. Yellow is commerce and services. Purple are NGOs and educational institutions. Dark pink are health-dedicated facilities. Light pink and the orange are sports facilities. Dark grey are churches. Blue is the military police's facilities. Source: CDHU.

Image 64: São Remo Sports court before and after the renovation project. Source: love.fútbol Instagram account - 2017. Available at: Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/BXTqsoMnrJy/ (accessed September 26, 2017).

Image 65: Mr. José's house progression over time. Made by the author.

Image 66: Mr. José's five-story house at the São Remo favela today. Photo by the author.

Image 67: Schematic diagrams of the continuous occupation at the SR favela in 1977, 1988, and today. Grey areas are vacant. Made by the author. Data Source: CECOI 1988 and Tanaka 1991.

Image 68: Metal gate surrounding half of the sidewalk to create a small yard. Photo by the author.

Image 69: Parking garages built on vacant areas at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

Image 70 and 71: Outside staircases at the SR favela. Photos by the author.

Image 72 and 73: Outside staircases at the SR favela. Photos by the author.

Images 74: Schematic drawings showing how the residents of the SR favela expand the floor plan of their houses above the ground level. Drawings by the author.

Image 75 and 76: Dark alleys at the SR favela covered by over ground additions. Photos by the author.

Image 77 and 78: A second floor bathroom addition on top of an alley and another dark alley at the SR favela covered by an over ground addition. Photos by the author.

Image 79: Whites pipes going up outside the masonry wall at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

Image 80 and 81: Whites pipes going up outside the masonry wall at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

BEGINNINGS

Houses at the Vietnam favela. Photo by the author (2017).

I don't live in the city. I live in the favela. In the mud on the banks of the Tietê River. And with only nine cruzeiros. I don't even have sugar, because yesterday after I went out the children ate what little I had. (Jesus 1962, 31)[1]

I.I. Background

Favela is a term used to categorize self-built urban communities in Brazilian cities that are widely considered precarious, disordered, and illegal. These characterizations have continuously contributed to the stigmatization and criminalization of favelas and their residents. This study considers how favelas and their residents may be better understood to inform future policy and research that could impact the over 11 million Brazilians living in favelas today.

When favelas first appeared in the beginning of the 20th century in Brazil, they were considered a problem by the government's engineers, politicians, and the Brazilian society. The early conceptualization of favelas was as a nuisance and aberration. Since the early 1900s, there has been five broadly defined theoretical lenses through which scholars have conceptualized favelas. These include 1) marginality theory, 2) drugs and criminality, 3) representations of favelas, 4) sociological portrayals of favelas' organizations along with cultural and religious manifestations, and 5) favelas' forms of endurance and resistance. Following is a brief overview of the lenses through which favelas have been studied in the 20th and 21st centuries

Marginality was a term used to explain the unequal effects of industrialization and development processes in Latin American cities in the 1960s. There were two lines of thought within marginality theory: social/cultural marginalization and economic marginalization (Delfino

---

[1] Jesus, Carolina Maria de. *Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1962.

2012). Scholars working within the modernization paradigm of development referred to as the *idea of marginality* to discuss the social consequences resulting from rapid urbanization processes in Latin American cities (Delfino 2012; Germani 1980; Kay 1991). Within the Marxist paradigm and dependency theory, scholars described marginality as economic marginality, employing the term to characterize the increasing segregation between the elite and the marginal masses (Delfino 2012; González de la Rocha et al. 2004; Kay 1991; Nun 1969; Quijano 1977). Many studies have challenged marginality theory by arguing that favelas are neither socially nor economically marginal to society. Rather, these studies argue that favelas are integrated within society in unequal ways, product of the existing structural inequality embedded in Brazilian society (Leeds and Leeds 1978; Machado da Silva 1971; Perlman 1976; Silva 1967; Valladares 2005).

Favelas have been extensively investigated through the lenses of drug trafficking and violence. These are important issues as residents' daily lives and experiences are significantly influenced by the networks and structures that exist among gangs and the police (J. de S. Silva et al. 2009). Drugs and violence are also frequently what the media emphasizes in portrayals of favelas, perpetuating the stigma that already exists around them. Accounts of these issues include state violence as a response to drug gangs (G. Silva 2011), criminality and the power relations inscribed in these networks (Zaluar 2008), and the consequences of the distribution and sale of cocaine from favelas to the middle and upper classes (Arias 2006; Mafra 2008; Zaluar 2000). Such depictions are evident in the news, and popular movies, such as *City of God* and *Fast and Furious 5*.

Research on how favelas are represented and understood by a variety of actors has found a disconnection between the reality of what favelas are and the narrative propagated by the media

and the government (Freire 2008; Lacerda 2015; Müller 2017; Novaes 2014; Saaristo 2015). These narratives perpetuate the idea of favelas as the non-city and the dichotomization of society as "them" and "us," "legal" and "illegal." This discourse about favelas contributes to further stigmatization and criminalization of favelas and their residents, reinforcing structures of inequality and exclusion. Additionally, the "otherness" narrative of favelas has had direct impacts on favela residents' lives, such as those seen in favela tourism (Freire-Medeiros 2009; Frisch 2012; Rolfes 2010; Williams 2008). The desire to tour a favela lies on the constructed and commodified reality of the "other" (Frisch 2012). Instead of promoting a better understanding of favelas, this phenomenon perpetuates the prevailing narrative of favelas as homogenous spaces of poverty and illegality.

Another way of viewing favelas comes from sociological portrayals of favelas that have recognized residents' abilities to respond to and solve existing problems, focusing on intrinsic forms of organizations that exist in favelas and popular participation (Gay 1990, 1994; Koster and Nuijten 2012; Saaristo 2015), as well as cultural and religious manifestations. Scholars have discussed the dynamics of patronage between politicians and some community leaders who act as brokers during elections (Gay 1990, 1994; Koster and Nuijten 2012). Other leaders refuse patronage and choose to enter the political arena and represent favela residents themselves (Saaristo 2015). Sociologists and anthropologists have identified cultural manifestations in favelas as a means to make claims about occupying the city's territory and being recognized as part of it in a process of creating a new narrative of resistance and affirmation of difference. These cultural manifestations include music (samba, hip hop, and funk), art, dance, and other types of artistic performances (Bezerra 2017; Cechetto 1997; Cunha 1996; Gay 1990, 1994; Koster and Nuijten

2012; Oliveira 1997; Oliveira and Marcier 1998; Pardue 2010; Saaristo 2015). Research on

religiosity includes discussions about morality, faith, religion, and their impacts on favela residents'

lives (Alvito 2001; Burdick 2008; Kraatz 2001; Steele 2011).

The fifth narrative of favela investigation focuses on the means people find to react to

realities of poverty, segregation, inequality, and violence. The studies about these reactions center

around the forms of endurance, resistance, and/or mobilization in favelas. Holston (1991), for

example, characterizes the practice of autoconstruction in the peripheries of the city of São Paulo

as an arena for spatial, political, and symbolic popular mobilization by the urban poor in Brazil.

Other scholars have supported Holston's claims in a variety of ways, focusing on favela residents'

build-your-own home strategies, the continuous processes of house improvement, networks of

people, and several types of collective organizations (Alves 2014; Cavalcanti 2009; Kowarick 2004;

Marques 2015; Silva 2011).

This dissertation directly contributes to the discourse of three of the five theoretical lenses

presented above. These are representations of favelas, sociological portrayals of favelas'

organizations along with cultural and religious manifestations, and favelas' forms of endurance

and resistance. Similarly, the investigation presented here diverges from the body of scholarship

that characterizes favelas as either disorganized and/or governed by drug trafficking gangs (

Benchimol 1990; Valladares 2005; Vaz 1986). Through the understanding of two favelas' unique

local knowledge about their spaces, communities, and underlying self-governing efforts, levels,

and power structures, the study shows that favelas are not chaotic, nor are they exclusively

governed by gangs and criminality.

I.II. Research Statement

This dissertation focuses on efforts towards a self-governance practice in favelas as a way to contribute to the sociological and anthropological body of scholarship on favelas. As previous portrayals of favelas, the undertaken research acknowledges residents' efforts to resolve problems through organizations and social networks (Cunha 1996; Cechetto 1997; Oliveira 1997; Oliveira and Marcier 1998). This study confronts the dichotomized narrative of favelas that frequently sustains the stigmatization and criminalization of these settlements and its residents (Freire 2008; Lacerda 2015; Müller 2017; Novaes 2014; Saaristo 2015).

In addition, this project builds upon the work of Holston (1991) through the collection and analysis of ethnographical empirical data on self-governance efforts in two favelas in the city of São Paulo to advance the conceptualization of favelas as sites of resistance and political claims for favela residents' fundamental rights as Brazilian citizens. This contrasts with an extensive body of scholarship on favelas that has characterized them as either chaotic and/or governed by fear and violence yielded by gangs and drug traffickers (Benchimol 1990; Valladares 2005; Vaz 1986). According to these portrayals, favelas are either as ungoverned spaces or ruled by trafficking and crime. This study shows there is a logic of formation and development behind two favelas in the city of São Paulo that is largely reliant on spatially organized kinship structures, here entitled social-spatial nodes. These social-spatial nodes are the fundamental component of self-governance efforts in these two favelas in São Paulo.

Self-governance

Lefebvre's theories about the production of space and autogestion constitute the main theoretical framework for this project. Autogestion is the proposition of self-management and decentralization of power and control of the space of production and the space of everyday life (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a). Autogestion is not a formula or a recipe. Rather, autogestion is a strategy, a project political orientation and governance applicable to all sectors of society. This strategy in turn gives control and autonomy to those actors whose lives are influenced by top-down decision-making processes. Lefebvre's proposition of autogestion offers a theoretical category for the study of favelas and the envisioning of its possibilities.

For the purposes of an empirical study, I employ the idea of self-governance as an analogous analytical category to the concept of autogestion for research and data collection purposes. The conceptualization of self-governance offers an opportunity to empirically investigate the potentials of the materialization of autogestion. This study is centered around and contributes to three central research foci: Lefebvre's theoretical framework, the self-governance literature, and scholarship on favelas (see Image 1).
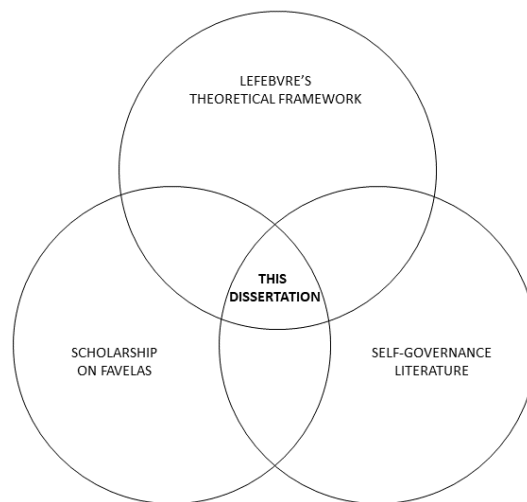
Image 1: Diagram positioning this study within existing scholarship.

Scholars in different fields of study have demonstrated through empirical research how people govern themselves independently of the state or other outside institutions such as the autonomous municipalities called "caracoles" in Mexico or people in peripheral areas of South East Asia that are outside of state control, and have their own autonomous institutions and cultural characteristics (Casanova 2005; Haar 2004; Melenotte 2015; Scott 2009). Although self-governance can occur in situations in which there is complete or partial absence of state institutions, it also exists in parallel to state presence. In most cases, the absence or presence of state institutions is not binary but rather on a spectrum of presence and significance of actions. Informally produced communities that are within the physical boundaries of a state but are, in most cases, left to their own devices also govern themselves.

Research suggests the need to further investigate informal self-organization processes and the possibility of integrating them into mainstream planning practices. Several papers have been published on self-organization practices of informal urban development in Ghana that are case and situation specific and often overlooked by spatial planning agencies (Korah et al. 2017; Nunbogu and Korah 2016). Stacey and Lund (2016) show that governance in an informal settlement happens through relationships between community-based organizations and residents which enables a well-established social contract. Governing organizations established by residents include public services, community policing, building regulations, and recognition of property transfers (Stacey and Lund 2016). Despite focusing on self-governance through collective organizations, these scholars do not aim attention on spatial dimension of self-governing. This study contributes to the theoretical conceptualization of self-governance by emphasizing the spatial dimension of self-governance in its analysis.

Self-governance Framework

Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of autogestion as well as the literature on governance and self-governance (see Chapter Three for the review of the self-governance literature), this dissertation puts forward a framework of self-governance with five core elements: autonomous action, power to make decisions over needs and outcomes, networks of collaboration and mobilization, processes of negotiation, and the promotion of change (see Image 2). These elements are not isolated from each other. Rather, they work together, influencing one another in a continuous and unstable process towards a self-governance practice.
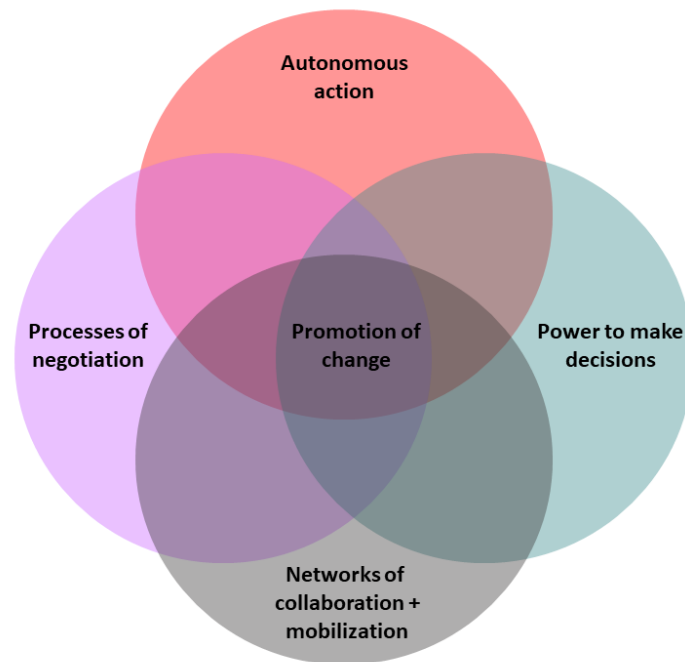
Image 2: The self-governance framework.

Power to make decisions (Arnstein 1969; Fontan et al. 2009; Le Galès 1995; Pierre 1999; Rose 2000) refers to a community's capacity and opportunities to make decisions over what needs to be changed or improved. This includes a community's ability to collectively negotiate, make

decisions, and take action as a group. Often, the power to make decisions is concentrated in the hands of leaders, and not necessarily shared with a significant range of community members.

Networks relate to relationships and connections among different actors, groups or organization within the community (Thomas 1966; R. Rhodes 1997; Hutchinson 1999; Goss 2001; Bowles and Gintis 2002; Stacey and Lund 2016). The analysis of networks in self-governance structures acknowledges that governance is not an individual endeavor. It is through networks of collaboration and mobilization that communities are able to make decisions and take action to improve themselves. Networks also include outside organizations and actors who might support a community by providing lacking resources or expertise.

Autonomy refers to independent efforts to initiate and mobilize the people and the existing resources to put the process of self-governance in place (Lefebvre 1966; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009; Eversole 2011). Autonomy does not imply absolute independence of the "outside." It is unlikely that communities or residents' organizations can be completely autonomous in a process of self-governance. Within the self-governance framework, autonomy involves independent decision-making and initial action from the state or outside private institutions and organizations.

Processes of negotiation recognizes the existence of conflict and different opinions and priorities in communities. Negotiation entails mediating conflicts, debating priorities, and disagreeing with one another and with outsiders in a process towards self-governance. Lastly, the central aspect of the proposed self-governance framework is the promotion of change as an initial intention and as an outcome (Arnstein 1969; Eversole 2011; Lefebvre 1966; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009; O'Toole and Burdess 2004). Intent is important when analyzing actions as it is what

prompts communities to act independently of state institutions to improve their quality of life. However, intent is not enough for the materialization of a self-governance practice. In determining what constitutes self-governance, people's abilities to actually promote change is essential. (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed description of this framework).

Self-governance in Favelas

Self-governance is not limited to residents' efforts to make decisions in a process of negotiation in which people act autonomously within a network of collaboration and mobilization to promote change. The dynamics of drug traffic, criminality, and violence are intertwined in favela residents' efforts towards a self-governance practice. The understanding of how drug trafficking gangs organize themselves and influence everyday life in favela is necessary as these dynamics directly affect residents' experiences in favelas and outsiders' perspectives. While I acknowledge the importance of these themes and the need to better comprehend the dynamics behind them, I focus on self-governance efforts and structures beyond the networks of drug trafficking and violence. Understanding favela residents' self-governance efforts and structures is a way to move beyond narratives of favelas as the non-city and the dichotomization of society as "them" and "us," "legal" and "illegal." This project focuses on residents' efforts towards self-governance is an attempt to disrupt the "otherness" narrative of favelas as well as the normative and operative definitions perpetuated by the state and the media.

This dissertation aims to provide a richer understanding of favelas' own logic of organization, and spatial formation and development. Favelas are frequently described as irregular, and chaotic. Such conceptualizations are attempts to fit favelas into the normative and

operative discourses of modernity and urban planning scholarship and practice. Urban planning discourse generally perceives favelas as nonconformant to its models of city making. Favelas might not be ordered and organized according to the urban planning paradigm of order and organization. However, not fitting into a specific paradigm of order and modernity does not make favelas disordered. In this sense, studying efforts towards a self-governing practice within favelas, as this dissertation does, offers an alternative to the conceptualization of favelas as irregular environments.

In Brazil, 11.4 million people lived in favelas in 2010, approximately six percent of the country's population (Valladares 2005). In the city of São Paulo, close to 1.6 million people live in favelas, representing 15 percent of the city's total population (Valladares 2005). Favelas have been a fundamental part of Brazilian cities since the beginning of the post-industrial urbanization processes in the early 1900s but continue to be stigmatized places. Favela residents experience discrimination because of where they live (Lara and Carranza 2014). This dissertation supports and informs the need to materialize favela residents' fundamental rights as Brazilian citizens.

Casa x Rua

While attempting to understand Brazilian society, the anthropologist Roberto DaMatta (1997) examines the "casa," the house, and the "rua," the street, as sociological categories that represent more than physical and spatial elements. For Brazilians, these categories are also "moral entities, spheres of social action, ethical provinces endowed with positivity, institutionalized cultural domains and, because of this, capable of awakening emotions, reactions, laws, prayers, songs and images aesthetically framed and inspired (DaMatta 1997, 15). DaMatta argues that the

"casa" and the "rua" are opposites to each other. The "casa" is an intimate and private space, the domain of personal relationships. The "casa" is the space of the family which includes friendship and loyalty, providing shelter, love, and affection. In the "casa," everyone is a citizen. The "casa" is an individual responsibility and it should be taken care of appropriately.

On the other hand, the "rua" is the space of public life, ruled by impersonal laws. In the "rua," people are anonymous individuals. The "rua" is the state's responsibility. If the "rua" is dirty, it is the government's fault. People do not really care about taking care of the street, it is not their responsibility. The street is ruled by the state's laws. The "rua" is an inhospitable environment, a busy and dangerous place (DaMatta 1997).

According to DaMatta, the key to understand Brazilian society is to study the "in between" things. DaMatta argues that is through the connections and conjunctions that it is possible to better examine oppositions, "without disassembling, minimizing them or simply take them as irreducible" (DaMatta 1997, 25). In following DaMatta's proposition, this study focuses on understanding the spaces in-between the houses in favelas. This dissertation shows how these spaces, the alleys in-between the houses in favelas, are not "ruas," as characterized by DaMatta. Favelas' in-between spaces are considered extensions of residents' houses, built and taken care of by residents themselves as their houses. In this sense, favelas' in-between spaces are "casas," and not "ruas."

I.III. Research Questions

The primary goal of this dissertation is to provide a richer understanding of self-governing processes in favelas beyond the state and crime-related organizations. Secondary objectives include challenging common portrayals of favelas as disordered places dominated by criminality, advocating for a new urban policy agenda for favelas. The primary questions this dissertation addresses are:

HOW and WHY do favela residents govern themselves?

A subset of five secondary questions helps further focus this study:

- How are favela residents governing themselves through the production and maintenance of space? Why do self-governing spatial practices occur in favelas?

- How are favela residents governing themselves through everyday practices?[2]

- Why do self-governing processes take place in favelas?

- How are favela residents governing themselves through collective groups or organizations? What is the role of groups and organization in self-governing processes in favelas?

- How do these governance processes contribute to the improvement of the built environment and socioeconomic conditions in favelas?

This dissertation contributes to the idea of self-governance by looking at two favelas' social and spatial self-governance efforts and structures. As a way to develop a detailed understanding of self-governance in two favelas in the city of São Paulo, this project approaches self-governance

---

[2] "Everyday practices" constitute daily personal and collective habits that community members have and can be observed, such as talking to a neighbor every morning in front of his or her house, children playing in the street, or taking one specific path every day to go to work.

through three different dimensions: its spatial production, residents' everyday practices and collective mobilizations. To answer these research questions, this study employs a multi-sited ethnographic research design in two favelas in the city of São Paulo: the Vietnam favela and the São Remo favela. Data collection methods included participant observation, semi-structured interviews, photovoice, and document analysis.

I.IV. Significance of the Study

The study of self-governance structures, complex power networks, and how these intertwine with outside actors and institutions in favelas contributes to debates in urban studies, development studies, political geography, and anthropology. For one, this empirical study of favelas in São Paulo offers a source and context of understanding outside of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, where the overwhelming majority of favela research has been situated. Perhaps most importantly, a better understanding of self-governance in favelas also offers the possibility of using such existing processes and networks and improving them to positively impact life for favela residents. The existing local knowledge about the community and its spaces may be leveraged in the development process, instead of underestimated and ignored, as roughly one-third of Brazil's population resides in favela housing.

This project is an inter-disciplinary effort to understand how already existing urban governance structures can be leveraged when trying to improve living conditions in low-income communities. According to the World Health Organization, an estimated 828 million people, one-third of the world's population, live in squatter settlements (Segawa 2013). Studying self-

governance in low-income communities is a means to understand the residents' needs and different ways to improve their living conditions through collaboration and empowerment. Grappling with the concept of self-management within poor communities is valuable for the future development of theory, policy, and practice within the fields of urban planning and international development. The improvement of living conditions in poor urban communities and the empowerment of disadvantaged populations are issues that most countries in the world face, both in the Global North and the Global South. Learning about urban governance within these communities is an important component while trying to improve and integrate them.

This investigation has implications for the future of urban planning practice and theory in Brazil, in the Global South, and in the Global North as well. Planning discourse and practice have continuously been appropriated and replicated from the Global North to the Global South (Segawa 2013). Generally, urban theory is deeply rooted in Euro-American discourses, and very little has been developed by looking at urban growth and urban transformations in cities of the Global South. The study of self-governance in poor communities in the Global South offers the opportunity to analyze how such realities can inform and improve existing urban planning discourses across the world. This project aims to "move beyond the dichotomy of "First World" models and "Third World" problems" (Roy 2005, 147) by contributing to the urban theory and epistemology debates from a Global South perspective.

I.V. Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter Two describes the sites of research and methods, as well as the fieldwork experience. Chapter Three presents the project's theoretical framework as well as the review of the critical literature concerning favelas. This chapter also details how this dissertation contributes to the existing literature. Chapters Four and Five are core chapters, describing the sites of research, the Vietnam and São Remo favelas in São Paulo, and presenting and analyzing the data. These chapters present historical analyses of both favelas, their demographics and socioeconomic characteristics, and both the existing organizations and outside institutions working in these favelas. Chapters Four and Five also detail both favelas' current urban, material, and environmental states as well as the processes of change that took place over the years contributing to such changes. Chapter Six is the conclusion chapter, summarizing this dissertation's findings and detailing its theoretical contributions. Additionally, Chapter Six describes the policy implications of the findings as well as recommendations and suggesting future avenues of research.

SITES AND METHODS

Sports court at the São Remo favela. Photo by Aproximação – USP (2017).

Anthropology demands the open-mindedness with which one must look and listen, record in astonishment and wonder that which one would not have been able to guess. (Mead 1977, IX)

This study employs a multi-sited ethnographic approach to two favelas in the city of São Paulo: the Vietnam favela and the São Remo favela to attempt to answer the following research questions: 1. how and why are favela residents governing themselves through the production and maintenance of space, everyday practices and groups or organizations? 2. Why do self-governing processes take place in favelas? 3. How do these governance processes contribute to the improvement of the built environment and socioeconomic conditions in favelas?

In this chapter, I first briefly introduce the two sites, their status as a favela during the time of the fieldwork, and the self-governing organizations initially identified. Secondly, I describe and reflect on the overall research approach taken throughout the data collection, analysis, and reporting phases. I then detail the research design and methods for the dissertation along with the criteria I utilized for site selection. Lastly, I reflect on the fieldwork experiences and relationships as well as how these influenced the development of this dissertation.

The first site I selected is the Vietnam favela, located in the Central-South region of São Paulo (see Image 1). The Vietnam favela has 954 houses in an area of approximately 1,603 square meters (17,254.55 square feet). It is one among 13 other favelas located in the surroundings of the Água Espraiada stream in the Jabaquara borough, and it has been in existence since the early 1970s. Although the Vietnam favela has not been through any upgrading or formalization efforts by the municipal government, there are advanced plans for the removal and relocation of the Vietnam favela and its surrounding communities' residents to government-provided low-income housing buildings. These plans are part of the Água Espraiada Urban Operation, a policy

mechanism created by the city government to intervene and revitalize a previously delimitated urban area that is considered attractive for the real estate market (A. D. S. Silva 2015; Fix 2001).

The existence and lagging development of these plans has put the Vietnam favela's residents in a newfound state of uncertainty: residents who are registered to move into low-income housing units wait for when it is time to move out of the favela; those not registered live not knowing where they will live when the entire favela is finally removed. Many residents who will receive low-income housing units in the future are uncertain of how their lives will change with the move, and some even have doubts about being able to afford the new low-income housing. Due to changes in the municipal administration every four years in conjunction with the slow processes of urban and housing policy implementation in Brazil, no one in the Vietnam favela actually knows when the apartments will be ready.

Despite a state of unpredictability, the Vietnam favela's two residents' associations, leaders, and volunteers are actively working to improve their community and residents' lives. The Conquering a Space Association and the Kids' Friends Association each run several projects, ranging from education to income generation and social work to providing information about rights. The work of these organizations was the starting point for the study of self-governance in the Vietnam favela.

The second research site is the São Remo favela, in the West zone of São Paulo (see Image 1). There are 3,000 houses in the São Remo favela's total area of approximately 70,287 square meters (756,562.97 square feet). The São Remo favela has existed since the late 1960s. The majority of its land belongs to the University of São Paulo, which also neighbors the favela. The history and current status of the São Remo favela has historically been heavily determined by the

power imbalances between the university, including its administrators, professors, researchers, employees, and students, and the favela's residents. It is thus impossible to understand the São Remo favela without understanding its relationship with the university's campus.

The University of São Paulo is currently in partnership with the São Paulo state's housing company to plan the partial removal, upgrading, and construction of low-income housing units in the São Remo favela. The plan is still in its initial stages and it is uncertain when the plan will come to fruition. However, most residents I talked to at the São Remo favela do not believe that the plan will ever happen. Residents argue that due to the level consolidation of the favela and past rumors of removal that never happened, the favela will never be removed.
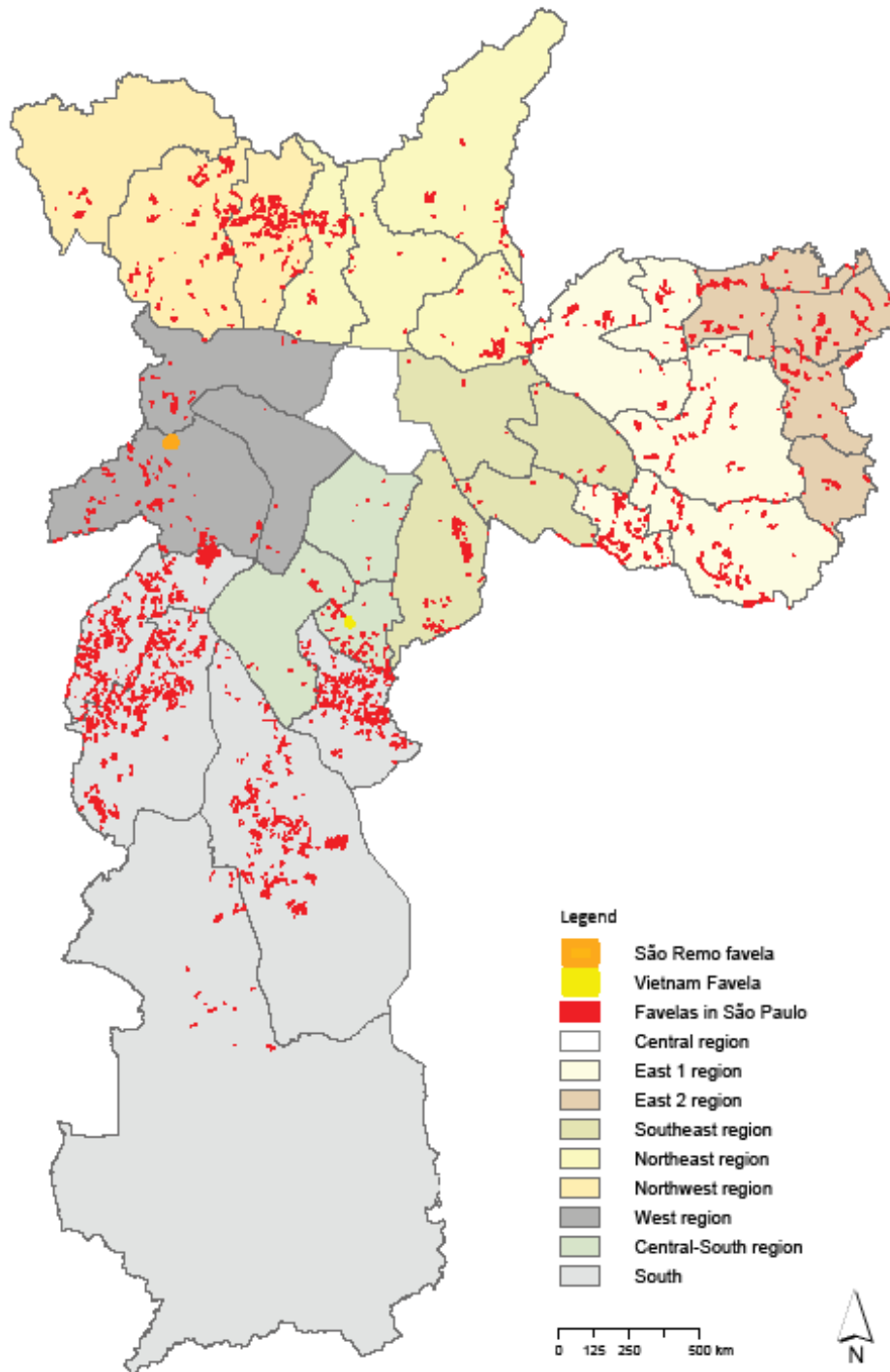
Image 3: Map indicating the locations of the Vietnam and the São Remo favela in the city of São Paulo. Made by the author.

There is one "official" residents' organization in the São Remo favela named the São Remo

Residents' Association. The organization's work mostly focuses the use of space in the favela. But

overall, politics and conflict heavily influence the effectiveness of the organization's efforts to improve the community. At the same time, there are other groups that focus on sports, cultural activities, and the arts, that are not necessarily 'official' organizations, but are also engaged in promoting residents' wellbeing in their own unique ways. This São Remo Residents' Association and the groups described above were the first aspect of the discovery of self- governing structures at the São Remo favela.

II.I. Activist Research and Reflexivity

It is important to acknowledge the activist nature of this research project. Charles H. Hale (2006) defined activist research as

> (…) a method through which we affirm a political alignment with an organized group of people in struggle and allow dialogue with them to shape each phase of the process, from conception of the research topic to data collection to verification and dissemination of the results (97).

Although the conception of my research project was not developed in direct collaboration with favela residents, my inspiration for the project came out of my work with favela upgrading projects and the problems I observed in the work I was doing as a practicing architect in Sao Paulo. While in most projects there is some degree of resident participation, I noticed that such involvement was mostly in the form of consultation (Arnstein 1969). What the residents wanted was not necessarily what was implemented. Other political, economic and technical factors guided decisions and residents ended up as clients and passive recipients (Ostrom 1993).

While the conception of this research project was without the direct contribution of community members, the residents and their struggles informed and guided my data collection and analysis processes. What this means is that I am not only committed to generating scholarly understanding, I am also committed to the political struggle of favela residents, the struggle for their rights as Brazilian citizens and as human beings. As Hale (2006) puts it "scholars who practice activist research have dual loyalties – to academia and to a political struggle that often encompasses" (Hale 2006, 100).

As an activist scholar, I believe that all researchers have political beliefs that directly inform their research projects and the formulation of their research objectives (Hale 2006, 2001). As scholar, I am also committed to rigorous academic analysis. How is it possible to be faithful to my political orientation and the intellectual work at the same time? My answer lies in reflexivity (also known as reflexive analysis), which refers to the assessment of the influence of the researcher's background, perceptions, and beliefs in the research process (Ruby 1980; Krefting 1991). Reflexivity is a skill developed by therapists as a way to recognize the self's reactions to what is happening in every moment, to stories, people, and events, and to take advantage of such knowledge to direct actions, speech, and understandings of the world (Etherington 2007; Wosket 1999).

Applied to the research practice, reflexivity implies awareness "of the personal, social, and cultural contexts in which we (and others) live and work to understand how these affect our conduct, interpretations, and representations of research stories" (Etherington 2007, 601). Reflexive research is thus acknowledging that my values and beliefs influence the research

processes and results. It also means being transparent about what I discover through these processes and, most importantly, how I discover it (Etherington 2007).

Since the conceptualization of this endeavor, I have been committed to being mindful of the possible influence and biases that my political beliefs may generate in the scholarly investigation as well as the effect that my presence as a scholar and investigator had on my relationships with the participants. Reflexivity was a constant practice during my fieldwork to sustain my dual loyalty. While I set out to investigate specific questions, residents' narratives guided the focus of my interactions and conversations.

Additionally, reflexivity is an ethical commitment to transparency. Transparency about the difficulties faced by the researcher, the relationships developed, the processes of data collection, analysis, and writing. This research project has been committed to transparency during the data collection and initial analysis, and it is accountable for it. Initial findings were discussed and confirmed with main informants during the fieldwork. After defending, I plan to present my findings and share the materials I produced with residents and organizations from both communities. Also influenced by feminist values in relation to power and equality, this project attempts to "lower the barrier between the research and researched, and allow both sides to be seen and understood for who they are" (Etherington 2007, 600) through the narratives and stories of participants as told by them. However, I acknowledge my position of power as a researcher and recognize that, no matter how much I include residents' voices, this dissertation is my work only.

II.II. Case Study Design

I chose a case study design utilizing a combination of research methods to understand how and why self-governance takes place in favelas. Yin (2003) defines a case study as:

> an empirical enquiry that
> - investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, specifically when
> - the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (Yin 2003, 13)

A case study research design is optimal for this investigation due to the complex nature of the unit of analysis, the research questions, and the need to triangulate data and methods. Marshall and Rossman (2011) justify the use of case study design when the focus of inquiry lays in groups or organizations. Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002) reiterate the need to employ a variety of research methods to successfully explore collective action and social movements. The case study approach offers the possibility for multiple tools and techniques of exploration (Marshall and Rossman 2011).

A case study is an investigation focused empirically and analytically on an instance of some empirical phenomenon (Snow, David A. 2002). After examining several conceptual case studies, Snow and Trom (2002) identified three fundamental characteristics defining a case study:

> (a) investigation and analysis of an instance or variant of some bounded social phenomenon that (b) seek to generate a richly detailed and "thick" elaboration of the phenomenon studied through (c) the use and triangulation of multiple methods or procedures that include but are not limited to qualitative techniques (Snow and Trom 2002, 147).

As a way to develop a thick, detailed, holistic, multilayered, and nuanced elaboration of the case, Snow and Trom (2002) suggest the triangulation of multiple methods or procedures in case

study research. Triangulation is a strategy used to secure validity and reliability throughout the research process (Patton 2014). Triangulation entails the use of various methods, investigators, data sources and theoretical perspectives broadly. Specifically, triangulation is the study of a phenomenon with the use of multitude and overlapping methodologies (Snow and Anderson 1991). I use methodological and data triangulation to study self-governance in favelas. Methods include: 1) participant observation, 2) semi-structured interviews, 3) photovoice, and 4) document analysis.

Site Selection

The main criteria for the selection of the research sites were access, opportunities for in-depth study, and representativeness of the unit of analysis. For this study, I focus on self-governance processes and activities in favelas developed by residents. The first criterion for site selection was the existence of an independent form of community organization through which self-governance activities take place. Initially, I followed Bagnasco and Le Gales (1997) and Hutchinson's (1999) definitions of governance, focusing on the processes of defining priorities among various stakeholders, determining specific goals as a group, and mobilizing resources to achieve them.

I also borrowed from Hutchinson (1999), who argues that community-building is the core of community governance. Governance in communities involves not only management and decision-making processes but also the connections and support among residents. When initially looking for governance in favelas, I thus focused on aspects of engaging community members and outsiders contributing to the management of the favela. These aspects include the making of

space, collective action groups, the explicit and implicit decision-making processes of favela development and improvement, the mobilization of resources and coordination of actors, groups, and institutions (inside and outside the community). I was also looking for the connections and networks that exist within the favela and the existing support (emotional, social, financial assistance) among community members. Creating a better understanding of these processes and outcomes motivated my case selection process and my research questions as well as the smaller, more particular questions guiding my day-to-day interviews and observations.

A second strategy for selecting the cases for this research involved considering the physical characteristics of the favelas. I created a theoretical model of favela creation, growth, and development grounded in the existing literature to consider favelas' environments, socioeconomic, and political status. This model also helped me to initially situate how favelas and residents' self-governance evolve. The proposed model has three stages: favela formation, favela development, and favela formalization (see Figure 2 below). The stages cover the moment when a favela first appears to when it has been completely legalized, upgraded, and legitimized by the government. The stages are consecutive in nature but can overlap with each other. The beginning and ending of any of the stage are not fixed in any way and one stage does not necessarily exclude the other. Favelas are stigmatized and criminalized in all stages.
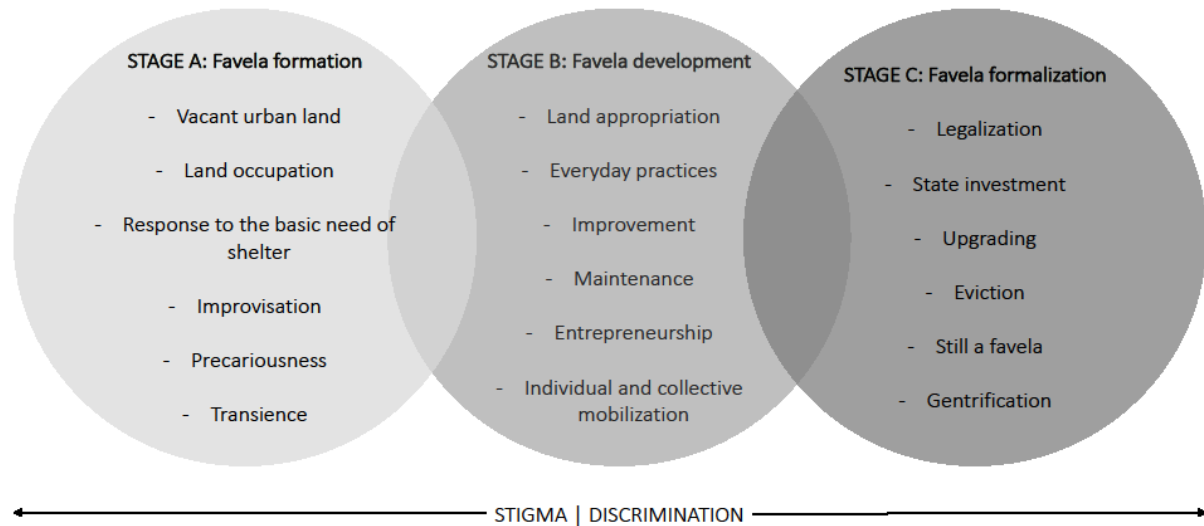
Image 4: Theoretical model of favela development's diagram. Made by the author.

Stage A, Favela Formation, takes place when a favela first appears. People who do not have a place to live occupy a piece of urban land they do not own to build a house for themselves. New residents arrive every other day and houses emerge frequently. The land can be privately or publicly owned and it is occupied because it is vacant, failing to fulfill its social function (Brazil 1988).

During this initial phase, houses are usually constructed with improvised non-durable materials such as wooden or metal panels found in scraps of trash. In time, more consolidated houses are built but there are still some that remain in precarious spatial and material conditions. The favela is constantly changing. However, population density is still low. There are no or very few local businesses, stores or services established in the favela. Residents are still responding to their unmet everyday needs, struggling with a precarious environment and lack of resources.

Stage B occurs when a community has been established. New inhabitants are not as common anymore. In this stage, transience is reduced. Residents know their neighbors and they

talk to each other on a daily basis. People help each other when needed, be it watching over a baby while the mother is at work or lending money for an emergency situation.

Slowly, residents upgrade their houses and urban spaces according to need and availability of resources. Some residents start to mobilize and organize available resources as a means to take action to improve their built environment and living conditions. People start working together to achieve common goals. Such mobilization contributes to the building of resident-run institutions that work to maintain and improve the community.

In this stage, favelas are not rapidly changing, as they are during stage A as well. However, favelas in this stage are still in a continuous process of physical and socioeconomic improvement, promoted and developed by the residents themselves. One can also observe local businesses created and maintained by residents. These are created as a response to necessity but as a form of residents' entrepreneurship as well.

Stage C happens after a favela has been through upgrading or formalization processes implemented by the State, either the municipal, state or federal level of a state institution. The processes of change and improvements developed in Stages A and B are key to starting and advancing the processes that lead to stage C. Although groups and organizations continue to exist on stage C, favelas in this stage are considered "urbanized" favelas but continue to be stigmatized places within Brazilian cities.

This study focuses on stage B of the theoretical model of favela development. I focus on Stage B for two reasons. First, it is to ensure that the favelas in this study are consolidated communities in terms of space and relationships. Second, because of the need for the existence of self-governing groups and organizations.

Initially, I developed this theoretical model as a way to think about the types of cases I needed to study and how to find them. During the fieldwork, this theoretical model became more than just a way to select research sites. Since a big part of the interviews consisted of the residents' life histories, moving and construction processes, I found myself collecting data that could further inform or even test this theoretical model. It became part of the interviews, and of the coding processes and analysis. During analysis and writing stages, this theoretical model became a more comprehensive tool, a spectrum to think about what favelas are, their self-governance structures, and their degree of administrative reframing by outside institutions. I further explore this tool, its implications for policy, and future avenues of research in Chapter Six.

II.III. Methods

Methodologically, this project draws from sociocultural anthropology, a discipline that aspires "to explain and interpret human cultures and social life" (Sanjek 2014, 59). This type of inquiry signals the value of ethnographic research, a technique focused on

> getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with [my] presence so that [I] can observe and record information about their lives. (Russell Bernard 2015, 342).

Ethnographic research is a method of investigation of qualitative aspects of phenomena. Ethnographic research involves different strategies of inquiry, such as participant observation, interviews, focus groups, and genealogies. The ethnographic component of this project included participant observation. Participant observation entails engagement with the selected groups, its elites, participants, and non-participants on a daily basis in their natural settings.

As explained by Sanjek (2014), the researcher is continually making decisions during the fieldwork: "where to be, who to listen to, what events to follow and what to safely ignore and leave out" (Sanjek 2014, 66). A theoretical framework, or the significant theories informing the initial research design, is what guides these decisions, and how the researcher makes sense of what he or she is experiencing. New theories also emerge from the experiences in the field, and those also inform such decisions.

For instance, when I first wrote the interview protocols, my questions drew from Henri Lefebvre's theory of production of space and autogestion as well as the self-governance literature. However, there were several themes were not foreseen in my initial questions that emerged from conversations and interviews and were later included in the interview protocols. For example, at the São Remo, one theme that emerged was legitimacy, or which organizations in the favela were the legitimate representatives of its residents. At the Vietnam favela, the importance of the role of the organization to provide information about basic rights and benefits was a common thread among the interviewed residents. These themes were incorporated in the interviews and later became important aspects of the findings.

Participant Observation

Participant observation involves more than observing and listening. It involves participating in events, meetings and everyday life situations. In participant observation, the researcher is part of the method. The observer cannot be extracted or removed from the process. The researcher is essential to the research process because I am the one who is going to see patterns and analyze them. In other words, I as a researcher am an instrument of data collection and analysis (Russell

Bernard 2015, 344). Any human interaction involves the minimum of two parts. Similarly, participant observation is a joint process between the researcher and the participants. Participant observation is not effective if either of these parts are not involved in it. The researcher must be attentive to the participants' environment and interaction to collect data. The participants need to accept and be comfortable with the researcher's presence so that it will not interfere with the participants' regular interactions and activities.

As a dynamic person rather than a static scientific instrument, I evaluate situations and react accordingly. This research is thus intentionally not standardized, objective, or replicable. Participant observation is "both a humanistic method and a scientific one" (Russell Bernard 2015, 342). My humanness must be acknowledged. One must recognize that "there is no way to eliminate the 'personal equation'" of this type of research (Russell Bernard 2015, 375).

The fact that the researcher is responsible for observing and rationalizing human experiences may lead to questions of objectivity. One may argue that human interpretation is subjective and, therefore, not replicable or scientific. As Martin Packer precisely puts it "How could objective knowledge and binding ethics be built from subjective experiences and preference?" (Packer 2011, 269). The truth is that human experience is, in fact, subjective. Qualitative investigations can approach such experiences in ways that quantitative methods of research cannot. Not every phenomenon is quantifiable or objective. In this sense, qualitative and quantitative analysis contribute to different kinds of understanding about the world (Russell Bernard 2015, 356). Each adds to the other but does not substitute it. Qualitative methods are critical to understanding the assumptions underlying practices to enable the possibility of discovering alternative ways of knowing and being in the world (Packer 2011).

It is unlikely that anyone will be open to answering questions from a stranger. There must be a relationship in place first: "Presence builds trust. Trust lowers reactivity. Lower reactivity means higher validity of data" (Russell Bernard 2015, 354). The observer's presence, and noninterference at the beginning of fieldwork cannot be overstated. The participation in their everyday lives will help build a relationship of trust between both parts. The ultimate goal is to reach a point where the dwellers accept me as a member of the group and the community, as a quasi-insider. I thus witness and engage in interactions, behaviors, and attitudes as they arise in their natural settings, rather than in settings that I would create as the researcher. I used participant observation methods when visiting the favelas and while attending meetings and social events.

However, I was never an insider or a quasi-insider in either of the favelas. It was always clear to me that I did not belong there. I did not know every alley of the São Remo favela as the residents do. And I was always advised to not go into the narrow alleys of the Vietnam favela by myself. Before I started the fieldwork, I hoped that I would be able to become a quasi-insider and even considered the possibility of renting a house in one the favelas I would study. I was naïve and also, as a middle-class white Brazilian, did not know much about relationships in favelas. I would find out later that people do not just move to one of these two favelas. They move there because they already have a relationship with a resident. This discovery was important for my own understanding of what favelas are and how they are different from other neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo, and the writing of this dissertation. Social ties are ultimately a fundamental component of how these two sites emerged and developed through time (see Chapters Four and Five for an in-depth discussion of this finding).

I thought that if I visit the favelas often enough and for long enough, eventually residents would get used to me being there. Soon I realized that it was not possible in only six months of fieldwork - maybe not even in one year. I would always be the student doing research. Residents frequently asked me where I lived in the city. After telling them, even when I was vague about it, they knew I did not live at a favela. This did not necessarily harm my research plans, but it made me more aware of the differences and power dynamics in place, and also humbler to just listen and learn.

Ultimately, I believe I became a trusted outsider (Bucerius 2013). But the levels of how much people trusted me varied. In time, I found that the positioning of the gatekeeper in each favela when introducing me to people had a significant impact on how much residents felt comfortable around me and, ultimately, trusted me. My relationships with the gatekeeper with each favela were critical in affecting the amount of time I was able to be in each favela, the people I met and talked to, the events I was invited to attend and ultimately, the amount of data I was able to collect on each favela.

Every time I visited either favela, I documented the visit in a journal with observation comments and reflections. Depending on the time of the day I came back, I did it immediately after getting back. If it was late at night, I either recorded the notes on an audio recorder and transcribed them the day after, or I waited until the next morning to write my notes. I wrote and recorded all my notes and comments in Portuguese. These notes were fundamental not only to the fieldwork but to help me make sense of what I was experiencing in the field. The notes were also important in helping me to connect the fieldwork experiences to the literature and theoretical framework. My data analysis process started with these notes in the field, and it did not end until

I finished writing the dissertation. During the six months I was in the field, I re-read the notes and listened to the interviews I had every week and was able to make decisions on what was missing, who else I needed to interview, what questions and probes were working or not.

Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview is a conversation in which the interviewer elicits specific information from a person by asking already written questions. These prepared questions are the core questions of a semi-structured interview to ensure that the minimum of information needed will be collected. Although the researcher prepares some basic questions in advance, semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility since the interviewer has the freedom to ask the respondent to elaborate upon an answer or to ask additional questions as probes. Semi-structured interviewing enables the researcher to go beyond the prepared questions and topics if necessary. All semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded in Portuguese and later transcribed by an online transcription service that guarantees confidentiality.

I conducted a total of twenty-nine semi-structured interviews at São Remo favela and thirty interviews at the Vietnam favela. Additionally, I did four semi-structured interviews with residents' organization/groups leaders in other favelas. The interviews lasted from ten minutes to one hour and twenty minutes. The semi-structured interviews focused on eight major themes: life histories of people's moving into the favela, household composition, daily routine, people's houses, the community, collective organizations in the favela and leadership, changes in the favela, and citizenship. The duration of the interviews was highly dependent on the interviewee. Some of the people I talked to were shy or did not have much to say about the questions I was asking. Others

were more talkative, explained their answers with detail and elaborated on their explanations. I respected each interviewee's positioning. If he or she was shy and not very responsive, I asked just the already planned questions and did not push them to elaborate. If he or she was more talkative and responsive, I took advantage of their willingness to talk to ask additional questions and asked them to elaborate more than I did with those who I felt were not so comfortable talking to me. I was sensitive and respectful of the interviewee's reactions to my questions.

I also had to make adjustments to the prepared questions after the first interviews. For example, I quickly realized that using the word 'space' in my questions was not very effective. As an architect and planner, I am aware of what space means if someone asks me "what do you think about this space?" In addition, space as a theoretical category is a fundamental part of the theoretical framework developed for this study. However, most people I talked to did not know what I meant when asked about space. I had to adjust the questions accordingly, eliminating the word space for more concrete, familiar and functional words like home, house, playground, street, neighborhood.

The second change I made was concerning the word favela. Very few people I talked to use the word favela when talking about where they lived. The word most people used was a 'community'. After noticing this, I quickly included three additional questions: 'do you use the word favela? If yes, why? If no, why? Do you use the word community instead of favela? Why or why not? And lastly, what does the word community mean to you?' (see Chapter One for a more substantial discussion of these categories).

I also had to adapt the questions depending on the person I was interviewing. For example, if I was talking to a resident who was in no way involved with the residents' association, I asked

why he or she was not involved, and following questions depending on the answers. On the other hand, when talking to someone who was a leader in the association, I would ask about their motivation to be involved, how did they get involved, and other following questions depending on their answers. These were just a few of the adaptations I had to make while talking to residents. Ultimately, my questions and follow-ups varied according to the interviewee. Even though I had previously prepared questions (see Appendix A), I gave residents the freedom to lead our conversations and interactions.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a research method that consists of giving a camera to the residents of a community to enable them to share their knowledge and expertise through visual images (C. Wang and Burris 1997). Scholars have characterized photovoice as a useful tool for community-based participatory research that allows participants to describe and reflect on their perceptions about their community (Belon et al. 2014; Catalani and Minkler 2010; Wang 1999; Wang and Burris 1997). Hergenrather et al. (2009) explain that discussions with the participants about the photos they took can contribute to their empowerment as a community. These discussions also

> "create critical dialogue, share knowledge about personal and community issues, and develop and host a forum for the presentation of their lived experiences and priorities through self-identified images, language, and context" (Hergenrather et al. 2009, 687).

In this methodology, participants are given a camera to take pictures related to a particular issue in their community. For this dissertation, I instructed the participants to take photos of what they like or dislike about the favela, where they felt safe or unsafe, and areas they felt responsible

for. I gave the participants disposable cameras with 30 pictures available to be taken. When they finished taking the pictures, I printed the photos and set up another time to meet and talk about them. I asked them to tell me what they took pictures of and why did they take them. Participants told me the stories behind the images. The discussions were audio recorded. Through the photos and the documented stories, it is possible to better understand residents' perceptions about their community and its issues (Belon et al. 2014).

There were difficulties and limitations in using this methodology. For example, I was not able to use photovoice at the Vietnam favela at all because since the first day of my fieldwork there, 'Seu' João told me I could not take pictures inside the favela because of the presence of drug dealers. According to him, they did not allow anyone to take pictures there. This is also why I took very few pictures from the Vietnam favela. At the São Remo favela, six residents that I had already interviewed before agreed to participate in the photovoice part of the research. However, only five of them took pictures and met me later to talk about them after I printed them. Additionally, the five residents who agreed to participate were all leaders in the favela, involved in different community groups and activities.

Document Analysis

I researched government documents for both favelas and stories about them from two of the leading newspapers in the city of São Paulo, the *Estado de São Paulo* newspaper and the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper. I had access to the newspapers' articles electronically through a website where they have available all of the pieces ever published. I was able to search for the articles with the names of the favelas and selected the ones that were pertained to the studied communities.

I also googled both favelas' names in order to get additional articles about them from other sources.

For the Vietnam favela, I had to submit a request for information and materials to the municipal housing agency of the city of São Paulo. It took almost five months to get a response from the agency and they only emailed me one document about the urban operation in which the favela is included. I was also able to get some additional government documentation online also about the urban operation. For the São Remo favela, a friend of my works for the state housing agency and they recently conducted a study of a possible intervention there. Through this friend, I was able to gain substantial information about the São Remo favela, including the studies the agency conducted.

I also was able to get documentation about the São Remo favela through the University of São Paulo's archives. Since most of the land is owned by the university and several studies have been conducted there since the 1980s, I had access to documentation concerning sanitation, paving and urbanization projects, health issues, and sociological studies about the community as well. Additionally, I also had access to five master theses from different disciplines that also studied the São Remo favela. The disciplines are public health, education, and psychology. Concerning the Vietnam favela, I found two master theses looking specifically at the urban operation in which the favela is a part of, discussing the issue of housing and residents' involvement in urban projects, both from urban planning departments.

Data Analysis

Before starting any analysis, I reviewed the data I was going to analyze twice, including all my field notes, interview transcripts, and documents. I conducted two rounds of inductive and deductive coding for all data using Nvivo Pro 11. Inductive codes arose from the data as I coded. Deductive codes derived from my theoretical framework presented earlier in this dissertation. The initial deductive codes used were: citizenship, rights, appropriation of space, production of space, stigma, favela, community, governance, leadership, power, control, collectiveness, mobilization, organizations, autoconstruction, flexibility, spatial negotiation, heterogeneity, security of tenure, ownership, belonging, and gentrification. Although all the data was in Portuguese, I coded, analyzed, and wrote reflective memos in English.

Codes were grouped into major themes according to patterns. The major themes were: vulnerability, space, problems, inequality, governance, favela formation, favela development, education and citizenship.

After two rounds of coding, I started writing analytical memos for each code. Most of the chapters' writing initiated with analytical memos. I wrote the memos trying to answer the following questions:

1. What is this code about? Describe it giving as much detail as you can.

2. Why is this interesting?

3. What is going on in this situation (analysis)?

4. Describe the evidence for your analysis (quotes, pictures, documents)?

5. Is this helping you answer your research questions? Which one? How?

6. How is it connected to your theoretical framework?

7. Does it connect to other codes? How?

51

8. Is there anything missing here?

The analytical memos were combined by themes. Groups of memos originated thematic chapters that were later divided by site.

II.IV. The Fieldwork Experiences

The gatekeepers were the links I initially had with both favelas. Gatekeepers introduced me to residents and accompanied me during my visits. At the Vietnam favela, the gatekeeper was "Seu" João, who has been a resident there for 32 years and who is also the president of the residents' association of the favela, named Conquering a Space Association (Conquistando um Espaço). I was initially going to meet someone else, but he was the one who welcomed me when I got to the residents' association facilities. I introduced myself and the work I intended to do. I explained the project to him, and he agreed to help me. He showed me around the facilities and the favela and described the work they do as an association and the different projects they have in place.

One concern I had before going to the field was the process of rapport building with residents. A strategy I planned to address this concern was to give some contribution to the organizations I would work with and to the residents who I interviewed. For residents and families, I anticipated presenting them with a food box that comes with 11 of the most popular food items for Brazilians. Considering the work done by the Conquering a Space Association at the Vietnam favela, I believe this contribution was one of the reasons "Seu" João agreed to help me with the project. Getting and giving donations is a big part of the work done by the Conquering a Space

Association. During my work at the Vietnam favela, a lot of the people I met were in vulnerable positions either because of sickness, age, or unemployment. The majority of the people I interviewed were in need of the food I donated. Nevertheless, they expected the donations every time I visited. I tried giving less, and some people complained. I believe that these donations ended up being a limitation to my work at the Vietnam favela. The expectation of contributions limited the time I spent there and the people I was able to talk to because I always needed to bring donations.

Another person I met there was "Seu" João's wife, "Dona" Celinha. "Dona" Celinha ran an afterschool program for 30 boys and girls of the Vietnam favela at the association's facility. The kids came after having lunch at home to play and have additional classes taught by her. A few weeks after meeting "Dona" Celinha, I offered to help her with the afterschool program. Every Friday I helped her to look after the kids and teaching some classes as well. I was able to spend more time with her and the kids. The parents came to pick them up at the end of the day. I spent a lot of time with "Dona" Celinha and in time became close to her.

As this dissertation demonstrates, the Vietnam favela and the São Remo favela are very different from each other in several key ways: environmentally and physically, spatially, socioeconomically. Being so, of course, I expected to have very different experiences during the fieldwork. And indeed, I did. But my gatekeeper at the São Remo favela was also fundamental to my experience there. As I described above, my relationship and the expectations developed by "Seu" João resulted in limitations of when I could visit, who I could talk to, the events I was invited to attend. My relationship with Bia, the São Remo's gatekeeper did the opposite, opening more possibilities and avenues of research. There are several possible reasons for this. First, the São

Remo favela is considered to be a much richer favela if compared to the Vietnam favela. Although there are families in vulnerable positions in the São Remo favela, the vast majority of the population is in a better place economically and, consequently, in need of different things. As the research will show, Vietnam's residents had very divergent needs and priorities compared to those of São Remo's residents.

Secondly, Bia is an educator employed by the University of São Paulo, neighbor to the favela, who was hired to develop the "Avizinhar" program with the objective of "strengthening relations between the University and society in general" (Bia, Interview with Patricia Basile, 2017), more specifically with the São Remo favela. She was hired in 1998 when, according to her, there was an issue around children and teenagers hanging around the campus during the day and night. This issue was considered a problem by the university. The "Avizinhar" program was a response to this and other specific events described in more detail in Chapter Five. Bia has been working with the São Remo favela for twenty years. She is not a resident, but she knows everyone and all residents know her. Although the "Avizinhar" program changed its character, focus, name, and activities across the years, mainly due to political reasons, Bia's relationship and proximity to the São Remo favela has remained strong. She still visits weekly, sometimes more than one time per week, knows everyone living in Sao Remo, and is genuinely a gatekeeper between the university and the favela. Every researcher or professor in the university interested in doing work at the São Remo favela goes to Bia for guidance.

Because of Bia and her relationship with the community, I was able to visit the São Remo favela as many times I wanted. I was invited to events such as community meetings, and I was able to interview residents but also have informal conversations with many others. I was able to spend

more time at the São Remo favela than at the Vietnam favela. I talked to more people, I attended more events, and conducted site visits until late at night. Regarding participant observation, I was able to be a part of and witness to many more daily situations and conversation at the São Remo favela. I still talk to Bia on a monthly basis and she regularly tells me how people ask about me. In sum, the different relationships and interests of the gatekeepers were tremendously influential on the level of access I had to these communities and their residents.

II. V. Conclusion

Since the conclusion of my fieldwork, I have been able to maintain contact with the leaders from the Vietnam favela and with leaders and a few residents from the São Remo favela. This contact has been mostly through social media. Following the residents' associations and other groups' Facebook pages has allowed me to follow a few of their activities and achievements. I have also kept in touch with Bia and the "Avizinhar" program interns. Every other month I hear about the old and new struggles at the São Remo favela. I plan to present and discuss the findings of this dissertation with leaders and residents from both favelas in the near future.

LITERATURE REVIEW

São Remo Favela. Photo by the author (2017).

> Let us consider the favela and the black gendered body, therefore, as political spatialities that challenge the polis as a white imagined community and create new avenues to rethink blackness and spatial resistance. (Alves 2014, 335)

Favelas have been the topic of research since their first appearance in the city of Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of the 20th century. Since then, researchers have examined and characterized favelas through a variety of lenses and frameworks. These include viewing the favela as a problem in the city, as a product of urban poverty and social marginality, and as a policy solution. Other researchers have focused on a number of aspects of the favela including but not limited to: existing organizations in favelas and their politics and their interactions with outside politics, state interventions, drugs, crimes, violence, culture, tourism, the various meanings and representations of favelas by different actors, and favelas' forms of endurance and resistance through adversities. This chapter first presents how the idea of the favela evolved and, secondly, the many frameworks and lenses through which favelas have been scrutinized and portrayed throughout the years. I then discuss the dogmas concerning favelas that have been replicated by these lenses and frameworks. I explain how this dissertation challenges these traditional dogmas, presenting a fresh and more comprehensive frame through which favelas should be considered from now on. Lastly, I review the study's theoretical framework and the relevant literature on governance and self-governance.

III.I. Definition

Favelas are informal and self-built urban settlements in Brazilian cities that developed in response to the lack of affordable housing. In favelas, residents build their own houses, sometimes

with the help of a local contractor, usually on land they do not own. Favelas maintain an informal status due to their illegal occupation of land and non-compliance with urban and architectural codes and regulations. Generally located on city peripheries, favelas might look the same from afar, but each is unique in its history, population, socioeconomic conditions, spaces, and even aesthetics.

Houses in favelas are usually well-kept by residents. Proper sanitation systems may sometimes be lacking, but most favelas have electricity and water, most of the time through illicit connection. With unfinished ceramic brick walls, concrete columns, and cement asbestos roofs, houses in favelas expand according to residents' needs. The ground floor might serve as a commercial space, such as a tiny grocery store, bar, or restaurant. A second floor might be added if they need a room for a grandparent to live in. When extra income becomes available, residents might paint their house or add tiles to the concrete-floor kitchen. Residents adapt and improve their environments according to need and availability of resources. The flexibility to adapt space according to emerging needs is a key feature in favelas, where most families pass their homes on from one generation to the next. Streets might be narrow and lack proper sidewalks and green spaces. Remaining corners and spaces are occupied and adapted according to emerging needs. The urban space transforms in response to dwellers' necessities and desires.

One self-built house does not make a favela. Ten self-built houses do not constitute a favela, either. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the agency responsible for the Brazilian census, a favela is a minimum "of 51 or more housing units characterized by absence of title deeds…" (IBGE 2010, 18). In 2010, the IBGE issued an addition to the census looking specifically at favelas. Instead of using the term "favelas," the IBGE created a

new term: *aglomerado subnormais*, that translates to "subnormal clusters" in English. The 2010

IBGE census definition of subnormal clusters is:

> a group consisting of at least 51 housing units (shacks, houses, etc.) lacking, for the most part, essential public services, occupying or having occupied, up to recent period, land owned by others (public or particular) and are generally arranged in a disorderly and / or dense manner. The identification of subnormal clusters is based on the following criteria:
>
> (a) Illegal occupation of land, that is, construction on lands owned by others (public or private) at the moment or in a recent period (obtaining the title ownership of the land ten years or less); and
>
> (b) it has at least one of the following characteristics:
>
> • urbanization outside current standards - reflected by narrow and with irregular alignment streets or circulation, lots of unequal sizes and shapes, and constructions not regularized by public agencies; or
>
> • precariousness of essential public services, such as electric power, garbage collection and water and sewage networks.
>
> The subnormal clusters can fit, observing the criteria of patterns of urbanization and / or precariousness of essential public services, in the following categories: invasion, irregular or clandestine subdivision, and invaded areas and irregular, clandestine settlements regularized in recent period. (18)

A few scholars have previously criticized and refuted this definition for favelas. In 2009, the

Observatório de Favelas (Favelas Observatory), a nongovernmental organization dedicated to

research, consulting and public action concerning favelas in Rio de Janeiro, published a book

reviewing the existent definitions of the word *favela* and reflecting on what favelas are (J. de S.

Silva et al. 2009). The book concludes that favelas are a part of cities as much as any other

neighborhood; and that the favela is a territory of presence of blacks (brown and blacks), and

descendants of indigenous people and, therefore, a territory capable of configuring plural

identities, both in terms of material existence and symbolic. This last reflection refers to the

relationship between favelas and citizenship. It argues that favelas are spaces marked by initiatives and strategies of concrete subjects in the city that seek to exercise their citizenship. In this sense, citizenship is not built or conquered. People are born citizens and entitled to fundamental rights. It is assumed that there is lack of citizenship in favelas due to their illegal and outside of the State status. However, according to the discussion in the book, citizenship is not a consequence of being legal or within the boundaries of the state. Rather, citizenship is an inherent precondition of any Brazilian born-human being (J. de S. Silva et al. 2009).

Silva (2011) made a similar argument. He argues that there is an element of resistance embodied in what favelas are that makes them a political claim in the city. Favelas are a manifestation of the poor's' desire and determination to live in the city and fight for a better life, even in conditions of precariousness and violence. Favelas' material and symbolic conditions are thus products of this determination and should be taken into consideration in the making of any public policy regarding these settlements (G. Silva 2011).

III.II. Background

At the beginning of the 20th century, Brazil had around 17 million inhabitants. However, only 36 percent of the Brazilian population lived in urban areas in the early 1900s. The Brazilian economy was primarily based on the exportation of primary products, such as coffee, sugar and cocoa, even though efforts towards industrialization were already in place. The major cities rapidly grew as a result of an explosion of new industries, and immigrant and rural migration. From 1872

to 1900, the population of São Paulo rose by 870 percent, while Rio de Janeiro's population increased by 271 percent (Segawa 2013, 1-3).

Workers from rural areas of Brazil, as well as European immigrants, moved to cities in search of better jobs and opportunities. They certainly found jobs but they did not necessarily have a better quality of life. The recently arrived dwellers had limited housing options. One of the only available and affordable options available was living in a *cortiço*. Cortiços were high density, privately owned houses in which owners transformed rooms and residual areas, such as backyards, into tiny bedrooms and rented to different families. The overcrowded bedrooms were poorly built, most of them without any ventilation or natural light. Entire families lived in one room and used communal bathrooms in the cortiço (Bonduki 1998, 22-24).

Associated with disease dissemination, cortiços became a major concern to the government, higher classes and industry owners, who feared employees would be too sick to keep working. Cortiços represented Brazil's very first housing crisis. Afraid of disease outbreaks and economic loss due to workers' deaths, the city administration made urban land regulation and control its top priority. The first methods of control included the development of sanitary legislation, and the creation of the hygienist police, responsible for eliminating existing cortiços and preventing the appearance of new ones. Because some liberal European countries such as England and France already had sanitary legislation implemented, this approach was received without controversy by São Paulo's urban elite (Bonduki 1998, 27-28).

Similar sanitary interventions were implemented in Rio De Janeiro. Francisco Pereira Passos, Rio de Janeiro's mayor from 1902 to 1906, carried out many urban interventions that were heavily influenced by Haussmann's reforms in Paris (Segawa 2013, 10-11). Driven by the dissemination of

cortiços, and disease outbreaks, Pereira Passos' plan sought to sanitize, improve circulation and beautify the country's capital through by introducing urban infrastructure, expanding existing streets and opening new avenues and boulevards, as well as demolishing existing cortiços. In 1904, 1,225 buildings were demolished but no alternative was developed to house the displaced dwellers. As a result, most cortiços' residents were forced to move to urban peripheries or vacant hillsides, initiating the development of Rio's first favelas through self-built houses (Lara and Carranza 2014, 7-9).

The first recognized favela in Brazil was the 'Morro da Favella' (translated "Favella Hill") in Rio de Janeiro. Its occupation dates back to 1897 (Valladares 2005, 26). Morro da Favella still exists and today is called 'Morro da Providência,' (translated "Providência Hill"). Studies about the systematic demolition of cortiços in Rio de Janeiro in the beginning of the 20th century have shown a direct connection between the demolitions and the occupation of the hills, considering cortiços as the *germ* of the favela (Valladares 2005; Benchimol 1990; Vaz 1986). When the Morro da Favella was first occupied, the 'favela' categorization did not yet exist. It was later, between 1910 and 1930, that the word 'favela' was used to refer to poor housing units that were illegally and irregularly occupied (Valladares 2005).

Valladares (2005) explains the historical connection between the Morro da Favella occupation and the Canudos War. The Canudos War (1896-1897) took place in the countryside of Bahia, in the northeast of Brazil, between the Brazilian army and the members of a socio-religious popular movement. According to Valladares, soldiers hired by the Brazilian army to fight were the first to occupy the hill in Rio de Janeiro as a way to pressure the War Ministry to pay their overdue salaries after the war was over. The favela plant, originally from Bahia, was found on the hill where

the soldiers established residency (see Image 4). Additionally, the original Morro da Favella in Bahia became famous due to the fierce resistance of the popular movement's members in an important battle that took place in that hill. For these reasons, the hill in Rio started to be called the Morro da Favella. Later, similar settlements on other hills began to be referred to as favelas as well as many other favelas in Rio are also built on hills.

Image 5: The favela plant. Source: http://faunaefloradorn.blogspot.com/2010/11/favelacnidoscolus-quercifolius-pohl.html . Accessed on June 11, 2018.

Discourses of Modernity and Cleanness

The framing of favelas as a problem early on was a result of the medical-hygienist discourse embraced by government's engineers and politicians. This discourse was developed as a response to the housing crisis in Rio, especially the existence of cortiços and favelas, considered unhealthy

environments by the government (Valladares 2005). The Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo's urban reforms in the beginning of the 20th century were products of Auguste Comte' positivist motto, praised by the urban elite, and printed on the Brazilian flag: 'ordem e progresso' (translated 'order and progress') (Lara and Carranza 2014). Order was translated as hygienist authoritarianism and police force to control the perpetuation and dissemination of cortiços. Progress and modernization of urban areas were associated with the construction of urban infrastructure, as well as a reproduction of European aesthetics and urban life. The Haussmannization of both cities was employed as a mechanism for control of the urban space and as a representation of the pursuit for cleanness (Segawa 2013).

Modernity in Brazil was tightly associated with a set of guidelines defined by an authoritarian practice of urban planning during the beginning of the twentieth century. These guidelines aimed to functionalize and embellish the urban space, organize an effective road hierarchy and establish construction legislation related to the urban form (Segawa 2013). Urbanism by the State, as well as the Modern paradigm disseminated by the urban elites in Brazil, were originally developed from the beginning as exclusionary practices. This reality initiated a historical process of physical and social segregation in Brazilian cities that contributed to the stigmatization and framing of favelas as a problem to be solved (Valladares 2005).

In 1937, the building code of the city of Rio de Janeiro justified the omission of favelas from the city maps by describing them as aberrations. The building code suggested the elimination of all favelas as well as the prohibition of the construction of new ones, and the construction of low-income public housing to be sold to the poor (Burgos 2006, 27). Burgos (2006) argues that the framing of the favela as a problem originated with the idea that it was a nuisance to the urbanity

of the city. The removal approach was the first policy developed towards favelas and it continued

to be the predominant one until the end of military dictatorship and the re-democratization of

Brazil in the mid-1980s (Brum 2013; Burgos 2006). The early discourse developed around the

favela as a nuisance, a problem and an aberration advanced the idea of the favela as the non-city.

The tendency to frame favelas as problems conformed with the policies developed by the Brazilian

government to remove and destroy informally-produced urban settlements. These types of

policies considered the favela as exclusively a housing issue, ignoring the social, economic, political

and environmental factors in play as well (Valladares 2005, 130).

III.III. Favelas' Frameworks and Themes

This section provides an overview of the main themes and lenses through which favelas

have been studied in the past. The favela as a problem was the first framework developed to

discuss the subject and consider alternatives or policy responses to the favela phenomenon. On

the other hand, social scientists investigating urban poverty in Latin America during the 1960s

started to use the term 'marginality' to explain the unequal effects of industrialization and

development processes in cities. The theory of marginality that emerged in Latin America had two

different lines of thought that came about in the field of conflict of two paradigms regarding

development: modernization theory and dependency theory (Delfino 2012).

In the early 1960s, scholars working within the modernization paradigm used the idea of

marginality to refer to the social consequences resulting from rapid urbanization processes in Latin

American cities. This group of scholars working with modernization theory defined marginality as

"lack of integration of certain social groups in society" (Kay 1991, 43). This definition is known as

the theory of social or cultural marginalization developed within modernization paradigm (Delfino 2012). Gino Germani was one of the main proponents of this line of thought (Kay 1991). He defined marginality as "the lack of participation of individuals and groups in those spheres in which, according to determined criteria, they might be expected to participate" (Germani 1980, 40).

The second conceptualization of the idea of marginality emerged partially as a response to modernization theory linked to dependency theory and a Marxist paradigm. Dependistas, supporters of dependency theory, looking at Latin American countries argued that their "underdeveloped" condition was a product of the spread of capitalism worldwide which relied on the division of labor between rich central countries and poor peripheral countries (Dietz 1980). The idea of marginality associated to dependency theory is the theory of economic marginality that employed the term to characterize the increasing segregation between the elite and the marginal masses (González de la Rocha et al. 2004, 184). According to the scholars within this line of thought, this separation between elites and marginal masses arose from a country's "integration into the world capitalist system" (Kay 1991, 43). Main proponents of the theory of economic marginality include Jose Nun and Anibal Quijano (Nun 1969; Quijano 1977; Kay 1991; Delfino 2012).

In the American and European contexts, Perlman (1976) is considered to be the first to criticize the theory of marginality in the context of favelas. After six months of research in favelas in Rio de Janeiro, she concluded that favela residents were not marginalized nor had attitudes or behaviors associated with marginal groups. Rather, favela residents were socially organized and cohesive and culturally optimistic, aspiring better housing conditions and education for their children. Economically, favela residents were not marginalized either. Perlman argued that favela

residents were hard workers and were responsible for building their houses as well as the overall community and infrastructure. At the end of her book, Perlman suggested an alternative theoretical explanation of marginality, one that she called "an expression of conditions of dependency" (Perlman 1976, 242). However, as described above, she was not the first nor the only scholar to link the theory of marginality to dependency.

While Perlman made a significant contribution to the debates concerning the theory of marginality, she was not the first to challenge the validity of the theory. In the 1960s, many scholars were already debating how marginality theory promoted the dichotomization of society, misrepresenting favela residents' realities. In 1967, Anthony Leeds, an American anthropologist who had been doing research in Brazil since the 1950s, presented a conference article entitled "Brazil and the myth of urban rurality: urban experience, work and values in "squatments" of Rio de Janeiro and Lima" explaining how favela residents were not marginalized and isolated from society, but rather inserted within it in different ways (A. Leeds and Leeds 1967). The article was a product of his investigations in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, his visits to Lima's *barriadas*, and the influence of the works of Mangin (1967) and Turner (1969). According to these authors, poor neighborhoods were not isolated from society, but integrated through labor, politics and culture (Mangin 1967; Turner 1969; Machado da Silva 1971; A. Leeds and Leeds 1978). Likewise, Silva (1967) was one of the first to argue that favelas were not isolated communities for two main reasons. First, Silva made the argument that the very existence of the favela is contingent on certain structural conditions of a global society, making them a part of this global society. Secondly, Silva argued that the idea of the favela as a 'marginal community' is a value judgement that

contributes to the narrative of the favela as a problem and a paternalist attitude by outsiders to develop solutions and impose values (Silva 1967).

During the 1970s, a group of social scientists working in CEBRAP – the Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning in São Paulo made a significant contribution while debating the theory of economic marginality (Kay 1991), One of their main arguments was concerning the contributions of the so-called "marginals" to urban processes of capital accumulation and their connections to dominant modes of capital production. According to these scholars, marginal populations had a far greater role in contributing to processes of capital accumulation that suggested by the *marginalistas* scholars.

Thirty years after her initial study in Rio de Janeiro, Janice Perlman developed a long-term perspective study by interviewing the same favela residents whom she had first met in 1969, when she wrote her first book, as well as their children and grandchildren. Once again, Perlman argued that favela residents are neither economically nor politically marginal to society. Instead, they are integrated into society but unevenly integrated, giving a lot but receiving very little "They are not on the margins of urban life or irrelevant to its functioning, but actively excluded, exploited, and "marginalized" by a closed social system" (Perlman 2010, 14). The favela and its occupants are negatively stereotyped as social problems. Even though favela residents are neither socially nor culturally marginalized, "they are stigmatized and excluded from a closed class system" (Perlman 2010, 150).

Organizations, Politics and the State

During the 1980s, after a few decades of policies focused primarily on removal and eviction of favelas, a slight change on how local government considered these environments and their residents came about. Influenced by the overall critique of the theory of marginality and the work of Mangin and Turner in informal settlements in different countries in Latin America (Mangin 1967; Turner 1969), architects and urban planners in Brazil began to approach favelas more collaboratively, working together with favela residents in a process of redesigning their neighborhoods and houses (Santos 1978, 1980; Valladares 2005). From these experiences, the theme of popular participation became central in sociological discussions about favelas. Similarly, these discussions also promoted Brazilian sociologists' recognition of the 'people's abilities' (Doimo 1995; Valladares 2005).

The fresh perception about the people's abilities to respond to and resolve their own issues boosted interest in popular organization. Additionally, from the late 1960s until 1979, also known as the Years of Resistance to the military dictatorship in place at the time, there was a rise of embryonic people's organizations, especially in neighborhoods with greater needs. These groups demanded basic urban infrastructure and economic development while criticizing the elitist nature of the military regime. They also actively contributed to the general struggle against the military dictatorship (Gay 1990; Kowarick and Bonduki 1994). From this moment on, researchers began to focus their attention on popular organization in favelas as well. Silva, for instance, acknowledged the political character of favelas in 1967, emphasizing its specificity, and intrinsic forms of organization (Silva 1967).

Gay (1990, 1993) investigated favela residents' organizations in Rio de Janeiro. More specifically, Gay analyzed the relationships between residents' organizations and political preferences in two favelas. The association at Vila Brazil took advantaged of clientelist political practices, mainly during elections, to seek their material needs, while the association at Vidigal refused to pursue its goals through patronage and exchange of votes. This refusal created a more actively engaged community structure (Gay 1990). However, Gay concluded that both associations are attempts to respond to the government's repression, manipulation, and neglect (Gay 1994).

More recently, researchers have found similar dynamics are still in existence. For instance, Koster and Nuijten (2012) examined how local community leaders in favelas in the city of Recife perform as brokers during elections, mediating between politicians, interested in votes and clients who are fellow favela residents (Koster and Nuijten 2012). Saaristo (2015) found analogous structures of patronage and political clientelism in Rio de Janeiro. However, she also describes favela leaders who refuse patronage offers from politicians and enter the political arena to represent favela residents and promote change (Saaristo 2015).

Lastly, Savell (2015) investigated favela residents' attitudes towards local leaders and civic groups working to bring improvement to their communities. She found that there is cynicism concerning these types of endeavors in a favela in Rio de Janeiro. Residents' cynicism about civic life in favelas represents frustration towards democratic life in favelas as a result of corruption, drug trafficking control, and state violence. On the other hand, favela residents valued what she called "informal organizing": "ordinary, transparent activities grounded in local knowledge, in which neighbors help neighbors, mediate conflicts, speak out through media and the arts, and work in small ways against everyday street violence" (Savell 2015, 313).

Drugs and Violence

Favelas have been extensively investigated through the subject of violence and drug trafficking. These are important topics as they have significant influence over how residents experience their environments and as well as their internal politics networks and structures (E. Leeds 1996; Penglase 2009; Alves 2014; Glebbeek and Koonings 2016). Accounts on the topic also include state violence as a response to drug gangs (Wacquant 2008), criminality and the power relations inscribed in these networks (Zaluar 2008), and the consequences of the distribution and sale of cocaine from favelas to the middle and upper classes (Zaluar 2000; Arias 2006; Mafra 2008).

Leeds (1996) examined parallel, authoritarian, and frequently violent power structures that exist in Rio de Janeiro's favelas. She argued that the state's failure to provide basic infrastructure and the state's repression in form of police and military violence have contributed to the establishment of drug gangs as parallel powers through clientelist relationships, providing alternative services in exchange for protection. Leeds asserts that autonomous local forms of decision making and service provision are necessary for the democratization of a country. Nevertheless, these structures are undermined by such authoritarian and violent power arrangements.

On the other hand, Arias (2006) explored the interactions among drug traffickers, civic leaders, politicians, and police in Rio de Janeiro's favelas. Specifically, he demonstrates that the high levels of violence in the city actually advances the connections among all these actors, protecting traffickers and helping them create political support in favelas. Instead of 'parallel states,' these structures link trafficker-maintained favelas into the broader political and social. He concludes advocating for further micro-level research into 'the operations of criminal

organizations and the impacts that they have on state institutions and social groups' (Arias 2006, 106) as a way to understand the role of crime in Latin America's politics and the possible solutions to the violence that results from it.

Wacquant (2008) and Alves (2014) make a broader case concerning these issues. Both authors explore, in their own ways, the rationale and implications of the state's violent approach to poverty. Wacquant argues that the state's strategy for managing the dispossessed is punitive containment of the poor: discrimination on the basis of class and race, extreme police violence and brutality, and a chaotic carceral system. Punitive containment as a complement to the deregulation of the economy in the 1990s has resulted in the penalization and militarization of favela residents, treated as enemies of the state. His conclusion is that marginalized urban physical and social spaces like favelas are the prime locations for the assemble and testing of the neoliberal penal state:

> At the end of the twentieth century, they have been reduced to raw materials for the crafting of the protean and prolific penal institutions that compose the fierce face of the neoliberal state frowning down onto the rejects of the market society. (71)

Alves (2014) explores similar issues, arguing that spatial segregation, economic marginalization, police brutality, and mass incarceration are forms of the state's necropolitical governance in urban Brazil. This practice of necropolitical urban governance is racialized and gendered. According to Alves, the neoliberal necropolis is a site of hyper-exploitation in which the black urban poor are considered disposable, and also 'a spatiality produced in/by black subjugation to death' (Alves 2014, 327).

Culture and Religious Manifestations

Another relevant lens through which favelas have been extensively studied, specifically by sociologists and anthropologists, is culture, or favela culture. This lens encompasses several themes including music, dance, and art or artistic performances. For example, the book 'Um século de Favela,' or One century of Favela, published in the 100-year anniversary of the first favela of Rio de Janeiro, includes four articles focusing on popular culture in favelas: samba, carnaval, capoeira and funk dances. Favelas, that were originally considered to be the birthplace of samba (Oliveira and Marcier 1998) are now the legitimate sites of creation and diffusion of the Brazilian funk and hip hop (Vianna 1997; Oliveira 1997; Cechetto 1997; Cunha 1996).

Pardue (2010) focuses on how hip hop articulates the "periphery" in São Paulo, where the majority of favelas are located in the city, as a physical space and as an ideology as well, making claims about occupying and being recognized as part of the city. The "periphery" is characterized by the media and public policy as the spatialization of marginality and connected to the "culture of poverty." Hip hop as a cultural expression questions and complicates the fixity of the idea of the periphery as a singular concept. Periphery is not the same as favelas. Rather, Pardue interprets periphery as a 'socio-geographic term of hip hop meaning making' (Pardue 2010, 62). As Pardue, many scholars investigating favela culture understand the periphery as a form of endurance, identity making, appropriation and claims of citizenship (Bezerra 2017; Pardue 2010; Vianna 1997).

Bezerra (2017) analyzes favela-based visual cultural production such as videos and photographs to demonstrate how favela residents reshape their sense of belonging as citizens, subjects, and as a legitimate part of the city. These alternative representational cultural forms

emphasize the diverse ways individuals experience space, creating potential for engagement. Bezerra argues:

> Undeniably, the possibility of constructing other versions of themselves, contextualizing them within distinct frameworks, and assigning alternative significance to them should be perceived as part of a process of empowerment and coalition building. (136)

Through cultural production, favela residents are in a process of (re)signification of themselves, questioning the commonplace correlation between favelas and criminality, and their status as the 'other.' This is an attempt of restructuring the narrative supporting urban policies, proposing a radical reorganization of space through the appropriation of space, political resistance and affirmation of difference (Bezerra 2017).

Similarly, favelas are also considered to be appropriate sites for the study of varied forms of religiosity and its modes of expression (Steele 2011; Burdick 2008; Alvito 2001; Kraatz 2001; Cunha 1996). For instance, Steele (2011) investigated how unmarried mothers and pregnant women in Rio de Janeiro's favelas experience religious morality. Specifically, the article explores how women and religious leaders understand and interpret morality as applicable to their lives in a reality described by the author as

> most prominently the ever-present specter of violence, high rates of teen motherhood, strong popular opposition to abortion, the high value accorded to motherhood, and the intense competition of the religious marketplace. (4)

According to Steele (2011), religious groups in favelas adapt and shape traditional codes and values to their own realities and everyday difficulties. Both culture and religion are relevant issues for understating favelas, their communities and their residents. However, these are just two components of a much broader and more complex experience and everyday life of favela residents.

Representations of Favelas

The narrative around favelas propagated by the media, and the one supported by government officials and informing public policy over the last century, has focused predominately on the idea of the favela as the non-city, as the other. Most times, these narratives conflict with how favela residents themselves define, understand, and explain their own environments. Different actors understand favelas in different ways. However, the disconnection between reality and perception and representation of favelas has repercussions, such as perpetuating systemic poverty and reinforcing structures of exclusion (Lacerda 2015).

While investigating the effects of a public policy that focused on transforming favelas into popular neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro, Freire (2008) describes the conflicts between perceptions and categorizations of favelas among government representatives and favela residents. Favelas are described by the city government as precarious and irregular, a predominantly negative characterization of these spaces. Residents, on the other hand, have broader categorizations of what favelas are. Despite recognizing their "informal" status, residents use the term "favela' or 'poor community" when referring to the poverty, inequality, and violence. When talking about the positive aspects of their environment or their collective work, residents use the word "favela" as a homogenous and cohesive environment (Freire 2008).

Novaes (2014) analyzed maps published in the mainstream Brazilian press throughout the last century. The article delves into how the national media often depicts the city of Rio de Janeiro divided between formal areas, where the state can guarantee the enforcement of the law, and informal areas, where parallel powers enforce their own forms of governance. The author explains that by excluding or including favelas in maps, newspapers frequently represented these areas

"through divisions of "us" and "them", "modern" and "backward", "legal" and "illegal"" (Novaes 2014, 202). Mainstream Brazilian press, made by and for higher income populations, represent favelas in a variety of ways, but most times they reinforce a 'sense of otherness' (Novaes 2014, 221) for favelas. Novaes criticizes the categories and divisions as ways to "stimulate more complex definitions of favela, including the recognition of their constant interaction with the formal city and their intense relations with state actors both in material and embodied ways" (Novaes 2014, 222).

Similarly, Saaristo (2015) found that discourses of violence and marginality are embedded in structural mechanisms that preserves class separation and restrict social ascension. It is assumed that favelas are violent places because of drug trafficking activities and that residents are criminals, either for protecting or being accomplices of criminals. These discourses further marginalize and alienate favela residents, who are considered to be incapable of resolving their own problems (Saaristo 2015).

Most recently, Müller (2017) examined Rio de Janeiro's favelas through the discourse of informality. However, instead of drawing from traditional definitions of the term, the author characterizes informality as power relations to analyze how class actors employ 'informality' as a signifier and a procedure, relational category to, for example, legitimize the confinement of the poor. He concludes that the narrative of informality referring to favelas, as the narrative of the 'other', contributes to the perpetuation of stigmatization of the poor and of structures of marginalization (Müller 2017).

Favela Tourism

The "otherness" narrative of favelas promoted by the media in Brazil continues to have impact on favela residents' everyday lives. One recent phenomenon, especially prevalent in Rio de Janeiro's, is favela tourism. Considered a consequence of the "global production and circulation of the favelas as a "trademark"' (Freire-Medeiros 2009), the motivation behind touring a favela lies on the desire to experience, in an authentic manner, the reality of a constructed and commodified "other" (Frisch 2012). Outsiders, people who do not live in favelas, are frequently curious about the reality of the favela as it is portrayed by the media and government's initiatives as an anomalous environment. Frisch (2012) concluded that the exploitation of favelas as a tourist space is dominated by external agents with little participation from the residents. Instead of contributing to the de-stigmatization and better understanding of favelas, favela tourism perpetuates the prevailing narrative of favelas as homogenous spaces of poverty.

Williams' analysis of literary representations of favelas shows that the romanticizing or demonizing of favelas varies according to the author's agenda and audience. The outsider's interest in favelas expressed by an increase in favela tours and hostels implies a voyeuristic interest in what favelas represent to the outsider: poverty, violence, informality, marginality (Williams 2008). This phenomenon is not exclusive to Brazil. Rolfes (2010) examines poverty tours in Rio de Janeiro, Johannesburg, and Cape Town, and concludes that in all of these cities, poverty tours are a "deliberate sightseeing and the explicit demonstrations of poverty" (Rolfes 2010, 440).

Forms of Endurance and Resistance

An additional narrative of analysis and investigation of favelas as a means of reacting to realities of poverty, segregation, inequality and violence. These reactions come in the forms of endurance, resistance, or mobilization. Holston (1991) analyzed the political significance of autoconstruction by the urban poor in urban Brazil in the early 1990s. Autoconstruction is a 'radicalizing process (…) in which they build their own houses in the urban hinterland under precarious material and legal circumstances' (Holston 1991, 447). Holston considers autoconstruction as an arena for spatial, political, and symbolic popular mobilization in Brazilian cities. However, its meanings to society can be contradictory. For the poor, autoconstruction is a means to homeownership. But homeownership is also a way to discipline the working class. It is at the same time empowering but complacent to hegemonic orders. Ultimately, Holston views the politics and aesthetics of autoconstruction as ways for the poor to actively construct new identities for themselves that counter those that alienate them.

Scholars have supported Holstons's conclusions in different ways. For instance, Kowarick shows how build-your-own home strategies and other collective initiatives by favelas residents can contribute to the decline of social vulnerability (Kowarick 2004). Cavalcanti (2009) focused on the house in the favela as a way to understand residents' experiences. She argued that the process of transformation of the house from a shack to a masonry house not only improves quality of life, but also represents the possibility of a better future as the economic value of the house increases as well (Cavalcanti 2009). In this sense, the act of improving the house is in itself a strategy of endurance and resistance.

Other researchers have focused on how people's behaviors and networks in favelas can function as coping mechanisms for poverty and marginalization, and also promote change. For example, Goldstein (2003) developed a detailed portrayal of everyday life and experience in Rio de Janeiro's favelas through the understanding of humor and laughter 'out of place' (Goldstein 2003). She showed how women in favelas use absurdist and black humor to survive a reality of suffering, violence, and social abandonment. Arias (2004) and Marques (2015) both looked at the role of networks in favelas in Salvador, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Arias found that favela residents' networks including active organizational contacts can help local community groups bring outside resources, but not without difficulties. Favelas with strong presence of drug trafficking are more resistant to efforts to control violence through social connections and outside support (Arias 2004). On the other hand, Marques describes how, although networks of poor individuals are heterogeneous and linked to better living conditions, employment and income, they can also contribute to reproduction of poverty and inequality in the long term. Networks can outweigh the social isolation produced by residential segregation, but in some cases can reinforce it as well (Marques 2015).

Finally, Alves (2014) looked at how black women from São Paulo's favelas organized themselves under the label Mães de Maio (Mothers of May) in response to a massacre that took place in 2006 when 493 civilians were killed in favelas, mostly by police force. They developed a taskforce to find the remains of their deceased loved ones, coordinated protests, and conducted their own investigations into police killing. The Mães de Maio became known as a political identity. They embraced the public space of the square as a site of spatial and political struggle, discrediting gendered spatial narratives that 'render them as politically disorganized faveladas mothers of

criminals' (Alves 2014, 335). Favelas and black gendered bodies are thus considered as political spatiality that 'challenge the polis as a white imagined community and create new avenues to rethink blackness and spatial resistance.' (Alves 2014, 335).

III.IV. Favelas' Dogmas

After reviewing the literature produced about favelas in Rio de Janeiro from 1906 to the 2000s, Valladares (2005) identified three dogmas, three characteristics that seem to be general consensus among the authors and scholars concerning favelas. These are sometimes included in how authors define the object of study and justify methodology but, generally, are not discussed by authors throughout the text or research. The first dogma pertains to the specificity of the favela due to its particular history and type of growth, making favelas a singular and unique element in urban areas. Its specificity varies according to the author's discipline, including favelas' lack of compliance with rules and regulations, the absence or minimal urban infrastructure, its aesthetics, its illegal status, density, and diminished quality of life (Valladares 2005, 149-150).

The second dogma identified by Valladares (2005) refers to favelas' territory and the social status of its residents: favelas are the urban territory of the poor. Favelas are considered to be the home of the poor in Brazilian cities, their territory, 'the illegal city within the legal city' (Valladares 2005, 151). Ultimately, favelas are considered to be the best locations to study poverty and inequality, and, consequently, the topics associated with it. These include violence, drug trafficking, religion, health, politics, community organizing, informality, music, women, children,

youth, education, among others, associating the physical space of the favela to social issues (Valladares 2005).

Lastly, the third dogma relates to the categorization of all favelas into one singular word: favela. According to Valladares, either in scholarship work, policy, or science fiction, favelas are portrayed as one homogeneous category, ignoring its socioeconomic, political, spatial, environmental diversity and heterogeneity. Studies and government reports acknowledge favelas' geographical and demographic diversification, but ignore sociological, anthropological, and spatial differences (Valladares 2005). This type of binary categorization – favela and non-favela, legal and illegal, formal and informal – is an oversimplification of complex realities, misrepresenting their richness and complexity (Roy 2009). After more than 100 years of existence, favela, as term and as territory, has become a generic category for informality, poverty, and marginality (Valladares 2005).

All of the studies cited above have contributed substantially to the understanding of favelas and its residents' experiences. This dissertation works to advance the existing knowledge about favelas by considering their residents, groups, and communities as self-governing entities. It also moves beyond these three dogmas and binary definitions of favelas through a more comprehensive study of two favelas in the city of São Paulo. Instead of focusing on individual topics, this research focuses on the favela itself, its social structures, and its residents as autonomous self-governing groups and individuals. The ultimate goal of this study is to understand the unique local knowledge about the two favelas, especially their spaces, communities, and underlying self-governing practices and power structures. This type of micro-level research

focuses on understanding each favela and the context in which it is inserted as a unique one, making a case for the specificity and particularity of each favela.

III.VI. Theoretical Insights

Henri Lefebvre (1901-91) was a French Marxist philosopher and urban sociologist. His research included the investigation of peasant communities in the Pyrenees to the study of urbanization processes in France during the 1960s. In his autobiographical book *Le Temps des Méprises* (The Time of Mistakes), Lefebvre looked back at the beginning of his work on space and observed how he had "arrived at the problematic of space in many ways" (Lefebvre 1975, 218-219). His studies on everyday life also informed the development of his theory of the production of space (Stanek 2011). Lefebvre wrote over sixty books and three hundred articles (Shields 2005), ranging from the critique of everyday life, the right to the city, the social production of space, autogestion, as well as the critique of the state, existentialism, and structuralism.

The major contribution of Lefebvre's theory of space lies in the fact that "it systematically integrates the categories of city and space in a single, comprehensive social theory, enabling the understanding and analysis of spatial processes at different levels" (Schmid 2008, 27-28). Lefebvre's production of space theory enables comprehensive study of the city, its many scales and intersections simultaneously. Another significant contribution is his 'regressive-progressive' (Merrifield 2006) methodology that informs his work on space. Lefebvre explains the rationale behind his approach:

It takes as its starting-point the realities of the present: the forward leap of productive forces, and the new technical and scientific capacity to transform natural space so radically that it threatens nature itself. The effects of this destructive and constructive power are to be felt on all sides; they enter into combinations, often in alarming ways, with the pressures of the world market. Within this global framework, as might be expected, the Leninist principle of uneven development applies in full force: some countries are still in the earliest stages of the production of things (goods) in space, and only the most industrialized and urbanized ones can exploit to the full the new possibilities opened up by technology and knowledge. The production of space, having attained the conceptual and linguistic level, acts retroactively upon the past, disclosing aspects and moments of it hitherto uncomprehend. The past appears in a different light, and hence the process whereby that past becomes the present also takes on another aspect. (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 65)

Within this methodology, Lefebvre merges genealogical and historic strategies to look at the evolution of a concept and its histories and place it within society and philosophy, with progression focusing on the present and what might be possible in the future (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Kofman and Lebas 1996; Merrifield 2006). Lefebvre describes his methodology:

Though it may seem paradoxical at first sight, this method appears on closer inspection to be fairly sensible. For how *could* we come to understand a genesis, the genesis of the present, along with the preconditions and processes involved, other than by starting from that present, working our way back to the past and retracting our steps? Surely this must be the method adopted by any historian, economist or sociologist – assuming of course, that such specialists aspire to any methodology at all. (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 66) (emphasis on the original)

Lefebvre's methodology looks at the past, excavating it conceptually and historically. Then, it looks at the present aiming to scrutinize it and all of its layers. Finally, it looks at the future, and the possibilities that the past and the present have to offer. Understanding his methodology contributes to the understanding of his theory of space. Although not explicitly or systematically, Lefebvre's method has substantially inspired and influenced my own research and methodological approach in the development of this dissertation.

The Science of Space

According to Lefebvre, there is no epistemological-philosophical basis for what he calls the science of space, also known as urban planning. What has been produced in this realm is not knowledge of space, but rather a discourse on space. The technical urban planning practice uses the strategy of breaking space into functional spaces: leisure, work, play, ensuring the understanding of space and society through fragmentation. Mimicking capitalism' mode of production, space is subjected to endless division, while the oversight of the whole is the state's responsibility, characterized by political practice and power. In urban planning, zoning is a clear fragmentation of the urban space by functions. This practice covers up the specific power that organizes such fragmentation in accordance with political and economic purposes. Architecture, on the other hand, takes advantage of aesthetic and rational models, or aestheticism and rationalism to assemble its discourse on space, ignoring or alienating ideological, political, economic, and social implications (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 317). The use of knowledge within this framework is, therefore, political, and it obscures its practice's intentions and contradictions (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 7-9).

To further explain the connection between knowledge and power, Lefebvre introduces the concept of hegemony of one class within capitalism. Lefebvre defines Hegemony as more than influence and repression, but rather it is enforced by society as a whole by the ruling class. Knowledge is one of the means used to sustain class hegemony. Thus, those who are knowledgeable, have access to knowledge or the means to obtain it, are in control. Accordingly, those lacking knowledge and the means to obtain it, lack power and are controlled. Furthermore, knowledge of space is a powerful tool. Through the development of a technical expertise of urban

space in logic and rationality such as urban planning, those who are in control of this practice and the systematization of space exercise hegemony over society. Although these specializations (urbanism, urban planning, urban design, architecture) have its particular technicians, they are all under a 'privileged actor, the politician' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 7-12).

State power cannot be seen in isolation from the process of accumulation of capital and from the political principle of unification. This principle

> subordinates and totalizes the various aspects of social practice – legislation, culture, knowledge, education – within a determinate space; namely, the space of the ruling class's hegemony over its people and over the nationhood that it has arrogated. (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 281)

In this sense, the state is described by Lefebvre as a framework, in which those in control work to secure the interests of a few minorities (or certain classes) that are imposed on society. This imposition is so efficiently done that they become equivalent to general interest. The state framework is also a spatial one. Its spatial characterization ensures the endurance and predominance of the centralized power that is the state. Each political power has its strategies of dividing space and its 'administrative classification of discourses about space and things and people in space' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 281).

In addition to fragmentation, reductionism is a scientific practice created to deal with the complexities of observations: 'Reduced models are constructed – models of society, of the city, of institutions, of the family, and so forth – and things are left at that' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 106). The state, as manager of the capitalist society, aims to be a reducer of capitalism's contradictions. Therefore, reductionism is a useful tool for the state and its employees. Specialists use reduced models to impose order upon society and this is the case for architects and urban planners who

develop reduced models of space. Reductionism, as fragmentation, works for concealing the social nature of space, its nature of means of production and product, and as an instrument of the bourgeoisie, the division of labor embedded in it, and its contradictions. Both practices collaborate for the control and alienation of people as the 'user' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 106-107). Lefebvre explains the purpose of reductionism: 'In its most extreme forms, reductionism entails the reduction of time to space, the reduction of use value to exchange value, the reduction of objects to signs' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 296).

The classificatory approach, together with fragmentation and reductionism, makes it possible for space to be imposed as a discourse of power and accepted it as reality. Finally, hierarchical classifications of space ensure control and order by state power (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 281-282). In sum, space is the instrument of the state to secure power, control, and class hegemony. The fetishization of space by these technicians alienate 'users', who in this case are considered merely receivers. Architects and planners are considered the ultimate expert on matters relating to space. People go to them and submit their demands, only to be manipulated and receive imposed commands 'from above.' In relation to the city and what might be considered a 'pathology' of the urban space, architects and planners are considered the 'doctors of space' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 99). Such characterization ignores the processes of production, its latent social relationships, and contradictions within the city and society (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 95 and 99).

Social Space

Following these critiques, Lefebvre developed a theory of the social production of space. He characterizes space as social space, which incorporates the social relations of reproduction and, most importantly, the relations of production. The social relations of reproduction include relations between sexes, and family organization while the relations of production are an outcome of the division of labor and its hierarchical form and power relations. These relationships are represented in social space and concealed in symbolisms (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 32). Social space is 'a precondition and a result of social superstructures' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 85). According to Lefebvre, capitalism's contradictions are spatial contradictions as well. These relationships and contradictions are embodied in social space and cannot be dissociated from it.

Lefebvre draws from Marxist thought to study space through his regressive-progressive methodology as the transient outcome of a constant process of change, looking at social relations and structures embodied therein. Lefebvre's theory of space seeks to understand the different dimensions that contribute to the making of space in order to '*expose* and *decode*, to update and expand Marx's notion of production' (Merrifield 2006, 104). Lefebvre's emphasis on production emanates straight from Marx who defines being radical as "grasping things by the root" (Marx 1974, 251):

> Instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it - relationships which introduce specific contradictions into production, so echoing the contradictions between private ownership of the means of production and social character of the productive forces - we fall into the trap of treating space "in itself," as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishize space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider "things" in isolation, as "things in themselves." (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 90)

Social space considered in isolation and in itself is an abstraction. Social space is not a product or a thing. Products that are measured and sold for a specific amount of money conceal their nature and use value. As a way to satisfy desire and necessity, they hide the social labor contained in it, as well as the social relationships of exploitation and domination existing in the production process. As fetishized commodities, things and products present themselves as absolutes, disguising their origin and social labor embedded in it (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 80-81). Social space includes things produced as the relationships developed as a result of the process of production. Unlike things produced, space is not an object, but rather it contains things. Space is not produced in the same sense as objects are produced. Space is at the same time a product to be consumed and a means of production, and it cannot be disassociated from productive forces (technology and knowledge), from the social divisions of labor that shape it, or from the state and society's superstructures. Therefore, social space is an essential part of the concept of production (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 84-85).

The existence of social space must be considered within the networks and pathways that it is part of, and the social relationships producing it and contained in it. Social spaces permeate one another and "superimpose themselves upon one another" (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 86). Space is in fact 'social morphology' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 94), the form and structure of the social relations of production and reproduction, tightly intertwined with the lived experience of those involved in these relations. Social space accumulates everything: 'living beings, things, objects, works, signs, and symbols' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 101). It is a place of assembly.

Every social space is the result of a continuous process of accumulation. Being so, studying space entails investigating its contributors, 'its structures (center/periphery), its social functions,

its relationships with labor (the various markets) and hence to production and reproduction' (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 101). Space's material and environmental conditions cannot be isolated from the complex and unique networks and structures contributing to its making. Space is thus more than a simple container of things. Rather, social space is a material condition and a continuous social process intertwined with power relations and social meaning. As an application of his regressive-progressive methodology, to understand social space is necessary to reconstitute its genesis, its development and its meaning throughout time: in the past, in the present and the possibilities of the future.

Lefebvre himself recognized the importance of applying the concept of social space and his dialectic triad to concrete situations, instead of as an abstract and strictly conceptual model: "social space works (along with its concept) as a tool for the analysis of society" (Lefebvre 1974, 1991, 34). It's only through the application of the concept of social space that one can experience the complexity of reality. The production of space theory is about understanding the active processes of the making of space and the web of layers and networks that are embedded in these processes.

In keeping with Lefebvre, I investigate the favela not as a "space in itself," neither as the physical organization of things and people in space. Rather, the object of analysis of this dissertation is the active processes of production of favelas that take place in time, considering all of its dimensions, as did Lefebvre. The intent of this dissertation is not to test or prove Lefebvre's ideas about the production of space. The social production of space is a given assumption for this study. Rather, I set out to investigate favelas through Lefebvre's theoretical and methodological

framework. His theoretical work thus informed the development of my research questions, throughout the fieldwork, coding, data analysis and reporting.

Autogestion

In the 1970s, Lefebvre published his four-volume monograph *De l'État* (Lefebvre 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1978). This project comprises Lefebvre's theory of the modern state, and it is a fundamental component of Lefebvre's work on sociospatial theory presented above (Brenner 1997a, 1997b, 2001). State theory developed by Lefebvre considers the State's role within capitalism as the manager of consumer society. Lefebvre argues that the State positions itself above society in charge of the maintenance of the antagonisms produced by the capitalist mode of production. The State is constantly trying to reduce and moderate the conflicts created by class struggle. In this sense, the State is the organ suppressing the repressed class, and the entity responsible for sustaining class hegemony at the same time (Lefebvre 1964a, 1964b, 2009b, 2009c).

In accordance with the Marxist theory of the state, Lefebvre argues that the State is a product of the capitalist society's contradictions. It is a source of power placed above society to resolve its contradictions in the service of the ruling class. The State does not solve conflicts, but rather mediates them as a way to maintain order. Lefebvre agrees with Engels and Marx that there is no complete freedom as long as the State apparatus perpetuates its role of mediator of inequalities. Even in a democracy, the State is a force of constraint, acting as the organ of suppression (Lefebvre 1964a, 1964b, 2009b, 2009c).

In opposition to the domination forces of State, Lefebvre introduces the concept of autogestion. Commonly translated as "self-management," autogestion is defined as "the occupation of space as an offensive strategy of the working class" with the objective of "the collective management and social appropriation of the space of production and the space of everyday life" (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a, 120). Autogestion is a proposition that opposes the omnipotence of the State. Instead of a formula or a technical operation, autogestion is a process and strategy that takes place when a social group "refuses to accept passively its conditions of existence, of life, or of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its conditions of existence" (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a, 135). Similar to democracy, autogestion is not a condition, but a constant struggle. It is the struggle for the decentralizing of the State and the decline of a 'centralized institution that monopolizes decision-making' that is the State (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a, 136).

According to Lefebvre, autogestion is today's revolutionary spontaneity. He says: 'Shouldn't the first task of theory today be to rehabilitate spontaneity?' (Lefebvre 1966, 2009d, 141). Autogestion appears spontaneously within powerless groups, confronting the existing State and its absolute condition and revealing the contradictions intrinsic to the capitalist society. Autogestion inevitably confronts the "stato-political system" (Lefebvre 1966, 2009d, 147-148), advancing the idea of self-management and decentralization.

Autogestion is not a magic formula, a model, a recipe or a 'how to' manual towards democracy. It is not the ultimate answer to all of the capitalist society's problems. Brenner and Elden (2009) clarify:

Autogestion is not only a project of radically democratic governance but a conflictual, contradictory process through which participants continually engage in self-criticism, debate, deliberation, conflict (Brenner and Elden 2009, 16).

Autogestion is a proposition of a process of decentralization of power and control: "It points to a way, and thus a strategy" (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a, 135). It is a project and a framework of political orientation and governance which may apply to all sectors of society, giving control and autonomy to those actors who are 'most immediately attached to them' (Brenner and Elden 2009, 17). Lefebvre's proposition of autogestion offers a theoretical category for the study of favelas and the envisioning of its possibilities. However, for the purposes of an empirical study, I employ the idea of self-governance as an analogous analytical category to the concept of autogestion for research and data collection purposes. The conceptualization of self-governance offers an opportunity to empirically investigate the potentials of the materialization of autogestion.

III.VII. Governance

The Oxford American Desk Dictionary and Thesaurus (2002) defines governance as the "act or manner of governing" (349). However, current application of the word governance within academia does not consider it to be synonymous with the government. Instead, governance refers to a transition in the process of governing from a traditional understanding of government to a "changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed" (R. A. W. Rhodes 2000, 652-653). Specifically, governance is the development and coordination of decisions and actions among various actors, organizations, and institutions either from the public and private sector (O'Leary, Bingham, and Gerard 2006).

Within the public policy literature, the definition of governance has moved beyond hierarchical and formal structures of authority and power to focus on governance processes, networks, and relationships. The proliferation of different government agencies and the outsourcing of services preclude studying government as one single structure (Stoker 1991, 1999). Instead, governance takes place through the interaction of several actors, organizations, and agencies (Goss 2001). The state and its representatives comprise only one of the many sets of actors engaged in governance processes (Eversole 2011; Jon Pierre 2000; Considine 2005). These "self-organizing, inter-organizational networks" (R. Rhodes 1997) of governance are as a response to complex societal problems through relations and arrangements between the public, private, non-governmental and community sectors (Kooiman 1993). Goss (2001) describes the word governance as:

> (…) describe emerging new forms of collective decision-making at local level which lead to the development of different relationships, not simply between public agencies but between citizens and public agencies. (Goss 2001, 11)

Governance has been explicitly applied to municipal levels of administration in which the decision-making processes move beyond organizational boundaries through the overlap and interplay of networks of agencies, local authorities, managers, and community leaders (Goss 2001; Considine 2005; Leach and Percy-Smith 2001). The end goals of governance are not different from those of government. What is different between the two is thus the processes through which outcomes are achieved. Ultimately, governance introduces the matter of "creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action" (Stoker 1998, 17).

In the urban context, scholars also refer to local governance as urban governance with similar meaning. Bagnasco and Le Galès (1997) defines urban governance as the means through

which a variety of actors, groups, organizations, and institutions discuss, negotiate and establish collective objectives and how to achieve them within a city administration. Therefore, urban governance characterizes the processes of determining priorities among various stakeholders and collectively mobilizing resources to carry them out (Le Galès 1995; J. Pierre 1999; Fontan et al. 2009).

When defining local governance, Goss (2001) identifies four elements that compose the 'local': geography, identity, scale, and power. Geography refers to spatial locality. However, physical proximity does not necessarily generate identity or sense of belonging. Therefore, local is also about identity and connectedness. The third aspect of local is scale related to the questions of who are making the decisions. Lastly, local symbolizes a site of power or opposition to power in higher levels. Within Goss' conceptualization of the 'local,' it is possible to identify other levels of local governance that are not always politically recognized, such as the regional or the neighborhood (Goss 2001, 26). Atkinson (1994) argued that local governance units are too broad to respond to issues at the neighborhood scale. For that reason, another common term used to refer to governance in lower scales of administration and decision-making is community governance.

The rise of the governance rhetoric has not developed without criticism. Swyngedouw (2005), for instance, has argued that there are two sides to the new governance-beyond-the-state institutional arrangements. On the one hand, these governance arrangements facilitate new and unique modes of participation and engagement between the state and civil society. On the other hand, social innovations types of governance have contributed to the deregulation and

reregulation of legislation as well as the externalization and privatization of state services, allowing

market structures to "set to rules of the game" (Swyngedouw 2005, 1991).

Community governance

Thomas (1966) first employed the term community governance in his exploration of

community decision-making in Texas. His research specifically investigated the decision-making

processes, the people involved, the actors' levels of influence relative to one another, and the

relations between formal and informal avenues of decision-making. It was only in the 1990s when

the term "community governance" gained popularity among academics (Totikidis, Armstrong, and

Francis 2005).

The term community governance refers specifically to the

> management and decision-making that is undertaken by, with, or on behalf of a
> community, by a group of stakeholders. The focus on "community" rather than on
> a corporation, organization, local government or the public sector is the
> distinguishing feature of community governance vis a vis these other forms of
> governance. (2)

This definition speaks to the question of who gets to be involved in governance process: Is

community governance carried out by community members or with the assistance of some

community members? Does governance take place on behalf of the community by outsiders? The

study of community governance entails the study of networks of government and non-

government organizations, community associations, individual actors, formal and informal modes

of engagement and the emerging relationships among the related decision-making processes,

dilemmas, conflicts and compromises (O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Goss 2001; Totikidis,

Armstrong, and Francis 2005). The community governance literature suggests that new

governance spaces offer an opportunity for communities to become "active subjects" (Taylor

2007), focusing on the self-organizing capabilities of community members and organizations to

promote their collective benefit (Clark and Steward 1998; O'Toole and Burdess 2004).

> Self-organization implies that the communities have resources at their own
> disposal that they attempt to accumulate from agencies both within and without
> of their own locales. (…) By finding ways to satisfy some of the needs of their own
> local communities many local development organizations become engaged in
> 'community governance. (433)

Sullivan (2001) summarized three approaches to community governance emphasizing the

importance of different actors in each one: the municipalist perspective, the networks

perspective, and the citizen perspective (Sullivan 2001; Somerville 2005). The municipalist

perspective argues that local municipal authorities are the most capable to stimulate community

governance (Corry et al. 2004). The network perspective emphasizes the role of non-government

agencies and actors in building community governance. Additionally, it focuses on governance as

a continuous process of negotiation (Torfing 2005; Hajer and Versteeg 2005; Moore and Mayo

2001). Lastly, the citizen perspective highlights the neighborhood as the most appropriate scale

for the development of community neighborhood. It argues that residents themselves should

control community governance processes within their own neighborhood (Atkinson 1994; Box

1997).

Independently of the approach taken, collaboration is an essential dimension of community

governance. The focus on collaboration comes from the idea that one individual or one

organization alone cannot solve complex problems communities face. Instead, a combination of

different stakeholders brings different types of expertise and resources to the table. In turn, a

group of various stakeholders allows for a more comprehensive approach to problem-solving and

decision-making processes in communities (McKieran, Kim, and Lasker 2000; Bowles and Gintis

2002). Communities should be actively engaged in governance processes concerning their problems, needs, and possible solutions. Community members and insiders possess unique knowledge about the places/spaces they live, their social fabrics and norms, and their functioning dynamics (Bowles and Gintis 2002; Scott 1998; Clark and Steward 1998; Eversole 2011; Ostrom 1990).

One of the underlying assumptions within the idea of community governance is that communities of people have agency. Eversole (2011) defines community agency in relation to community members as their "ability to act and be agents of their own development" (Eversole 2011, p.51). Bowles and Gintis (2002) argue that communities can solve problems resulting from market and state failures. Community effectiveness in dealing with difficulties is a product of the frequent interactions among members in addition to members' insider knowledge and capabilities. High rates of interaction push each individual to act in a way that is socially beneficial for all the members. Frequent exchanges also contribute to peer-monitoring of enforced social norms and accountability. For instance, O'Toole and Burdess (2004) show how emerging local community groups in Victoria, Australia, have been seeking to fill a governance vacuum left by the elimination of local government authorities. The groups bring together a variety of resources and actors to make decisions, allocate resources and provide services. Naturally, community governance structures also come up against internal conflicts. Issues like legitimacy, accountability, and funding are often some of the difficulties these community groups face (O'Toole and Burdess 2004). However, understanding community governance structures offer the potential for policy and practice when dealing with unique community problems (Bowles and Gintis 2002).

There are no specific rules or formulas for effective community governance. Instead, internal and external relationships, networks and arrangements existing within the community governance framework vary tremendously from one community to another. Political, social, economic, historical, demographic and biographic factors play a part in the ways different groups of people interact with one another and with outsiders. (O'Toole and Burdess 2004). Every community is unique in its characteristics, relationships, and interactions with the outside world. A community's uniqueness directly informs its governance structures and processes, and it should always be taken into consideration (Scott 1998; Bowles and Gintis 2002).

Additionally, community governance extends beyond just a community's management and decision-making processes. It also involves processes of community-building and how such community-building may help forge connections, relationships, support and trust between and among different actors both inside and outside of a community (Hutchinson 1999). Governance in a community thus also encompasses the everyday interactions among its members and how these inform ordinary decisions being made. Governance processes in communities are

> personal and relational, based on networks of trust and influence, informal rules and norms, enforcement via social pressure, and work done primarily by unpaid volunteers with a personal stake in the outcome. (65)

Community governance is commonly associated with residents' associations. Pierre and Peters (2001) adopt the term communitarian governance to define the work done by local voluntary organizations in an organizing governance process without government interference (J. Pierre and Peters 2001). Residents' organizations are normally seen as representatives of communities, and the work they do benefits the residents as a collective whole. Residents' associations traditionally mobilize resources, contact outside actors and fundraise on behalf of

their community. I define residents' associations as social structures created to represent a particular community or group of communities and pursue the residents' interests and needs within the broader government and market's structures. Most of the literature on community governance grapples with how these neighborhood-based types of structures operate towards the local public interest and their interactions/relations with outside actors (Connelly 2011; Stacey and Lund 2016; Fontan et al. 2009; Ostrander 2013; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Katsaura 2012). These organizations serve as intermediaries between the grassroots organizations, the state's organizations and actors, and the private market to better address problems within their communities (Bowles and Gintis 2002).

Governance within a community is not limited to networks and interactions with outside forces. Processes, networks, and interactions taking place entirely within a community also constitute governance structures and processes. These structures include not only formal neighborhood organizations and those involved with them, but spontaneous socio-spatial arrangements within a community as well. This dissertation focuses simultaneously on neighborhoods organizations and other spontaneous forms of socio-spatial structures contributing directly and indirectly to governance within favelas in São Paulo.

Community

While discussing community governance, it is equally important to define the word 'community.' Since the idea of the community is a complex and multifaceted one (Heller 1989), this section is not intended to be a comprehensive review of the literature on the topic of

communities. Rather, I focus on the main definitions of the term 'community' to clarify the meaning of the word for this dissertation.

There are two well-established uses of the term 'community': the geographical approach and the relational approach. The geographical model refers to a locality such as a neighborhood, a town, or a city. The relational model concentrates on social ties and the quality of human interactions (Gusfield 1975; Heller 1989; McMillan and Chavis 1986). In both cases, community implies some connection, either through space and physical boundaries or relationships. Evidently, the two applications of the term 'community' are not mutually exclusive. However, Durkheim (1964) noted that most communities are relational and established around skills and interests instead of locality (Durkheim 1964).

The geographical approach focuses exclusively on territory and locality as a means to define a community. The relational approach defines community with a strict focus on relationships. For example, Etzioni (1997) characterized community as a web of relationships of individuals that frequently intersect and reinforce one another. The individuals in such community share values, norms, meaning, history and identity. Etzioni (1996) described it as sharing a "particular culture" (Etzioni 1996, 127). Communities are thus relationships through which people construct their identity, committing to microcultures of values and meaning (Rose 2000).

Additionally, Heller (1989) added a third attribute to how to characterize the term 'community': communities as a collective political power. He adds this third distinction because an organized social structure for collective action is one of the few ways left for citizens to advocate for social action in the political realm (Heller 1989, 3-4). Communities achieve collective political power through community building and coalition formation.

Finally, Robert Park contributed extensively to the discussion over how to define communities. Park characterized three ways to define community. Besides the geographical and the relational approaches, Park also defined community through an affective model in which a sense of belonging comes from shared interests and identity (Park 1967). While each of these definitions is conceptually different, they are rarely entirely distinct. Instead, communities tend "to overlap and interrupt each other" (Tonkiss 2005, 16).

Critics of the notion of community argue that it implies an assumption of indistinguishable identities, prioritizing unity, homogeneity, cohesion, and stability (Mannarini and Fedi 2006; Young 2011; Wiesenfeld 1996). One consensus among social scientist is that the idea of the community is a socially constructed one, a product of social interaction and negotiation (Gusfield 1975; Cohen 1985). In this sense, people can identify themselves as members of multiple communities (Mannarini and Fedi 2006). This dissertation follows the geographical, relational, political and affective approaches to the idea of the community. I consider the community to be a spatial and political object and a complex relational social structure of individuals that may share symbols, meanings, values, identities, interests, and microcultures with the potential to promote social change (professional communities, spiritual, interests-based, etc.) (Katsaura 2012).

Self-governance

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein published her now well-known paper 'A ladder of citizen participation,' in which she proposed a typology of citizen participation in government. She argues that citizen participation is a categorical term for

(…) the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. (Arnstein 1969, 216)

Citizen participation translates to citizen power in being able to generate social change. More specifically, Arnstein (1969) maintains that there is a significant difference between "an empty ritual of participation" (216) and having real control over the outcome of a process of change. Arnstein's typology has eight levels of participation, from manipulation to citizen control. Citizen control is the guarantee of residents' full power over policy and managerial aspects of a program or an institution in their community. In the level of citizen control, residents are responsible for outcomes by making decisions, allocating resources, implementing changes.

In a neoliberal context, research has recently started paying attention to the way communities mobilize in a decentralized and locally-driven form of governance. As Rose (1996) explained, "community is not simply the territory of government, but a *means* of government" (Rose 1996, 335). Rose (2000) defines this new politics of behavior as *ethopolitics*, referring to how individuals can be governed by communities (Rose 2000, 1399) or associations (Cowan and Marsh 2004, 846). *Ethopower* operates through values, beliefs, and feelings to construct the collective capacity for individuals to self-govern themselves and manage each other's responsibilities to the group (Rose 2000, 1399). It is thus through communities, or ethopolitics, "that autonomous, freedom-aspiring individual is thought to derive the guideline, techniques, and aspirations by which they think about and enact their freedom" (Rose 2000, 1398).

Kooiman (2003) defines self-governance as "the capacity of social entities to govern themselves" (Kooiman 2003, 79). Specifically, self-governance within communities is a combination of processes of interaction, negotiation, decision-making, and management in

shaping a structure in which autonomous individuals are a part of and coordinate their own preferences (Rauws 2016; Arnouts, Van der Zouwen, and Arts 2012; Kooiman 2003; Termeer et al. 2013). In sum, self-governance takes place through relationships among individuals, groups, organizations, the built environment and the community as a whole under the values, beliefs, and social contracts already established (Stacey and Lund 2016). Additionally, Atkinson (1994) complicates this definition by arguing that, within his citizen governance framework, the foundation of community self-governance structures is the family. As part of a community, families build networks of support and activities to meet their needs. Accordingly, activities like education, social and welfare services, recreation and regulation can and should be part of community self-governance structures (Atkinson 1994).

Lastly, one's environment is a critical component of self-governance in communities that are relational but also spatially located. Through the examination of the management of pets and nuisance noise in strata-titled apartments in Sydney, Australia, Power (2015) argues that community self-governance takes place through the built environment, instead of merely within or around it. The material environment plays a part in self-governance processes of a community, "both co-constructing and challenging the performance of responsible neighboring" (Power 2015, 246). Power's conclusion adds to the definition of self-governance by showing how managing and negotiating the built environment is part of self-governance processes.

A Self-governance Framework

Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of autogestion as well as the literature on governance and self-governance, this dissertation puts forward a working definition of self-governance. There are

five core elements to this definition: autonomous action, the power to make decisions over resources and outcomes, networks of collaboration and mobilization, processes of negotiation, and the promotion of change. All of these elements were selected and defined using the literature presented previously in this chapter. These elements are not isolated from each other. Rather, they work together, influencing one another in a continuous and unstable process.

The first aspect of self-governance is the community's power to make decisions (Arnstein 1969; Le Galès 1995; J. Pierre 1999; Rose 2000; Fontan et al. 2009). Here power refers to the community's capacity and opportunity to make decisions regarding what needs to be changed or improved and how to do it. Having the opportunity to make a decision is critical but having the capacity as a community to do so is much more difficult. It involves clarity, involvement, negotiation, and compromise. Power to make decisions is often concentrated in the hands of a few leaders who do not necessarily engage in discussion with the residents. Power to make decisions is regularly negotiated among leaders and residents and this negotiation process should be considered when analyzing self-governance practices.

Networks are also a fundamental component of self-governance. Networks are the relationships and connections that exist among different actors, groups, or organization within the community (Thomas 1966; R. Rhodes 1997; Hutchinson 1999; Goss 2001; Bowles and Gintis 2002; Stacey and Lund 2016). The concept of networks recognizes that self-governance is not an individual activity. Rather it is through collaboration among actors and groups that a community is able to mobilize itself and engage in a self-governance process. It is also through networks that communities can reach out to "outsiders" to acquire lacking resources.

Autonomy from state or outside private institutions and organizations in the processes of making decisions is central to identifying self-governing practices in communities. It is unlikely that communities or residents' organizations can be completely autonomous in the process of self-governance. In most cases, communities depend on outsiders to provide lacking resources such as specific knowledge or funding. The provision of such resources often comes with demands and attempts to limit a community's autonomy and power. In this sense, autonomy does not imply absolute independence of the "outside." Within the self-governance framework, autonomy refers to autonomous efforts to initiate and mobilize the people and the existing resources to put the process of self-governance in place (Lefebvre 1966; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009; Eversole 2011).

The issue of autonomy leads into the fourth core element in the self-governance framework: processes of negotiation (Bagnasco and Le Galès 1997; Moore and Mayo 2001; Kooiman 2003; Hajer and Versteeg 2005; Power 2015). Processes of negotiation recognize the existence of conflict and different opinions and priorities in communities. The process of mediating conflicts, debating priorities, and disagreeing with one another is a part of any self-governing practice. Processes of negotiation also refer to disputes or debates that may occur between communities and "outsiders" in the process of achieving outcomes and promoting change. These are fundamental processes in determining whether community efforts constitute self-governance practices or not.

Lastly and most importantly, the central element of the definition of self-governance is the promotion of change as an intention and as an outcome (Lefebvre 1966; Arnstein 1969; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009; Eversole 2011). Intent is important when

analyzing actions as it is what motivates people to act independently of state institutions to improve their own quality of life. However, intent is not enough for the materialization of self-governance. In determining what constitutes self-governance, people's abilities to achieve outcomes is essential. Outcomes might differ from the original intents but it is important to identify outcomes and how they stimulate and materialize change. In the context of self-governance, change is specific to each community or group of actors. But its meaning refers to making the nature, form, content, or future course of something different from what it is originally. Change can thus refer to a variety of elements or situations such as the conditions of a physical space or environment, the degree to which a population has access to health care and education, or residents' awareness about trash collection (see Image 2 in Chapter I).

The absence of any of the core elements described above hurts the full materialization of a self-governing practice. Nevertheless, it does not completely erase the intentions and efforts of the process. Following Lefebvre's theory of autogestion, self-governance is not a stable condition (Lefebvre 1979; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009). Rather, self-governance is a process, and it should be examined as a process, not as a checklist of items. There are levels of self-governance. The limitations of timeline and scope of this dissertation project prevented me from further developing an actual scale of self-governance. However, the development of such scale is a natural continuation of this study (see Chapter Six). For the data analysis, this project considers the evidence from each favela in relation to each of the core elements of self-governance. The following chapters Four and Five present the data and analysis for both cases.

THE VIETNAM FAVELA

The Vietnam favela from outside. Photo by the author (2017).

This chapter presents the Vietnam favela, its history and process of development as well its current physical state. It analyzes the work done by the existing residents' organizations and how it relates to the self-governance framework presented in Chapter One. Lastly, this chapter introduces the concept of spatial self-governing practice and show how this process has advanced in the Vietnam favela.

The Vietnam favela is one of the 14 favelas located along the borders of the Água Espraiada Stream in the South-Central region of the city of São Paulo (see Image 5). It is located 15 kilometers (9.32 miles) away from the city's downtown, considerably closer than the majority of favelas in the same region of the city, some of which are over 40 kilometers (24.85 miles) away from the downtown (see Image 2). According to the municipal housing office, the Vietnam favela, located within the Jabaquara borough, has 954 houses in an area of approximately 1,603 square meters (0.396 acres).
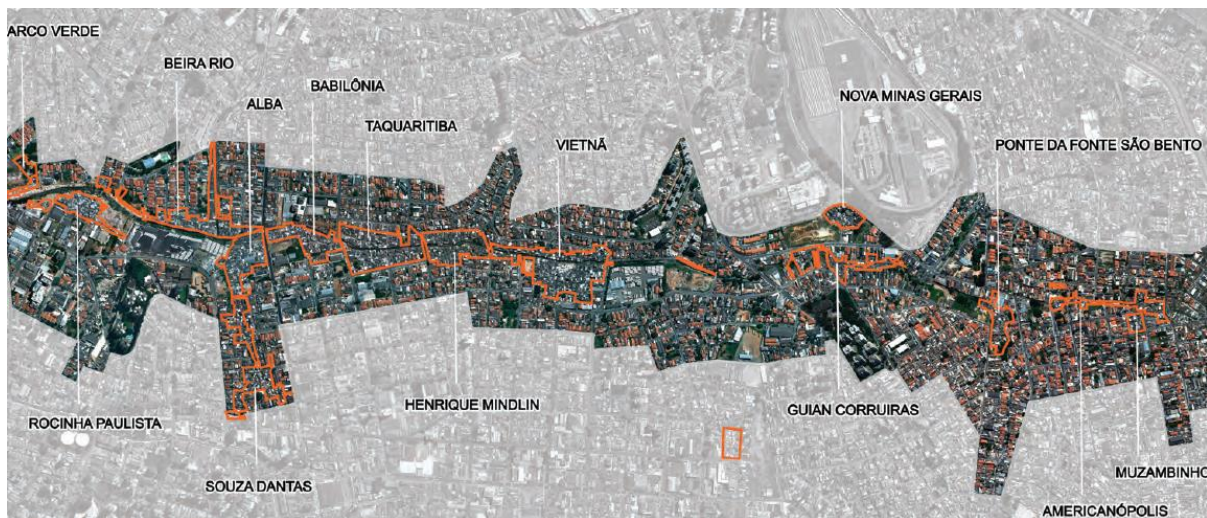
Image 6: Map showing the 14 favelas on the borders of the Água Espraiada Stream. Favelas are the areas within the orange borders. Source: Silva (2015) and SEHAB

IV.I. Overview of the Neighborhood

In terms of transit accessibility, the Vietnam favela is very privileged. Residents have easy and quick access to the north-south highway corridor of São Paulo, which connects the north and the south regions of the city while running through its downtown. In 2013, the city government added an exclusive bus lane to this highway, making the cross-city trip for public transit users much faster. The Vietnam favela is also located within three kilometers of the Jabaquara Intermunicipal Terminal, giving access to the subway north-south line, to buses going to the southern parts of the city and to bordering municipalities as well to South coast of the state of São Paulo. In addition, the Pinheiros highway, the city's second most important highway, is just 6.4 kilometers away from the Vietnam favela. In sum, the Vietnam favela is very well located in the city, having great accessibility and easy access to public transit. All of the residents I interviewed pointed to its location as one of its greatest attributes. Few favelas in the city of São Paulo have such geographic advantages.

The Vietnam favela is also well-served in terms of education and healthcare institutions, both private and public. There are a few nearby institutions offering cultural activities as well, including a museum and library less than three kilometers away. What residents see as missing in the vicinity of the favela are green areas with spaces for children and teens to practice sports, especially soccer. The children of the Vietnam favela have their own soccer team that competes against teams from other favelas, but they have no appropriate space for practice. They usually practice on the street during weekends (see Image 6).

Image 7: Boys playing soccer in the street leading to the Vietnam favela. Photo by Raoni Madalena. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website.

Although privileged due to its location and easy access to transportation and other assets, if compared to its surrounding non-favela neighborhoods, the Vietnam favela ceases to be as privileged. With the exception of the surrounding favelas, most neighborhoods around the Vietnam favela are middle and high-income areas with few if any deprivations. This becomes clear when one looks at Image 7, a map of the region showing the levels of vulnerability of the neighborhoods in the area. The 14 favelas area, including the Vietnam favela, is indicated by the orange corridor in the middle of the map.
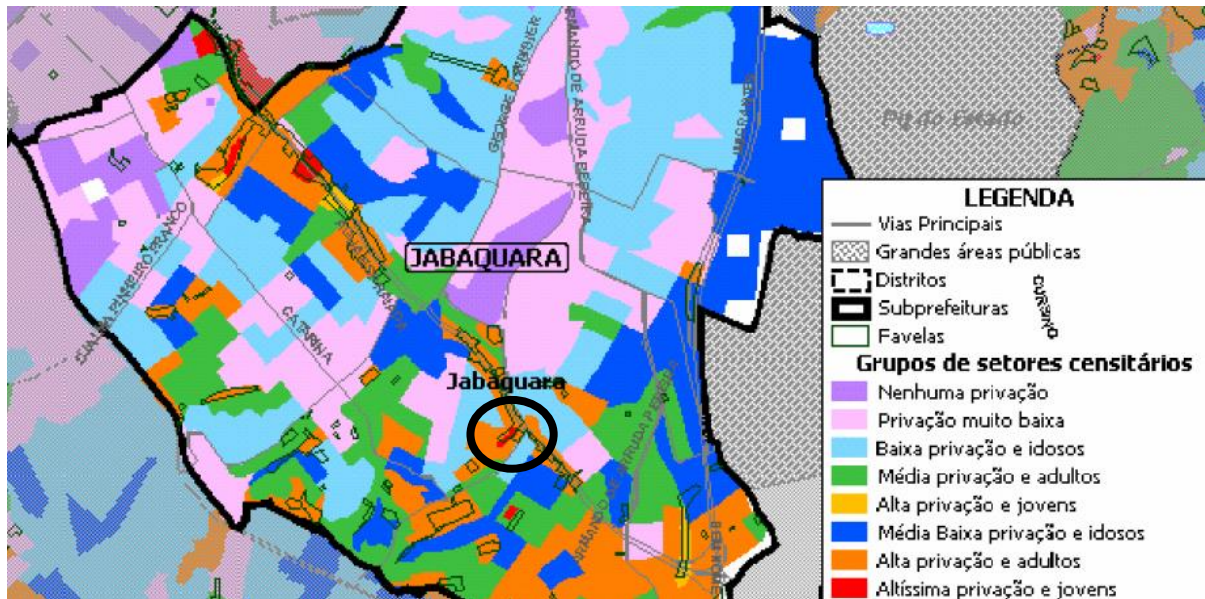
Image 8: Vulnerability map. The Vietnam favela is identified by a black circle. Areas in red and orange are where the most vulnerable population lives. Areas in purple, pink and light blue are where the least vulnerable people live. Source: Centro de Estudos da Metropole.

IV.II. Histories

The story of how these areas on the margins of the Água Espraiada Stream became favelas dates back to the 1960s and a long history of urban policy proposals for the area. The occupation of the Água Espraiada Stream's margins was the subject of municipal law N° 6,591 from November 15, 1964. The Municipality of São Paulo mandated the expropriation of the 60 meter (197 feet) strip of land on both sides of the stream in order to transform the stream into a canal surrounded by highways by the Municipality of São Paulo (A. D. S. Silva 2015). The intent of the project was to build a highway that would connect the Pinheiros River highway, one of the main highways in São Paulo, to the Jabaquara, a neighborhood that grew in the 1940s after the construction of the nearby Congonhas Airport. The Água Espraiada Stream starts at the Jabaquara neighborhood and flows out into the Pinheiros River.

In the early 1970s, the DER, Departamento de Estrada e Rodagem (translates to the "Roadway Department"), a state department responsible for managing roads in the state of São Paulo, started to develop a project in which the proposed Água Espraiada highways were incorporated. In 1972 and 1973, the DER expropriated 629 properties located on the margins of the Água Espraiada Stream to initiate the highway construction process. Due to lack of funding, the plans for the canal and highways were interrupted, the expropriated properties remained unoccupied, and the project was discontinued (A. D. S. Silva 2015).

It was only in 1984 when a municipal department responsible for transportation in the whole metropolitan region of São Paulo restarted the Água Espraiada project. This department brought together a group of stakeholders and other departments to redefine the initial ideas for the project and reinstate the process of implementation. Together, they decided that instead of a highway, the area should have an arterial road, meaning fewer traffic lanes and lower maximum speed limits.

While the project was dormant, people occupied the vacant properties on the stream's margins that were expropriated in the early 1970s. In 1988, about 25,000 people were already living in the area in 5,100 self-built wooden houses, most without basic service provisions. The majority of the new residents suffered with flooding every time it rained because their homes were located at the bottom at the valley by the stream. The residents lived in danger of building collapse on account of the fragility of the constructions and frequent flooding (A. D. S. Silva 2015).

Because of the changes described in the area, the parameters of the Água Espraiada project had to change as well. The new scope included the canal, roads, water drainage, basic sanitation for the existing houses and urbanize the area, relocating families at risk. Due to the new

needs of the project, the city administration considered expanding the area of intervention and creating what would later be called an operação urbana (translated to urban operation). An operação urbana is a mechanism created by the government for intervention and revitalization of an urban area that is considered attractive for the real estate market (A. D. S. Silva 2015; Fix 2001). Through this legislative mechanism, the municipal government is able to change the land use regulations for the specific area, allowing developers to build more than the legislation allows through payment. All of the money acquired is then invested in the area. The implementation of this urban mechanism would provide sufficient funding for the construction of the canal and the avenues on its margins, the extension of another adjacent avenue in the same area, water drainage and sanitation, and the construction of seven parks along the future Água Espraiada Avenue. Additionally, the funding would also finance the removal and relocation of 6,480 families who lived in favelas on the margins of the stream to social housing projects. The housing needed to be built inside the urban operation's area to ensure residents stay in the same neighborhood in which they have lived their entire lives. It was only in 2001 when the legislation for Água Espraiada Urban Operation was actually created (A. D. S. Silva 2015). However, parts of the project were put in place in 1993 with alternative sources of funding. These included the canal and the avenues on its margins (see Images 9 and 10).
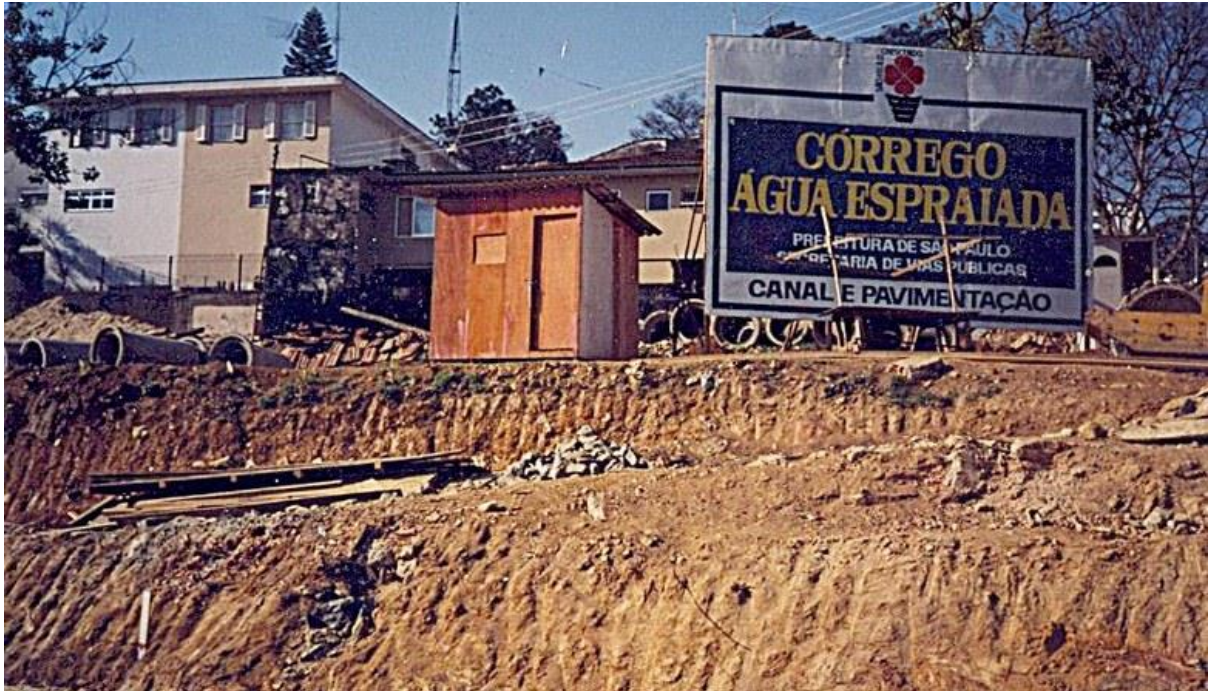
Image 9: Construction of the canal from 1993 to 1996. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website.
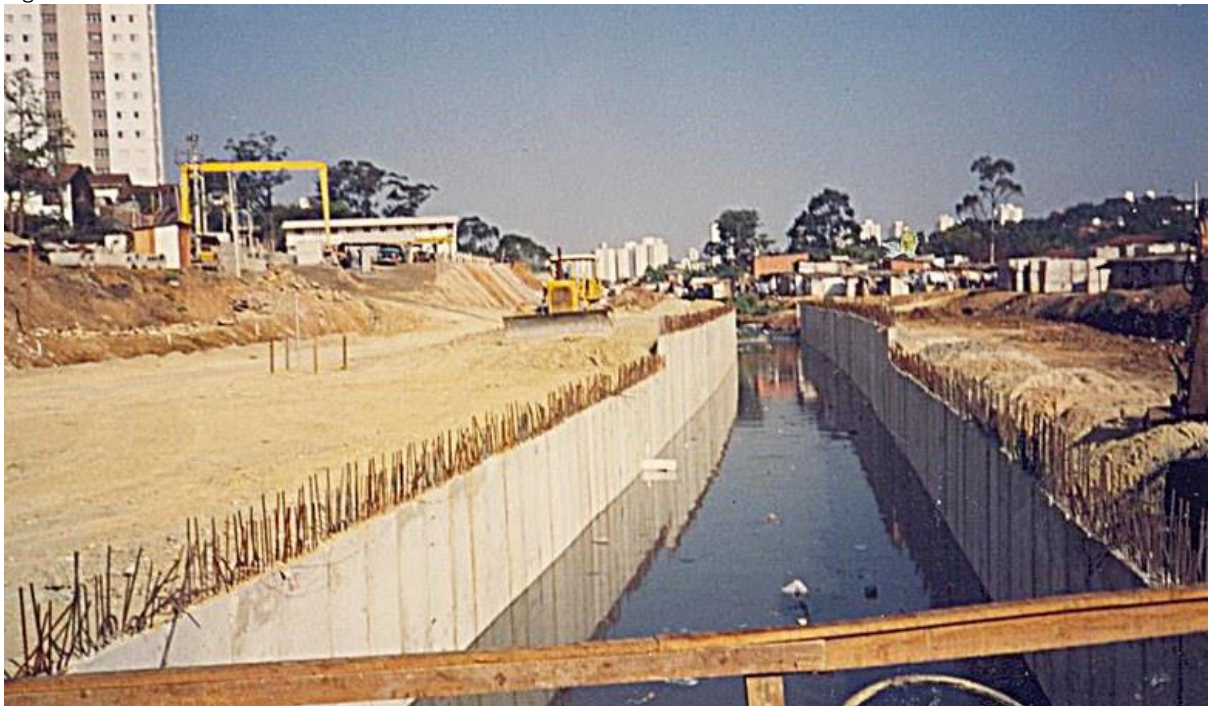
Image 10: Construction of the Água Espraiada avenue. Source: Rede Brasil Atual website.

The avenues, water drainage and sewage and parts of the canal construction process started in the early 1990s and were completed in 1995. Many of the families living on the

construction areas relocated to parts of the area that were not under construction yet. In 1995, there were a total of 68 favelas in the area with 8,346 houses and 42,347 residents (Alfredo 1999), representing a population increase of over 69% in a seven year period. Images 11 and 12 show the high-density favelas occupying the stream's margins before the removal. It was in 1995 and 1996 when the more intense favela removal process actually began in the area.

Image 11: Água Espraiada Stream and favelas before the removal process in 1995. Source: Amaral D`Avila Engenharia de Avaliações
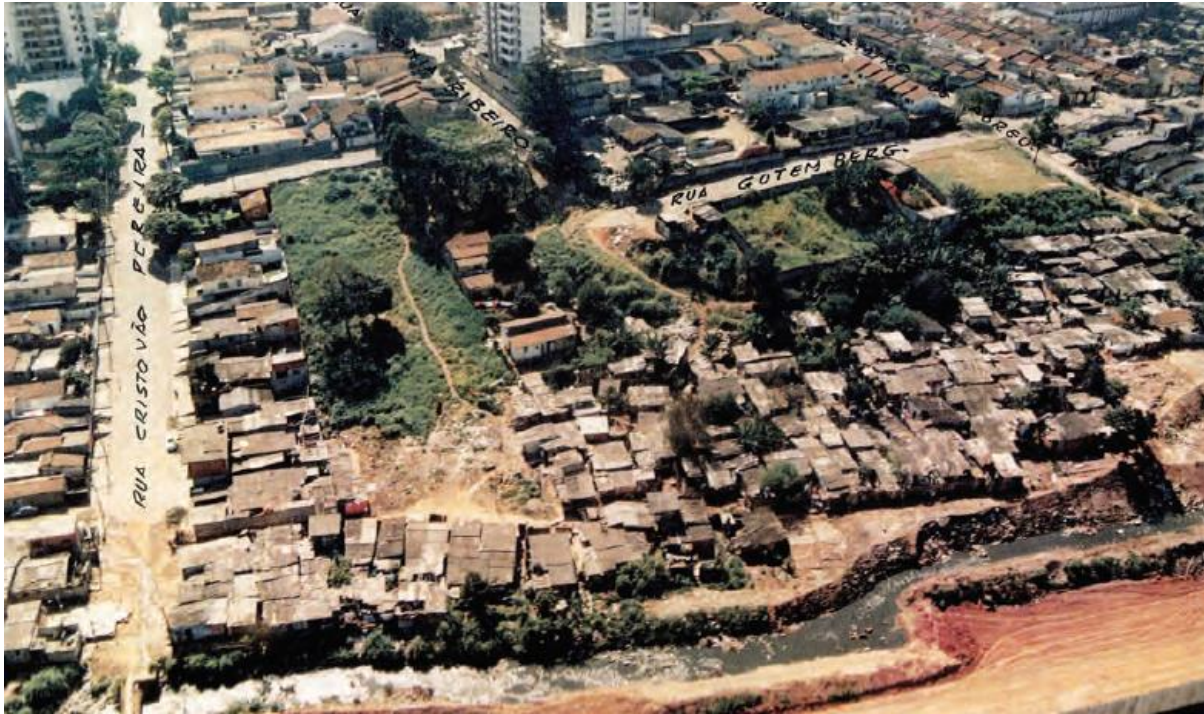
Image 12: Água Espraiada Stream and favelas before the removal process in 1995. Source: Amaral D`Avila Engenharia de Avaliações

After the removal initiative in 1996, there were only 32 favelas left with close to 20,000 residents in the stream's margins (A. D. S. Silva 2015). Thirty-six favelas and more than 20,000 people were removed. Images 7 and 8 are maps from 1993 and 1999. The first map from 1993 (image 13) shows the areas by the stream occupied by favelas in purple. The second map from 1999 (image 14) shows the remaining favelas in purple and the expropriated areas delimited by the dotted lines. From 1993 to 1999, the government removed the majority of favelas in the area. Since the Água Espraiada Urban Operation was put in place in 2001 and developers were able to participate in public auctions to buy the right to build additional footage to new developments, the area has suffered an intense process of real estate speculation and, consequently, gentrification (Castro 2016; Fix 2001). These processes have contributed to the removal and displacement of other remaining favelas and families over the last twenty years.

Image 13: Água Espraiada Stream region and favela occupation in 1993, before the removal process. Purple: areas occupied by favelas; yellow: other uses. Dotted lines delimit the areas for expropriation. Source: Alfredo 1999

Image 14: Água Espraiada Stream region and favela occupation in 1999, after the removal process. Purple: areas occupied by favelas; yellow: other uses. Dotted lines delimit the areas for expropriation. Source: Alfredo 1999.

IV.III. The beginning

The occupation of the Vietnam favela specifically dates back to the early 1970s, at the same time as the DER expropriations took place. However, the stream's margin area was beginning to be occupied even before then. A 72-year old woman, Dona Janaina, told me during her interview that she came to the area in 1964 to live at the Alba favela, also located on the Água Espraiada stream's margins a few blocks away from the Vietnam favela. She explained how the area was different when she first arrived: "Because there were no houses here, it was only woodland. There was no water, no electricity, no sewage. There was nothing" (Interview with Dona Janaina, March 2017). Image 15 below shows a map of the Vietnam favela area in 1954. The map reveals how, in 1954, there were very few buildings in the area. It was predominantly unoccupied agricultural land.
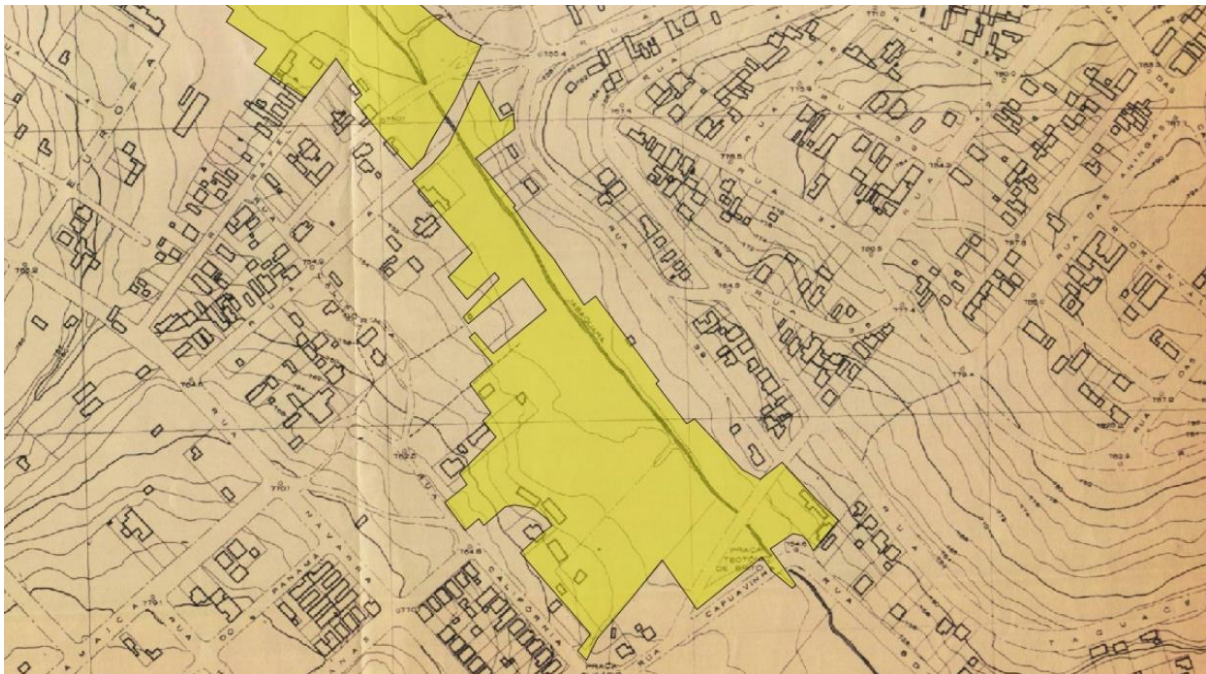
Image 15: 1954 map of the area and the Vietnam favela boundaries in yellow. Retrieved from the GeoSampa online database in December 5, 2017. Source: http://geosampa.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/PaginasPublicas/_SBC.aspx

In the early 1970s, this region was starting to develop and much of it was still vacant agricultural land and privately owned. Several residents told the story of a Japanese man who owned part of the farmland where the Vietnam favela is today. Over time, more and more people invaded his land to build houses for themselves. Newcomers divided the land equally into small pieces so as many people as possible could have a piece on which to build a house. Rumors indicate that the Japanese man had a tragic end: he hanged himself in one of the trees on the property. After his death, and due to the non-payment of taxes for several years, the municipal government ended up owning the land.

The majority of the houses at the Vietnam favela are very small with one or two rooms. There is overcrowding in many of the houses where big families share one unique room for all of their daily activities. When asked why his house has only one bedroom, "Seu" João, the resident's association president and community leader, explained:

> There were lots of people in need, so we had to help each other. You cannot have the greed to grab a big space and leave someone without any. So, in this community there is a lot of it, not having a big eye. There are two things, there are things that are good, I think I told you, there are a lot of people who help each other. And that's where you have to have some work, "Why am I going to get one that can make one bedroom, two or three bedrooms, if there are other people in need of housing?" So, let's get less and give to the others as well.
>
> Interviewer: So that's how you divided everything?
>
> Seu João: That's how we divided it. Because there were a lot of people who needed housing, how could I get a big space and leave someone without it? A mother of a family with three children, if I was greedy, she was going to be left without any space, so I said "No, wait". I was upset about that, my kids were small, but I had no problems with it, so we did it like that. I had an extra area which was a yard, but I made it as one more room, and another on top, then my daughter and my grandchildren came to live with us. My son and my other grandchildren came to live in the room upstairs, so we were able to build something that helped everyone. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

At some point, a few residents took the lead over taking care of the parts of the favela that were still empty and began to divide it into small lots and to sell it to people in need, mostly migrants from other parts of Brazil. These residents took advantage of the fact that no one came to claim the land they had occupied to generate income by selling the still empty pieces of land. Dona Mara, a black woman who has lived in the Vietnam favela for over 30 years, tells the story of a man called Mr. Tonho who was one of the people responsible for the dividing process. He was one of the first to occupy the land and took the power to divide it and sell it. Dona Mara told me how Mr. Tonho used to plant fruits and vegetables and coordinate the division of the lots per family.

> It was like this, when we came to talk to Mr. Tonho. He already died, but he used to stay here taking care of it. He planted things and stayed here. I worked; the father of my daughter worked. We could come here only on Saturday and Sunday to meet Mr. Tonho at his home. Then he said, "Where do you want it?" We said: "Here." He measured it with an antenna, then he put wood sticks so no one would try to take that piece. He surrounded it with wire to protect it and so people would see that there were already a family there.
>
> Interviewer: Did you tell him the size you wanted or did he decide it?
>
> Dona Mara: No, it was him. He used to say, "No, it can't be too big, because there are a lot of people that will come." Some paid him and the others just invaded the land.
>
> Interviewer: Oh really?
>
> Dona Mara: They invaded here.
>
> Interviewer: Did you pay him or not?
>
> Dona Mara: I paid him. It was still the cruzeiro - or it was cruzado?[3]. It was really, really cheap. Most people saw other bringing wood to build and began to invade,

---

[3] Cruzeiro and cruzado were Brazilian currencies. The Cruzeiro was the Brazilian currency from 1942 to 1967, from 1970 to 1986 and again from 1990 to 1993. The Cruzado was the Brazilian currency from 1986 to 1989.

thinking it was a planned invasion. They wanted some land here as well. (Dona Mara, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

The bigger pieces of land allocated to a few families were later divided into smaller pieces among several family members. That was the case of Dona Carla's family. Her brother-in-law was the one who initially had the piece of land that was later divided.

> Dona Carla: My husband's brother was taking care of it. He gave a piece to his mother, a piece for each family member who lives here now.
>
> Interviewer: And you got a piece?
>
> Dona Carla: Yes, he gave a piece to us as soon as we got here.
>
> Interviewer: And how did it go? Who decided on the size of it? Did he decide?
>
> Dona Carla: It was his brother who decided it. He gave us a piece and we built on it, we built what we could. (Dona Carla, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017)

This process of dividing the land and deciding on the lots' dimensions was the very beginning of the spatial formation process of the Vietnam favela during the phase A of the theoretical model of favela development. Its physical environment started to be configured during these initial years when those in need began to divide the land among themselves. The dimension of the plot of land each family received or bought was linked to the awareness that residents had about the amount of people in need of a piece of the land to build a house. Despite having spatial and resources limitations, the first residents of the Vietnam favela managed the available space by dividing it into smaller areas, maximizing the number of families who were able to build their houses there. Since no claim the unoccupied land, residents had the autonomy to divide and appropriate space, shaping the spatial formation process of the favela.

The great majority of the people who invaded the land or bought a piece of it for a very low price at the time did so because they were unable to afford to buy or rent in the city at the time. Most of these people were migrants from other parts of Brazil coming to São Paulo in search of opportunities. Seu João, who has lived at the Vietnam favela for over 30 years, explains:

> Today if you do a search, you find that the majority of people living in the community, in the favela, are people from the countryside, from the northeast who came to São Paulo without any education to work as a janitor, to work as a housemaid, as a bricklayer, as a bricklayer's helper. People who have difficulty paying rent. So, how do they survive? Living in the favela. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

A lot of these first houses built at the Vietnam favela were wooden shacks without sanitation, water or electricity. Very few were masonry. There was a severe flooding problem that still exists today because of its location by the stream and at the bottom of the valley. Dona Tatiana describes her first house at the Vietnam favela. She moved in the early 1980s with her two-year old daughter. The house had only one room and no bathroom.

> It was right here inside the favela. Up there, over there. It was a tiny wooden shack. When it rained, water came in, there were slugs on the wall, rat poop everywhere, when I got up in the morning we had to clean everything up. There was an old black stove, so we had to clean everything first to be able to prepare the coffee. We slept in that shack, it rained inside, there were leaks, and it was not a strong building. I had my little daughter, our bed got wet when it rained. It was a lot of suffering. (Dona Tatiana, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

The physical and environmental conditions of the first houses of the Vietnam favela were precarious. There was risk of building collapse due to the shaky construction of houses. Residents were exposed to diseases because of flooding and contact with rats and other animals. It was a struggle to maintain a clean and healthy environment in such hazardous circumstances.

Community Self-selection

In addition to people's inability to afford rent elsewhere in São Paulo, the Vietnam favela grew in size and population over time because of residents' relationships with those outside of Vietnam. Many new residents were following family or friends who already lived in the Vietnam favela. They had an established social connection with one or more residents and, through this connection, they were able to secure a piece of land or a house in the Vietnam favela. It was through an existing social connection that people heard about the land's availability. All of the 30 residents I interviewed in the Vietnam favela originally moved there because of a known family member or friend who already lived there before them.

On account of this network mechanism of selection of who moves in, entire families live in the Vietnam favela. Seu João's family is one them. Most of his family lives at the Vietnam favela, including his four sisters, their husbands and children, his mother, and his mother-in-law. In December 2009, the Estadão newspaper, one of the most popular newspapers in the city of São Paulo, published a story about Elisete, a 48-year old lady who lived in the Vietnam favela and was part of the community leadership at the time (see Image 16). The story describes how Elisete's family arrived at the Vietnam favela area in the early 1970s and has been there ever since. According to the article, Elisete has over 100 relatives living in the Vietnam favela, including 68 nieces and nephews. Four generations of her family lived at the Vietnam favela in 2009. Elisete's story is only one of the many family stories that are still part of the Vietnam favela.

Image 16: Estadão newspaper story published in December 13, 2009

This intentional mechanism of selection of residents is still current. Mr. Marcos came to São Paulo from Bahia in 2001. His daughter and son-in-law were already residents of the Vietnam favela and recommended the neighborhood to Mr. Marcos when he arrived. Mr. Marcos bought a house that belonged to his son-in-law's mother. It was through his daughter and son-in-law that he was able to find a house at the Vietnam favela to live close to his family (Mr. Marcos, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). Mr. Marcos already established social connection to the Vietnam favela allowed him to move in to this favela specifically and occupy and appropriate its space.

This existing process is a community self-selection mechanism: only people who have previous social ties to residents of the Vietnam favela know about housing availability in that community and, ultimately, move to become a part of it. Simultaneously, this intended community self-selection mechanism is a self-governing community and spatial practice as it influences who

gets to make, occupy, and appropriate the Vietnam favela's space as well as be a part of its community.

IV.IV. Growth and demographics over time

The earliest census data easily available for the Vietnam favela area is from 1991. According to the 1991 Brazilian Census, the Vietnam favela had 356 houses in 1991 with a total population of 1,594 residents, 765 males and 829 females, and an average of 4.48 residents per house. Close to two thirds of the residents, 1,057, were literate. Two hundred and six houses already had water supply. Nonetheless, the fact that they had water supply does not necessarily mean that they paid for it. It is very common in favelas for people to illegally divert water and electricity supply from the network. During my fieldwork in 2017, SABESP, the São Paulo state's water and waste management company, was finishing installing individual water meters at the Vietnam favela houses so each family would have to pay for their monthly expenditure. Additionally, in 1991, 310 of the 356 houses had proper sanitary installation. However, more than half of the favela's households (286) threw their trash in the Água Espraiada stream, and only 70 of the houses had their trash properly collected in 1991 (IBGE 1991).

Of the 356 residences in 1991, only nine families had ownership of both the land and the building. Only seven families rented their houses. In 1991, the vast majority of the Vietnam favela residents owned the building where they lived but did not have legal ownership of the land (IBGE 1991). As the current residents described during interviews, most people who occupied the

Vietnam favela area in the early 1970s did not own the land but invaded and appropriated the land out of necessity to build a house.

2000 Census

The 2000 Brazilian Census reported that the Vietnam favela area contained 177 houses in 2000 with a total population of 691 residents, 322 men and 359 women, and an average of 3.90 residents per house. In 2000, 78% of the population at the Vietnam favela were literate (539 residents). All of the 177 houses had a water supply, but residents did not necessarily pay for their monthly water use, as explained earlier. Additionally, in 2000, only 33 houses had proper sanitary installation while 144 houses threw their sanitary waste in the Água Espraiada stream. Also, 15 households threw their trash in the Água Espraiada stream, while the great majority had its trash properly collected in 2000 (IBGE 2001).

In terms of ownership, the 2000 Brazilian Census did not differentiate between ownership of the land and ownership of the building as it did in 1991. Of the 177 houses in the Vietnam favela in 2000, 125 were reported as owned (70.62%). It is likely that the great majority of people who responded that they owned the property did not actually own the land. As mentioned before, the land where the Vietnam favela is located is owned by the city municipal government.

Additionally, the 2000 Brazilian Census was used by the Center of the Study of Metropolis (CEM) in partnership with the municipal department of Social Services to map the social deficiencies of the city of São Paulo through the analysis of the socioeconomic distribution of every neighborhood. The Vietnam favela area was characterized as a high deprivation area. Low income

families with children from zero to four years old, teenagers, and single mothers are the majority living in the Vietnam favela area.

2010 Census

According to the 2010 Census, the Vietnam favela area was home to 2,183 residents who live in 607 houses in 2010, with an average of 3.74 residents per house. 1,040 residents were men and 1,121 were women. In 2010, 80.26% of the population at the Vietnam favela were literate (1,752 residents). All of the 607 had water supply and 451 houses had proper sanitary installation. In addition, all of the households had trash properly collected in 2010 (IBGE 2010). These improvements are partially attributed to the awareness and education work done by the residents' association discussed later in this chapter.

The 2010 Brazilian Census also did not differentiate ownership of the land from ownership of the building as it did in 1991. Of the 607 houses in the Vietnam favela in 2010, 537 were reported as owned (88.47%) and only 70 houses were reported as rented. As explained earlier, it is likely that the great majority of people who reported that they owned the property did not necessarily own the land but rather owned the building they lived in.

	Total pop	N° of housing units	Average residents/ house	Houses w/ water supply	Houses w/ sanitary installation	Houses w/ trash collection	House ownership
1991	1,594	356	4.48	206	310	70	9
2000	691	177	3.90	177	33	162	125
2010	2,183	607	3.74	607	451	607	537

Table 1: Summary of Census data from the Vietnam favela houses from 1991 to 2010.

Growth Overview

There was a substantial decrease in both houses and population in the Vietnam favela from 1991 to 2000, as expected due to the 1995-1996 favela removal operation that took place in the area. From 2000 to 2010, however, the Vietnam favela tripled in number of houses and population. The most updated data on the Vietnam favela is from 2017 recorded by the municipal housing department of São Paulo, reporting that there are 954 houses[4] in the Vietnam favela and an estimated population of 3,549[5]. Seu João, the resident's association president and community leader, says there are 1,300 families currently living at the Vietnam favela (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017). From 2010 to 2017, both the number of houses and population more than doubled.

---

[4] Data obtained at the municipal housing agency website on February 1st, 2018. Source: http://mapa.habitasampa.inf.br/

[5] I estimated the number of residents by using the same average of residents per house from the 2010 Brazilian Census.
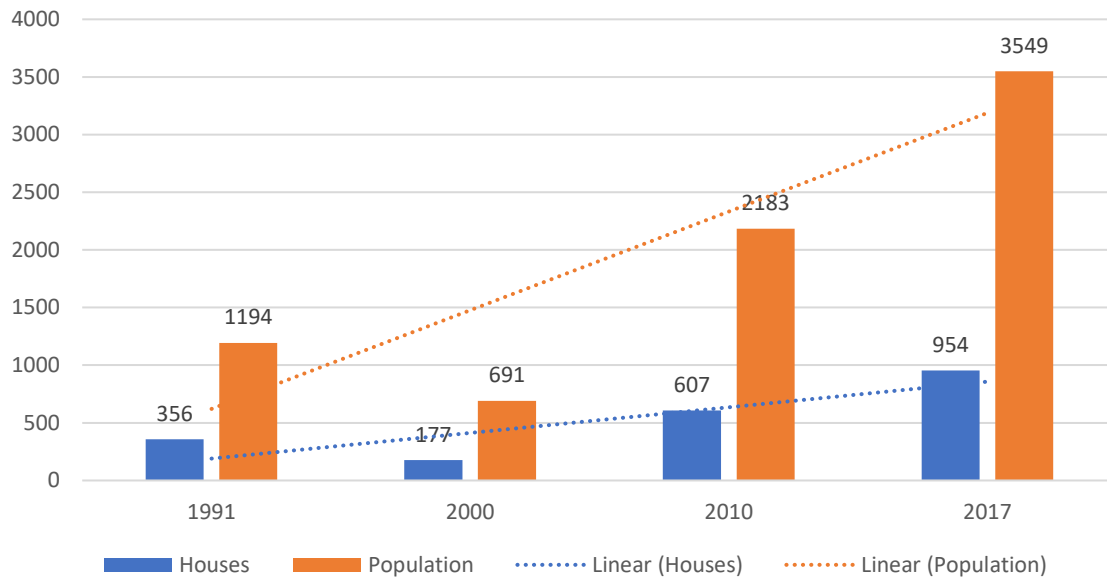
Graph 1: Vietnam favela growth from 1991 to 2017.

Interviewees' demographics

I interviewed 30 residents from the Vietnam favela, 24 women and 6 men. Three interviewees were leaders within their community and three were volunteers in the residents' association. Only three interviewees were tenants, while 27 present themselves as owners. One of the interviewees had a job at the time of the interviews, one was a business owner, seven were retired and 21 were unemployed. Thirteen of the interviewees were born in the city of São Paulo and one was from the countryside of the state of São Paulo. Sixteen interviewees were born outside of the state of São Paulo and migrated when children. The average age of the interviewees was 50.53. Only six of the interviewed residents were younger than 40 years old.
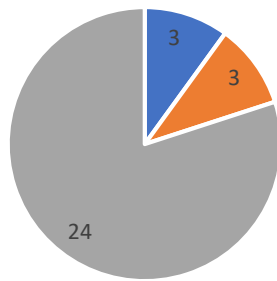
Graph 2: Interviewees' involvement with any group or organization
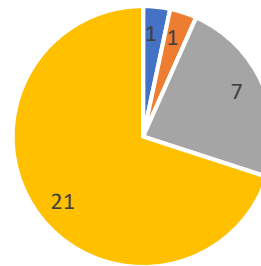
Graph 3: Interviewees' employment situation at the time of the interview

IV.V. Today's built environment

There are several streets off of Santa Catarina Avenue that will take you to the Vietnam favela and to the other favelas on the margins of the Água Espraiada Stream. These are descents towards the bottom of the valley where the Água Espraiada Stream runs. One of them, Coriolano Durand Street, is a regular-sized street with proper sidewalks, a few trees, middle-class houses, a private elementary school, a bakery, a few small restaurants, a pharmacy, and stores. If you keep walking down this dead-end street, you will reach the Vietnam favela. However, you need to know it is there in order to be able to spot it. If not, you cannot really tell there is a favela there. This is because of its location at the bottom of the valley and a few two-story houses in the front that hide the rest (see Image 20 and 21).

There are two main entrances to the favela through Coriolano Durand street (see Image 17). The entrances are next to each other but they lead to different locations inside the Vietnam favela. They are both pedestrian paths since none of them are wide enough for a car to enter. In

fact, none of the paths inside the Vietnam favela are wide enough for cars, only for pedestrians. And even so, the streets vary greatly in terms of width. One of the widest, and busiest, is a hidden one which you can access it through Coriolano Durand Street. Between two houses at the left side of the end of Coriolano Durand Street, you find a narrow and steep passage leading to this path. It is not a straight passage. It follows the form of the houses surrounding it, following the walls and dents that make it a hidden path. This is also the only path where there are a couple of resident-owned stores inside the favela area.
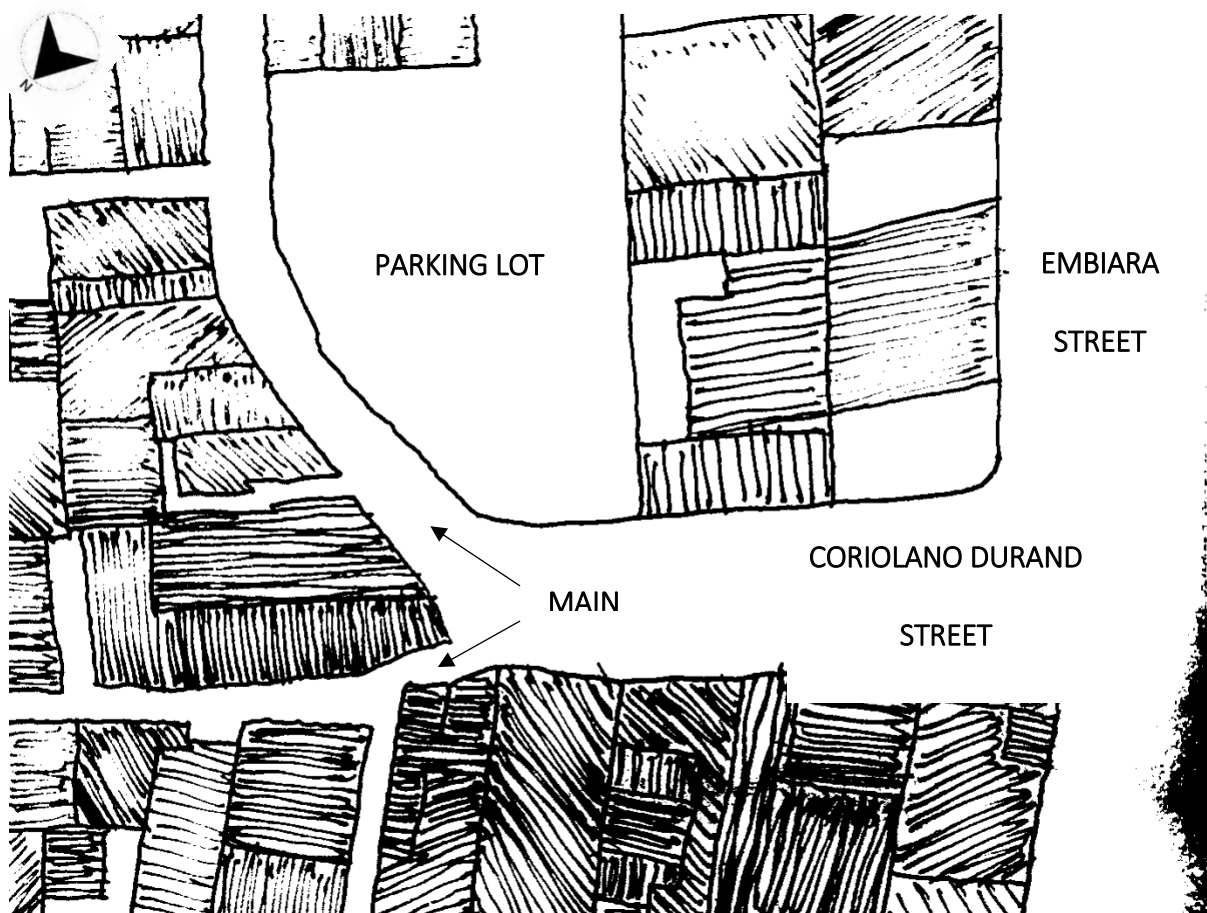
Image 17: Main entrance to the Vietnam favela. Made by the author.

I visited the Vietnam favela many times during the months of my fieldwork, at different times of the day, from early morning to late afternoon. I never found this specific entrance path

to be a quiet one. There were always people hanging around and talking to others. A few times I

saw boys trying to play soccer while one of the neighbors screamed for them to stop with the ball.

At one of the stores, there were always a few customers chatting with the female owner. Most of

the houses surrounding this path are two-story houses, some are finished and some are not. At

the end of the path, there is a larger space where three other paths meet, kind of like a tiny plaza

(see Image 18). Frequently I found four to six men hanging out in this plaza selling drugs,

sometimes carrying guns. It is a strategic location since it is right in the main entrance path of the

favela. For drug selling purposes, people from outside do not need to go too far into the favela to

find it. A lot of the residents have to go by this location to get to their houses as well. This tiny

plaza is also the largest open space area inside the Vietnam favela with around 25 square meters[6].

From there, you can go to any direction inside the favela, making it a central location at the favela.
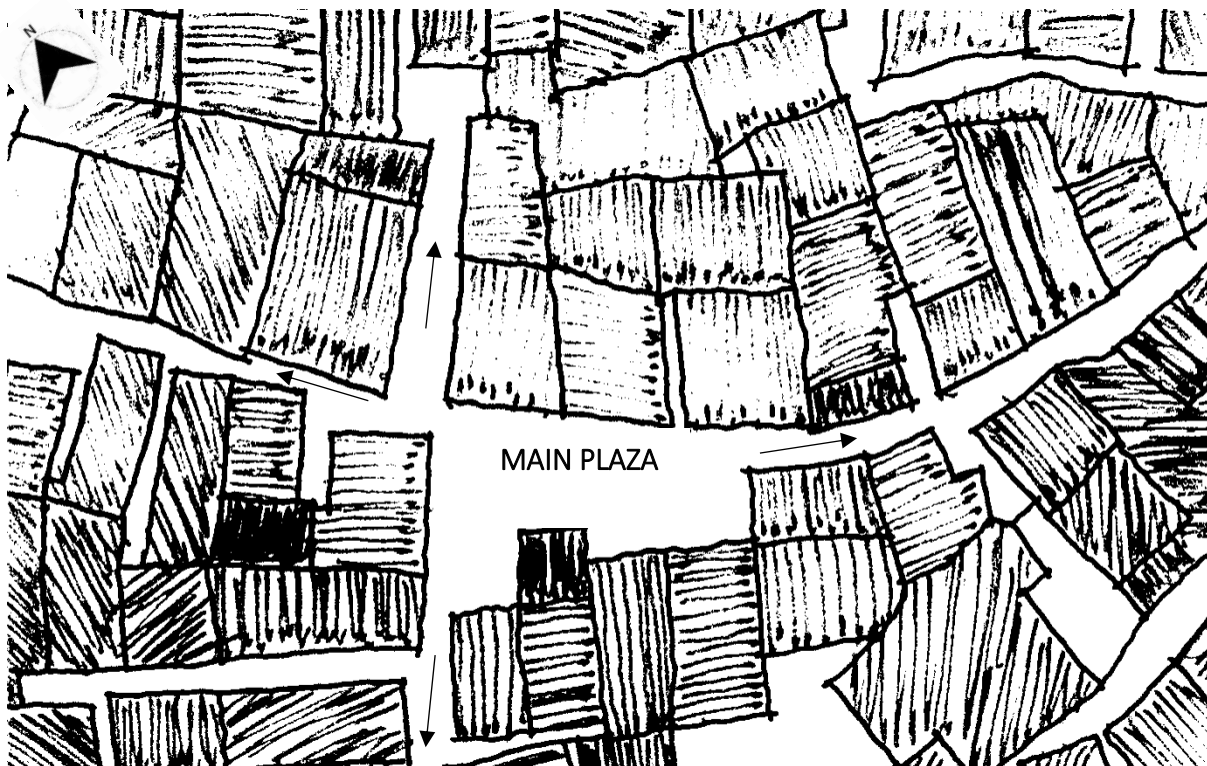
Image 18: Main plaza at the Vietnam favela, leading to all directions inside the favela. Made by the author.

---

[6] Around 269.1 square feet.

From my conversations, interviews, and analysis of the Vietnam favela, it does not seem that this plaza was ever planned or designed by the Vietnam favela's residents. Rather, its format suggests that this plaza is an area that has been continuously left out by the residents, instead of appropriated and occupied for individual purposes, like building a house. Its shape results from the silhouette of the surrounding houses. This area has been spontaneously selected to be a gathering space in the favela as well as a convergence area where four paths leading to four different areas of the favela meet. The collective appropriation of this area as a gathering space has prevented residents from occupying it for personal benefit.

The second entrance leads to the right side of the favela and (see Image 22), after a few meters of walking, it also leads to the tiny plaza in the middle of the favela. The other entrances to the Vietnam favela are through Franklin Magalhães Street, Rodolfo Garcia Street, and Capuavinha Street, all parallel to Coriolano Durand street. Another entrance is through the Alexandre Martins Rodrigues Street, across the Águas Espraiadas Stream. There is no commerce in these other areas of the favela, only residences. The entrance at the Franklin Magalhães street eventually leads to the tiny plaza and the main and busiest path. All of these entrances lead to the main and busiest path at the Vietnam favela and to the tiny central plaza (see Image 19).

The pedestrian paths inside the Vietnam favela vary greatly in terms of size, the widest ones are about two meters wide and the narrowest one is about 50 centimeters. Most of the paths on the left side of the favela, close to the Franklin Magalhães Street, are narrow and a few of them are also dark. Some residents, while expanding the second floor of their houses, built on top of the path, preventing natural light from illuminating the path. On the right side of the favela, the paths are also narrow but are well-lit since none of the houses crosses over any of the paths.

Image 19: Vietnam favela map showing the entrances to the favela, and the houses' number of floors. Made by the author.

Images 20 and 21: The end of the Coriolano Durand street and beginning of the Vietnam favela and the hidden entrance to the favela. Photos by the author (2017).

Image 22: The second entrance through the Coriolano Durand street. Photo by the author (2017).

All of the houses in the Vietnam favela have water provision and pay for the service. In 2016, the residents' association reached out the state water company, showing interest in having all the water provision in the favela formalized. Since the Vietnam favela is a poor community, the water company offers special rates for its residents, making it affordable for favela residents. The water company worked in the favela during 2016 and 2017. A few residents were hired to do the construction work necessary. Today, all of the families in the Vietnam favela pay for the water

service. Paying for a service is considered an advantage for residents who have a document to prove residency with the bill. On the other hand, the same has not been done for electricity and the sewage system. According to the residents' organization leaders, the municipal electricity company does not offer special rates for favela residents, so there is consensus among residents that the service should not be regularized. While all residents at the Vietnam favela have electricity, many houses still lack proper sewage collection. For the regularization of the sewage service, many houses would have to be completely demolished. For this reason, the regularization of the sewage system was not mentioned as a possibility by any of the interviewees.

Before 1970, the area occupied by the Vietnam favela was a steep hillside, the bottom of a valley. The houses built by the stream occupied the stream's flood plains. Since then, flooding and landslides have been a recurring problem at the Vietnam favela. The houses closer to the stream's margins are the ones that are at greater risk of flooding or landslide. Because of their proximity to the stream, they are the first ones to flood during an intense storm and more likely to collapse (see Image 23).
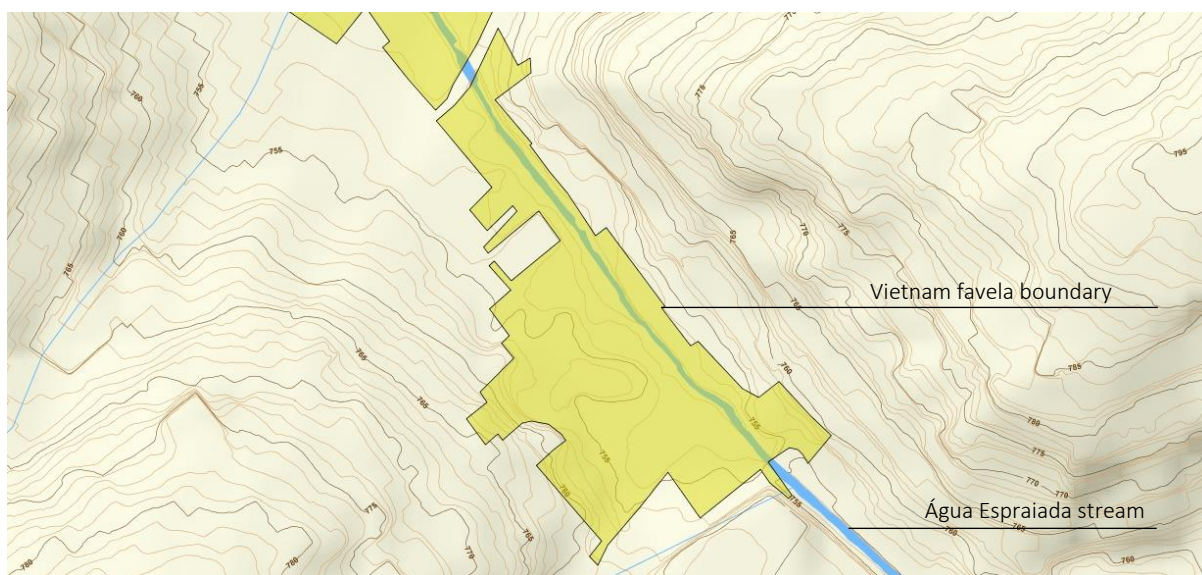
Image 23: Topography of the area and the Vietnam favela boundary. Retrieved from the GeoSampa online database in December 5, 2017. Source: http://geosampa.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/PaginasPublicas/_SBC.aspx

Every now and then, the municipal housing agency of São Paulo and other responsible agencies of the city government expropriate and demolish the houses in greatest danger of flooding, landslides, and other structural problems. However, every time it happens, new people take over the expropriated land and build shacks again, despite knowing there is danger of flooding or landslides. Seu João explains why this happens:

> There is no more space left, if any space opens up, more people will come. There are a lot of unemployed people, a lot of people struggling to pay rent, it's not easy. There are 13 million unemployed people. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

The vast majority of houses in the Vietnam favela are built of brick, with the exception of a few that are still made of wood, like the first houses in the 1970s. Some of the wooden shacks were made of reused pieces of wood, making them more vulnerable to collapse in case of flooding or landslide. Most of the houses by the stream are single story, but they are usually built two meters above the ground to prevent flooding. However, in the case of wooden shacks, sometimes their structure is not sturdy enough, putting residents in risk if the house collapses (see Images 24, 25, 26 and 27).

Image 24: Wooden shacks made with reused wood by the stream at the Vietnam favela. Source: Yabaquara blog - Photo by Anderson Nascimento

Image25: The Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: Rede Brasil Atual - Photo by Raoni Madalena

Image 26: The Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: G1 - Photo by Raphael Prado

Image 27: Concrete bridge built by residents over the Água Espraiada Stream surrounded by houses. Source: Jornal Sao Paulo Zona Sul

The lack of natural light and ventilation is a problem in many houses at the Vietnam favela. Due to the proximity of one house to another, many houses do not have windows. The lack of windows becomes a bigger issue when it rains. Because of the humidity, the wooden houses smell like mold after heavy rain. The air inside many of the houses barely circulates. The humidity, mold and the absence of natural light and ventilation contribute to an unhealthy environment in many of the houses at the Vietnam favela.

Residents pointed to the floods and fires as the major struggles they faced living in the Vietnam favela. Mrs. Janaina is 70 years old and have been living at the Vietnam favela since 2007. Her wooden house is by the Água Espraiada Stream and it floods every time it rains. She explains:

> Yeah, because of the stream. I wish I live in a better place, a little better, far from the stream. Then, when it rained, I would be calm at home. When it rains, I panic.

If I'm not home and I see that it's going to rain hard, I get terrified. I have to go home and draw the water from the house. (Mrs. Janaina, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

In 2008, there was a fire at the Vietnam favela, damaging 41 houses. Close to 200 residents were homeless after the fire destroyed their houses. Marlene, who has lived in the Vietnam favela for 12 years, was one of the residents left homeless after the fire (see Image 28). She had to stay at a friend's house for six months until the city government paid them as restitution for the lost goods and she was able to buy a new house at the Vietnam favela (Marlene, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

>> VIETNÃ BRASILEIRO
Moradores ajudam bombeiros a combater o incêndio, que teve início por volta das 13h, na favela do Vietnã, no Jabaquara (zona sul de São Paulo); fogo pode ter começado com explosão de panela de pressão, curto-circuito ou vela acesa, atingiu 41 casas, deixou cerca de 200 desabrigados e foi controlado 1 hora depois   Pág. C11

Image 28: Folha de São Paulo newspaper cover picture of the fire at the Vietnam favela, published in January 18, 2008

Other spatial problems pointed out by the Vietnam favela residents were the lack of proper streets, sidewalks, recreational spaces for children, and the size of the houses. All of the residents

who talked about the size of their houses lived in one-bedroom houses shared with other family members in overcrowded conditions. For example, Mrs. Maria lives in a one-bedroom house with 11 family members: her mother and her step-father, her three children, her sister and her three children, and two nephews from another sister. Additional issues mentioned during the interviews were the drug trafficking gangs, police violence, and the lack of opportunities for the youth population. However, these issues go beyond the scope of this dissertation's investigation and argument.

In spite of the difficulties, Vietnam favela residents indicated safety as one of the positive aspects of their community. According to many participants, it is more dangerous to live outside of the favela. Inside of the Vietnam favela no one gets robbed or mugged. A few residents described how they can leave their door unlocked at night and nothing will happen. Residents explained the only moments they feel the favela becomes an unsafe space is when the police come in, either chasing someone or in disguise. When the police come into the Vietnam favela, many residents told me they lock themselves in their houses afraid of being shot, as it has happened in the past.

The majority of residents also talked about their relationships as one of the great assets of the Vietnam favela. Many of them mentioned friends and family they have there as being what they value the most in their community. Out of the 30 interviewees, only eight subjects did not have family members living at the Vietnam favela.

IV. VI. Organizations Efforts towards self-governance

Social entities and individuals govern themselves by making decisions, allocating resources, implementing changes, and making and managing their environments. Organizations are one typology of the broader social structure of the Vietnam favela that contributes to the efforts towards a self-governance practice. There are two resident-led organizations in the Vietnam favela: "Amigos da Mulecada," which vaguely translates to the "Kids' Friends" and "Associação Conquistando Um Espaço," which translates to the "Conquering a Space Residents Association." Despite the two different names and legal registrations, they are currently administered by the same couple, Seu João and Dona Celinha. These two have lived in the Vietnam favela since 1987 and started the Conquering a Space Residents Association in 2004. The "Amigos da Mulecada" organization has existed for over 20 years. It did not have any legal registration before Seu João and Dona Celinha took over its leadership, when they were able to properly register it. He and his wife both quit their jobs, his as a bus collector and hers as a clerk in a hospital, to devote themselves to the Conquering a Space Residents Association. Both leaders claim not having a monthly salary, living off of donations from residents and outsiders. Seu João says the work they do is out of love, not money: "All that you do is through effort, courage, love. An association has no way to make money." (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017). However, Seu João explained that he is able to make some money during election years. He claims to have access to what politicians want: the vote. Seu João admitted to being paid by politicians before elections to convince the residents of the Vietnam favela to vote for them.

Each organization has its own physical space outside of the physical boundaries of the Vietnam favela. Unlike the houses of the Vietnam favela, both of the organizations' houses have

143

property deeds. The 'Amigos da Mulecada' organization has a two-story house at the Franklin Magalhães Street. The Conquering a Space Residents Association's house is at the Coriolano Durand street. Initially, Seu João had the association in a six square meters room at his own house. They moved the association to the house at the Coriolano Durand street about four years ago (2014). Seu João tells the story about the house:

> We were down there and the owner of this lot here, he was Japanese. He had two lots and he said he did not want to live near the favela. Then I asked him if he wanted to sell here. He said: "A lot of people want to buy here, but I want to sell it to you. It's R$20,000." I paid him R$250.00 every month for a long time. It was a difficulty to pay. But I did it. We did not have any money left to build. There was a construction company that was doing work by the stream for the city government, and they didn't have anywhere to store construction materials. He asked if I could rent him the lot to store material. God does things, doesn't he? "You rent me this lot to store material and I'll build the walls for you here," he said. And it worked. I did not think twice. "Let's do it" They did the electric wiring, too.
>
> Every day a few of the construction workers came here around 3:00 PM. They built the foundation, the walls and the roof slab. I had to buy the roof tiles. The people of the community brought the floor tiles and I installed it. And we're here. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

The Vietnam favela is known by drug traffic and police violence. Outsiders know that they should not go into the Vietnam favela without the company of a resident. The location of the organizations' houses, outside of the boundaries of the favela, is thus appropriate, allowing non-residents to be able to find them. The ownership status of the houses legitimizes the organizations before such as donors or the municipal government. For instance, one of the initiatives in place at the "Amigos da Mulecada" is the provision of computers for residents' use. This initiative is a partnership with the city government that provides the resources to be used at the organization's space. Only non-governmental organizations with formal possession of their physical space are

able to apply and be selected for this program, which was the case in the "Amigos da Mulecada" organization.

When asked about their motivation to start an association, Seu João explains:

> Because the living conditions were not easy. Slowly the community was growing, and the number of families was increasing. And then we started to see the difficulty of the families. How to reach your goals, information, your rights. And then we started to see that the community really needed someone to verify their rights, ensure their rights, seek donations, information.
>
> That's when we thought, after talking to a friend of mine. She said, "The best way is for you to set up an entity, association, it is documented, it is legal and you are able to get information because many people in the community are unaware.". I said, "Wait a second, I need to help these people." This is when we set up the association in 2004.
>
> We set it up in 2004, we started with a tiny space that we dedicated to talk to people in our house, and we created the entity. We knew the association needed its own space to become stronger. But we started in our backyard, in the living room, going after information about retirement, doctors, drug donations, geriatric diapers. That's when we started this social work. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

Social work: this is how Seu João described the work they do through the residents' organizations. As previously discussed, the Vietnam favela's population is among the highest levels of vulnerability. There is a lot of need and limited access to resources. Due to its vulnerable socioeconomic and environmental conditions, the organizations at the Vietnam favela are distinct in the work they are able to do, responding to the specific needs to the Vietnam favela's population. Seu João described their work as social work. As independent social entities, the organizations have constraints but both of them work autonomously, mobilizing the knowledge, and resources they have to respond to residents' necessities.

Generally, a big part of the work both organizations do on a daily basis is to support the Vietnam favela residents in any way they can and provide information about residents' rights, possible benefits, and other opportunities they may have access to. Both organizations have several projects to help residents. A few of their projects are partnerships with government institutions. For instance, one of these partnerships through the Conquering a Space Residents Association distributes milk to families with children between six months and six years, or elderly (those who are 60 or older in Brazil), that make less than one fourth of the minimum wage in Brazil[7] (see Image 29). The state of São Paulo funds the Vivaleite project and requires legal documentation for an organization to be able to participate.

Image 29: Dona Celinha and a volunteer distributing the milk at the Conquering a Space Residents Association. Photo by the author (2017).

---

[7] The current minimum wage in Brazil is R$954.00, which equals around $290.00. Families that make less than $72.50 per month and have children or elderly within the age range can receive this benefit.

The Conquering a Space Residents Association also receives and distributes donations of food, school supplies, toys, and winter clothes to the families at the Vietnam favela from both the municipal and state government. The Conquering a Space Residents Association is frequently in search of are donations of baby diapers, clothes, medication, and furniture. Dona Celinha frequently prepares a set of baby supplies to give to first-time mothers as well as those who cannot afford to buy diapers. Mrs. Vanessa described their work:

> They get vegetable donations, these types of things, everyone gets some. At the end of the year, she puts together a little bag with sweets and tiny presents for the children. Everyone in the community gets one, every child gets one. (…) It's very good, very good. (Mrs. Vanessa, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017)

These donations help support the poorer and more vulnerable families in the Vietnam favela. Occasionally, the association also receives donations from churches and other non-governmental organizations. The leaders hold the power to make decisions about who gets the donations. None of the organizations led by Seu João and Dona Celinha receive any type of regular financial support. The only money that comes in regularly is a R$10.00 (ten reais is less than three U.S. dollars) fee paid monthly by the Vietnam favela residents who can afford it. This money is used to pay the utility bills at both organizations' houses.

Receiving and distributing donations is a big part of the work of these organizations at the Vietnam favela. This is not a coincidence. This type of work is in accordance with the most basic needs of the Vietnam favela residents and with the resources the organizations have access to. For instance, Mrs. Maria lives with her mother and her sister, both of whom are sick and unable to work. Mrs. Maria explained their work:

> I really like their work, how they help the community. She's always visiting people's houses; always looking at the difficulty of those who need it. I particularly, she always goes to my house, always, because my mother, she is older - is not retired

147

yet, but she had a heart attack last year, she is diabetic, high blood pressure. My sister has kidney failure now, she doesn't work anymore either. They always try to come over. If I need the address from a doctor, they come here and explain to me where I have to go, where I have to look for benefits for her. If I need any help, a car, they help. So, they help the community a lot. (Mrs. Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017)

Seu João and Dona Celinha are known at the Vietnam favela and in the surrounding favelas for their leadership and work. Residents recognize them as the ones who 'take care of the community.' I heard this account from most residents I interviewed. They identify Seu João and Dona Celinha as the favela's legitimate leaders because of how they support them. They both frequently visit people's houses at the Vietnam favela to talk to families, update residents on their efforts, and find out who are in need in the community. Mrs. Maria acknowledged their work:

They are an association in need, they need partnerships to be able to help more people, and not only this community. Celinha takes care of other communities as well. It would be good for her to have more people helping her, to have more people visiting the houses with her (…) She always visits me. I really like a lot. (Mrs. Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2018)

Seu João and Dona Celinha's efforts are not limited to donations. The people at the Vietnam favela also characterize their leaders as mediators, those who people reach out to if there is a fight or dispute among residents, to calm down the nerves and mediate a solution. Mrs. Marlene was one of the people I talked to who talked about Seu João and Dona Celinha as mediators, as peace-makers. When I asked her, what changed since Seu João and Dona Celinha took over the leadership of the organizations, Mrs. Marlene responded:

Gossip, there was a lot of gossip before. It was very messy. Every week there was some kind of fight. We frequently had to talk to the boys from the movement to solve problems. After Joao and Celinha entered, there has never been a fight, there has never been any more messes. If there is gossip is usually about them, Seu João and Dona Celinha [laughs]. Sometimes a few people complain about Seu João, as

148

usual, no one is perfect. Even God didn't please everybody. (Mrs. Marlene, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

The residents' organizations' work in the Vietnam favela are efforts to meet residents' most basic needs. However, their work is not limited to donations. These organizations also help manage and maintain relationships in the community by acting as mediators and peace-makers in case of conflict among residents. In a socially and spatially close-tied community such as the Vietnam favela, mediating conflict and cultivating relationships is fundamental for the upkeep of the community. Seu João and Dona Celinha actively contribute to the well-being of their community by supporting residents, negotiating conflict, and preserving social ties.

Other Initiatives

Another partnership that Conquering of Space Residents Association has with the city government is through the municipal Education Department called MOVA[8], or the Youth and Adult Literacy Movement. Paulo Freire[9] created this project in 1989 when he was appointed the secretary of education of the city of São Paulo by mayor Luiza Erundina de Souza (Torres 1994). The MOVA project offers literacy training for older youth and adults, "built on participatory planning and delivery, with support from nongovernmental organizations and social movements" (Torres 1994, 184). The city government hires and pays the teachers while the organizations provide the space for the classes and get students to commit to learning. Teachers and students

---

[8] MOVA refers to Movimento de Alfabetização de Jovens e Adultos
[9] Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a Brazilian educator who became famous in the 1960s for his work documenting his earlier experiences with literacy training in the Northeast of Brazil. His book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996) advocates for dialogue and critical awareness to "overcome relationships of dominance and oppression." (Torres 1994, 186-187).

meet four times a week for three hours at night. This requires organizations to be in good legal standing and have the appropriate space for the classes. The Conquering a Space Residents Association run three MOVA classes at its space for around 15 students each every day during the week.

At the "Amigos da Mulekada"' main room is a telecentre with computers and printers available for residents to use. This is part of a partnership with the city government that provides the hardware for nongovernmental organizations that can provide a secure location for its placement. Organizations also receive funds to hire an employee to supervise the space and assist users. At the Vietnam favela telecentre, the "Amigos da Mulekada," employee and volunteers help residents to write resumes or other documents they may need, and to search for information online (see Image 30).

In the back room of the telecentre, the 'Amigos da Mulekada' organization has a kitchen. Mrs. Lourdes, a 72-year old woman who lives on one of the neighbor favelas, comes to the kitchen from Monday to Thursday every week to make coffee and lunch for the organizations' volunteers and employees. Children from more vulnerable families also have lunch at the "Amigos da Mulekada" kitchen. Mrs. Lourdes is a volunteer at the organization. She donates all of the food and cooks the meals.

Image 30: The Conquering a Space Residents Association telecentre. Photo by the author (2017).

A large part of the residents' association work focuses on children. Dona Celinha, who helps administer the organizations with her husband, runs an after-school program at the Conquering a Space Residents Associations house for children from 4 to 12 years old. Every year she takes up to 30 children from the Vietnam favela and the neighboring favelas to meet every weekday from 2pm to 4pm. Dona Celinha teaches arts and crafts and help the children with school reinforcement. The association also gives many toys to the kids to play with during the time they are there. Parents pay a R$20.00 fee in the beginning of the school year to help buy supplies for the arts and crafts projects as well as school supplies. According to Dona Celinha, the only difficulty is that she does not have the funds to buy afternoon snacks for the kids.

In the beginning of 2017, the Conquering a Space Residents Associations began to implement a new income generation project to make and sell brooms made out of plastic bottles.

The project is a partnership with SABESP[10], São Paulo state's water and waste management company. SABESP provides the machinery and know-how to the organization that is responsible for providing the materials to make the brooms and recruit residents willing to learn how to make them. The organization will later divide profits among the residents who participate and keep a part for its own maintenance. The project promotes the recycling of plastic bottles, training and financial support for the volunteers, while also serving as a means to support the organization financially.

The "Amigos da Mulekada" organization is responsible for cultural and sports projects at the Vietnam favela. They organize concerts, playdates, sports tournaments and events for important dates during the year, including Easter, mothers' day, children's day, and Christmas. For these events, the organization requests to the borough administration to close the streets around the Vietnam favela block to have more space. They are also able to borrow some infrastructure, such as a stage for the concerts and chemical toilets. For these events, "Amigos da Mulekada" also seeks donations and support from nearby businesses.

The city postal service also does not deliver letters or packages to residents' houses inside the Vietnam favela. The Conquering of Space Residents Association thus receives all residents' mail at the head office and stores it for residents to come pick it up. Dona Celinha keeps a white board at the association office where she writes the names of all residents who have received any correspondence to inform them to pick it up their mail with her whenever they can. In the back area of the house occupied by the Conquering a Space Residents Association is also a small room where Seu João put together a hairdresser space with donations. José, a 22-year-old young man

10 Companhia de Saneamento Básico do Estado de São Paulo

who lives at the Vietnam favela, uses the space to cut men's hair for an affordable price. Residents from the Vietnam favela as well as the neighbor favelas are loyal customers. José pays a small fee to the association to help cover the electric and water bills but he does not pay rent to use the space or the infrastructure. The Conquering a Space Residents Association also rents its main space for parties and events for a small fee as a way to have some money coming in.

Seu João tells the story about how the organizations were part of the process of awareness and education of the Vietnam favela residents with regard to waste and trash. Residents used to throw their trash in the Água Espraiada Stream since the trash collection company employees did not get in the favela to collect residents' garbage. Instead of putting their trash in front of their house to be collected, residents had to take it to a collective trash can at the Coriolano Durand Street. However, most residents just threw their trash into the stream. The Conquering a Space Residents Association's work included meetings and one-on-one conversations with residents to explain how throwing trash into the stream was harmful to them: not only does it attract unwanted animals but it also contributes to the flooding of the stream.

The organizations used to have a community radio station which reported on news and events happening at the Vietnam favela and the neighbor favelas. The radio station was also part of the awareness initiative, advising residents to not throw their trash in the stream. Mr. Miguel, who volunteers at the organizations and ran the community radio station, explained their work:

> The work was to teach: "Do not throw trash in the river, because whatever you throw, it will return to your house". And when it rained, the shacks flooded. Lots of mud, bottles, and trash (…) So, we always explained to them, "do not throw garbage in the river, the garbage's place is in the bin." (Mr. Miguel, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017)

The community radio had to be deactivated because it did not have a license to operate. In addition, the Conquering a Space Residents Association approached the trash collection company, advocating for trash collection inside the favela. The trash collection company hired three residents of the Vietnam favela who are responsible for collecting the residents' trash from in front of their house and taking it to the collective dumpsters.

The projects developed by the Conquering of Space Residents Association range from education to child care and income generation to providing services that residents would not have otherwise. All of these initiatives are attempts to transform residents' realities. Within the limitations, these efforts are autonomous initiated endeavors to promote change. Organizations are an important part of the Vietnam favela's structure that actively contribute to the improvement of the favela residents' quality of life.

Residents' Involvement

Besides Seu João, Dona Celinha and her extended family who frequently volunteer their time to the Conquering of Space Residents Association, around 10 other residents help with the organizations' work. Ten is not many people in a favela with a population of over 3,500 residents. Every interview or conversation I had, I asked the participant if they were in any way involved with the organizations. Frequently, the answer was no. Most residents benefit from the work but do not necessarily contribute to it. I asked Mrs. Daniela if she has ever helped any of the organizations. She answered: 'No, they never called me to help. They know I'm sick.' (Mrs. Daniela, Interview with Patricia Basile, April, 2017).

The majority of residents who confessed not to help with the residents' organizations are in vulnerable positions of need, sickness, or taking care of sick relatives or friends. That was the case of Mrs. Daniela. Mrs. Rosana said something similar: 'I help to deliver the milk sometimes, but I'm sick, and my old man is at the São Paulo Hospital. He is suspected of having gallbladder cancer. He is 80 years old (…) I can't work because I have only one kidney.' (Mrs. Rosana, Interview with Patricia Basile, February, 2017).

Even being sick while having a sick and older family member to take care of, Mrs. Rosana sometimes helps to distribute the milk. Nevertheless, the interviewees who do not get involved in the organizations at the Vietnam favela are not necessarily indifferent to the work of supporting their community or helping others. In the case of the Vietnam favela, these respondents are in such a position of need and vulnerability that they are unable to help or volunteer due to their own physical, socioeconomic, or time limitations and constraints.

Housing Leadership

Seu João's leadership at the Vietnam favela has expanded beyond the physical boundaries of the Vietnam favela since they first started their work in 2004. The legislation for the Água Espraiada Urban Operation created in 2001 identified the need for an administrative group for the urban operation involving a variety of stakeholders. This group would include representatives from all the government departments involved in the project, as well as representatives from civil society on behalf of the affected population of the area. Initially, there were two representatives of the affected population in the administrative group, both involved in social movements advocating for housing rights in the city of São Paulo. In 2009, the Leadership Forum was created

to represent specifically the favela residents of the area within the administrative group for the urban operation. In 2012, the Leadership Forum participants elected Seu João as their president and representative of all the favelas inside the urban operation perimeter (A. D. S. Silva 2015).

Since 2012, Seu João has represented the favelas affected by the Água Espraiada Urban Operation in the administrative group and beyond. His leadership role is a time-consuming commitment since it involves participating in all the administrative group meetings as well as the Leadership Forum meetings. This commitment also includes organizing and leading meetings with the residents of all favelas, explaining the project and its implications and negotiating with the other participants involved in the project. Seu João's position as leader requires a proactive attitude to seek and understand legislation concerning the project and its implications, as well as balance and patience to participate in discussions and negotiations. Seu João's calm personality has been fundamental for his success as a leader (A. D. S. Silva 2015). He explained the creation of the Leadership Forum:

> Today I am the president of the forum - since 2009 the Água Espraiada Urban Operation registered all the families near the stream to receive the housing and the leadership forum was created to supervise the government. In what sense? Be watching the work, where they are spending the money. That's why the forum was created. There are several leaders in the communities, and these leaders have chosen me to be the president of the forum. And then we fight for housing (...). (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

The urban operation legislation states that favelas need to be removed and the residents relocated to social housing projects built inside the urban operation's area. As the Leadership Forum president, Seu João's work also include ensuring that all the families living in favelas within the project area get their housing units. He represents a total of 19 favelas, 14 located in close proximity to the Vietnam favela and other five favelas that are further away. These 19 favelas

have a total of 8,500 residents. Seu João frequently organizes meetings with leaders and residents from all of the favelas to update them of the project's progress (see Image 6 for the map of the favelas). When asked about his goal as a leader, Seu João explains:

> I am part of the housing movement, I am part of the housing movement for 8,500 families, only inside the urban operation. My dream is that they have a home of their own. I'm not saying to you, "I do not want to pay." I want to pay for my home, but I want it to be mine. I want my children to have more quality of life, basic sanitation, quality for my family, this is what I think. Then I ask you, "Does the government want this?" We are part of this since 2009, and so far, only 700 apartments have been built. For 8,500 families. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

Seu João's long-term commitment to the organizations he and his wife run gave him the opportunity to take on a bigger and more important leadership role within the Água Espraiada Urban Operation and the borough administration. When the new borough administration took place in 2017, Seu João was personally invited by the local city council member to advise on the future of the borough and help with projects. He has also been invited to join the local hospital administrative board. Currently, the Vietnam favela's organizations have a much larger impact, not only at the Vietnam favela, but within the borough, representing and advocating for the right of 8,500 favela residents to housing. Seu João's actively contributes to the further the possibility of improvement for the residents of the Vietnam favela and the surrounding favelas as well. The organizations' independent efforts to help these favelas in different ways by attempting to advance the materialization of a new reality.

Information and Adversities

One important factor Seu João pointed out as being key for his work as a leader and the organizations' work is communication and transparency, which translates to being honest and open about the work they do.

> The residents trust us more. Transparency gives us their trust. Not only the residents, but also the donors. The food bank, social fund, other visitors. We keep records of everything we do. We put it on Facebook, in forums. This is our open-door policy. Transparency allows you to have an open door. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

The Conquering a Space Residents Association keeps a Facebook page with 3,133 followers in which they frequently post information and updates about the urban operation, the housing construction process, and news about events and donations. Seu João frequently organizes meetings with the residents to update them on the housing as well as opportunities he may know about. When there is funding available, he prints flyers with the monthly news and posts them around the favela. Ultimately, the main form of communication between the organizations and the residents is verbal. Seu João and Dona Celinha regularly go from house to house to check up on residents and inform them about news. People pass on information and updates they get from Seu João to their neighbors and families. The transparency policy ensures accountability for the Vietnam favela organizations and leaders, resulting in relationships of trust.

Mrs. Maria mentioned the trust she has in Seu João and Dona Celinha: 'We trust them to leave the children there, you know how the community's children stay with her the children the week, they stay here all afternoon' (Mrs. Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). Mrs. Maria also described how she hears about the organizations' work:

They are always coming by the house to tell us, talking (...) we are always going through the houses when - if we know that there is something new that is good for the community, it always spreads from one neighbor to another. Everyone talks. Sometimes when João does flyers about something different like cleaning the stream, the improvement of the community - we put them up in front of the houses there, in the community, or even putting them up in the stores around here, to improve the community and thus help everyone to really know what is happening, good or bad, but we are always united, spreading the good news to the community. (Mrs. Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017)

Other residents described similar accounts of how the news about the organizations' work gets delivered, either through flyers, from one resident to another, or through house visits. To be successful in the work they do, these organizations need to inform and involve residents in their projects. Spreading the news is part of the self-governing practice of residents' organizations. However, nothing was said about being accountable for the organizations' finances towards the residents. For projects that receive government funding, the organizations are required to account for their expenses. But these accounts are not extended to residents themselves.

Despite the organizations' efforts to develop a variety of projects to support and help residents, there are always challenges and difficulties. According to Seu João, the largest difficulty both organizations face is transportation. Because neither Seu João nor any of the volunteers working at the organizations has a car, they have to rent either a car or a truck every time they receive a donation so they can pick it up. However, most of the time they do not have funds available to do so. In these situations, they usually lose the donations. Another struggle is the lack of funding to do more, especially for children, adolescents, and the elderly.

And our difficulty is this, is to have the space to build more projects. We have to build another floor to have the classrooms upstairs. My thinking is to rescue the youth. To offer courses, bring a project to generate income, and to care for the elderly too - they who bore fruit, should not be thrown either. The elderly need an activity, many die from lack of activity, from lack of joy.

And depression kills more than anything. When you get old, as many people abandon you. So, it's another difficulty. It is the same as the child. If the children don't have a path to follow-through in their life, you will not be able to keep her from getting into bad things. The child won't have a future. (Seu João, Interview with Patricia Basile, February 2017).

Despite the limitations both organizations at the Vietnam favela face, the Conquering a Space Residents Association and the "Amigos da Mulekada" organization have an immediate impact on the lives of the poorest and more vulnerable families by securing the minimum a human being needs to survive, either food, clothes, or toiletries. They also work hard to ensure that residents have basic information about their basic rights and the government benefits they are entitled to, such as retirement or financial assistance. Additionally, since Seu João took over the leadership of the Leadership Forum, his work assumed a new and broader dimension to guarantee that all favela residents within the urban operation area, not only the Vietnam favela residents, are not evicted and left homeless, and eventually get the housing that was promised to them.

Most of these initiatives are efforts towards a self-governing practice as residents act independently of the state and outside institutions to promote change and improvement within the limitations of access to resources and knowledge. However, these initiatives are not perfect. The table below analyzes the residents' organizations initiatives and programs in relation to the five core elements of self-governance. There are five core elements that make up self-governance. These are 1) autonomous action, 2) power to make decisions over needs and outcomes, 3) networks of collaboration and mobilization, 4) processes of negotiation, and the 5) promotion of change (see Image 31).
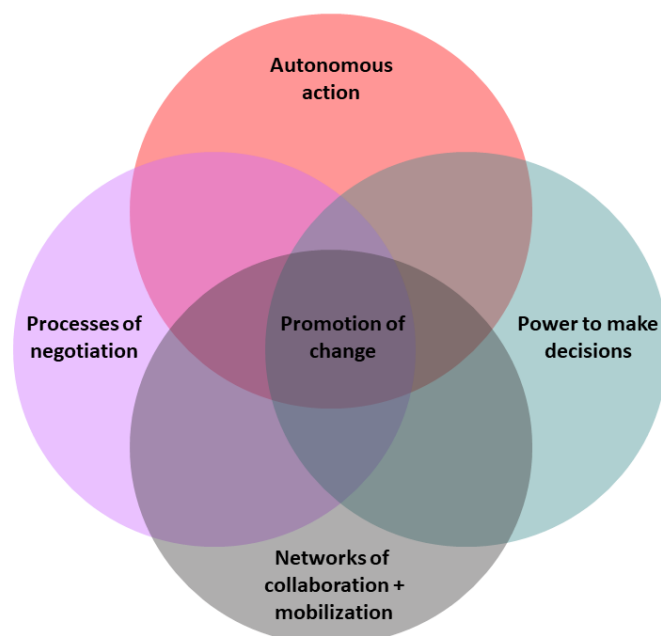
Image 31: The self-governance framework.

	Autonomous Action	Power to make decisions	Networks of collaboration and mobilization	Processes of negotiation	Promotion of change
Donations	Autonomous initiative to go after and distribute donations according to the residents' needs	Leaders hold the power to make decisions over where to search for donations and who gets them	It is through existing relationships with outside networks that leaders are able to get donations	No process of negotiation was described by the informants	Although donations do not change residents' state of poverty, it provides a temporary
Conflict Mediation	Autonomous initiative to support residents in mediating conflicts in the community	The power to decide when to reach out to mediators is on the hands of the residents	Mediating is an attempt to maintain existing relationships and networks of collaboration	Mediation is in itself a process of negotiation	Being a mediator and contributing to community stability and balance is a process that contributes to change in a community
Adult Literacy Program	Initiative to request the program, advertise the classes and maintain the	The decision to implement the program was made by the leaders. However, the maintenance of	The maintenance of the program depends on the existing networks to mobilize residents to devote time and	No process of negotiation was described by the informants	The Adult Literacy Program directly affect the lives of those participating in

	program running	the program depends on the residents to participate	effort to the program		it, contributing to the promotion of change in the community
After School Program	Arrangement and realization of after school program as a response to residents' needs	Leaders decided to implement the program based on residents' needs. The upkeep of the program depends on the residents to participate	The effectiveness of the program depends on existing networks to bring more residents to participate	Convincing parents to engage their children in the After-School Program is a process of negotiation between leaders and residents.	The After-School program directly impact the lives of the children in the community as it prevents them to get involved in drug trafficking activities or dating while not in school
Income Generation Project	Leaders' initiative to approach the state water company and try to implement the project	The decision to implement the program was made by the leaders in response to a big rate of unemployment in their community. For the program to be successful, residents need to decide to participate	To collect the necessary materials for the program, leaders depend on residents to collaborate in saving and donating plastic bottles	To implement the program, leaders need to persuade residents to support them while collecting the necessary materials as well as being involved in the project	When in place, this project has the potential to change the lives of the residents involved as it would be a source of income for unemployed residents
Events	Independent action to organize events for the favela population	The power to decide to organize events and what types of events is in the hands of the leaders. The success of the events depends on the residents' decisions to be engaged with the organized events	For the events to be successful, residents need to collaborate as volunteers and participants and mobilize others to do the same	Persuading residents to volunteer and to participate in the organized events is in itself a process of negotiation	The organization of events have no long-term impact on the residents' lives. However, it is a source of entertainment for those who might not have the funds to entertain themselves through other means

Postal Service	Autonomous action to provide a service that does not exist in their community	The power to implement the service was in the hands of the leaders that responded to a need in the community. The success of the initiative depends on residents to take part in it – pick up their mail at the residents' organization house	The success of the initiative depends mostly on the leaders' mobilization	No process of negotiation was described by the informants	Residents have access to a service they would not have otherwise
Trash Awareness and Collection	Autonomous action to develop an awareness initiative and approach the trash collection company to adapt the collection process to the community's needs	The decision to start the awareness initiative was made by the leaders. But its success depends on residents to decide to engage in it and collaborate	The success of the initiative depends on residents to collaborate and mobilize themselves and others to engage in the initiate and collaborate	Making residents aware of the trash as a problem they faced as a community involved a process of negotiation to pursue them to properly manage their trash and collaborate with its collection process. The process of getting the trash company to adapt their services to the community's needs also involved a process of negotiation between leaders and the company	The awareness initiative and reaching out to the trash company has had a significant impact in the shared spaces in the community that no longer have trash accumulating
Housing Leadership	The urban operation process is independent of favela leaders and residents. However, the act of	Residents and leaders have very limited power in terms of what happens in the urban operation	It is unclear how the networks that residents and leaders are engaged with play a part in the urban operation process of	The success of the urban operation depends on the residents' collaboration (although in most times they	The goal of the urban operation is to improve favela residents' lives. However, it is unclear the degree to which it will be able to

	volunteering for a position of leadership within the urban operation is an autonomous initiative by the leaders		development and implementation	are not offered a choice). The development and implementation of the urban operation projects depends on a process of negotiation with the residents involved	do so for all the residents at the Vietnam favela

Table 2: Analysis of the initiatives of Vietnam favela residents' organizations in relation to the core elements of self-governance.

Analysis

In relation to autonomy, the majority of the initiatives and programs are autonomous actions, initiated by the leaders. With the exception of the housing leadership and the Adult Literacy Program, all of the other initiatives are a response to the favela residents' most immediate needs. However, the priority given to such programs is a decision made by the leaders and not the favela's entire population as a collective decision.

In relation to the power to make decisions, most programs and initiatives were a decision made by the leaders at the Vietnam favela, and not necessarily a collective decision of its residents. Nevertheless, the success of many of these initiatives depends on the residents' decision to get involved and participate. From this analysis, residents at the Vietnam favela have little power in making decisions about how the organization respond to their needs and what initiatives it develops. This is a deficiency in the process of achieving effective self-governance.

In the case of the Vietnam favela residents' organizations, the effectiveness of their initiatives is highly dependable on existing networks collaborating and mobilizing others. With the exception of the conflict mediation efforts, the implementation of initiatives depends on the outside networks of collaboration that the leaders are connected to and not necessarily the

residents. Since the power to make decisions about what initiatives to pursue is mainly in the hands of the leaders, the capacity to put them in practice is also mainly an effort of the leaders to reach out to outside networks.

Processes of negotiation are present in many of the initiatives and programs developed by the residents' organizations at the Vietnam favela. In most cases, these processes of negotiation are playing an important part after initial implementation of programs, and not necessarily in the process of implementing them, which is a weakness in the process of a self-governance practice. However, the success and effectiveness of the majority of the initiatives depends on the existing networks of collaboration and mobilization at the Vietnam favela.

Most initiatives developed by the Vietnam favela residents' organizations contribute to immediate changes in the lives of residents. A few of them also have the potential to have long-term impacts such as the Adult Literacy program, the After-School program, and the Income Generation program. While the residents' associations initiatives at the Vietnam favela are efforts towards a self-governing practice, they are not flawless. An effective self-governance process is not yet in place due to the deficiencies and difficulties described above.

V.VII. Spatial self-governing practices

Self-governance is not limited to organizations. Individuals are also actively engaged in spatial self-governing practices at the Vietnam favela. Specifically, the Vietnam favela residents engage in the processes of making, managing, and maintaining space in their community. These spatial practices are self-governing practices because of the autonomy residents have to make and

control their environments. Despite limitations, residents of the Vietnam favela have agency over their individual and shared spaces within the boundaries of the favela. This section examines residents' spatial practices at the Vietnam favela as spatial self-governing efforts. Specifically, I examine autoconstruction processes and the favela's physical spaces as a product of self-governing spatial practices.

Autoconstruction

Holston (1991) describes autoconstruction as "the house-building activity of the poor within a specific set of historical and spatial circumstances, namely, the phenomenal growth of the so-called urban peripheries around Brazil's metropolitan centers" (Holston 1991, 448). More specifically, autoconstruction refers to the common practice of the poor in Brazil to build their own houses with whatever resources they have on unserved land. Autoconstruction is a process (Holston 1991). In favelas, families are continuously improving and adding to their house as funds become available and as spatial needs change. For example, an entire second floor might be added to serve as a house for a newly wedded son or as a rental unit to generate more income. Autoconstruction is a core process in the making of favelas in Brazil.

Following the definition of self-governance presented on Chapter One and Holston's proposition of autoconstruction, this study puts forward the idea of spatial self-governing practices. Spatial self-governing practice is a process in which favela residents construct, manage and negotiate their individual and collective built environments. In this process, autonomous individuals act upon and coordinate their own preferences without an authoritative controlling entity to make decisions and exercise power over them. In this sense, there are five critical aspects

166

that comprise the idea of spatial self-governing practices: autonomy, power, networks, negotiation, and action (see Table 3). These elements are not isolated from each other. Rather, each aspect functions together with the other in a continuous process.

Autonomy	Power	Networks	Negotiation	Action
Autonomy to act upon and coordinate their own preferences	Power to make decisions over their environment	It is through networks that favelas appear and develop (community self-selection)	Negotiating among themselves the occupation and appropriation of the land	Residents themselves build and transform their environments

Table 3: The core elements of spatial self-governing processes.

. Autoconstruction entails residents' autonomy to build and transform their own houses and collective environments. Autoconstruction is thus a part of favelas' self-governing spatial process. Residents in favelas build and transform their own environments, acting autonomously to coordinate their preferences and negotiate the use of space among themselves. In what follows, I illustrate the process of autoconstruction at the Vietnam through the residents' stories.

Houses and the leftover spaces in between the houses at the Vietnam favela have changed over time to accommodate family growth and changing human relationships. Mrs. Vanessa and her husband, for example, bought a piece of land at the Vietnam favela in the late 1987 to escape the high-priced rent of another house in a neighborhood by the downtown area. They built a single-story house that was enough for them both. One year later, after saving some money, they decided to build a second floor because she was expecting her first child and the one-bedroom house would be too small for all of them. Today, her first child is married and has a baby daughter.

Mrs. Vanessa's daughter and granddaughter live on the second floor while Mrs. Vanessa and her husband live on the first.

One of Mrs. Vanessa's neighbors is Mrs. Carla, a 70-year old lady who has lived at the Vietnam favela for 30 years. She came to this community in the late 1980s with her husband who built a considerably big wooden shack by himself. Mrs. Carla had family living there already who were able to save a piece of land for her. The wooden house provided shelter but had issues. Being so close to the stream, they had a lot of flooding problems. Every time it rained, water came into the house. After Mrs. Carla's husband died, she was able to start saving money from his pension to build a brick house. When her older son got married, she expanded the house into a left-over area in the back alley, constructing two more rooms for the newly wedded couple and their baby. Ten years later, her older grandson had a baby. This time, there was no more space to expand, but she divided her own bedroom into two, one of them for the grandson, the girlfriend and their baby.

These are just two of the many similar accounts about autoconstruction processes at the Vietnam favela. Autoconstruction is a process that changes and adapts space according to the needs of the residents and their families. The process of autoconstruction gives favela residents the flexibility to shape their own spaces as their necessities change over time. This flexibility is crucial at the Vietnam favela because it allows people to have a house in a privileged location in the city and be close to family members which they would not be able to do by renting or buying a house in the same area. Of the 30 residents I interviewed at the Vietnam favela, only three were renters and did not live at their own house or a family's house. The 27 others lived in houses they

bought or built themselves or in their family house that had been modified or expanded to adapt the existing space to a new family structure.

These stories about the building and adaptation of space over time demonstrates the Vietnam favela's process of autoconstruction. Autoconstruction is one of the elements in the spatial self-governing process of the Vietnam favela. The Vietnam favela was created and developed and has been maintained and transformed over the years through a process in which its residents build, manage and negotiate their individual and collective spaces. In this process, individuals have the autonomy and the power to act upon their environments, coordinating their own preferences without a superior entity to exercise power over them and limit their autonomy. The spatial self-governance process at the Vietnam favela encompasses residents' autonomy and power to make decisions and act upon their environments, the networks that contribute to the development and growth of favelas, and the process of negotiating the use and appropriation of the space they share in the favela.

The Vietnam favela's spatial and material forms are also evidence of the processes of change that families, their individual and shared spaces go through over time. Due to the lack of oversight, residents have the flexibility to adapt their environments according to needs and desires. A closer look at the materiality of the Vietnam favela's houses and alleys makes evident the spatial and material processes of change carried out by the residents themselves over time to adapt to new realities. The strategies used by residents to change and adapt space are reproduced and replicated throughout the community, becoming standard practices.

One of the first things you notice when you walk to the Vietnam favela's main entrance is a bundle of black electric cables that goes from the concrete pole to the many houses surrounding

169

it. It is hard to follow the course of each individual cable. However, you can track the electric cable bundles through the alleys, taking electricity to the houses. When residents build new houses or add new floors, they connect the existing electric grid to the buildings themselves, taking power and not paying for it. The black bundles vary in thickness and go from one house to the next, crossing streets, alleys and making up the Vietnam favela landscape. The messiness of the electric cable bundles indicates the improvisation of the work done by the residents themselves, and not the electrical state company. These are a testimony of the residents' autonomy to build, transform and adapt their own spaces. The messy electric cable bundles are evidence of the continual process of spatial self-governing undertaken by the dwellers who are constantly making, remaking, managing, and negotiating their built environment among themselves.

At the Vietnam favela, external pipes are frequently added later to the houses. White pipes going up outside the masonry walls unveil the subsequent additions of kitchens and bathrooms to newly built upper floors. Pipelines are a part of the landscape of the Vietnam favela and are also a testimony to the adjustment processes undertaken by residents themselves in response to new social demands. As the electric cable bundles, they are later additions to the houses made by the residents themselves who have the autonomy and power to do so. The outside pipelines are also material evidence of how residents act upon their environment autonomously, modifying space according to their preferences and needs and contributing to the favela's unique landscape, and spatial self-governing process.

Lastly, the materiality of the houses themselves are a testimony to the continuous process of making and adapting the built environment in response to needs and demands. Upper floors built as later additions to the houses are commonly larger than the ground floor's plan. The

diversity of forms, shapes, and volumes points to the organic and continuous process of making of space. The different-sized volumes overlapping over each other and the asymmetric silhouettes standing in and out main forms reveal the progressive processes of housing construction over time (see Image 32).

Image 32: The Vietnam favela's houses. Photo by the author (2017).

In-between Spaces

I lost count of how many times I walked into the Vietnam favela accompanied by the residents' association leader to find someone either cleaning or repairing the narrow alleys, the spaces in-between the houses. The alleys, or paths, inside of the Vietnam favela are also a product of the residents' spatial self-governing practices. The alleys are not planned or designed. These paths are leftover spaces (see Image 33 and 34). Spaces in between the houses that are left

unoccupied to serve as access to their residencies. However, access is not their only role. Alleys also serve a more important function at the Vietnam favela. Frequently, alleys are meeting spaces and play an important part in the maintenance of relationships at the Vietnam favela.

Image 33 and 34: The spaces in-between the houses at the Vietnam favela. Photo Silva (2015).

Mrs. Carla was one of the many residents who described alleys, the spaces in-between the houses, as a meeting space, a space for conversation:

> So, we talk here like it was our backyard like, there are the houses and there are little corridors, and we- I come out here with my sister-in-law, my brother-in-law, there's another brother-in-law, we all come together and we talk.
>
> Interviewer: In this space between the houses?
>
> Mrs. Carla: Between the houses, yes, we say good morning, good afternoon, we stop here to talk, to hug each other, and that's how it is. (Mrs. Carla, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017)

The first time I visited the Vietnam favela, I observed one man in his 30s doing construction work in the path towards the entrance of the favela. When asked, he told me he was building a staircase so that older residents could walk through that space and into the favela safely. During another visit at another alley, I saw a man fixing a big hole in the middle of the passage's concrete pavement. Mr. José explained that it is very common for his neighbors to trip in the hole, fall, and get hurt right in front of his house. The day before I talked to him a ten-year-old that lives next to his house fell and hurt his knee. Mr. José decided it was time to fix the hole. Mr. José, a 68-year-old retired man, went to the construction store to buy cement and fixed the hole himself. No one would get hurt in front of his house anymore. Mr. Guilherme sweeps the alleys in the surroundings of his house every morning to keep a clean space. The physical maintenance of the alleys at the Vietnam favela is a spatial self-governing practice as residents independently take care of their own shared environments for their individual and collective benefit. In the case of the Vietnam favela, it is also a community self-governing practice due to the role of the alley not only as access but as a meeting space as well.

The spaces in between the houses are an essential element in the making of the Vietnam favela as a community. Relationships are the building blocks of any community and the Vietnam favelas' alleys are the components that support and maintain these blocks. In this sense, when residents take care of the area in between the houses' spaces, they are not only doing it for the purposes of cleanness and upkeep but also a means to care for and nurture the community itself and its members. Vietnam favela residents who devote time and effort to clean and maintain the alleys are also in many ways taking care of each other and their community.

V.VIII. Conclusion

This chapter presents the site of the Vietnam favela, looking at its history, development, spaces, and environments. It goes on to analyze the favela community and spatial self-governing practices, and the impacts these have on the favela's physical space and lives of its residents. Since its start, the Vietnam favela grew in size and population because of relationships. Many new residents had an established social connection with one or more residents and, through this connection, they were able to secure a piece of land or a house in the Vietnam favela. Ultimately, this mechanism of selection of who moves in is a self-governing community and spatial practice as it influences who gets to occupy, and appropriate and contribute to the making of the Vietnam favela's space as well as be a part of its community.

Self-governing social entities and communities govern themselves by making decisions, allocating resources, implementing changes, and making and managing their environment. Organizations are one typology of the broader social structure of the Vietnam favela that contributes to the overall self-governing processes. These include the "Amigos da Mulecada", and the "Associação Conquistando Um Espaço", both administered by the same couple, Seu João and Dona Celinha. Their initiatives range from the provision of computers for residents' use, income generation, providing information about residents' rights, possible benefits and opportunities, child care and education, and distributing milk and other donations for families in need. Donations are a big part of the work of these organizations at the Vietnam favela due to the socioeconomic conditions of its residents. Both organizations make an effort to respond to the most basic needs of the residents and attempt to transform residents' realities. The leaders in the Vietnam favela also act as mediators and peace-makers in case of conflict among residents, contributing for the

upkeep of interpersonal relationships and the community as a whole. Within the limitations, the residents' associations initiatives at the Vietnam favela are efforts towards a self-governing practice. However, these efforts are not flawless. An effective self-governance process is not yet in place at the Vietnam favela due to the deficiencies and difficulties described earlier.

Seu João has also represented the favelas affected by the Água Espraiada Urban Operation in the administrative group and beyond. Seu João's commitment to the Vietnam favela has given him the opportunity to take on a bigger and more important leadership role within the Água Espraiada Urban Operation and borough administration. Currently, the Vietnam favela's organizations have a much larger impact, not only at the Vietnam favela, but within the borough, representing and advocating for the right of 8,500 favela residents to housing. The organizations' independent efforts to help these favelas in different ways represent acts towards self-governance as they autonomously strengthen and support the community, helping to advance the materialization of a new reality.

Lastly, the production and maintenance of space through autoconstruction processes constitute self-governing spatial practices at the Vietnam favela because it is through the residents' autonomy and the reproduction of these spatial practices that the Vietnam favela has been built and developed. Houses and the leftover spaces in-between the houses at the Vietnam favela have changed overtime to accommodate family growth and changing human relationships in a process that adapts individual and collective spaces according to the needs of the residents and their families. This process of autoconstruction gives favela residents the autonomy and flexibility to shape their own spaces as their needs change over time.

The alleys, leftover spaces in between the houses inside of the Vietnam favela, are also a product of the residents' spatial self-governing practices. These alleys are not planned or designed. Rather, they are left unoccupied to serve as access to their residences. The spaces in between the houses of the Vietnam favela also serve as meeting spaces, playing an important role in the maintenance of relationships and the overall community. The physical maintenance of the alleys at the Vietnam favela is a spatial and community self-governing practice as residents independently take care of their shared environments for the upkeep of the space but also to maintain the meeting spaces where interpersonal relationships and the community materialize. This chapter has highlighted how residents at the Vietnam favela govern themselves, their everyday, their environment, and their community through a variety of practices.

THE SÃO REMO FAVELA

Photo by Ben Tavener (2013).

This chapter presents the São Remo favela, its history and process of development, as well its current physical state. It analyzes the work done by the existing residents' organizations, and groups and how it relates to the self-governance framework presented in Chapter One. Lastly, this chapter describes and analyzez the processes of spatial self-governance in the São Remo favela.

The São Remo, or SR favela, is in the West region of São Paulo within the Butantã borough, 18 kilometers (11.18 miles) from the city's downtown (see Image 1). This favela borders the campus of the University of São Paulo, also called USP, which is the largest and most prestigious public university in Brazil. The most updated data concerning the number of houses in the SR favela is from a study developed by the Housing and Urban Development Company of São Paulo in 2017. According to the study, there are 3,000 houses within the São Remo favela, an area of approximately 70,287 square meters (756,562.97 square feet). Residents commonly claim that there are over 15,000 people currently living at the SR favela.

V.I. Overview of the Neighborhood

The São Remo favela is only four kilometers (2.5 miles) away from the Pinheiros Highway, the city's second most important highway. Its location gives easy access to the adjacent North—South train line as well as to the subway, which is only 5.3 kilometers away (3.3 miles). The closest bus terminal is located next to the subway station with direct bus lines connecting them. Residents are also close to many bus lines going to the downtown of the city and other neighborhoods. The SR favela is privileged because of its location and accessibility.

The São Remo favela is also well-served regarding education and healthcare institutions, both private and public. There are many institutions located on the University of São Paulo's campus that offers cultural and sports activities. The favela has a sports court and a soccer field that is valued by their residents. Many favelas in São Paulo have no recreational areas within their boundaries. The SR favela has historically received substantial support from a variety of institutions, including the university, nongovernmental organizations, and the borough administration if compared to other favelas in the city. Later sections of this chapter explore the types of support and the relationships between the favela and these institutions.

Although privileged due to its location and easy access to transportation and other assets, if compared to its surrounding neighborhoods, the SR favela ceases to be as privileged (see Image 35). Most neighborhoods around it are middle and high-income areas with few if any, deprivations. In terms of vulnerability, the neighbors of the SR favela are within the groups of the least vulnerable populations in the city of São Paulo.
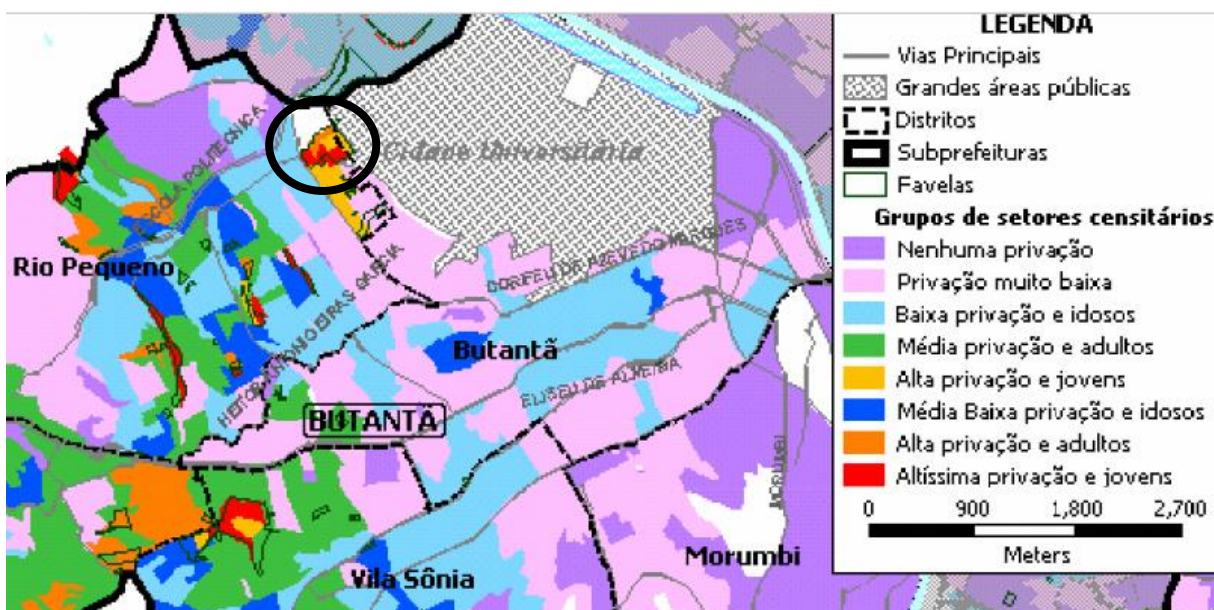
Image 35: Vulnerability map. The SR favela is identified by a black circle. Areas in red and orange are where the most vulnerable population lives. Areas in purple, pink and light blue are where the least vulnerable people live. Source: Centro de Estudos da Metropole.

V.II. Histories

It is impossible to fully understand the history of the development of the São Remo favela without understanding its relationship with the University of São Paulo and its campus, history, students, professors, and researchers. The main reason for this is that the vast majority of the São Remo favela's land belongs to the University of São Paulo (see Image 36 for the tenure status of the São Remo favela land). The favela also borders the university's campus. Consequently, any changes within the university's administration have a potential impact on the relationship between the university and the favela. The University of São Paulo's primary authority is the dean. A new dean is chosen every four years by the governor of the state of São Paulo. Deans need to be a tenured professor at the university. However, since the elected governor of the state ultimately nominates the dean, the choice is usually political. Similarly, the policies and programs developed and funded by the university also vary tremendously according to the dean's priorities which are generally in agreement with the governor's politics and party. Governor's elections happen every four years as does the term of a dean at the University of São Paulo.

Additionally, there have been a few university initiatives to integrate favela residents in the main campus, as well as several research projects conducted by students and professors. These processes have delineated the relationships and dynamics that exist between the university and the favela. To understand the SR favela, one needs to understand its complicated relationship with the University of São Paulo. The next sections focus on the histories of the university's main campus and the histories of the occupation of the São Remo favela, and the relationship developed over the years between the university, students, professors and São Remo's favela residents.

Image 36: São Remo favela aerial image. The university owns the areas in blue and areas in red represent privately owned land. Source: Prefeitura de São Paulo.

The University of São Paulo is a public university that was created in 1934 by the governor of the state of São Paulo at the time, Armando de Salles Oliveira. Initially, there was no central campus, and the departments were spread out across a few buildings in different locations in the city (USP 2012). In 1941, the state of São Paulo's administration started to expropriate several pieces of land in the West zone of the city with a total area of 4,700,000.00 square meters (470 hectares) to build the University of São Paulo's campus. In the 1940s, this region of the city of São Paulo was still an empty farm by the Pinheiros River called Butantã, which would later become the name of the neighborhood. The construction of the first buildings did not start until 1944. Funding for the development of the campus came from the state government as an irregular flow of investments, resulting in a discontinuity in the construction of the buildings (USP Prefeitura 2018).

The area occupied by the São Remo favela today was empty when the construction of the first buildings of the campus started. The initial plan for the São Remo favela area was for it to be an ordinary urban neighborhood (see Image 37 showing the zoning plans for the university campus; the São Remo favela area is in the left corner of the map where the campus' main avenue would end). When construction started in the 1940s, the São Remo favela land was still privately owned agricultural land with only a few scattered houses (Tanaka 1991).

Image 37: Zoning plan of the University of São Paulo's campus from 1952. Source: USP Prefeitura.

V.III. The beginning

In the 1970s, the state government was still in the process of expropriating properties for the university campus. It was in 1976 that the University of São Paulo showed interest in the São Remo favela area for the campus, located southwest of the already expropriated areas by beginning to seize this area. According to two reports written by different university departments

in 1988 and 1991, it was immediately after the expropriation process of this area began, and the university administration signed a decree of appropriation of the space when the irregular occupation of the land started (CECOI 1988; Marta Maria Soban Tanaka 1991; Opalach 1997). The beginning of the occupation was planned (Tanaka 1993). Tanaka (1993) explains that such invasions were frequent at the time when state institutions expropriated private land:

> While the areas are in private hands, control is maintained; when they pass to the public domain, the property is invaded. From 1976 to 1987, (…) the southwest area of campus suffered a continuous process of invasion. (M.M. Soban Tanaka 1993, 76).

Initially, the new residents occupied only a portion of the expropriated land (see image 4 showing where the first residents settled). The first occupied area was the easiest to build on due to its flat topography. From 1976 on, the favela expanded rapidly through the occupation of vacant areas in between the existing houses and beyond the initial portion of the land, and partially occupying the street beds. The subdivision of existing houses and construction of second floors contributed to the later increase in population and density (CECOI 1988).

During the first years of the São Remo favela, nothing was surrounding it. The university campus began to be built but far away from where the favela is. In the late 1970s, there was only empty agricultural land around the São Remo favela. Nothing was dividing the physical boundaries of the campus and the area that was still in the process of expropriation by the state. No one was paying much attention to what was happening in the São Remo favela's immediate surroundings (CECOI 1988; Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

From 1976 to 1979, the lower area of the São Remo favela land was unoccupied. Since this area surrounds the stream, it is a floodplain that is likely to inundate or collapse with heavy rain. The last left block of São Remo favela land was also only partially occupied in 1979, mostly due to

the steep slope of that area (see image 38 - map showing areas not yet filled in 1979). Because of

its slope, the houses in the last left block were at high risk of collapse. In 1983, a few of these

homes collapsed after heavy rain, killing one child (Estadão, March 1983). Generally, the areas

already occupied in 1979 had a relatively flat topography.

Image 38: São Remo favela aerial image from 1979. Areas in yellow were not occupied yet in 1979. Source: Tanaka 1991.

Dona Fatima's family arrived at the São Remo favela in 1976. Her mother was from the

countryside of the state of São Paulo and moved to the city in search of a better job. Dona Fatima's

mother first lived in a rented apartment in São Paulo with a few of her children (she had a total of

18 sons and daughters). In 1976, the family moved to the São Remo favela area because paying

rent was too much of a burden for a single mother. Dona Fatima, who was in her early twenties

when she moved to the São Remo favela, describes how it was:

> When I came to live here at the São Remo, there were no houses here. There was
> only one shack; it was up there near the soccer field. And then my mother came
> and set up another shack here. There was no water, no light. We used to get water
> from the town hall down there. The light was a candle, very fancy. (Dona Fatima,
> Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

In 1977, only one year after the occupation of the area started, there were 645 houses in

the São Remo favela and 3,225 residents, occupying an area of 39,000 square meters (419,792.51

square ft), and an average of five residents per house (Tanaka 1991). During the first years of the

São Remo favela, all houses were wooden (see images 39 and 40). In time, the residents' financial

conditions improved and so did their houses, as many of them were re-built in masonry (Eduardo,

Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Image 39: São Remo favela street in 1979. Source: Residents Association's archive; retrieved from
http://www.usp.br/cje/saoremo/noticia.php?n=103.

Image 40: São Remo favela street in the early 1980s. Source: São Remo favela resident.

It is a common belief that the favela came to be because of the construction of the university campus. According to this belief, people began to work in the construction and invaded agricultural land close by to live near their place of employment. However, according to the interviewees' accounts of how the São Remo favela came into being, people invaded the agricultural land that was vacant due to the need for affordable housing. None of the interviewees associated the beginning of the São Remo favela with the construction of the university campus. According to the São Remo favela's residents, the people who were able to get a job at the university campus did so after moving to the favela. Additionally, in 1988, only 13.4% of the population older than 14 (400 residents) worked at the university and 277 as direct employees (Tanaka 1991).

Dona Fatima explains:

People came here and then got a job and stayed. But they didn't come because of the university. (…) The vast majority of the people came out of necessity and got lucky to find a job at the university. (Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

Most people coming to live in the São Remo favela in those early years were migrants from other parts of Brazil looking for jobs in the city of São Paulo, but who could not afford to buy a house or pay rent. Dona Fatima describes how it was:

People came from the North, arrived at the bus station looking for their relatives and came here right after to look for a shack. Because there were people here from everywhere, and the relatives arrived lost from Minas Gerais, from the North, Pernambuco, Ceará, everywhere. When the relatives came, they had to build new shacks. (Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

The majority of the residents I talked to at the São Remo favela moved there through someone they knew who already lived there. It is through these social connections that people were able to find a house or piece of land available to buy or rent at the São Remo favela. Still today, people move to the São Remo favela because they have some social connection to that space. This mechanism of selection of new residents is what I call *community self-selection*.

Community self-selection

Dona Maria, who came to São Paulo from the state of Piaui, talked about the early years of the São Remo favela and the reason why she came to live there in 1989:

Yes, it was a tiny community. There were a few houses. The streets were all made of dirt when I arrived here. My husband had a cousin who lived here; it was through him that we came. At first, we lived at the Freguesia do O. But we didn't know anyone there. And we paid rent. (…) But we came here because of my husband's cousin. And I'm still grateful for that. (Dona Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Dona Maria is one of the many residents of the of the São Remo favela who came to live there on account of already knowing someone living there. Having a connection to the place you are moving to is a significant advantage for an individual who is new to a city. This connection facilitates the process of finding a house to buy or rent. Frequently, the relative or friend who already lives at the São Remo favela helps the new residents find a place to live there. This was the case for Dona Karina's family as well. She was born and raised at the São Remo favela, and her parents came in the early years of the occupation: "My mother and my father had a friend here who had gotten a piece of the land. She gave part of it to my parents to build a house. They used to pay rent in Santo Amaro" (Dona Karina, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

Mr. José, who came from Pernambuco to São Paulo in 1980, experienced a similar process. At first, he lived in another neighborhood until one of his friends invited him to go to and get to know the São Remo favela. Seu José's friend knew a few people who lived there. Seu José explained what happened when he first went to the São Remo favela:

> I came with my friend, and when we got here, I met someone I knew from the North that used to live in this house. There were three people living there; they were all from the North. And I knew all of their families. (…) We got to talk, and the woman later said to me, the one that used to live here: 'do you want to buy this house?' And I said: 'Which house?' And she said: 'This one.' It was here, the building in the back. (…) I lived in the back because here where we belonged to someone else. I came, I fixed everything, I stayed and bought this other part. And I've been here ever since! (Seu José, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

Knowing someone in the São Remo favela also eased the adjustment process to the new location after moving, since the new resident would already be inserted into the local social network through the existing relationship. After Dona Fatima's mother moved with her children to the São Remo favela in 1976, many other relatives followed them. Aunts, cousins, nieces, and

nephews. They all came to live in houses neighboring Dona Fatima's house and a big part of her family, including her kids, still live there.

In the past, many migrants who moved to São Paulo in the 1970s or later were following family members or acquaintances who were already living at the SR favela. Today, it is still improbable that anyone with absolutely no social connection to residents of the São Remo favela moves there because it is through relationships that new residents arrive and are allowed to occupy that space and be part of the community. I interviewed 27 residents at the São Remo favela, and each one of them were either born and raised there or came to that specific community over 20 years ago or more because of family or friends. These social connections bring new residents who are inserted within the community's social network almost immediately due to their previous relationships with it, and who actively help shape the social, spatial and material structures of the SR favela. This is a mechanism of selection of future residents and community members at the SR favela: in general, only people who already have a social connection to the São Remo favela residents can find a place to live and move there. This mechanism of community self-selection ensures that only those who are already part of the residents' existing social network can move to the São Remo favela.

This process of community self-selection is also a self-governing spatial practice as it determines who gets to not only occupy the São Remo favela's space as a resident but also contribute to its making and maintenance. People get to find a house and appropriate space as their own at the São Remo favela if they have a social tie to the people who are already making, occupying and appropriating that space. It is through social networks of families, friends, and acquaintances that the SR favela grew to be as populous and dense as it is today.

Early collective mobilization

Since its origin, the São Remo favela has engaged residents who mobilize to demand improvements to their neighborhood. The favela's first residents' association was called São Remo's Friends Association. Mr. Luis Carlos Viotti was a leader for the community since the late 1970s and was the association's president in 1979. The Estadão newspaper published an article about Mr. Viotti's leadership on September 23, 1979 (see image 41). According to the article, Mr. Viotti was 24 years old at the time and had been living at the São Remo favela with his wife and two children since 1977. Mr. Viotti told the newspaper that he used to rent a house while trying to buy a piece of land with the salary of a bus collector. Even when his wife started working as well, they could not afford to pay for the property anymore and lost it. Then, he decided to buy a shack at the São Remo favela. Mr. Viotti told the newspaper:

> People always think that the favela is a place of criminals, but that is not true. Everyone here works, but with a minimum wage, it is not possible to live anywhere else. Favelas will only disappear when we start making more money, and that is another thing I want to explain to the president because he is the only one who can solve this problem and reduce the cost of living. (Luiz Carlos Viotti, Interview published by the Estadão newspaper, September 1979)

The article also mentions that Mr. Viotti proposed to the residents the idea of creating a residents' association only five months after arriving at the São Remo favela. He explained to the other residents that unity was essential when trying to get the things they needed more easily. Residents agreed, held an election and Mr. Viotti was chosen to be the president. Since the residents' association's creation, the São Remo favela began to be referred to as a model by the press and government authorities due to their collective mobilization and achievements. Lastly, the article mentions another goal Mr. Viotti had with his work at the São Remo favela: 'to improve residents' living conditions so that living in a favela does not become a hereditary thing' (Estadão,

September 1979). In another Estadão article about the creation of the United Favelas Movements of São Paulo, a collective group of favela residents' association advocating for their rights, Mr. Viotti was quoted again about the power of collective mobilization: 'But, when they take courage and acquire strength as a group, things start to change' (Estadão, September 1980). He was also elected president of this movement that represented a few favelas while advocating for land tenure, electricity, water provision, sanitation, education and health facilities, among other demands.

Luís Carlos Viotti, ou o "presidente"

Nas ruas bastante regulares para uma favela, com barracos distribuídos em quarteirões, Luís Carlos Viotti, o presidente da Associação dos Amigos da Favela San Remo e líder dos moradores desse núcleo, localizado atrás da Cidade Universi- | radores e explicar que era importante a união de todos para conseguir mais facilmente as coisas que necessitavam. Logo chegou aos outros núcleos localizados próximos a San Remo e as melhorias obtidas, como instalação de água e luz, repercuti-

Image 41: Estadão newspaper story published on September 23, 1979, calling Mr. Viotti "the president."

Dona Fatima remembers Mr. Viotti leadership and describes her involvement in the residents' association: "I participated in several rallies, to demand water, electricity, and improvements to the community" (Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). When asked why she got involved, Dona Fatima quickly responded: "the necessity." Early on, it was the precarious conditions and the need for improvement that motivated leadership and collective mobilization in São Remo favela. According to her, residents paid a small monthly fee to the residents' association and had a membership card. The money was later used to support residents in need. She said she did not mind paying the fee because: "the profit went in, but you

saw the results of that. You knew where the money was going, what it was used for" (Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). If someone died and did not have the means to afford a proper funeral, the association used the money to pay for all the costs.

Dona Fatima explained that, during those early years, it was common for new residents to come from the north and northeast of Brazil directly to the São Remo favela to meet relatives that were already there: "when the family arrived, they had nothing at first. Our leader would help them build a shack and gather everyone to help the family in whatever they needed. It was very nice" (Dona Fatima, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). The money collected was also used to build a rudimentary sewage system for the houses and a shed for the residents' association participants to meet on a daily basis (Estadão, September 1979).

On July 17th, the Estadão newspaper published a story about the São Remo favela residents' collective efforts. The story was titled 'The residents' solution: a daycare in the favela' and described the residents' association endeavor to build a daycare center for themselves inside the favela (see image 42). According to the article, one of the problems that residents of the São Remo favela faced at the time was to find an appropriate place to leave their young children when they were at work. The article notes that the São Remo favela had 1,300 houses with 6,000 residents and close to 1,000 children from age 0 to 6. To deal with this issue, São Remo's Friends Association decided to build a daycare center for the favela. Using the money collected from the associates' monthly fee and organized garage sales, they were able to buy construction materials to build a shed with 171 square meters (1,840.63 square foot). The residents volunteered every weekend and built the shed themselves. The plan was to have a nursery, a kitchen, a meeting room and a playroom for older children and to have at least 200 kids. The parents would have to

pay a small monthly fee to cover its basic costs until the city government fulfilled its promise of funding 70% of the children in the daycare.

Foto Paulo Leite

A creche na favela San Remo, no Butantã, movimentou 9 mil moradores

A solução dos moradores:
uma creche na própria favela

Image 42: Estadão newspaper article published on July 17, 1979

In early 1982, Mr. Viotti was able to arrange a meeting with the president of Brazil at the time, Mr. João Figueiredo. His goal was to gain the president's support on a deal the residents' association had been negotiating with the city and state governments for the São Remo favela residents to be given legal possession of the land where they lived and a line of credit for them to build proper houses (Estadão, October 1982). In that meeting, president Mr. João Figueiredo promised the São Remo favela residents that they would receive legal possession of the land where they lived - a promise he did not have the authority to fulfill (Tanaka 1993). Newspapers published the news of the promise, resulting in more land invasions. The 1991 report written by the university explains that, after the president's promise news, the São Remo favela grew tremendously in population and density, but not in the area (Estadão, October 1982; Tanaka 1991).

In 1979 and 1980, the municipal government awarded the São Remo favela two programs: Pro-luz e Pro-água (Pro-light and Pro-water). The city administration funded the installation of electricity and water provision for the existing houses. This initiative made the São Remo favela one of the first in the city to benefit from these programs because of Mr. Viotti leadership and São Remo favela residents' mobilization (Tanaka 1991). Today, there is an alley named President Luiz Carlos Viotti, a small tribute to his work and leadership (see Image 43).

At the time of Mr. Viotti's leadership, the SR favela was a small community with several needs. The necessity shared by all the residents paired with an eager leader brought people together to advocate for their needs and rights with the city government and other institutions. In this case, common need translated to engagement and mobilization and, consequently, conquering a least a few of the expected outcomes. They met regularly and promoted public demonstrations to gain attention to their cause and achieve results. These self-governing practices early on of collectively mobilizing and organizing had a significant impact on the favela development as it brought electricity and water to the neighborhood. Collective mobilization represented a self-governing practice as residents took action autonomously to generate change in their environment and their lives.
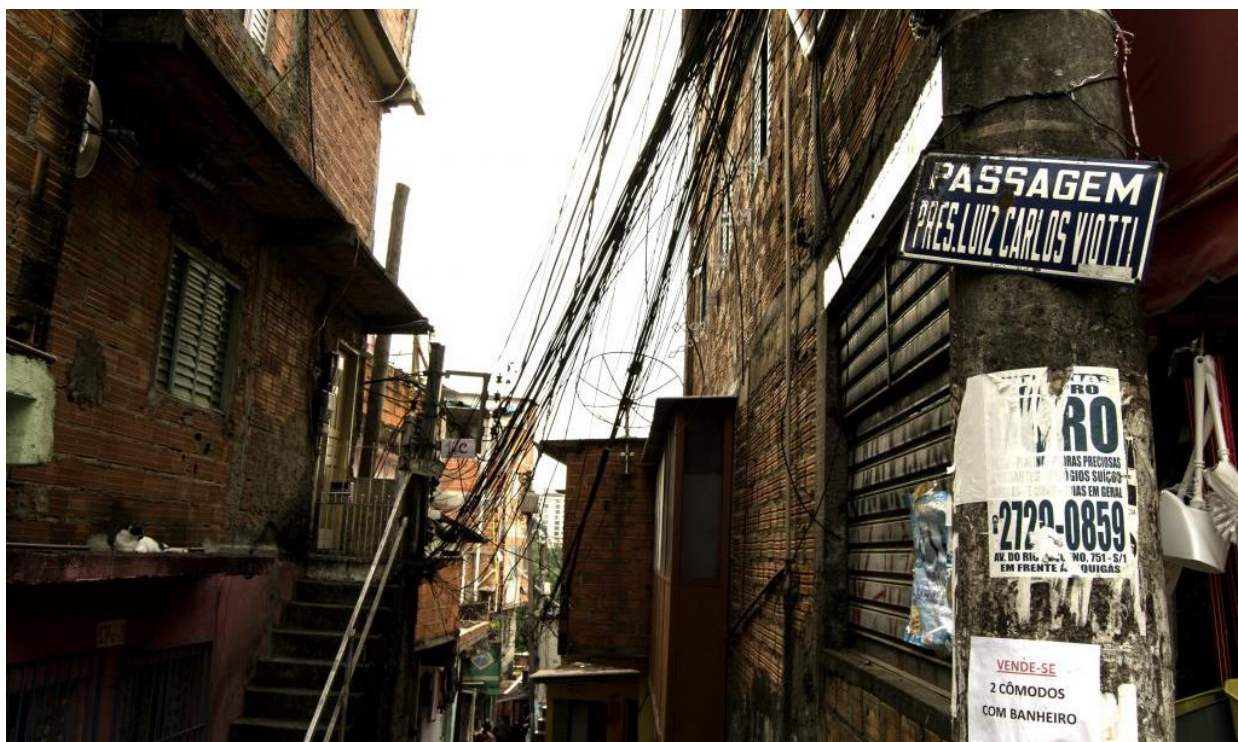
Image 43: Alley at the SR favela named after the residents' association president Mr. Viotti. Source: São Remo FAUUSP. Photo by Ana Maria Haddad, 2017.

1988 growth and infrastructure

In 1988, only one year after the occupation of the area started, there were 1,142 houses at the São Remo favela and 5,108 residents, occupying an area of 62,000 square meters (667,362.45 square feet), and an average of 4.47 residents per house (Tanaka 1991). The proportion of males and females was equal. Compared to 1977, the number of houses more than doubled (246.65 % increase) as did the number of residents (232.18% increase). There was a total of 1,115 families. One hundred and fifteen families (10.31%) had ownership of their house. Eight hundred and fifty-six houses had legal electricity provision (75%) while 25% had electricity through a connection to a neighbor without paying for it. The vast majority of the houses had water provision in 1988 from the public water supply network, and there were a few water fountains

available throughout the favela for water collection as well. Additionally, new houses occupied

areas that were empty in 1979 (CECOI 1988).

The sewage system served parts of some of the main streets in the favela ('G' Street, Pires

Brandão, Cipotânea, Grande Arrozal, São Remo Avenue, and Baltazar Rabelo), but the majority of

the houses used septic tanks or dumped their waste in the stream at the bottom of the hill. There

was public lighting in the main streets and a few allies, and there were six dumpsters across the

favela where the trash was collected on an irregular basis (see image 44). There was no asphalt or

cement, only dirt streets. On rainy days, the water used to accumulate in the lower areas of the

favela due to the lack of a drainage system and the occupation of street beds by residents. It was

nearly impossible for a car or a truck to drive into the São Remo favela streets on such days, so

trash sometimes accumulated for over a week before removal (CECOI 1988).
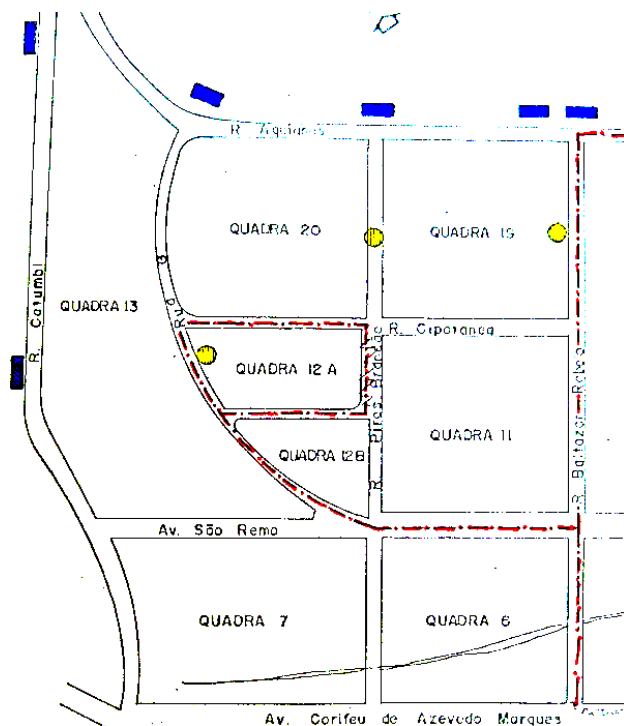
Image 44: São Remo favela existing infrastructure in 1988. Red is the existing sewage network. Yellow circles are public payphones. Blue marks the dumpsters. Source: CECOI 1988.

The Estadão newspaper published an article in 1987 about the sewage problem at the São Remo favela (see image 45). According to the story, while walking through the favela, residents had to cross several streams of sewage accumulating on the streets in front of the houses. Residents complained about the smell during the summer when the heat made it worse. Only a few of the main roads had piped sewage installed by the residents themselves through the residents' association (Estadão, September 1987).

A sujeira, descendo pela favela

Célia Maria Vera de Lemos, o marido e mais três filhos pequenos ocupam um dos 1.200 barracos da favela Jardim São Remo, que começa na Cidade Universitária e se estende, acompanhando a descida do morro, até a avenida Corifeu de Azevedo Marques, no Butantã. Para chegar até o portão de sua casa, Célia é obrigada a atravessar diversos "riachos", como ela chama os esgotos a céu aberto.

"Além do mau cheiro constante, pior mesmo só os mosquitos. Hoje tem pouco porque está frio. Mas no verão...", diz Célia, sacudindo as roupas recém-lavadas. Seu barraco fica na esquina, de frente para uma rua de terra por onde desce a maior parte dos esgotos. Nas ruelas acima, moradores se uniram e canalizaram até a "rua principal" a sujeira das suas casas. "Mesmo que eu coloque um cano na saída de água da minha casa não adianta. A sujeira vem de cima", falou.

A Vila do Sossego, uma entre as centenas da favela, é um conjunto de oito casas. No centro delas, um "depósito" de esgoto, latas, brinquedos velhos e muito lixo. "Isso aqui é uma tristeza. O cheiro é tanto que às vezes não dá

Image 45: Estadão newspaper article published on September 23, 1987

The great majority of the houses (1,121) had only one floor in 1988 (89.4%). Over 50% of the houses (628) were built of wood, 36.10% (412) were masonry, and the remaining 10% (102) was a mixture of both materials. Seventy percent of the houses (799) were considered to be in a

good or reasonable physical condition (these include both wooden and masonry houses). Forty-two percent of the houses (484) were less than 30m² in the area (less than 322.9 square feet). The average built area per house was 35 m² (376.73 square feet) (CECOI 1988).

1988 spatial organization and land use

The São Remo favela area consists of six blocks and seven main streets, bordering the Corifeu de Azevedo Marque Avenue that already formally existed in 1988. The blocks were numbered as 20, 19, 13, 12, 11, and 7. Blocks number 20, 19, and 13 were the most densely populated in 1988, mostly due to their larger size and flatter topography (see Image 46). In 1988, the majority of the buildings were residential only (89.67%) while seventy-seven houses (5.34%) had mixed-uses (see image 47 for land use map) (CECOI 1988).

Although the São Remo favela was never formally planned, the majority of the alleys were perpendicular and parallel to the main streets. (see image X for the São Remo favela site plan in 1988). The alleys were, and still are, the access points to the houses within the blocks, and they are remaining spaces. They are the remaining spaces between the houses. Their form and size vary tremendously. Similarly, the lots vary in terms of size but most of them follow a rectangular or square form that is perpendicular to their access point (either an alley or a street) (CECOI 1988). The streets and alleys network evolved over time according to the residents' needs, adapting itself to the availability of space and land topography (Tanaka 1991).
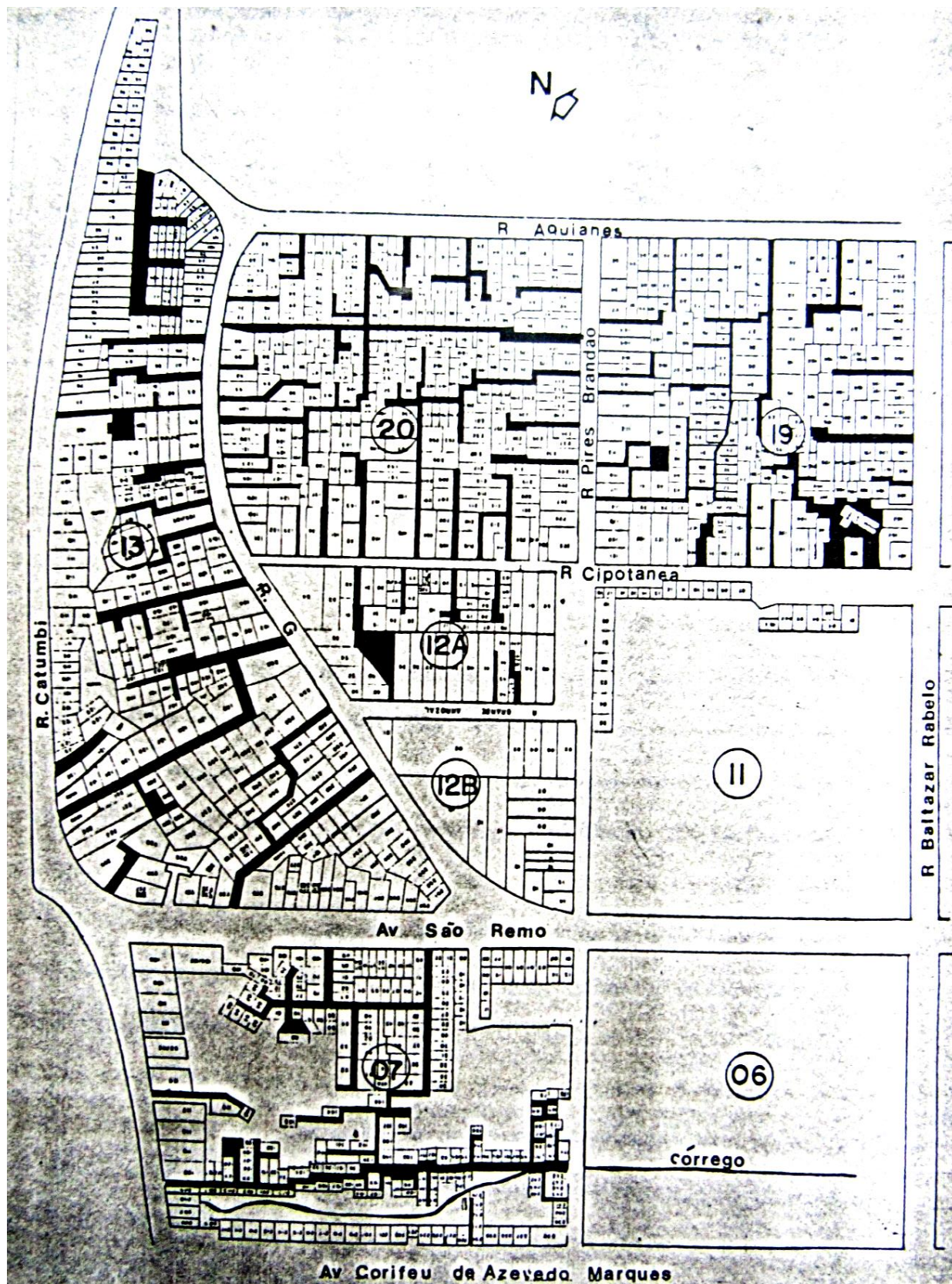
Image 46: São Remo favela site plan in 1988. Source: CECOI 1988.

Image 47: São Remo favela land use in 1988. Dotted area is residential; orange is residential and commercial; black is residential and services; pink is institutional; blue is commercial, and green is service. Source: CECOI 1988.

V.IV. The University and the Favela

In 1987, the residents of the São Remo favela organized a rally in front of the university's administrative building demanding a meeting with the university dean. After getting a meeting, residents handed over a document requesting proper housing units for 7,000 people, arguing that 80% of the São Remo favela population worked for the university. These numbers were calculated by the São Remo favela residents' association at the time. As the data from 1988 demonstrated, less than 15% of the São Remo favela population worked for the university. However, arguing that the majority of residents of the São Remo favela worked for the university was a way residents found to hold the university accountable for the existence of the favela (Castro 2016)[11].

According to Tanaka (1991), the residents wrote in the document:

> People understand that the University of São Paulo cannot have within its walls a favela of such great proportions and that since it deals with a big part of its employees, it is hoped that a housing program can be established that meets the needs of the favelados[12]. (Tanaka 1991, 2).

In response to this meeting, the dean at the time created the Commission for the Study of Irregular Campus Occupations with the objective of studying the São Remo favela and learning precisely the number of houses, families, and residents, and their socioeconomic conditions (Tanaka 1991). The study was carried out in 1988 and results published in two reports, one in 1988 and the other in 1991. The author of the 1991 report referred to the São Remo favela as being inside the university campus[13] and titled the report "The USP's Favela." The 1991 report also

---

[11] The events described in this section are also organized as a timeline in Appendix 1.

[12] In the past, it was common for people who live in favelas to be called 'favelados.' In time, the word started to have a negative connotation. Today it is considered offensive to call someone a 'favelado.'

[13] As explained earlier, the São Remo favela was built on land that belonged to the university. There were plans to expand the campus to the land occupied by the São Remo favela. Nevertheless, the São Remo favela was never inside the official physical boundaries of the university campus.

presented two proposals for intervention at the São Remo favela: the first proposed to keep all the residents in site and build two-bedroom houses for each family; the second intended to remove residents and use the land to expand the campus, keeping only the most vulnerable residents and providing them with apartments. Neither of the proposals was carried out (Tanaka 1991).

Due to the enormous growth in population, density and area that the São Remo favela experienced in the early 1980s, the University of São Paulo installed a wire fence supported by concrete pillars as a way to isolate the favela with the use of an actual physical boundary. In 1982, the borough administration took down the fence due to construction efforts in the area. The Estadão newspaper published an article on October 16, 1982, about the removal of the fence and the concern expressed by the campus administration of a possible campus invasion by the São Remo favela residents (Estadão, 1982). Early on, there was an invisible barrier that separated the largest and most influential university in Brazil from the poor, illegally occupied favela. The socioeconomic and political differences between the two spaces contributed to the construction of preconceptions about the favela and ultimately the materialization of physical boundaries that have been perpetuated ever since.

Intentions to intervene

The Estadão newspaper published in September of 1984 an article about USP's plans to 'urbanize'[14] the São Remo favela. The beginning of the article stated:

> The residents of the São Remo favela are the most privileged in the city: they have health care and assistance right by their shacks. This is because USP administration

---

[14] Favela urbanization is the term used in Brazil for favela upgrading.

decided to take care of the favela that grew by invading the five million square meters area owned by the university campus.

And the first measure of this decision is already emerging: a re-urbanization project and houses to its 12,000 residents – 30% of them are University's employees – already has the support of USP's dean and the state government. (Estadão 1984, 5)

No re-urbanization or housing units were ever developed at the favela. When looking at the history of the relationship of the university with the favela, it is easy to identify the following pattern: the identification of a problem, the consideration of a policy or intervention to possibly resolve the issue and, later, the discontinuance of these ideas. This pattern is not a coincidence. Each time a newly elected governor appoints a new dean, the new management acknowledges the existence of the favela and decides how to approach the issue. Every four years a new dean is appointed and the discourse or policy concerning the favela changes. The result is that there are many archived plans for the SR favela that were never put in place. The politics of the university affects its relationship, discourse, and ideas about how to approach the favela and its residents. Examples of this pattern follow below.

In 1984, the city's Department of Family and Social Welfare established a partnership with the university administration to plan and build a daycare facility in the SR favela due to the enormous need for it. The city would provide the resources if the university donated the land. The university campus administration would be responsible for managing the daycare. The project was designed and budgeted in 1984. However, the dean's office at the time rejected the proposal (USP 1984).

In 1988, the state government wrote a letter to the university's administration discussing the need of two daycare facilities at the SR favela, offering the inclusion of these into a government

program to support low-income families' children to obtain funding. The letter emphasized its planned timeframe for the construction of the facilities, arguing they had to be ready before the end of the governor's term. The university campus administration endorsed the request of the state government with a new report developed describing the need for these facilities. It was common for the children and teenagers from the favela to be seen at the campus. The report described their presence as a problem: 'concerning the big number of children spread throughout the campus, breaking into buildings, restaurants, damaging vehicles, payphones, and sometimes even mugging people' (USP 1988, 44). Once again, the project was never put in place.

Another story published on April 4th, 1989 read: 'Favelados will have housing on campus' (Estadão 1989, 9) (see Image 48). The university dean at the time, Mr. José Goldemberg (1986-1990), planned to build apartments inside the campus for 5,800 residents from the SR favela, including 850 university's employees. The municipal government would fund the project. The newspaper asked a resident from the favela what she thought of the project. Her response was: 'I would rather have USP building in sanitation and leave it as it is now' (Estadão 1989, 9). Goldemberg's administration lasted until 1990 when he was replaced by a new dean after his four-year term. The project did not happen.

Favelados terão casa no *campus*

O reitor da Universidade de São Paulo (USP), José Goldemberg, pretende construir apartamentos no **campus** do Butantã para abrigar 5.800 moradores da favela São Remo, entre os quais 850 funcionários da USP. A favela existe há dez anos e ocupa uma área de 60 mil metros quadrados, no interior da Cidade Universitária, entre o Instituto de Pesquisas Energéticas e Nucleares (Ipen), o Hospital Universitário e o quartel da Polícia Militar.

O pedido para a construção do conjunto foi feito ontem á prefeita Luiza Erundina, logo após a assinatura de um convênio entre a Prefeitura e a universidade, para a prestação de serviços conjuntos á comunidade. Erundina se comprometeu a estudar o assunto, mas sua secretária da Habitação, Herminia Maricato, ironizou: "Vim aqui atrás de apoio técnico e descobri que a USP quer entrar no programa dos sem-teto".

Em alguns setores da uni-

Image 48: Estadão newspaper article published on April 4th, 1989

In 1991, residents of the SR favela contacted SABESP, the Sanitation Company of the State of São Paulo, regarding the need for the construction of sanitation at the favela. SABESP responded to this request and developed a project for the installation of the new infrastructure. However, since USP owns most of the land, the company needed the university's authorization to use parts of it for the construction of the sewage infrastructure. USP received the request and produced a report analyzing it: 'we emphasize that this improvement would consolidate the occupation of the São Remo favela residents' (USP 1992, 71). The report also explained that such authorization would be perpetual, meaning that USP would never be able to reclaim the land for its use and advised against the proposed intervention (USP 1992, 72). Finally, in 1993, the university administration decided against SABESP's request due to its need to use the land to expand the campus in the future (USP 1992, 98).

Once again, the municipal government expressed interested in 'urbanizing' the SR favela in 1993. The idea was to remove the existing houses and fund the construction of low-income public housing buildings at the same location. The project was designed (see image 49), and the city even published an ad for construction companies to execute the project. The dean at the time was Roberto Leal Lobo e Silva Filho (1990-1993). The university's legal department produced a new report regarding the city's initiative saying that despite praiseworthy, the project was unfeasible because 'the area occupied by it was declared of public utility for a specific use, that is the expansion of the university campus' (USP 2004, 38).
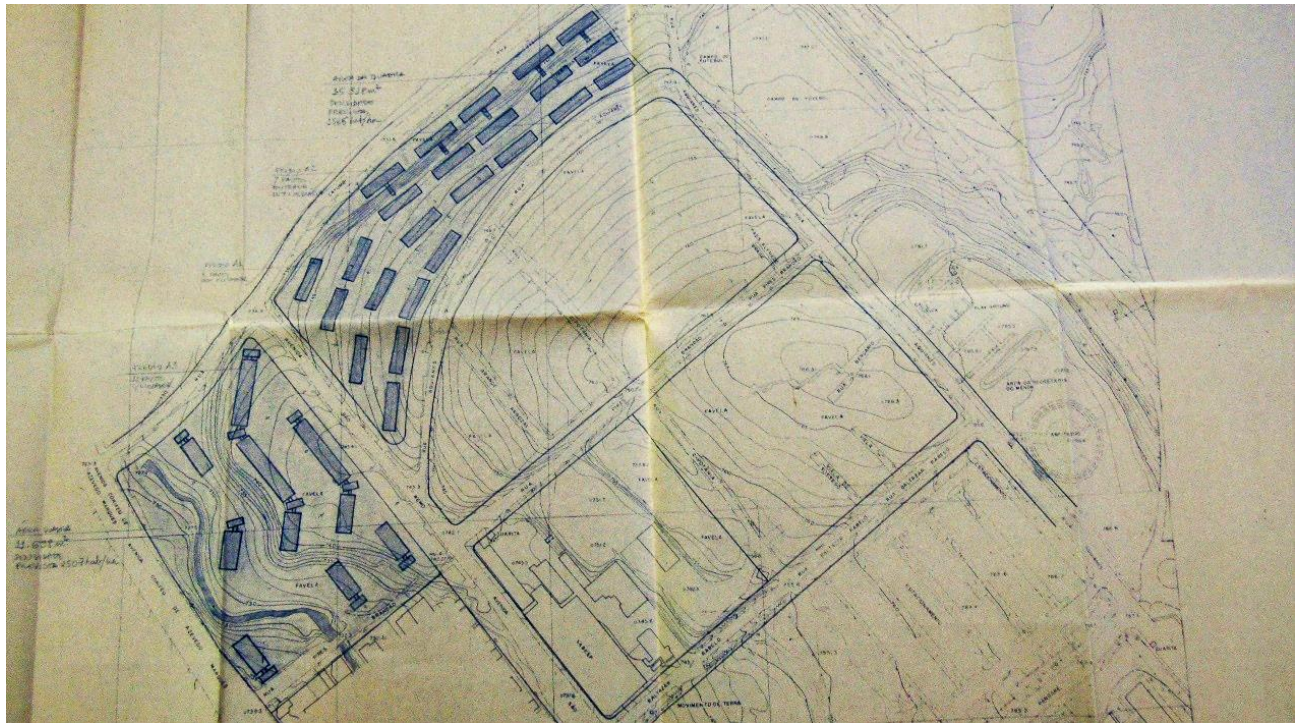
Image 49: Urbanization project proposed by the municipal government in 1993-1994 (USP 2004, 38)

The Wall

Today there is a 11.5 feet tall concrete wall that isolates the university campus from the São Remo favela. The construction of the wall started in 1995 and lasted until 1998. The decision

to build the wall was made by the dean Flávio Fava de Moraes (1993-1997) after many complaints of vandalism and violence inside the campus. However, those types of occurrences took place there even before the first residents of the SR favela built their houses there (Rocha 2016, 72). The University of São Paulo's campus is a public and open space with a vast area of 470 hectares, making it difficult to control who gets in or out of those areas. The association of these events with the São Remo favela is a product of the underlying inequalities between the university and the favela, preconceptions linked to poverty and favelas, and the imbalances of power among the actors involved. Ultimately, the wall isolated the favela even more, exacerbating existing tensions and alienating its residents. However, it did not keep children away from the campus[15].

On November 5th, 1997, a fifteen-year-old boy named Daniel, who had been missing since the day before, was found dead in the Olympic-size swimming pool inside the university campus. The use of the campus swimming pool is prohibited for non-students and faculty. However, nine boys from the SR favela had gone to the pool to swim. According to the newspaper article reporting the news, the boys were kicked out of the pool and beaten by university security guards (see Image 50). Daniel was chased by a guard on a motorcycle and drowned in the pool. Nevertheless, it was not clear from the article what happened to him and the sequence of events (Estadão 1997, C9). The guards gave their testimony and denied the aggression (Estadão 1997, C9). The police report about his death corroborated the guards' aggression described by the other boys, but it did not hold the security guards accountable for Daniel's death (Rocha 2016, 81).

---

[15] I further explore the implications of the construction of the wall for the residents on a later section of this chapter).

After Daniel's death, there was a lot of complaints and demonstrations about the existing preconceptions about the favela's residents and how the university treated them when on the campus. Residents and university students organized protests and vandalized university buildings. On November 7th, 1997, the same newspaper published an interview with a group of teenagers from the SR favela that had been part of the protests and vandalization of university property. The title of the story was a quote from one of the boys: 'We are tired of prejudice' (Estadão 1997, C3). When asked what they wanted, the interviewees responded: 'We want justice for Daniel's death. Restitution for his family and the right to get on the campus without being treated like a thug' (Estadão 1997, C3).

Image 50: Estadão newspaper stories published on November 6, 1997. The main story says: 'Body of missing boy found at US.' (Estadão November 6, 1997, C9).

Avizinhar

After these tragic events, one of the answers the university administration found to deal with these tensions was the 'Avizinhar' Program, loosely translated as 'to be a neighbor.' The dean at the time was Jacques Marcovitch (1997-2001). The main reason for the creation of this program was the intensification of SR favela children and teenagers' presence on campus, especially after the wall was built, and a feeling of insecurity felt by the university population (Rocha 2016, 84). According to documents justifying the creation of the program, after the favela and the campus were physically isolated from one another with the concrete wall, the presence of SR teenagers on campus started to bother professors, students and university employees (Rocha 2016, 75).

The project aimed to support the SR favela community and help to identify its needs without an attitude of clientelism or welfarism. Specifically, the 'Avizinhar' focused on education for the children and teenagers and community network action, working with schools, social workers and families to ensure the well-being of all children and teenagers living in the favela. Education initiatives included sports activities, a series of extracurricular courses such as computing skills, language courses, cultural events, as well as a variety of training focused on the job market. Educators also got close to families with children and teenagers at the favela to make sure all were in school and to follow up on their health (Rocha 2016).

Mateus, born and raised at the SR favela, described to me his own experience before and after the program started:

> I was a troublemaker. I didn't respect anyone and couldn't see anyone standing still. Wow, I was a brat. Even my own family, except the ones who lived with me, they could not stand me. Many of them thought I was going to be a criminal, that I had no future. But thank God, we have grown and changed. And then, in my teenage years, he wanted nothing with life, just wanted to stay on the street, and

209

come back home at dawn. I was on the street, and the police chased me, even not having done anything, we still ran away just for the sense of adventure. That today I call stupid, stupid things that we did.

And that's when I met Bia; I think it was 1999. I was about 18 years old, and I had already dropped out of school, crazy. Then we started taking courses there; we started to get interested in other things, to have new opinions. We got to know the internet, to get to know other people who were more serious. Other than the people here from São Remo. You get to know people out there; you start to have another type of perception. With Bia, Greg, Julio, Cátia, who was our teacher. So, you start to have several other experiences, and you realize that the world is not limited to here in the São Remo. It helped me a lot, the 'Avizinhar' Program. (Mateus, Interview with Patricia Basile, Maio 2017).

The 'Avizinhar' Program represented a change on how the university administration engaged with the favela. As a response to the intensification of violent events that culminated with a boy's death on the campus, the project was an attempt to support the favela and its residents instead of alienating them. It had a positive impact on the lives of the families who were involved with it, especially the children (Rocha 2016). However, once again university politics prevented the program to continue to exist and make a difference in the lives of newer generations of the SR favela.

According to Rocha (2016), the program started to suffer in 2004 and 2005 due to a cutback in the number of educators working in the project, being left with only one supervisor and two educators. A request for new hires was made, but it was not approved until the end of 2005 when the dean Adolpho José Melfi (2001-2005) was to be replaced. In 2006, the new dean took over, Suely Vilela Sampaio (2005-2009) and replaced the managers. Additionally, the ordinance that created the program had expired, and the new administration did not make arrangements to renew it. The program ended slowly, first with the cutback of educators and funding, and later

with the change in management and structure. Ultimately, the people still assigned to the project were relocated to have other responsibilities, and the program finally ended in 2007 (Rocha 2016).

As Rocha (2016) argued, the program might have given the kids legitimacy to enter and be a part of the campus, but it still did not provide them with access to 'the symbolic goods that give meaning to the existence of the physical space' (185). On January 25th, 2004, the Estadão published an article entitled 'Witnesses of the History of USP.' The story was about USP's employees (not professors) and how many of them, who have been working there for years, are also a part of the university's story and legacy. The newspaper interviewed two employees, one of whom was already retired. The story ends talking about how, despite having spent a big part of their lives in that space, neither of their children were able to study at USP. Many USP employees live at the São Remo favela (Estadão 2004, U8). To study at USP, one needs to perform very well on the extremally competitive admission's test. Most people who are admitted can afford to attend an expensive private high school and have the best preparation possible for the test. Most who live in favelas and go to public high schools do not get in due to the poor-quality education received from public schools.

Removal and redevelopment

In 2011, the dean at the time, Mr. João Grandino Rodas (2009-2013), and his administration established a new partnership with the municipal government's housing department to develop another project for redevelopment in the SR favela. According to the plan, the majority of the houses would be demolished for the construction of low-income public housing buildings. The partnership also intended to immediately remove the residents living on the lower

blocks of the favela by the stream, in danger of collapse in case of a landslide. The project plan was not implemented.

There is one area within the perimeter of the SR favela that was never occupied by houses because a wall was built around it very early on. In 2013, USP slit this area in two and donated them to the municipal government's health and education departments for the construction of a school for children and a health facility (see Image 18). An existing building was remodeled for the health facility, and it opened in 2015. This is a public health facility that offers free general practice care, gynecology, pediatrics, psychology and dentistry for the residents of the area.
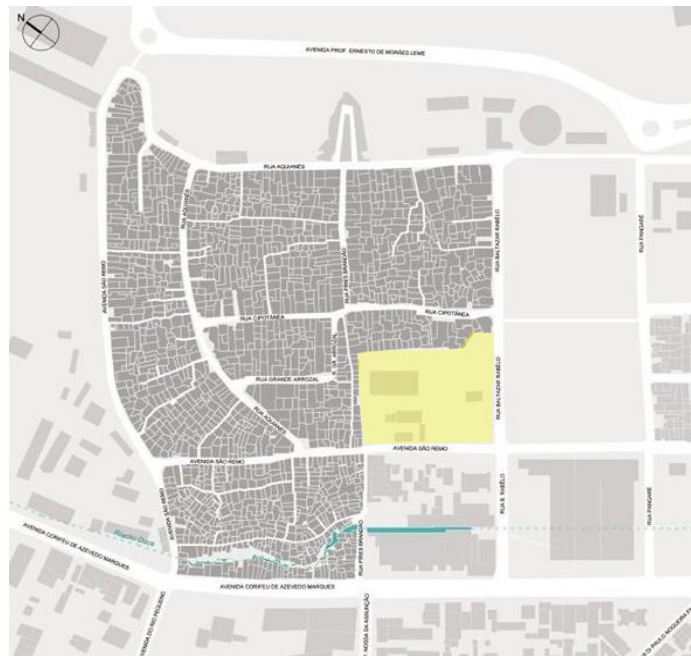
Image 51: Area donated by USP in yellow. Source: CDHU and USP.

New plans to urbanize the SR favela started being made in 2015, now as a partnership with the Housing and Urban Development Company of the State of São Paulo (CDHU) and under the dean Marco Antonio Zago (2014-2018). The project proposed the opening of new streets and widening of existing one, and the construction of a few low-income public housing buildings (see

Image 19). Unlike past projects, this one was developed with the intention of minimizing removals and demolitions of existing houses. While I was doing fieldwork in the Spring of 2017, the rumor around the favela was that USP was already in the process of donating its land to the state housing company. However, it is still unclear if the project will advance, mainly because a new dean was appointed at the beginning of 2018.

Lastly, in 2016, the construction of guardhouses at the two entry points from the São Remo favela to the campus started. The last time I visited the favela in January of 2018, the guardhouses were completed, metal gates had been installed, and there were guards securing both entry points day and night. Additionally, I was informed that both entrances started to be locked during the night preventing the entry to or exit from the campus to the SR favela.

Image 52: The latest proposal for urbanizing the SR favela. Source: CDHU.

To truly comprehend the history and context of the São Remo favela and its residents is necessary to recognize the power imbalances that exist between the São Remo favela and the

University of São Paulo. Since USP owns the land occupies by the São Remo favela, the university's administrative structures have been able to exercise power over the favela and its residents in different ways, impacting the community in positive and negative ways. Specifically, the university's physical and structural boundaries to the residents of the São Remo favela have continuously alienated and marginalized them, perpetuating the stigma and criminalization of favela residents.

V. V. Growth and Demographics over time

The earliest census data readily available for the São Remo favela area is from 1991. According to the 1991 Brazilian Census, the favela had 1,129 houses in 1991 with a total population of 5,082 residents, 2,566 males and 2,516 females, and an average of 4.50 residents per dwelling. Six hundred and sixty-five houses had direct water supply representing 13% of homes, and only 629 houses, (12.38%) had proper sanitary installation. Additionally, in 1991, 1,122 houses had their trash adequately collected (IBGE 1991).

The Census data concerning water supply in 1991 is not consistent with the data from the written university written report from 1988 which stated that most houses at the São Remo favela had a direct water supply in 1988. A possible explanation for this incoherence between the two datasets is that the university report considered if the house was served or not by the public water supply network but did not consider if it was a legal or illegal connection. It is possible that only a small percentage of the houses were actually paying for the water they were getting and that is probably the amount that the 1991 Census took into consideration.

Regarding tenure, in 1991, 36 families had ownership of both the land and building in the São Remo favela. Only 28 houses were rented. The vast majority of the São Remo favela residents (1,045 households) owned the building where they lived but did not have legal ownership of the land (IBGE 1991). In 1998, the Center for Violence Studies from the University of São Paulo conducted a study about the São Remo favela and another favela in the campus vicinity entitled "Street Children and Adolescents: the USP Case." According to this report, 75% of the families living in the São Remo favela had origins in the Northeast of Brazil, and 66.1% of the head of the families were black. The report characterized the majority of the São Remo favela population as poor and illiterate (Adorno 1998).

Image 53: São Remo favela in 1996. Photo by Bethany Opalach; retrieved from
https://favelissues.com/2013/04/09/the-old-gang-in-the-new-neighborhood/

2000 Census

The 2000 Brazilian Census reported that the São Remo favela area contained 1,576 houses in 2000 with a total population of 6,480 residents, 3,191 males and 3,289 females, and an average of 4.11 residents per house. All of the 1,576 houses had a water supply. Additionally, in 2000, 1,159 houses (73.5%) had proper sanitary installation, two houses had a septic tank, and 415 houses (26.33%) threw their sanitary waste in the stream or other inappropriate locations. Also, 1,454 households (92.25%) had their trash collected adequately while 122 (7.74%) threw their trash in inappropriate areas in 2000 (IBGE 2001).

Regarding ownership, the 2000 Brazilian Census did not differentiate between ownership of the land and property of the building as it did in 1991. Of the 1,576 houses in the São Remo favela in 2000, 1,494 were reported as owned (94.80%), and only 75 (4.76%) households rented their house. It is likely that the vast majority of people who responded that they owned the property did not own the land. As mentioned before, a large part of the area where São Remo favela is located is owned by the University of São Paulo.

Additionally, the 2000 Brazilian Census was used by the Center of the Study of Metropolis (CEM) in partnership with the municipal department of Social Services to map the social deficiencies of the city of São Paulo through the analysis of the socioeconomic distribution of every neighborhood. The São Remo favela area was divided into four different areas for the 2000 Census. Two of those areas located at the lower part of the SR favela were characterized as the highest deprivation areas with a young population, low-income families with children from 0 to 4 years old, teenagers, and single mothers as the majority living in those areas. The other two areas

of the SR favela were characterized as high deprivation areas but an older population of low income and illiterate families.

2010 Census

According to the 2010 Census, the São Remo favela area was home to 6,562 residents who live in 1,870 houses in 2010, with an average of 3.51 residents per house. 3,234 residents were male, and 3,328 were female. Most of the houses (1,868) had direct water supply and 1,741 (93.10%) houses had proper sanitary installation. Seven homes had a septic tank and 122 (6.52%) houses threw their sanitary waste in the stream. Also, all of the households had trash collected adequately in 2010 (IBGE 2010).

The 2010 Brazilian Census also did not differentiate ownership of the land from ownership of the building as it did in 1991. Of the 1,870 houses in the São Remo favela in 2010, 1,244 were reported as owned (66.52%) and 626 houses were reported as rented. As explained earlier, it is likely that the vast majority of people who reported that they owned the property did not necessarily own the land but only owned the building they lived in.

	Total pop	N° of houses	Average residents/ house	Houses w/ water supply	Houses w/ sanitary installation	Houses w/ trash collection	House ownership
1991	5,082	1,129	4.50	665	629	1,122	1,101
2000	6,480	1,576	4.11	1,576	1,559	1,454	1,494
2010	6,562	1,870	3.51	1,868	1,741	1,870	1,244

Table 4: Summary of Census data from the São Remo favela houses from 1991 to 2010.

Growth overview

There was a substantial increase in houses and population from 1977 to 1988, as expected due to the president's promise of land ownership to the São Remo favela residents as well as the considerable number of new residents arriving in São Paulo to meet relatives already living at the São Remo favela. From 1988 to 1991, there was a slight decrease in houses and population but not significant to the relative size of the São Remo favela. The number of houses and total population grew significantly from 1991 to 2000 (possible reasons for this growth are detailed in the next section). There was only a small increase in houses and population from 2000 to 2010 (see Graph 1 below).
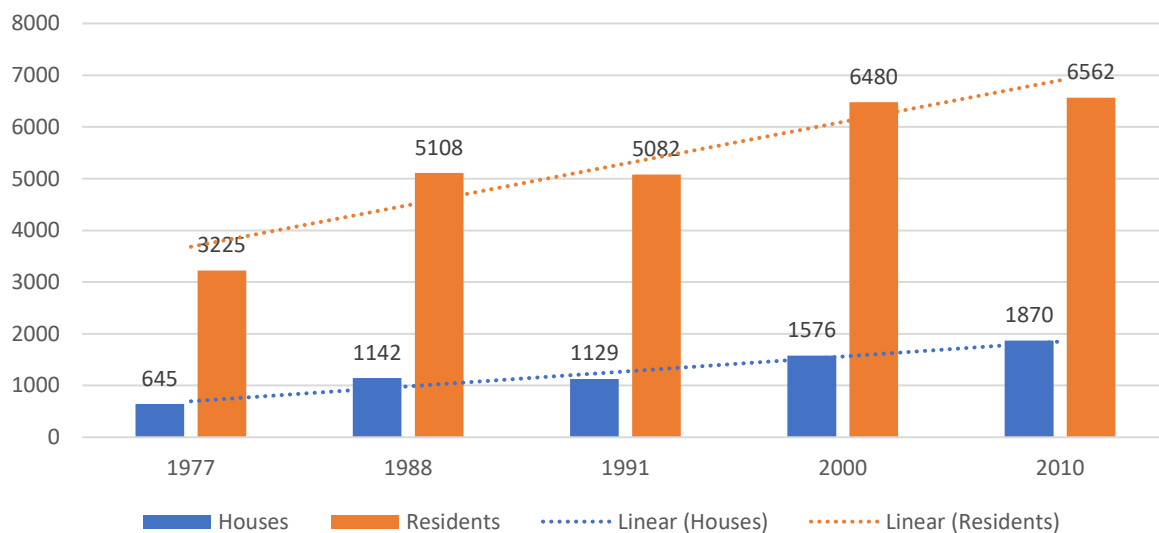
Graph 4: São Remo favela growth from 1977 to 2010. Data source: Tanaka 1991.

Interviewees' demographics

I interviewed 27 residents from the São Remo favela, nine women, and 18 men. Fifteen interviewees were leaders within their community and two were former leaders. Three interviewees were volunteers in at least one organization, and one was a former volunteer. Only

six interviewees had no form of involvement in any group or organization. Only four interviewees were tenants, while 23 presented themselves or their families as owners of the house they lived. Twelve interviewees had a job at the time of the interviews, five were self-employed, four were retired, and six were unemployed. Eighteen of the interviewees were born in the city of São Paulo, and one of them was from the countryside of the state of São Paulo. Eight interviewees were born outside of the state of São Paulo and migrated when children. The average age of the interviewees is 44.11. Fourteen of the interviewed residents were younger than 40 years old. I also talked two women that work at the São Remo favela, one as a social worker and educator and the other as an intermediary between the university and the favela and an educator.
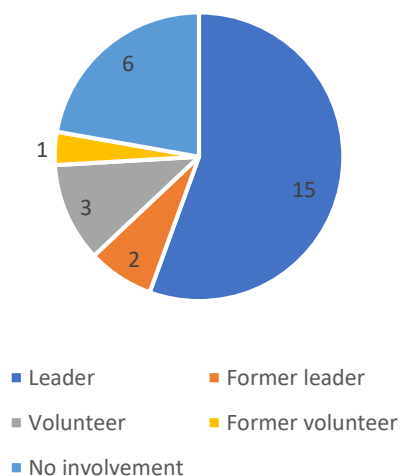
Graph 5: Interviewees' involvement with any group or organization
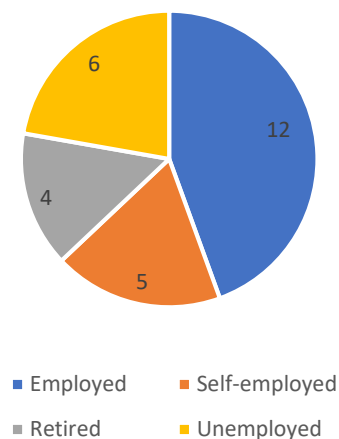
Graph 6: Interviewees' employment situation at the time of the interview

V.VI. Today's built environment

There are three ways into the São Remo favela. Two of them are through the University of São Paulo. These entrances currently are supervised by security guards and closed during the night. The third is coming from the Corifeu de Azevedo Marques Avenue which borders the northwest edge of the favela. From there, you can drive or walk up three parallel streets: Catumbi St, Pires Brandão St or Baltazar Rabêlo St. Both Catumbi Street and Baltazar Rabêlo Street will take you all the way up to the opposite side of the favela that borders the university campus, to Aquianés Street. Parallel to Aquianés Street is two other main streets that cross the favela horizontally: Cipotânea Street and the São Remo Avenue. However, only the São Remo Avenue crosses the entire extension of the favela horizontally. The streets vary in width, but they are all big enough for two cars.

Alleys are pedestrian paths inside the blocks. A few alleys connect different streets while the majority of them serve as access to the house inside the blocks. Only 29% of the houses at the SR favela are accessible through streets. Seventy-one percent of houses are accessible only through the alleys (see image 54).

Image 54: Map of housing access. The houses in yellow are the only ones accessible through streets. Source: CDHU.

Alleys vary tremendously spatially, especially in width. These alleys are the leftover spaces. Houses get built, and small corridors are left open to give access to these houses. Also, many residents appropriate remaining space to increase or modify their houses in detriment of the public space – the alley. It is common to see staircases or protuberant building volumes occupying an area that was previously part of an alley or a sidewalk (see Images 55 and 56). Alleys at the SR favela are shaped by the houses they give access to and surround them.

Image 55 and 56: Alleys at the SR favela that are shaped by the houses surrounding them. Photos by the author.

Most streets and alleys are served with water and electricity, but not all houses pay for these services. It is relatively common for residents to connect new houses to these networks without authorization from the public provider. Sanitation services are present in all streets but not all alleys. There are still houses that throw sewage and trash in the Riacho Doce stream located by the Corifeu de Azevedo Marques Avenue, at the bottom of the favela.

The São Remo favela is placed on a hill. Its highest point is at the intersection of the Aquianés Street and the Baltazar Rabêlo Street by one of the entrances to the university campus. Its lowest point is by the Corifeu de Azevedo Marques Avenue where the Riacho Doce stream runs (see Image 57). The Riacho Doce stream is located 30 meters below the highest point of the favela. The houses around it are in a floodplain and danger of collapse in case of heavy rain. Many of

these houses have part of their foundation inside the stream, being in even more danger (see Images 58 and 59). This is the most vulnerable area in the SR favela. Housing structures are more precarious, and the houses are smaller if compared to houses in other blocks. Housing prices and rent in the Riacho Doce are also smaller if compared to houses elsewhere at the SR favela. It is the most impoverished area of the favela where the most vulnerable population live.

Image 57: SR favela's topography. Source: CDHU.
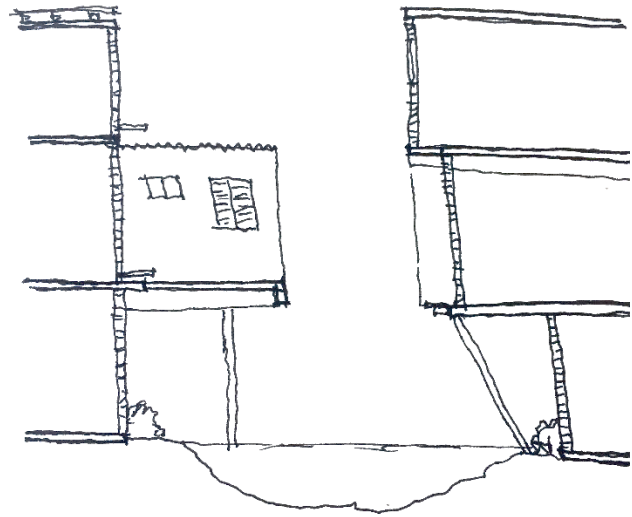
Image 58 and 59: Houses by the Riacho Doce stream – Photo and schematic section by the author.

The houses are also diverse regarding size and number of floors. Since every family modifies, adapts and improves their own houses according to need, availability of space and resources, every house is unique in terms of size and looks. There are houses with up to six floors, each one with a different family living in it. On the other hand, very few houses are single-story. The construction of additional floors has become a popular practice at the SR favela. Tall housing buildings are an emblematic feature of the SR favela's landscape. In general, the houses on higher elevations closer to the university campus are bigger in area. The vast majority of houses are masonary. In relation to external facades, only 18% of the houses are coated with either tiles or cement-based plaster. These tend to be located by the main streets of the favela (see image 60, 61 and 62).

Images 60 and 61: To the left, types of coating that exist at the SR favela and, to the right, the most common location of coating. Source: CDHU.

Images 62: Map showing the houses with coating. Houses in orange are the ones without coating. Source: CDHU.

Land Use

There are plenty of stores and services at the São Remo favela that are owned and administered by residents (see Image 63). These include small grocery stores, a bakery, bars, and restaurants (buildings in yellow on the map below represent commerce and services). There are three non-governmental organizations focused on education for children and adults. There is one daycare facility inside the favela and one elementary school at the Corifeu de Azevedo Marques Avenue, across the street from the SR favela (NGOs and educational institutions are dark purple

225

on the map). There are nine churches spread throughout at the favela (grey buildings on the map).

And there are three large leisure areas: one playground, one soccer field (light pink on the map)

and one sports court (orange on the map). Additionally, there are several health-dedicated

facilities surrounding the favela (dark pink). Lastly, the favela's left neighbor is a large walled

property with a few buildings that belongs to the military police.
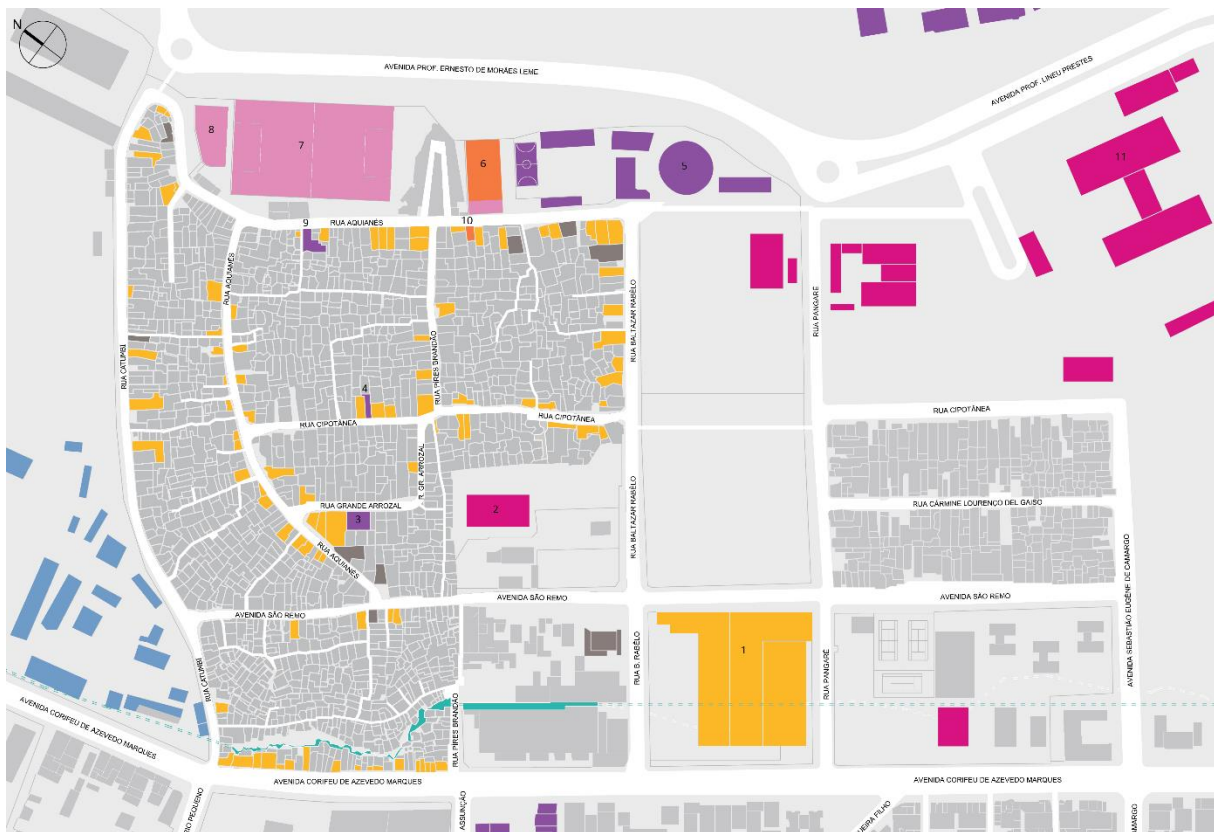
Images 63: SR land use map. Yellow is commerce and services. Purple are NGOs and educational institutions. Dark pink are health-dedicated facilities. Light pink and the orange are sports facilities. Dark grey are churches. Blue is the military police's facilities. Source: CDHU.

V. VII. Self-governing efforts through Organizations

Self-governance takes place when social entities and individuals govern themselves,

managing, negotiating, and shaping their every day and their environments. Organizations are one

of the many social arrangements that actively contribute to the overall SR favela self-governing structure. Specifically, the residents' associations are primarily engaged in managing and negotiating the use and appropriation of the built environment by different residents or group of residents. This section focuses on the residents' association at the SR favela, examining issues of power and politics, legitimacy, representativeness, and involvement.

As described earlier, the São Remo favela has always had a residents-led organization focused on representing the favela's residents and advocating with outside institutions and organizations to bring improvement. The current residents' association is the Jardim São Remo Residents' Association. Despite not being able to trace the history of the how the São Remo's Friends Association became the Jardim São Remo Residents' Association, I was able to interview current leaders, volunteers, and one former volunteer to understand the current state of the residents' association and the work it does for the community.

The Jardim São Remo Residents' Association has its own physical space located at the Aquianés Street, one of the main streets in the São Remo that borders the university. The space is used for meetings and is also available for rent as an event venue. Additionally, the Jardim São Remo Residents' Association has a registration with the São Paulo's city government. However, the registration is currently inactive because the association's administration did not file taxes for over five years. This situation prevents the association from applying for benefits from the city and state government, such as milk distribution or food donations.

Roberto has been involved with the residents' association for over ten years. He is currently a part of the administrative board. When I asked him what the purpose of the resident's association is, he quickly responded: "to politicize people. To raise awareness, to organize. To

make sure their rights are guaranteed" (Roberto, interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017). But it is hard to observe these objectives being put into practice at the São Remo favela for two main reasons. First, the São Remo favela is a big favela and extremally diverse spatially, socially and economically. It is thus difficult for one single organization to represent such a wide variety of needs and priorities. Secondly, there are a lot of politics involved both inside and outside the favela that surround the residents' association (both these reasons are further explored later in this chapter). Most of the conversations I had about the residents' association at the São Remo favela were not about the work it does for the community. Instead, residents talked a great deal about the politics involved in it and around it.

Leonardo is a former president of the residents' association. He described the work his administration focused on:

> The work we did was more focused on social work. Because we see the absence of the government here within the community. So, a lot of what we did was to go after the local government to show them the problems that exist here (...) We brought it to the local government's attention. We helped some people down there, who live in more precarious conditions, let's put it that way. A lot of the houses there are structurally insecure, so we tried to restructure some of those houses. We got medicine donations for some people who needed it. Public lighting. We put lighting here because all the lights were broken. (Leonardo, interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017)

Leonardo is currently the president of a second residents' association that focuses exclusively on sports, the São Remo Sports Association. A group of women that gets together to play volleyball every weekend established the São Remo Sports Association about three years ago as a way to raise funds from external organizations to renovate the sports court. The sports association promotes events dedicated to sports at the São Remo and contributes to the maintenance of the sports court located at the Aquianés Street. The São Remo Sports Association

is also registered with the city government as a residents' association. Despite having different focuses, there is a conflict between the two associations, mainly among the people involved in the new administration and the old one[16].

Marcos, who has lived at the São Remo favela since he was born, told me he would like to help with the residents' association but he rather not to get involved:

> 'No, because of this disagreement. There is the old management and the new management. The two managements, they take it personally, and never understand each other. I talk to both groups because my cousin is from the old management, and the aunt of this boy who helps me here, she is from this new management, and she's an instigator. I want to help, but I don't want to take sides.' (Marcos, interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017).

Marcos was only one of the many residents who talked about the disagreements as a reason not to get involved with the associations. Mateus made a similar argument. I asked him if he followed the work done by the residents' association. His response was:

> I'm out; I'm out. I do not follow things; do you know why? Because I do not like these things of politics, because, even if you attend only one meeting, instead of discussing something good for the residents, good for the favela, one is arguing with another: I am the one who brought this, it was me that did that, in my management I had this, in my management I did that. Fuck, I don't wanna know. I want to know from now on, if we're sitting here, we're supposed to discuss something that is good for the favela, it's not what you did, you were in your role, you had to do it. That's it. It was your responsibility; you don't have to brag about it.
> So, I don't follow much, just see things from the outside, precisely because of this. I come, I vote. When there is an election, we vote. But if I tell you that I'm going to get involved, trying to find out what's happening, it's a lie, because I do not have the patience. (Mateus, interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017).

As mentioned by Mateus, one of the reasons for the disagreements is over who are the responsible ones for the improvements brought to the favela. While describing the disputes,

---

[16] The old management are the residents responsible for creating and administering the São Remo Sports Association.

residents also referred to differences between leaders over who is entitled to make decisions about and on behalf the community and its spaces, and over who is to blame for the mistakes made by the residents' association administration. For example, when a group of people created the São Remo Sports Association to take care of the sports court and organize sports' events, the residents' association leadership was against it. Roberto, who is part of the residents' association administration, explained:

> In 2013, Rose formalized a soccer group. Volleyball group. I had gotten that gym equipment that is out there on the court through Donato, through a parliamentary amendment, like those gymnastics things, those things there. They said, "Roberto, there's this gym equipment, we are going to take care of the court, ok?" I said, "Great, you're a resident." I don't think everything needs to be centered on me. I think it's cool when you distribute tasks among residents.
>
> Bia: And they really cleaned up the court. The court was better after that.
>
> Roberto: It was a task, something for you to take care of, but the court continued to belong to the residents' association. Then, suddenly I found out that Mrs. Rose is creating an organization, with a statute and everything. She had an election and wrote a minute. Without publication, without the community knowing. All the elections in here, everybody knows, it could be the election of the trash man, or concerning a mouse that is in the sewage, everybody knows. This is a favela that everybody knows everything because of gossip.
> Then, I thought it was strange that she did not give other people the opportunity, she didn't call out an assembly. Because it is something that I always did in my management, I always tried to respect that. Call out a meeting of residents, expose the situation and the residents decide
> Because then, you're eligible. You are supported by the people. It's not something that you decide for yourself or with your friend. It's a community. You speak on behalf of the community is very complicated.
> Without backup, the community can even file a lawsuit against you for using their name in bad faith. Even if she says "the Community Sports Association does good things for the community." You are still speaking on behalf of that community, and I belong to this community, and you can't speak on my behalf. (...) Who gave you an authority? It is very complicated. So, we questioned her group, and in what way? Why? Because it was just her group.
> Any other group that tried to take possession of the court, she doesn't allow it. It's only her group that can organize a fair during the night. Other people wanted to do it, a handicraft fair, the northeastern cooking fair, and she did not allow it.

Patricia: Claiming what?

Roberto: Claiming that it was her rival group. But the court is public. Space is public. (Roberto, Interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017).

According to Roberto, an organization that claims to represent a community is only legitimate with the total support of that community, and a leader is only valid if elected by the community which she or he claims to represent. In that case, Rose's sport's association and its leaders would not be legitimate representatives of the community and would not be entitled to make decisions about its spaces and resources. Additionally, Roberto speaks about the sports' court as belonging to the residents' association, which was created to represent the favela's dwellers. He does not talk about the court as belonging to the residents, the favela, or the community.

However, Rose and her group are also residents of the São Remo favela. The São Remo favela is a vast and diverse community in many ways. If the residents' association, as one organization is administered by a select group of residents, does not represent the interests and priorities of Rose and her friends, why is she not entitled to create her organization and represent her own interests? Rose described why they decided to create the São Remo Sports Association:

> After my first daughter was born, I was fired from my job, and then I did not work for a while. And then when you are here, spending time in the community, you begin to realize that there is something you can do to improve it. That's how it started because I like sports and I started thinking that I could do something for that space, to make it a nicer place for us to play sports. So, this happened in 2012, at the end of 2011, we simply got a ball and went there, and then other people came. People came, and then we realized, "Wow, there are a lot of people who like to practice sport, so let's go after this, let's try to make an improvement." And that's how the sports association came about,
>
> Bia: But you became the volleyball girls.

Rose: No, we already were "the people of the court." Everyone called our group that way. "Oh, who did this?" "It's the people of the court." First, it was "the people of the court" and later the "volleyball girls." So, our group decided to create this association, volleyball, because it would be easier for us to get, for example, material. We had more legitimacy to represent the community while requesting sports material, request paint, and so that how it came about. (Rose, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Rose and her group of friends and family created their own organization focused on sports as a way to bring people with similar interests together. According to her, creating an organization would also help the group, making them more legitimate as a representative of the community when asking for donations from outside organizations and institutions. For Rose, legitimacy came from officially registering the organization with the city government and from the fact that there were a few residents, beyond herself, who supported the cause and legitimized the creation of the organization. The residents' association management later asked the São Remo Sports Association group to cease their activity as an organization representative of the São Remo favela. Bia and Rose reflected on this topic during one of our conversations:

Bia: In Heliopolis-- in Heliopolis, I don't know how many associations there are, but there is one—

Patricia: UNAS, which is the union of all of them[17].

Bia: The association of all the associations.

Rose: There are several organizations, and one representing all of them.

Bia: - Like a union, like this.

---

[17] Heliopolis is the biggest favela in the city of São Paulo and UNAS is a successful organization that brings together people from the different areas of the favela and representatives of the many distinct associations.

Bia: For example, São Remo would have to have at least two. (Bia and Rose, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Rose and Bia concluded that the fact that one organization does not represent all the residents of the São Remo favela, but represent a few of them, does not make it an illegitimate organization. Rather, it signifies that residents of the community have many interests and priorities and one organization might not represent all of them. The scale of the SR favela also plays a part into the degree to which residents get involved. Since the SR favela is a big community, it is unlikely that one single organization with a few leaders can represent all the differences and priorities that exist in such a big community.

All of these conflicts and disagreements are ultimately over issues of legitimacy and power. Max Weber, who has written extensively about power, authority, and legitimacy, defined power as 'the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of other persons' (Weber 1954, 324). Weber's definition of power contributes to the discussion as it focuses on the will of one individual over others. How does the will of one or a few individuals, or one organization, reflect the personal choices, aspirations, priorities of over 15,000 people? In the case of the São Remo favela, it does not, resulting in the conflicts described above, the existence of many different organizations, groups and networks with distinct priorities and activities, and in a lack of involvement by residents in the residents' association, claiming they do not feel represented by it. Yet, despite conflict, these organizations are actively engaged with governing themselves, their environments, and resources available.

Representativeness and Involvement

Considering the size of the São Remo favela, there is a relatively small number of people who are actively involved with the residents' association or the sports' association. I estimate an average of 30 residents who are fully engaged in leading or volunteering with each one of these organizations. While discussing the theme with Edu, who has lived and worked at the SR favela for his entire life, he pointed out an interesting understanding about the need for a residents' association:

> In fact, there is the question of representativeness. The association for some, right? Actually, most. Actually, it doesn't matter. The association. Because, in the community - it was always like this to tell you the truth. For some it doesn't really matter. Because - there are some things. Some improvements. There are some administrations that bring improvement, right? And there are others that don't. So, this is how I see it. If you have an association the community will keep going, if not you will keep going, too. It will not cease to exist because it has no association. Got it?
>
> Patricia: Yes. But why did you say that word, representativeness? I thought it was interesting. What do you think - What did you mean by that?
>
> Edu: I think an association, right? It has to have the support of the whole community. That everyone has to be present. You have to be participating in the meetings. You have to have transparency. You have to have transparency in your actions. In the things that are doing, right? And you have to bring the community close to you, not push them away. Do not alienate the community. So, I think I'm going to feel part of the association when I'm involved. When I'm engaged with the work.
> At the moment, as I'm here all day, for example. I can't. I can't participate. At night we are taking courses, other things. So, I can't be involved right? But directly. Weekends? Maybe, but that's it, too. We work so hard. During the weekend we want to rest and do other things. There is no way. But I think the association can also disclose more of its actions. Now the management has changed, right? New management. Let's see how it's going to go. But I think they can publicize more their actions. Bring the population, the community closer together. (Edu, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

According to Edu, the SR favela will continue to exist and endure independently of the existence of a residents' association. The fact that there is one does not necessarily change their reality as a favela or their individual socioeconomic and political status as a favela resident. Edu also explained the need for a residents' association by talking about representativeness. In theory, a residents' association is supposed to represent all the residents in the neighborhood that it aims to serve or speak for. As discussed earlier, that is not the case of the São Remo Residents' Association or the São Remo Sport's association because neither of these organizations seems to be representative of the variety of needs, priorities, and aspirations of all the residents living there. There are people who just do not feel like these organizations are in fact representing them. Edu also analyzed this idea:

> Sometimes, they do meetings, they publicize what they are doing, and the community does not get involved either. There is this issue, too. Maybe just for being, I don't know, the location. For being located up here. It already prevents many people living down there from participating.
>
> Patricia: The location itself is already an impediment?
>
> Edu: Yes, the location itself. If you walk around. If you get to know the community a little. You will see that there is a group there - There is leadership there at Catumbi, there a leadership here at Viela do Leite, there is a leader up in there in the Quatro, there is a leader in the Riacho Doce. Every corner. You will see that someone is organizing. There's a group getting organized. To help each other over there. To make things happen.
>
> Patricia: Yes. But is there communication between these groups?
>
> Edu: Yes, I think that's missing. Communication is lacking. I can't say that there is none. That doesn't exist at all, right? There may have, but it still needs to improve a lot. It needs to improve a lot.

Edu talked about the location of the residents' association as an impeditive to people's involvement. If you live far away from the residents' association head office and in physical and

environmental conditions that tremendously differ from the houses around the residents' association, or even differ from the houses of the people involved in the association, you are less likely to get involved in such organization because you probably would not feel represented by it. The issues you deal with are different from the ones the residents' association deals with. Mrs. Karina also explained it well: 'There is no way to please everyone' (Mrs. Karina, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017). According to Edu and Mrs. Karina, one's feelings of sameness, or the lack of it, affects their interest in involvement and engagement with any type of residents-led organizations. Class is also an impediment. Poorer families at the SR favela are less likely to relate to an organization that focuses on an area where families with more financial resources live.

Mrs. Karina also talked about how these organizations could gain people's trust and get more people involved:

> So, I don't know. It's showing work itself; I think it's day-to-day showing work they are doing: "Oh, we're here to help you, we're trying to improve the community, we're going to fight together." I think so; it's slow because the community is very distrusful of everything, that's what I meant. (Mrs. Karina, Interview with Patricia Basile, March 2017).

Both Edu and Mrs. Karina mentioned transparency and accountability as ways to gain the people's trust and show residents how the work the organization is doing is focused on improving everyone's life, and not just for a few. Just doing the work is not enough. Resident-led organizations need to demonstrate how the outcomes will actually benefit the residents, even those who might have a different set of priorities and difficulties. And even with these types of efforts, it is likely that some residents still will not be interested in getting involved. Organizations and leaders should also respect such positioning. Jorge made a similar argument. When I asked if Edu felt represented by the residents' association, he quickly answered: 'Honestly, no. I think they

could have more communication with the community. They could better disseminate the projects they do' (Jorge, Interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017). According to the SR favela residents, accountability is as important as the work itself for the effectiveness of residents-led organizations.

It is not a surprise that issue of power, legitimacy, representativeness, accountability, and involvement would arise while analyzing self-governing efforts such as the ones performed by the associations at the SR favela. The fact that there are conflicts and these issues are present are in fact evidence of the self-governing nature of these organizations. Self-governance is a process that involves interaction and negotiation between the parties involved. Considering that individuals and groups of individuals in the same community might have different needs and priorities, it is evident that conflict would be part of their efforts towards a self-governing process. Self-governance is not a stable and flawless condition. Instead, it is a process of struggle that encompasses conflict, disagreements, negotiation and adaptability.

The case of the sports court

In 2016, the São Remo Sports Association applied to an outside non-governmental organization (NGO) called "love.fútbol" that selects low-income communities around the world to renovate community spaces dedicated to soccer and other sports. They were chosen at the beginning of 2017, and the project took place during the first semester of 2017. The idea behind the initiative is not only to renovate community spaces but to engage community actors and organizations in the process of collective appropriation and management of the area and the community. Due to the mobilization of the São Remo Sports Association, the community received the outside investment and renovation of the sports court (see Image 64). The renovation project

engaged many formal and informal organizations, their leaders, and residents to actively participate in the renovation process and to come together to collectively manage the space in the aftermath of the renovation.

Before the renovation initiative, it was common to see kids playing soccer Monday evenings or ladies playing volleyball Saturday afternoon. Social events also took place in the court before the renovation, like music concerts. But due to its precarious conditions (lack of proper lighting, uneven paving), the court was also used for other activities like drug trafficking transactions. At some point, since it is a vacant space during a few hours of the day or night, some residents started to park their cars there during the night. The sports court fundamentally transformed into a parking lot late at night.

The renovation efforts brought different community groups together despite their internal conflicts and disagreements. During the process, several meetings took place in the sports court with the participation of any resident or leader that wanted to attend. One of the conditions for the renovation to happen was the organization of a committee of leaders and the most influential residents to manage and maintain the sports court in the aftermath of the remodeling project. Despite existing conflicts between some of the participants, the underlying message surrounding the renovation project was that the sports court does not have an owner; the sports court belongs to every resident in the São Remo favela.

Image 64: São Remo Sports court before and after the renovation project. Source: love.fútbol Instagram account - 2017. Available at: Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/BXTqsoMnrJy/ (accessed September 26, 2017).

This process also gave new meaning to the court as more than just a space to play sports but also as space for the community to gather as well. Since the end of remodeling activities, the resident's group responsible for managing the court has organized several events in partnership with other organizations in the area. The events include not only sports and cultural activities for adults, youth, and children, but service provisions such as testing for sexually transmitted diseases and counseling. The São Remo Sports Association's efforts brought outside resources and support to the community, directly contributing to the improvement and management of a community space. As one leader described:

> I see a very open road now with this reform of the court, and I left that meeting feeling very happy. (…) That's a gain. I told Bia, 'I'm very happy about this.' And now it looks like, despite the fights they had in the past, and you can tell that these two groups didn't get along, there has been an approximation between them, and they both seem happy. (Mrs. Tereza, Interview with Patricia Basile, 2017)

239

Their initiative as a group had a significant positive impact on the renovation of a vital community space of the favela and on the effort to assemble and conciliate its various organizations. The process connected residents and contributed to the construction of a new meaning to the space of the court from a sports space to a community-gathering space. Despite the difference between the groups, their common interest to renovate the court brought them to work together towards bettering their community. The efforts of the sports association to improve the sports court also brought outside investment and support to the SR favela. Their work as a group contributed to the improvement of a community space and the engagement of its residents, advancing the favela's as space and as a community. Their autonomy and actions as a self-governing unit of the SR favela strengthened the community and improved their shared space.

According to the framework presented earlier, there are five core elements that make up a self-governance process. These are 1) autonomous action, 2) power to make decisions over needs and outcomes, 3) networks of collaboration and mobilization, 4) processes of negotiation, and the 5) promotion of change. The initiative to submit an application to receive funding was an autonomous action of a group of residents at the SR favela. While residents had limited power over the decisions made during the implementation of the project, it was their initial decision to apply as a way to solve a problem the community was facing. One condition for the implementation of the project was residents' collaboration among themselves. Even those who were in conflict came together for the sake to the project. Since the project has been completed, residents have been engaged in a process of negotiation over who should be the responsible ones for the maintenance of the space. Discussions have also included the possibility to create a schedule for the use of the sports court. However, these processes are limited to the already

involved actors. Lastly, this process promoted change in the community as it brought residents together for the realization of a common goal and it contributed to the physical improvement of the sports court as well. This was not a flawless process and residents did not hold all the power over the process itself or its outcomes. However, it characterizes a process towards a self-governance practice as it contains the core elements of the self-governance framework, even if in different parts of the process and in different levels of implementation and effectiveness.

V. VIII. The 'non-collective culture': a matter of scale

As much as conflict is inherently a part of a process towards self-governance, Bia, an educator who has worked with the São Remo favela residents for over 20 years, had further insight on why they exist at the SR favela, what she described as a *non-collective culture*: 'In these 20 years I've been here, I've lived with this, I've observed it. The non-participation, non-engagement, around this' (Bia, Interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017). If these residents' associations are engaged in improving the favela, then why aren't more people involved in them? Bia justified it by describing a culture of non-participation and non-engagement of residents on issues related to the collective, to the favela as a whole. However, there is a reason why this culture exists at the SR favela: scale.

As previously discussed in this chapter, it is unlikely that a group of a few residents could represent the interests, needs, and priorities of a favela of 15,000 people. In the case of the São Remo favela, it does not. The *collective* described by Bia refers to all of the residents of the SR favela as a homogenous group of people, which the residents at the SR favela are not. Looking at

this favela as one homogenous community is a misrepresentation of what it is: a large, heterogeneous, and incredibly diverse community of people with a variety of socioeconomic conditions, politics, types of spaces, environments, and cultures. The non-engagement on issues concerning the favela as a whole, as a collective, does not necessarily indicate that people don't care. They do care. But they care to engage and participate in issues and discussions that are within their range of experiences, not at the entire favela scale, but at smaller scales. This section focuses on these collective smaller scales of engagement and how they contribute to the self-governance structure of the SR favela.

For example, Edu talked about different areas in the SR favela that, even though no one there is actively involved with the residents' association, there are other groups of people and leaders who are working in these locations to bring improvement.

> If you walk around, you will get to know the community a little. You will see that there is a group that - There is a leader there at Catumbi, there is a leader here at the Milk Alley, there is a leader up in the Quatro, there is a leader at the Riacho Doce. Everywhere. You will see that someone is organizing. There's a group getting organized. To help people in those areas. To make things happen.
>
> Patricia: Yes. But is there no communication between these groups? There is no –
>
> Edu: Yes. I think that's missing. Communication is lacking. I can't say that there is none. That there is not right? But it still needs to improve a lot. (Edu, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

As described by Edu, beyond the residents' association, there are other leaders and groups of people that come together for different reasons. These leaders and groups are also acting autonomously around their interests, needs and priorities, building networks of support and activities and improving their everyday experiences and environment.

The connection between people is one of the defining attributes of communities (Bowles and Gintis 2002, F420). The types of connections and circumstances may vary; however, how and why people connect with each other is still a vital characteristic of any community. Therefore, a meaningful way to understand a community is through the study of the connections amongst members and the nature of their social interactions (Bowles and Gintis 2002).

Social groups, nodes or arrangements are those brought together either formally or informally due to a shared interest or need. The residents' association is, for example, a formalized social arrangement. Other types of social arrangements include groups of people who get together and organize themselves around sports. Other groups may assemble as part of church meetings and Bible study groups. Crafts, music, dance groups are other examples. Those involved in drug trafficking activities in favelas are also part of a unique type of social arrangement. All these social groups contribute to the making and to the process towards governing their community, as they act independently as groups of people to support the people in their immediate communities, improving it in their ways. In a community as big as the São Remo favela, these types of groups are particularly important because they represent the interests, needs, and priorities of smaller scale groups of people that are not necessarily represented by groups or organizations.

Self-governing efforts through groups

São Remo B Side is a group organized around music. The group was created by two residents from the SR favela who are artists and have worked with music their entire lives. They teach children and teenagers how to make music, learning how to play an instrument or doing percussion, and dance. The idea was not only to teach, but also to find opportunities outside the

favela for the participants to perform and be paid for their performances. After every

presentation, they gave each participant a small amount of money so kids could feel valued and

learn how to make money through art and music. The organizers sought funding from arts-related

institutions to fund the group so participants would not have to pay for the classes.

Jefferson and Luiz, the creators of the group, explained the idea behind its name:

> Because it's all against the media, right? What the media thinks is the Side A of the community, it's a crime, it's the drug trafficking, right? The artistic side is always the B side of the same disc. (…) So, it's this side, the B side, right, against everything. And we set up this collective with the three arts. (Jefferson, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

The work they do with this group is volunteer work, so there are difficulties. Time

availability is one of them since both have full-time jobs and families. Funding is another. If they

had enough funding to support themselves and invest in the project, the potential impact it could

have for newer generations of the SR favela is immeasurable.

A second group is a non-governmental organization (NGO) coordinated by Dona Fatima.

Dona Fatima lives in a lower area at the SR favela, closer to the stream. The residents in that area

tend to be more impoverished and more vulnerable. The NGO's work is focused on these

residents. Dona Fatima's NGO is registered with the state government to receive and distribute

milk three times a week to families that have a monthly income of ¼ or less of the minimum salary,

with children from six months to five years, and elderly people over 60 years old. Dona Fatima also

collects food and clothes' donations to support families living through difficult situations, such as

unemployment or sickness. Lastly, every year Dona Fatima organizes a party for the SR favela's

children. She buys toys to distribute with her own money. She gets food donations from groceries

stores and bakeries at the favela. And she invites music groups to perform during the party.

Another example is the soccer group. The group teaches children over five years old to play soccer for free. They organize soccer championships among the several teams that exist at the SR favela and teams from other neighborhoods. The group built a cafe by the field as a way to raise money to maintain it, to organize the championships, and have the teaching program. The residents responsible for this group are residents at the favela and are not paid for the work they do. They act independently from the sports' association but are famous in other neighborhoods for the work they do with soccer. These are just a few of the groups that exist at the SR favela. These groups support different populations at the favela in their own ways. They are also engaged in self-governing efforts as autonomous individuals organize independently to bring people together and to, in their own ways, improve the quality of life of different groups of residents.

Self-governing social-spatial nodes

Imagine this: you walk down a six-foot-wide alley walled by three-story tall houses on both of its sides. It is hard to keep count of the number of unfinished ceramic brick wall houses in this alley. There are so many. Each floor of each building is its own house. One after another, sometimes it is hard to tell when one ends and the next begins. The residents share walls, and they also share the narrow alley where, as you walk along, you see inside people's houses as residents frequently tend to leave their windows and doors open. You also regularly spot residents hanging out by their front doors. They catch up with one other either standing close to the door or sitting on the doorstep. The public spaces in-between the houses function almost as an extension of people's living rooms, like a backyard.

Add to the scene: while you walk down this alley, you see three people scrubbing its rough concrete pavement with brooms and throwing water to rinse off the foam. The air smells like some type of lemon cleaning product. Two women and one man are cleaning the alley. The ladies are young, in their mid-twenties. The man looks to be in his 30s. Another older man is observing, sitting at the very narrow outside snail staircase from one of the tall houses in the alley. "Who are these people and why are they washing the alley?", you might be wondering. Carlos, the tall and skinny man, explains that they are cleaning the alley because of one of the houses on its right side was extremally dirty, attracting roaches to all the homes in the alley. His mother used to rent this house for a long time, but she hasn't lived there for a few months. She has Alzheimer's disease and has been living with him. But why was she still renting the house if she didn't need it anymore?

The answer is heartwarmingly peculiar: she kept the house for her dog. She has lived in that house for a long time with her midsize light brown mutt. When her condition started to deteriorate, her son Carlos moved her into his own house in the same favela, a few blocks away. But she didn't want to take the dog out of the home he has known for so long. She insisted the dog stay at the house. So, the dog stayed. Some days Carlos came by to feed the dog. Other days the neighbors fed him and let him out. Needless to say, that after a few months the house was filthy, infested with all kinds of bugs and cockroaches. The cockroaches were also migrating to the neighbors' homes. A foul and distinguishable smell had spread from the house across the alley.

Carlos's mother also left most of her belongings in the house: books, newspapers, old clothes. Sometimes, when she was lucid, she came to visit the dog and grab things she needed to take to her son's place. As her condition worsened and her memory failed her more regularly, Carlos decided it was time to get rid of the house. But before handing the house back to the owner,

he needed to clean it. And there was a lot of cleaning to do. Carlos brings a broom and a bucket to the alley to clean the house, and there are a few cleaning products left at the house. When he arrives at the alley, two of the neighbors are talking outside. They welcome him with a hug and questions about his mother's condition. After catching up for a few minutes, talking about Carlos's mother and the latest news on the neighbor's sister pregnancy, they realize he is there to clean and immediately volunteer to help.

Carlos' neighbors help him clean the house, throw a lot of garbage away, and wash the alley together. The two women assisting Carlos are sisters and also live in the same alley. The older man sitting at the spiral staircase is their father, and he also lives along the alley. After talking to them, you find out most of their family lives in that alley. They have been living at the São Remo favela for over 40 years. They have known Carlos and his mother since they first moved here ten years ago. They also personally know the vast majority of their neighbors living in that alley, many of whom make up entire extended families as well. Within the overall social and spatial structure of the São Remo favela, the inhabitants of this alley themselves form and constitute a community. A community within a community. The São Remo favela is not only one community. The São Remo favela is an aggregate of communities, of alleyway neighborhoods, each with its own individual problems, needs, and priorities. Together, all these social-spatial tiny communities make up the São Remo favela. These small communities, what I call social-spatial nodes, are part of the social fabric of the broader SR favela and they are frequently engaging with one another and with outside organizations as well. They are small communities within the broader community because each node has its own social and spatial configuration. And they are also, in their own ways, actively involved in the self-governance processes within the favela.

At the São Remo favela, there is a great variety of groups of people, social arrangements like the residents' association that actively contribute to the governing of the community's social structure and physical space. Although perhaps harder to identify for outsiders like myself, these smaller communities are brought together through relationships and their shared space. For instance, Carlos and his neighbor sisters cleaning the alley together are socially and spatially connected. Cleaning the alleyway together is a materialization of these connections. In addition to the family and friends' relations, the shared spaces in-between residents' houses are also an essential point of connection between them and the close neighbors. All the neighbors in that alley care tremendously about whether the space is clean, dirty, safe, because anything happening there directly affects their house, their personal space, and their everyday life. If there is trash that has not been collected for over a week in the alley, it would smell outside and inside their house and probably make watching TV in the living room very uncomfortable.

Besides the fact that the dirt, smell, and cockroaches directly impacted all of the houses surrounding that Carlos' mother's house, the alley is also the location where many important social interactions take place, and where relationships develop. The most common thing to see in both favelas was people talking to friends and neighbors just outside their doors, in the in-between spaces. When asked, most residents described those spaces as places of gathering and encounter. Older people described how they liked to sit on the front step or in a chair in front of their house to observe the street activity and "batento papo" (chatting). The elder residents meet people who walk by and talk to them while also learning the latest neighborhood news, such as the neighbor that was sick but is doing better now. The younger ones, those who work most of the day and have more strict routines, also described those spaces as where they meet and talk to people. Some

said they did not like to go to other people's houses and invade their privacy, they rather catch up outside, in between the houses.

The everyday encounters in the in-between spaces are the basis of relationships in favelas. It is in and through these in-between spaces that people get to know their neighbors and community better. The in-between spaces are also where people hear about current events or news. The existing networks are maintained through these encounters. The social fabric and the spatial fabric are thus very tightly connected to one another. The spatial component directly informs the development of these social networks, smaller communities within the broader community. These everyday gatherings are the building blocks of the horizontal relationships of cooperation, sharing and engagement; of people caring about other people's difficulties, needs, troubles. These social-spatial nodes are active elements in the self-governing processes of the favela, as residents autonomously contribute to maintaining the spaces by their houses as well as the relationships with the people who live around them through their everyday lives.

V.IX. Spatial self-governing practices

Spatial practices are self-governance practices in the São Remo favela because of the autonomy residents have to make, manage and maintain their spaces and built environment without an authoritative controlling entity to make decisions and exercise power over them. Despite having spatial and other resource limitations, residents of the São Remo favela have been able to historically make decisions regarding their individual and shared spaces within the boundaries of the favela. This section explores the practices of making, managing and maintaining

space as self-governing practices. Specifically, it examines processes of autoconstruction, the struggles over space among residents, and the maintenance of space as part of residents' spatial self-governing efforts.

Autoconstruction

Autoconstruction is the process through which poor people build and continuously improve their own houses, usually on unserved land and urban peripheries in Brazil (Holston 1991). Favelas appear and grow in Brazilian cities through processes of autocontruction. Similarly, autoconstruction is part of the SR favela's spatial self-governing process. The SR favela was created and has been maintained and transformed through a process in which its residents build, manage and negotiate their individual and collective spaces. In this process, individuals have the autonomy and the power to act upon their environments, coordinating their own preferences without a superior entity to exercise power over them and limit their autonomy. In what follows, I illustrate the process of autoconstruction at the SR favela through the story of Mr. José and his family who have lived there for 36 years.

Mr. José is 61 years old and has lived at the São Remo favela since he was 25. He moved there 36 years ago from Bahia, a northwestern state in Brazil. He came to São Paulo with his wife and a five-month-old daughter in search of a better job in the late 1970s. His sister and brother-in-law had already been living in São Paulo for three years. For those three years they insisted he should move with his wife as soon as possible because there were many more opportunities in São Paulo than in Bahia. Salaries were better as well and he could build his shack next to theirs on the same piece of land they had built on three years ago.

Mr. José's immediate family came in 1981 to live initially with his sister and brother-in-law. After a few months, Mr. José bought an already built shack close to his relatives' house. It was small, but his family did not need much space at the time. All houses in the area were wooden shacks. They lacked electricity, water and a municipal sewage system. Mr. José's family used candles at night and had to walk a few miles to a local town hall facility that had a water fountain for water. When asked about what has changed in the community, Mr. José explains "there was no asphalt, only dirt. The houses, they were all wooden shacks. Now it's all brick. Now there are too many cars. There weren't all these cars before. There weren't any motorcycles either. Now we have it all, don't we?" (Mr. José, interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Over the next five years in the São Remo, Mr. José and his wife had three more kids, and the one-bedroom shack began to get crowded. Mr. José built a more spacious, two-bedroom shack for his family and has lived there ever since. But the shack is not a shack anymore. In the 1980s, Mr. José, who works in construction, slowly substituted wooden panels for brick walls. As jobs became available to him and his family's income increased, he gradually built a brick house: "When I first got here I bought a wooden shack. Then, I started to build another shack that was bigger. I renovated it later with masonry and kept adding new floors to it" (Mr. José, interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Today the house is not a small house anymore, today it is a five-story building. In the 1990s, most of Mr. José's kids were not kids anymore. Thus, Mr. José constructed the second floor with two additional bedrooms for two of his sons. When the oldest daughter married, he built another floor for the newly wedded couple. Later, he built two more floors; one with a bedroom, living room, kitchen and bathroom for another one of his sons to live in and a fifth comprising of a

laundry room area, two water tanks, an outdoor balcony and a storage area for him to put his tools.

Mr. José currently lives on the third floor with his second wife and her eight-year-old son[18]. The first floor of the original brick house is now his older daughter's house who lives with her husband and one son. The second-floor apartment is still his two sons' house. The fourth floor is home for his middle daughter who is pregnant with her first child. She is married, but her husband is currently in jail. Another son also married and lived with his wife, daughter, and granddaughter in a house in the same alley about 65 feet away from the family's building. Only one of Mr. José's sons do not live at the São Remo favela. When asked how his house became such a tall building, he says: "Are we going to live on the street? As they get married, we keep building up" (Mr. José, interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017). Images 65 shows drawings of how the house increased and changed over time until today. Image 66 shows what Mr. José's house looks like today.

Mr. José's story provides insight on how the São Remo favela transformed from a few hundred wooden shacks with no water or electricity to a consolidated neighborhood with five-story buildings. Most families living at the São Remo favela in the early 1980s modified and improved their houses over time as resources became available and the need for more space arose. Of the 27 residents I interviewed at the São Remo favela, only four were renters and did not live at their family's house. The 23 others lived at their family house that had been modified to adapt the existing space to a new family structure.

---

[18] Mr. João's first wife passed away in the 1990s and he remarried a lady who already had a son from other relationship.
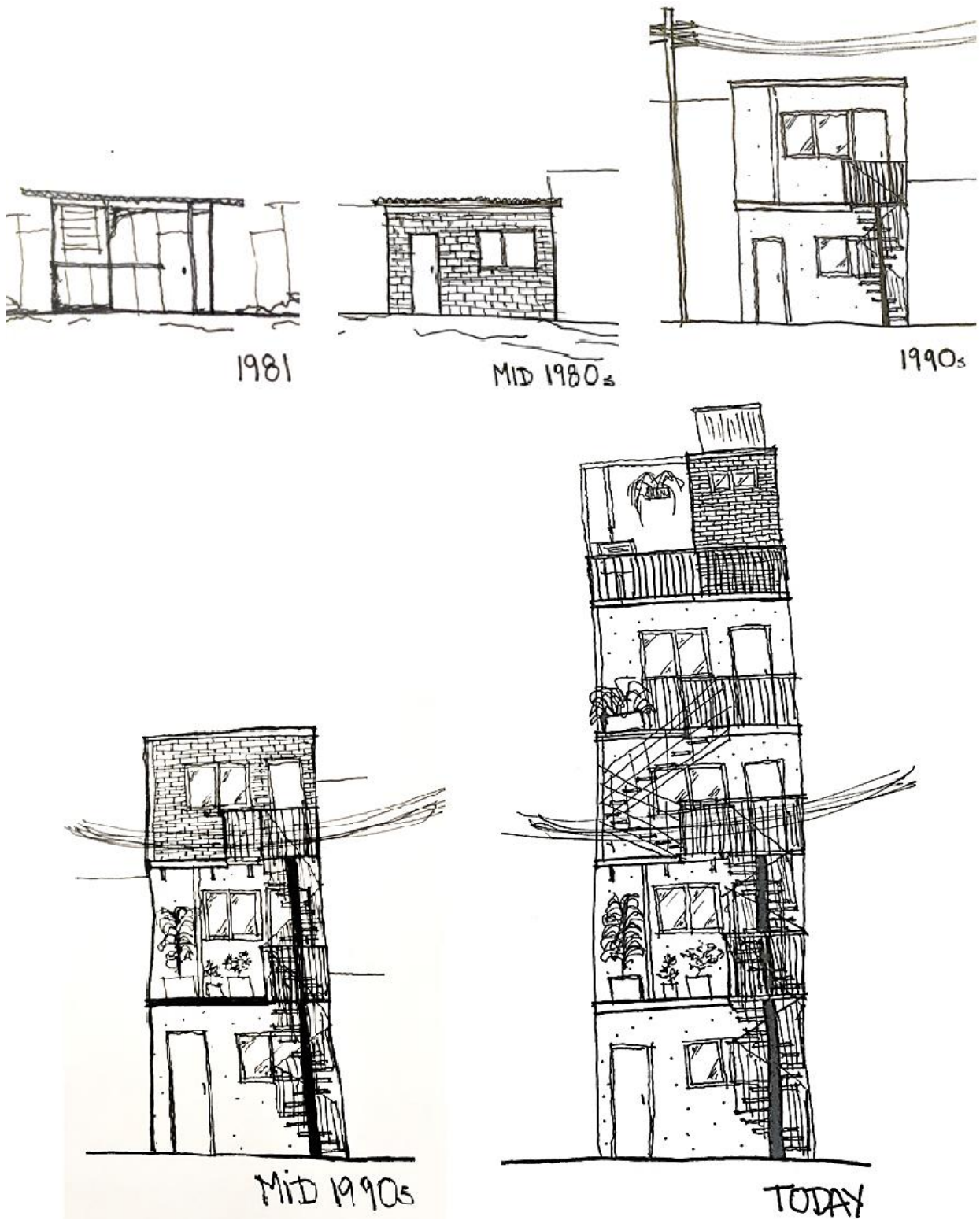
Image 65: Mr. José's house progression over time. Made by the author.

Image 66: Mr. José's five-story house at the São Remo favela today. Photo by the author.

Mr. José's life story demonstrates the process of autoconstruction of his family's house through time. The autonomy Mr. José and his family had to act upon the shared environment to build, modify and improve their individual space characterizes autoconstruction as a self-governing spatial practice. It is through their autonomy and the replication of these spatial practices that the SR favela was created and developed and has been maintained and transformed over the years.

Verticalization

As seen earlier in this chapter, the total area occupied by the São Remo favela in 1977 was 39,000 square meters (419,792.51 square ft). From 1977 until the late 1990s, the entire area occupied increased as the unattended and available vacant spaces in its surroundings was repeatedly appropriated by new families coming in and by existing residents expanding their houses. By the late 1990s, all of the available vacant spaces surrounding the São Remo favela were occupied; its total area has remained the same since then. Image 34 below shows a diagram of the progression of the land occupation of the SR favela from 1977 until today.
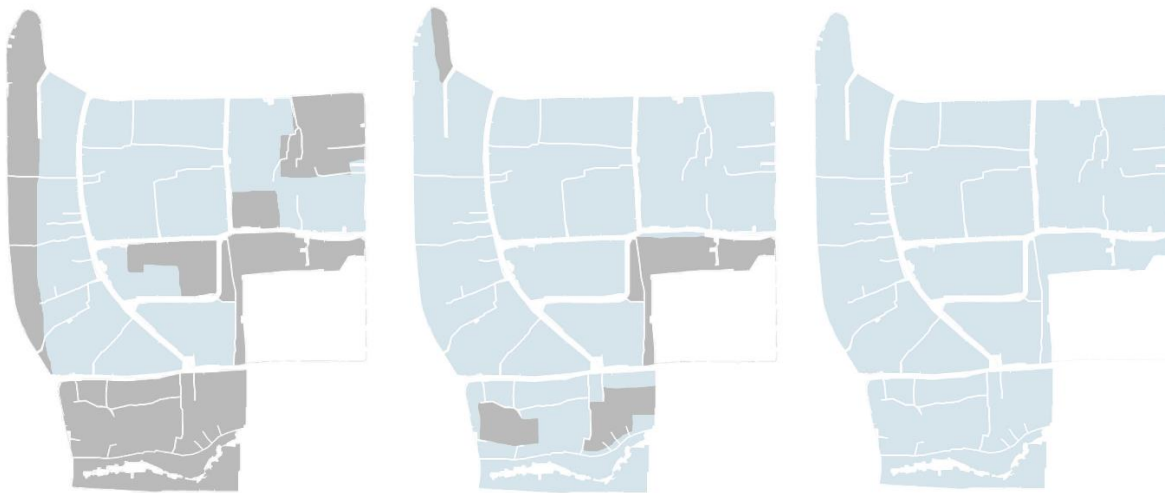
Image 67: Schematic diagrams of the continuous occupation at the SR favela in 1977, 1988, and today. Grey areas are vacant. Made by the author. Data Source: CECOI 1988 and Tanaka 1991.

The table below provides a summary of the total occupied area, number of houses, and population from 1977 until today. Even though the total area occupied by the São Remo favela has remained the same since the late 1990s, the number of houses and residents has continually increased. This data demonstrates the process of verticalization of the São Remo favela houses throughout the years. Due to the barriers to expand horizontally in area, new houses were built

on top of the existing ones to accommodate family changes or as a means to make money, growing

the SR favela vertically.

Year	Occupied area (m²)	N° of houses	Percentage of growth of houses	Total population	Percentage of growth of population
1977	39,000	645	-	3,225	-
1988	54,290	1,142	77%	5,108	58%
2000	70,287	1,576	38%	6,480	26.9%
2010	70,287	1,870	18.7%	6,562	1.27%
Today	70,287	3,000	60%	10,530	60.5%

Table 5: Summary of occupied area and population increase at the São Remo favela from 1977 to today.
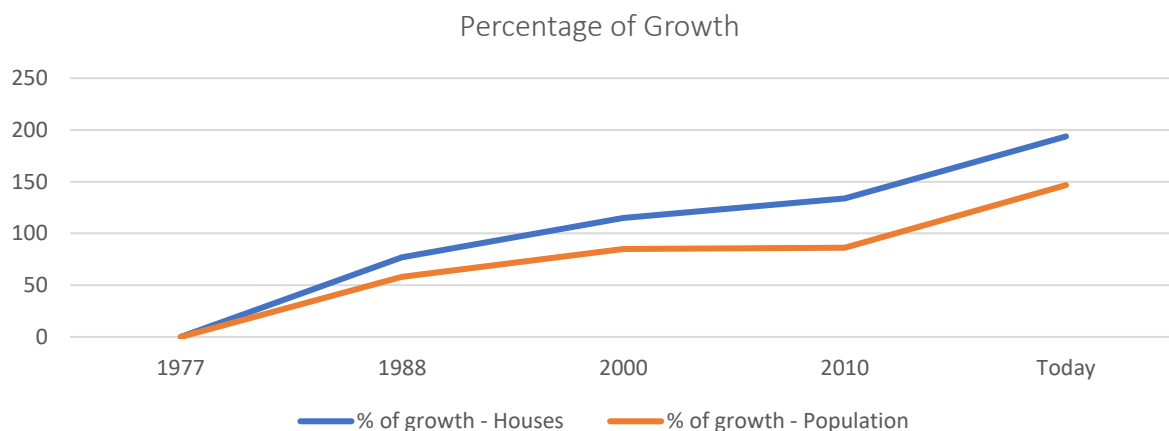
Graph 4: Percentage of growth of occupied area and population at the São Remo favela from 1977 to today.

By analyzing the graph above, it is easy to note how the most significant increase in houses

and population happened between 1977, when the first SR favela residents started to occupy the

space, and 1988. This is due to three main reasons: 1) first, family members of those who were

already settled in the late 1977s were still arriving at the SR favela from the North and Northeast

of Brazil to establish themselves close to relatives; 2) after the news about president Mr. João

Figueiredo's promising legal possession of the land to the SR favela residents, its population grew

tremendously in a short period. People hoped that moving there would guarantee that they get a

piece of land as well legally (Tanaka 1991); 3) in 1979 and 1980, the municipal government's initiative to install electricity and water provision in the existing houses at the São Remo favela also attracted new residents to the neighborhood (Tanaka 1991).

Except the 2010-2018 period, the number of houses has continuously grown more than the total population. This discrepancy points to the verticalization process of the SR favela: new homes were being built on top of existing ones, but new residents were not necessarily coming in all the time. Instead, people who already lived there were moving to these new housing units, in most cases newly wedded couples who used to live with their parents or grown youth who wanted to move out of parents or relatives' houses (Edu, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017; Mr. José, interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017; Dona Maria, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

This verticalization of the buildings at the São Remo favela was intensified at the SR favela not only as a result of the physical limitations to expand horizontally but also as a response to its relationship with the University of São Paulo, owner of most of the land occupied by the favela residents. Bia, who has been working at the SR favela for twenty years as an educator, pointed out in her interview that this verticalization process started to intensify after the University of São Paulo's administration decided to build a wall to physically separate the campus from the favela in a more substantial way:

> The matter of the wall, the physical wall. Imagine that time, when the neighborhood began. In fact, until then, the relationships were more intense.
>
> Interviewer: When was the wall built? In what year? In the 1990s?
>
> Bia: As I said, I worked at the 'Circo Escola' at the São Remo in 92 or 95? I think it was 1995, yes, I think 95. Instead of the wall, there was a fence between the 'Circo Escola' and the campus; there was no wall yet. (…) The fence was under

257

construction. But it took a while. Imagine surrounding all that territory with a fence? But, it was also conflicting. (…) As I was saying, this intensification of relations, of understanding, about the question of the physical wall. Political, is it not? Because it is so, the questioning has always been from here inside the university, from the students of that moment, from the revolutionaries of that moment, that still exist until today, with this question "Look, USP wants to keep the favela out." And on the other side, the question was another one, a completely different one. I always said to them, "You are irresponsible in this matter of the community." Because at that moment, as it still has, you know this question of urbanization, at the time this was not the term, it was like "USP is going to take the land back. It will take it back." So, there was this thing. When they put the wall, that was it, USP freed us, they will not take the land anymore. USP put up the wall. After that, there was a development boom at the favela, which it's what you see today - the streets were dirt, the houses were more precarious. São Remo has developed so much in 15 years; it has totally transformed into a neighborhood. This is the question, is it not? Hence, São Remo develops more like a neighborhood of the city and ceases to be that thing "the USP favela." And it also appropriates its space and its issues – the São Remo is not part of USP anymore, it is part of the Butantã borough, right? It is part of São Paulo; it is a neighborhood in the city of São Paulo. This also changed with the building of the wall. São Remo is thrilled and grateful. (Bia, interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017).

As Bia described, the wall had different meanings and repercussions for the various parties involved. By constructing a wall, the university administration intended to control access to the campus through the SR favela. After a few cases of robberies and vandalism in the university campus, the administration decided that the best way to deal with these types of episodes was to control the entry of people coming from the SR favela. Two points of entry between the SR and the university were left open, and the plan was to have a guardhouse to oversee who enters and to close these entry points at night[19].

The wall represented something very different to the residents of the São Remo favela. According to Bia, who has followed the development of the São Remo favela since the early 1990s,

---

[19] Today, both entry points have a guardhouse with cameras and an employee who oversees it. Additionally, since 2017, both entry points started to be closed during the night.

the wall represented a 'carta de alforria,' a manumission letter. To the SR favela residents, the wall meant that the University of São Paulo had no interest in reclaiming their land back. The wall represented security of tenure for the residents. Since the 1990s, the São Remo favela has continuously developed regarding infrastructure and verticalizing the existing buildings. From 2000 to 2010, the number of houses continued to increase while the total population grew very little, pointing to the verticalization of existing dwellings.

These continuous processes of change of the built environment at the SR favela are possible due to the autonomy residents have to produce, modify and appropriate their spaces within the boundaries of the favela. The practices of spatial production, management, and appropriation in the SR favela are self-governing practices due to the independence they have to build, manage and negotiate their own environments. However, there are limitations. Space is scarce. Beyond the physical, socioeconomic, and political boundaries surrounding the SR favela, there is also a process of spatial negotiation among residents themselves. These negotiations and conflicts are also evidence of how the making and maintenance of the built environment by residents at the SR favela is a self-governing practice. Conflict is an essential part of self-governing groups. In the context of the SR favela, conflict usually is over who gets to occupy and appropriate specific spaces for themselves. The next section discusses such conflicts, how residents deal with them and how these processes contribute to self-governing spatial practices.

Struggles over space

Residents' autonomy over producing, maintaining and managing space can also lead to conflict, especially in situations when space and resources are scarce. As autonomous self-

259

governing individuals who are part of an independent group of people, disagreements over the spaces available are expected and are actual evidence of the SR favela residents' self-governance spatial practices. If people manage their own environment and need to negotiate between individual and collective interests, conflict is inevitable. Without a superior regulatory authority to make decisions, residents are responsible for negotiating and deciding over any dispute that may occur.

Since the public space available at the São Remo favela is limited, parking a vehicle is always a challenge. Some residents park on the sidewalk, appropriating the spaces designated to the pedestrian. A few residents also started to install two metal poles connected by a metal chain with a lock in front of their houses and other available locations by the sidewalk to save a spot to park their cars. Since finding parking is difficult in the São Remo favela, a few residents started to appropriate public space to ensure they would have a parking spot at all times. Some families need close-by to parking because they have a physically disabled person living with them, but that is not always the case. Available parking space is also essential at a few locations in the SR favela because school buses come four times a day to pick up and drop off children from school. However, many residents take advantage of the space available in front of their houses to create their own private parking area, appropriating public space.

Rose, who used to be part of the residents' association administration and is currently part of the leadership of the São Remo Sports Association, spoke about how she dealt with this issue in the past through the residents' association:

> We always tried to come to an agreement. The person understood that it was wrong, that if she had the right, everyone had. Except for a few cases, exceptions, when there is a person in a wheelchair in the house, that is a different situation. But otherwise, there is no reason for people put a metal pool in the middle of the

street to ensure that space as theirs. No one has the right to do that, except in these special cases. (Rose, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

During the time I was doing fieldwork at the São Remo favela, the current residents' association leadership complained about the parking issue to the borough administration, asking them to come to the SR favela to take metal poles out of the sidewalks. They came on a Saturday morning, and there was no previous warning about the action. This initiative caused conflict between the current leadership and a few residents who argued they needed the reserved parking space. Roberto, who is part of the current administration of the resident association, described people's reactions: "We took out a lot of the poles. Some people wanted to kill us. They got upset with Maria[20]" (Roberto, Interview with Patricia Basile, May 2017).

Mr. José, who is a construction worker and needs to take heavy tools with him to work, explained why he does not own a car:

> I don't have a car. There is no place to park, to keep it. If I had a car, I would have to park in the middle of the street and would have to listen to others cursing at me, complaining because of it, and I don't want that.
>
> Interviewer: But don't you need to take your tools to your work with you?
>
> Mr. José: I take the bus. I carry it myself, and I take the bus. Sometimes I ask someone to come and bring them to me. I pay someone to bring them to me. I don't mind. (Mr. José, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

Other vacant areas in the SR favela have also been appropriated by residents to build parking garages (see Image 35). During her time at the residents' association, Rose described how they dealt with the garages on the São Remo Avenue:

---

[20] Maria is the current president of the resident's association at the SR favela.

So, we've always been against it. Nobody can say anything about us in relation to this. (…) We were even threatened with death because of that. But it was authorized initially. I kept warning people, warning, warning, all year long because I knew it was going to be a problem. Then we went to the city hall. The city hall scheduled the date, we called, I went there, I wrote a note for all the garages, we had a meeting, we called people for a meeting. There was no way; there was a lot of bad things happening there, drug use, people having sex there. The child in the morning is seeing a drug user almost naked. I mean, it was an unhealthy environment.

Interviewer: You are talking about the garages there?

Rose: The garages here down at the São Remo Avenue. Down here, São Remo Avenue. And then people understood that those had to go. (…) 20 people built there, and it there were no garages anymore, were there? They began to build businesses there. They started to rent to other people, a space that is ours, not theirs to give. And then we had a meeting. (Rose, Interview with Patricia Basile, April 2017).

One solution for the parking problem would be to use first floors as parking garages instead of houses or businesses. But, in most cases, residents in the SR favela prefer to use the space to make money or to house relatives and appropriate vacant spaces to park instead of sticking to space they already have to themselves. Nonetheless, appropriating space that is considered to be public is not always contested by other residents. After all, that is how the SR favela first started and has developed throughout the years. For example, one resident put a metal gate around half of the sidewalk to create a small yard for their house (see Image 68). Another case is located at Aquianes Street, where Mr. João lives. A few years ago, when he retired, Mr. João started learning how to make wooden furniture. He began making furniture inside his house, but soon his wife began to complain. Right in front of their store and house across the street, there used to be a lot of trash on the sidewalk. One day, Mr. João decided to clean it all up and use the space to build a wood shop for himself: "Then, I decided to build a little shack. I did it myself" (Mr. João, Interview

with Patricia Basile, March 2017). The shack is entirely made of wood, with a small door and no

windows. When you walk down Aquianes Street, you usually see Mr. João sitting on a tiny stool in

front of the shack working with wood. I asked Mr. João if anyone complained about his wooden

shack on the sidewalk. He assured me: "No one ever came" (Mr. João, Interview with Patricia

Basile, March 2017).

Image 68: Metal gate surrounding half of the sidewalk to create a small yard. Photo by the author.

Image 69: Parking garages built on vacant areas at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

Volumes, forms, lines, and voids

As described above, the São Remo favela spatial and material forms are the results of the growth of density and population, but also of the processes of change that families and their houses go through over time. Due to the lack of oversight, residents have the flexibility to adapt their environment according to needs and desires. Residents interact, negotiate and manage their individual and collective built environments in a continuous process in which autonomous individuals act upon and coordinate their own preferences, making up their unique spatial and material self-governing structure (Rauws 2016; Termeer et al. 2013; Arnouts, Van der Zouwen, and Arts 2012; Lefebvre 2009d; Kooiman 2003). A closer look at the materiality of the São Remo favela's houses and alleys makes evident the spatial and material processes of change carried out by the residents themselves over time to adapt to new social, economic and political realities. As a family grows, constructing an entirely new floor is only one of the many autoconstruction strategies residents use to increase their individual spaces. Ultimately, these strategies have become standard practices in the SR favela and have been replicated by many dwellers. This section focuses on the many spatial and material elements in the SR favela that highlight these processes of change, adaptation and spatial self-governance, and how these elements affect the shared spaces in-between the houses.

Stairs are common at the SR favela, considering that very few houses are single story. However, instead of enclosed inside the house, most staircases leading to second, third, and fourth floors are outside building elements. As additional floors, most stairs were installed as later additions. To save space and not alter the first floor internally, most staircases are located outside

the houses. Additionally, since different levels house different families, the outside stairs serve as an independent entrance from the first-floor house.

Due to the diversity of socioeconomic conditions and space available, staircases also vary tremendously regarding shape and material. Families with more resources can invest more in the structure and aesthetic of their house. Metal staircases are considerably more expensive than building simple concrete ones. Prefabricated spiral staircases occupy less space than linear ones. Similarly, as external elements, staircases also affect the public shared space in-between the houses. In most cases, alleys and sidewalks are significantly reduced in width due to external stairs which considerably disrupts pedestrian circulation and shared public space. In these situations, residents choose to impair the public space over their own individual necessities and preferences (see Images 70, 71, 72, and 73).

Image 70 and 71: Outside staircases at the SR favela. Photos by the author.

Image 72 and 73: Outside staircases at the SR favela. Photos by the author.

Besides building an entirely new floor, which normally serves as a different house for another family, dwellers also take advantage of the remaining spaces between the houses above ground level to increase the floor plan area. These types of expansions are very common and easy to recognize. Despite increasing the inside space for an individual family, these additions frequently affect the public shared space (streets and alleys) and the immediate neighbors. It is common for these above ground level additions to significantly reduce natural light and ventilation coming into the alleys surrounding them as well to the ground floor houses that have windows facing the alley (see image 74, 75, 76, and 77).
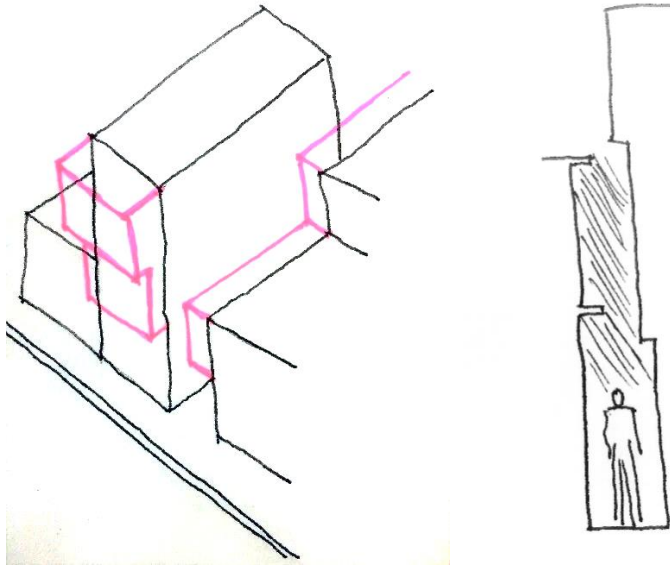
Images 74: Schematic drawings showing how the residents of the SR favela expand the floor plan of their houses above the ground level. Drawings by the author.

One resident built a bathroom on top of one of the alleys. Due to a leak in the second-floor bathroom covering the alley, every time a resident walks under it, he or she is in risk of getting wet (see image 78). These additions are material evidence of the continual process of transformation of the built environment undertaken by the inhabitants that comprise their spatial and material self-governing structure. Residents adapt their houses to family changes and new spatial needs and, since space is scarce, they modify and reshape the shared public spaces available and the materiality of the built environment simultaneously.

Image 75 and 76: Dark alleys at the SR favela covered by over ground additions. Photos by the author.

Image 77 and 78: A second floor bathroom addition on top of an alley and another dark alley at the SR favela covered by an over ground addition. Photos by the author.

External pipes are another material element of the built environment of the SR favela that indicates the continuous process of autoconstruction. Similar to the staircases, pipes are frequently added later to the houses. White pipes going up outside the masonry walls unveil the subsequent additions of kitchens and bathrooms to newly built upper floors. Pipelines are a part of the landscape of this community and are also a testimony of the adjustment processes undertaken by residents themselves in response to new social and economic demands (see Images 79, 80, and 81). As the staircases, they are material evidence of how residents act upon their environment autonomously, modifying space according to their preferences and contributing to the favela's unique landscape, and spatial and material self-governing structure.

Image 79: Whites pipes going up outside the masonry wall at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

Image 80 and 81: Whites pipes going up outside the masonry wall at the SR favela. Photo by the author.

Lastly, electric cables are also material documentation of the continuous processes of making and managing the built environment at this favela. When new houses are built, residents themselves connect the new buildings to the existing electric grid, extending and handling the existing cables. The result is several bundles of black electric cables varying in thickness that go from one house to the next, crossing streets, alleys and making up the São Remo favela landscape (see Images 82, 83 and 84). As the outer staircases, the added bulky concrete and masonry volumes, and the white pipes going up and down, the electric cable bundles are a testimony of the continual process of spatial self-governing undertaken by the dwellers who are constantly making, remaking, managing and negotiating their built environment among themselves.

Image 82: Bundles of electric cables arranged by the residents as part of the favela landscape. Photo by the author.

Image 83 and 84: Bundles of electric cables arranged by the residents as part of the favela landscape. Photos by the author.

Maintenance of Space

One of the most evident problems in SR favela is the trash. Due to the favela's population and density, there is a significant amount of waste that is produced on a weekly basis by families, businesses, and organizations. At the same time, vacant spaces are scarce, limiting the locations available for residents to dispose of their trash. The result is the accumulation of piles of trash on sidewalks and other inappropriate places, creating unhealthy spatial conditions for people and children likely to attract insects and transmit diseases. Most residents I interviewed also identified the accumulation of garbage in public places as one of the main problems in their community.

In 2014, Albejante (2015) conducted an action research project at the São Remo favela as part of her master's degree in social psychology at the University of São Paulo. The project created a group of people to investigate what problems the favela faced and how dwellers could try to solve them. The group included residents, leaders, organizations' representatives, health professionals, employees of the company that collects the trash. The group identified the accumulation of trash as the main issue and, during the year of 2014, met several times to discuss possible solutions to the problem. The group continued its activity even after the researcher finished her degree and left (Albejante 2015).

After several meetings and many conversations to raise awareness over the issue, the group started to observe small interventions done by individual residents in different locations at the favela that including cleaning out the trash, installing signs asking people to not throw trash in inappropriate places and placing several vases with plants to prevent the accumulation of garbage (Albejante 2015, 110). Since then, many residents have replicated the initiative, especially the one involving the placement of plants. Dona Maria was one of the residents involved in the effort.

The plant intervention has been continuously reproduced independently throughout the community by many dwellers as a way to maintain their alleys and streets clean. The continuous replication of the plants at the São Remo favela illustrates the deep-rooted processes of spatial self-governing due to its autonomous nature and intentions to make and maintain the built environment better. Residents observe and reproduce a strategy that worked to prevent the accumulation of trash and to enhance their everyday experiences. All of the residents that participated in the photovoice activity during my fieldwork took pictures of the vases and plants as one of their favorite things about their community (see Images 85, 86 and 87).

Image 85: Plants in an alley at the SR favela. Photos by the author (2018).

Image 86 and 87: Plants in an alley at the SR favela. Photos by the author (2018).

As this practice can be observed in many locations surrounded by houses, the same has not happened in other isolated places, such as sidewalks bordering walls at the São Remo Avenue or at the Buracanã land. At these locations, people are continually throwing trash and rubbish. These are areas that are part of the favela but are not surrounded by houses, not directly affecting residents who live in other areas (see Images 88). As discussed earlier, it is possible to observe that residents care about their houses and surroundings, their alley or their street. However, dwellers are less likely to have concern over what happens in a parallel street as it probably does not affect them as much.

In a favela as big and diverse as the São Remo, scale matters. People are more likely to care about the spaces in front of their house and their immediate vicinities, the problems their immediate neighbors are facing than a dispute happening somewhere relatively far from to them,

their families or their friends. In bigger communities, it is necessary to consider smaller scales when looking at problems and trying to find solutions. Identifying and acknowledging the existence of localized social-spatial nodes is one strategy to work with and empower diverse communities like the São Remo favela.

Additionally, a group of residents together with the São Remo Sport's Association recently made several complaints to the borough administration regarding the pile of garbage on the sidewalk at the São Remo Avenue. As a result, the borough cleaned the sidewalk and made it available for pedestrians to walk on. The São Remo Sport's Association posted the news on their Facebook page with pictures (see Images 89 and 90). Once again, a group of dwellers actively advanced the maintenance of the built environment independently, self-governing their spaces and everyday issues.

Image 88: Trash and rubbish accumulated at the Buracanã land at the SR favela. Photos by the author.

Image 89: Trash and rubbish accumulated at the São Remo Avenue sidewalk. Photos by the SR Sport's Association. Retrieved from Facebook on April 23, 2018 at https://www.facebook.com/associacaopoliesportivasaoremo/

Image 90: The São Remo Avenue sidewalk cleaned on April 12, 2018. Photos by the SR Sport's Association. Retrieved from Facebook on April 23, 2018, at https://www.facebook.com/associacaopoliesportivasaoremo/

V.X. Conclusion

This chapter presented the site of the São Remo favela, looking at its history, development, spaces, and environments, and also analyzing its efforts towards a self-governing structure, its different levels and the impacts these have on the favela's physical space as well as on the lives of its residents. Early on, the SR favela was created and grew through an unintentional mechanism of selection of future residents and community members: only people who already have a social connection to the São Remo favela residents can find a place to live and move there, and ultimately appropriate that space as their own. This invisible process of community self-selection is also a self-governing spatial practice as it determines who gets to not only occupy the São Remo favela's

space as a resident but also contribute to its making and maintenance. It is through social networks of families, friends, and acquaintances that the SR favela grew to be what it is today.

Similarly, early collective mobilization efforts at the SR favela had a significant positive impact on the favela development as it brought electricity and water to the neighborhood. At the time, common necessity by residents combined with an active leader brought people together to advocate for their needs and rights with outside institutions. Shared need translated to engagement and mobilization as a group which contributed to the improvement of their environment. These early practices of collective mobilization represented efforts towards a self-governing practice as residents took action autonomously to generate change in their environment and their lives.

Today, the São Remo favela continue to govern their every day and their environment through organizations, groups, social-spatial nodes, and through the production and maintenance of space. Issues of power, legitimacy, representativeness, accountability, and involvement arose while discussing and analyzing social structures such as the associations at the SR favela and their efforts towards self-governance. The existence of these conflicts and issues are in fact evidence of the self-governing nature of the residents' organizations at the SR favela. Self-governance is a process that involves interaction, negotiation, and conflict as individuals and groups of individuals in the same community have different needs and priorities. Self-governance is not a stable and flawless condition. Rather, it is a process of struggle that encompasses conflict, disagreements, negotiation, and adaptability.

Other social groups brought together either formally or informally due to shared interest or need also contribute to the making and governing of the SR community, as they act

independently as groups of people to support residents in their immediate environments, improving it in their own ways, responding their own needs. In a community as big as the São Remo favela, these types of groups are particularly valuable because they represent the interests, needs and priorities of smaller scale groups of people that are not necessarily represented by groups or organizations. These groups support different populations at the favela in their own ways. They are also part of the favela's self-governing structure as autonomous individuals organize independently to bring people together and to, in their own ways, improve the quality of life of different groups of residents.

Social-spatial nodes are formed through the space people share as well as through the development of relationships among those who share those spaces. Everyday encounters and gatherings in the in-between spaces are the building blocks of the horizontal relationships of cooperation, sharing and engagement; of people caring about other people's difficulties, needs, troubles; the building blocks that make social-spatial nodes at the SR favela, tiny communities within the broader community. These social-spatial nodes are active elements in the self-governing of the favela, as residents autonomously contribute to maintain the spaces by their houses as well as the relationships with the people who live around them through their everyday lives.

Lastly, the production of space through practices of autoconstruction and verticalization constitutes a self-governing process as it is through residents' autonomy and the replication of these spatial practices that the SR favela was created and developed and has been maintained and transformed over the years. Space itself, the spatial and material elements in the SR favela highlight the processes of change, adaptation and spatial self-governance in place. Additionally,

struggles over space and its maintenance evidence self-governing processes at the SR favela as autonomy over producing, maintaining and managing space can also lead to conflict, especially in situations when space and resources are scarce. If people manage their own environment and need to negotiate between individual and collective interests, conflict is inevitable. This chapter has highlighted how residents at the São Remo favela govern themselves, their everyday, their environment, and their community through a variety of practices.

ENDINGS

Street at the São Remo favela. Photo by Ana Maria Haddad (2017).

Each time a social group (generally the productive workers) refuses to accept passively its condition of existence, of life, of survival, each time such a group forces itself not only to understand but to master its own conditions of existence, *autogestion* is occurring. This broad but precise definition shows *autogestion* to be a highly diversified practice that concerns businesses as well as territorial units, cities, and regions. This definition also includes all aspects of social life; it implies the strengthening of all associative ties, that is to say, of civil society. This theoretical definition points toward a practical struggle that is always reborn with failures and setbacks. Above all, this definition points to the fundamentally antistatist tendency of *autogestion*, the only efficient and active form of the famous "counterpowers." (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a, 135).

In this dissertation, I have focused my examination on the existing efforts and processes towards a self-governance practice in two favelas in the city of São Paulo, the Vietnam favela and the São Remo favela. The focus on self-governing processes within favelas is in itself an effort to challenge operative and normative definitions of favelas. Through the in-depth study of these favelas' histories, environments, processes of development, and organizations, this study shows how residents in these favelas independently produce and maintain their environments, communities, and organizations.

In the first section of this conclusion, I discuss the previously presented data and analysis as evidence for this project's findings. I present each finding individually and consider how the data from each case study informs each finding, comparing and contrasting the cases in relation to the findings. As part of this analysis, I also examine how each finding contributes to the literature discussed earlier as well as its overall theoretical contribution. In the second section, I reflect on how the initial theoretical framework impacted the development of this project, its findings, and contributions. After these exploring these considerations, I discuss the policy implications of each finding and provide suggestions for further research in self-governance in favelas.

VI.I. Findings

Below is a table summarizing the seven findings of this dissertation. The table links each finding to its respective theoretical contribution as well as the evidence that led to each finding.

Evidence	Finding	Theoretical Contribution
Tiny communities within the broader community	1. Social-spatial nodes	Self-governance in favelas
Spatially organized kinship structures		
The upkeep of the spaces in-between the houses		
The Vietnam and the São Remo favela's challenges towards self-governance, such as the concentration of power or the lack of resources	2. The struggle towards self-governance	
Levels of decision-making and action towards a self-governance practice		
The gap between social-spatial nodes and residents' associations		
The conflicts over space and the people's efforts to resolve them	3. When there is space to manage, efforts towards spatial self-governance arise	Spatial self-governance
Significant differences between the two favelas	4. Favelas are not homogeneous settlements (Theoretical Model of Favela Development)	Reconceptualizing favelas
Community self-selection	5. Favelas are not chaotic or randomly built	
Processes of favela making		
Spatially organized kinship structures		
Lack of affordable housing and the right to housing	6. Favelas are not illegal	
Occupation of vacant urban land and the social function of urban land		
Spatially organized kinship structures	7. The in-between the houses spaces as part of the "casa"	
The upkeep of the spaces in-between the houses		

Table 6: Summary of the evidence, findings, and theoretical contributions.

Social-spatial Nodes
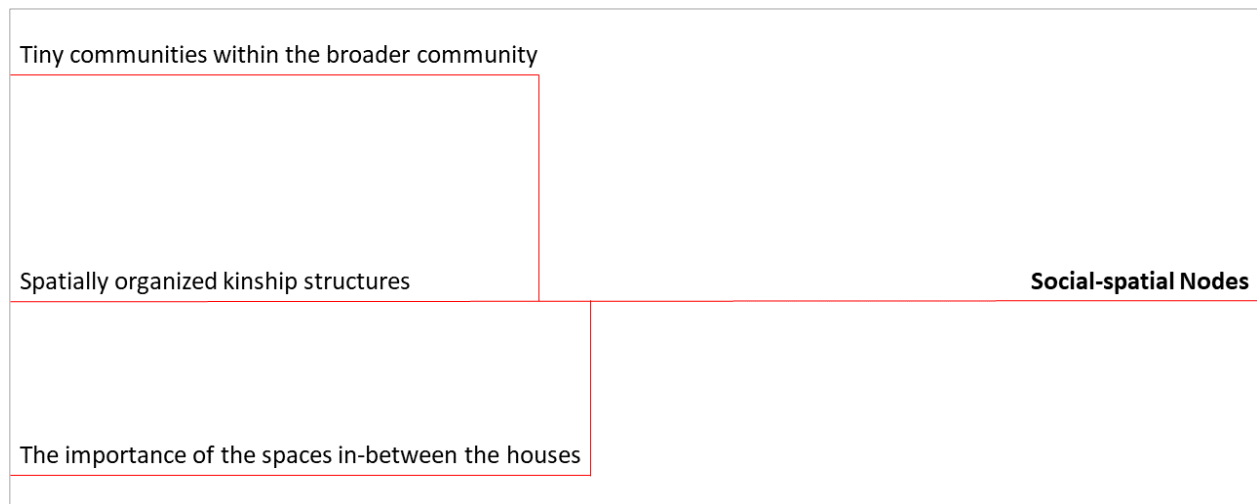
Image 91: First finding summary – Social-spatial Nodes

The first finding of this dissertation is the existence of social-spatial nodes in the São Remo and the Vietnam favelas. *Social-spatial nodes are tiny communities within the broader community that are formed through the sharing of the in-between the houses spaces and through the relationships among those who share those spaces*. Within the overall social and spatial structure of these favelas, the residents of each individual alley together constitute a community. They work as a community within a community. In this sense, the São Remo favela is not just one big community. It is an aggregate of communities and alleyway neighborhoods, each with its own individual problems, needs, and priorities. Together, all of these social-spatial tiny communities collectively make up the São Remo favela.

These tiny communities within the bigger community, what I call social-spatial nodes, are an important part of the social fabric of the broader community. They are small communities within the community because each node has its unique social and spatial configuration. In fact, and perhaps unsurprisingly, in both favelas I found that it is common for entire extended families

to live in and share the same alley. Social-spatial nodes in both favelas are largely made of spatially organized kinship structures; extended families that share an alley. These spatially organized kinship structures that, in most cases, make up social-spatial nodes are the most fundamental unit of self-governaning efforts in these two communities.

The relevance of these spatially organized kinship structures within the broader social and spatial structure of these communities is made evident through the role they play in the upkeep of the in-between the houses spaces in both favelas. Residents in the São Remo favela independently take care of the spaces in front of their houses because it influences not only their own lives but the lives of their loved ones who live close by as well. Similar practices are present in the Vietnam favela where residents care for their immediate shared environments for their individual benefit, but also for the benefit of their loved ones who share those spaces with them. These independent social-spatial organized kinship structures are key elements in the social-spatial structures in these two favelas as they are smallest unit of analysis in self-governance processes.

The idea of the family as a key element in self-governance processes is one that has not been vastly explored within the community self-governance literature. Atkinson (1994) is one of the few scholars who includes the family in his definition of self-governance by arguing that the family is one of the foundational structures of self-governance in communities. Families are effective at building networks of support and mobilizing people and resources to meet their basic needs. The two cases presented in this dissertation corroborate Atkinson's thesis by demonstrating how kinship structures are a key in the formation and development of these self-

built and self-organizing favelas. Families are the core element of the formation and development of favelas spatially and as a community.

The Struggle towards Self-governance
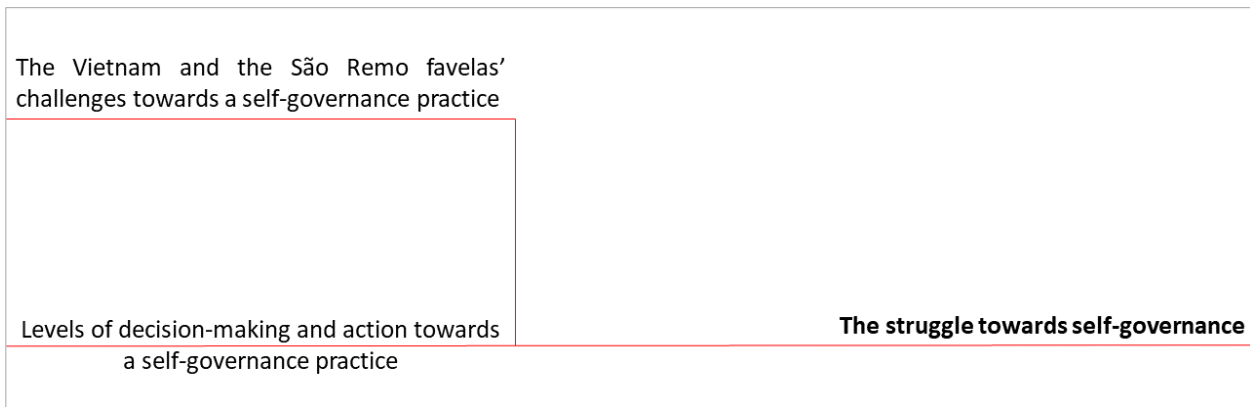
Image 92: Second finding summary – the struggle towards self-governance

Drawing from Lefebvre's theory of autogestion as well as the literature on governance and self-governance, this dissertation puts forward a framework of self-governance that involves five core elements: autonomous action, the power to make decisions over resources and outcomes, networks of collaboration and mobilization, processes of negotiation, and the promotion of change. These elements do not exist in isolation but rather work together, influencing one another in a continuous and unstable process. The lack of any of the core elements or the existence of deficiencies in them hurts the full materialization of a self-governing practice. However, it does not completely erase the intentions and efforts of the process. Self-governance is not a stable condition (Lefebvre 1979; O'Toole and Burdess 2004; Lefebvre, Elden, and Brenner 2009). Rather, *self-governance is a process*, and it should be analyzed as a process. *There are levels of self-governance*.

286

The Vietnam Favela

The cases presented make clear how the process towards a self-governance practice is not easy or simple. In the case of the Vietnam favela, despite their significant efforts to try to improve residents' lives, the residents' organizations resources and knowledge limitations preclude them from achieving an effective practice of self-governance. The analysis of the Vietnam favela efforts through the self-governance framework illuminates their challenges even more (see Image 93 below).

Although the residents' associations efforts are autonomous, they are controlled by only a few people who are actually engaged in the associations. Similarly, the same limitation applies to the power to make decisions. Leaders in the Vietnam favela tend to concentrate the power of decision and action. Residents also express limited interest in actually having such power. As discussed earlier, this lack of interest can be attributed to the extreme level of socioeconomic vulnerability that so many of the Vietnam favela population experience. In this sense, there is an urgent need to address residents' vulnerable situations before considering the implementation and effectiveness of a self-governance practice. However, these limitations do not disqualify the Vietnam favela residents organizations' efforts towards a self-governance practice nor do they reduce the merit of their work towards addressing the most basic needs of their community.

The same limitation applies to the internal networks that are engaged in the actions undertaken by the organizations. The Vietnam favela's internal networks are effective but the number of residents involved in the making of the associations' actions is small. The number of residents who benefit from these actions is larger if compared to the number of residents who are engaged in the organizations. The outside networks with which the Vietnam favela leaders are

287

engaged are also limited which restricts the resources and knowledge they are able to bring from outside. Additionally, the outside networks that the Vietnam favela does have access to give residents very little power to manage and implement resources. In the case of the interactions of the Vietnam favela leaders with the housing authority of the city, residents are passive agents in such processes with little to no control over implementation of resources and outcomes. Other programs implemented in the Vietnam favela that are funded by the city government, such as the literacy training and the provision of computers, present the same characteristics. Despite the autonomous initiative to pursue such programs, the Vietnam favela leaders and residents are recipients, not active agents, in how these programs are implemented and administered.

Processes of negotiation are present only after program implementation. Due to the concentration of power, a process of negotiation exists only after a project is in place, not before or during its implementation. The processes of negotiation that are in place relate to the activity of persuading residents to participate or volunteer in already established activities. Lastly, the actions and programs put in place at the Vietnam favela have mostly immediate impact on the residents' lives, limited by the lack of resources and the concentration of power.

The Vietnam Favela's Efforts towards a Self-governance Practice

AA - Autonomous Action
Limited to leaders.

PD - Power to make decisions
Limited to leaders.

NCM - Networks of collaboration and mobilization
Effective but limited inside network.
Outside connections are also limited.

PN - Processes of negotiation
Present after programs' implementations.

PC - Promotion of change
Mostly immediate changes limited by the lack of resources and
concentration of power.
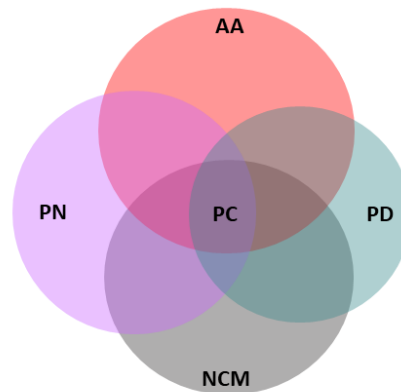
Image 93: Summary of the Vietnam favela's challenges towards a self-governance practice.

The São Remo Favela

The São Remo favela organizations face a different set of challenges (see Image 94). For the SR favela, I analyzed the sports court project that was implemented with the help of an outside private organization. There is a lot of conflict among leaders and organizations in the São Remo because of differences in priorities of the people involved. There is also a small number of residents who are engaged with the organizations, limiting the representativeness of these organizations relative to the number of residents living at the São Remo favela.

The action to pursue the project by a few leaders in the São Remo favela was an autonomous one but limited to a small number of people. But that is the extent of the autonomy that residents had throughout the project. During implementation, residents' autonomy had the power to make decisions was close to none. The outside organization funded and controlled the entire process of the project's implementation. In fact, the reason why the implementation of the project was successful is that outsiders held the decision-making power. If residents had held the

289

power, it is likely that the different interests and priorities would had caused conflict and maybe prevented successful project implementation.

The inside networks at the SR favela are effective but limited to a few because the great majority of residents were not actively engaged in the project. The São Remo favela organizations and leaders have access to a great number of resourceful outside networks due to its location adjacent to the most prominent university in Brazil. Being engaged in such networks has brought attention and resources to the São Remo favela, including nongovernmental organizations. The city government has also brought initiatives to the SR favela but residents are only passive recipients in both cases.

Processes of negotiation were present only after the implementation of the project at the SR favela. These processes were also limited to a few actors who were interested in getting involved. Lastly, none of the project's outcomes were permanent ones. The first outcome was bringing together different leaders and groups to work towards a shared goal for a limited amount of time as it was a condition for the implementation of the project. Nevertheless, after the end of the outside organization's supervision process, the previous conflicts and difficulties in working together emerged again. The second outcome was the renovation of the sports court which constitutes an immediate change to the built environment that depends on residents' efforts towards its maintenance to be sustained over time.

The São Remo's Efforts towards a Self-governance Practice

AA - Autonomous Action
Limited to the residents and leaders involved – conflict prevents action.

PD - Power to make decisions
Residents had very limited power over decisions during the project.

NCM - Networks of collaboration and mobilization
Effective but limited inside network collaboration – outside influence.

PN - Processes of negotiation
Present after the project's implementation.

PC - Promotion of change
Immediate changes to the built environment.
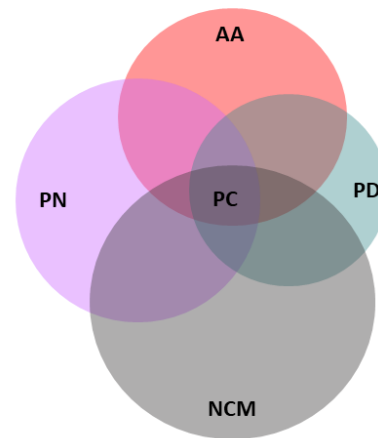
Image 94: Summary of the São Remo favela's challenges towards a self-governance practice.

Comparing the Cases

Following is a comparison of the cases in relation to the self-governance framework put forward by this dissertation (see Image 95 comparing both cases' diagrams). Both favelas' organizations face challenges in terms of the degree to which they are able to make autonomous decisions and take action towards dealing with their issues as a community. Both favelas have a very small number of people engaged in such processes. Nonetheless, only at the SR favela, uninvolved residents raised questions of legitimacy and representativeness of the leaders and organizations. Many residents at the SR questioned if the existing leaders are authentic ones, who are interested in representing the entire population of the favela instead of the interests of just a few. At the Vietnam favela, all residents I interviewed acknowledged the leaders as the legitimate care-takers of the community. These differences can be attributed to the scale and diversity of both communities. The more vulnerable condition of many of the Vietnam favela residents is also a key variable in considering the lack of questioning regarding legitimacy. However, in terms of

effectiveness and capability, the Vietnam favela leaders have more independence to actually take action, considering the nature of the SR favela project and the limitations imposed by the outside funder.

The same analysis applies to the framework variable, "the power to make decisions." Both favela leaders are limited in the sense that only a few residents are actually involved in such processes. Yet, the leaders at the Vietnam favela have more power over decisions and actions due to their relative independence, when compared to the SR favela leaders. Additionally, the dependence created between leaders who donate and residents in need inside the Vietnam favela is itself a source of power concentrated in the hands of those leaders. This dependence also precludes need for residents to engage and share the power to make decisions and take action. While in the Vietnam favela no one challenges the current leaders, there is significant conflict for power between a variety of leaders that have different priorities in the São Remo favela. Frequently, such conflicts for power inhibit leaders from actually moving forward with decisions and actions to promote change in their community.

The São Remo favela actors have been more successful in engaging with outside networks and bringing outside resources in comparison to to the Vietnam favela leadership. The main reason for this success is the favela's location. The location of the SR favela bordering the university and on university-owned land has given them access to a broader network of mobilization outside of the limits of the favela and thus facilitated their efforts towards self-governance. The São Remo favela has also received more attention and resources from other nongovernmental institutions because of its location and relationship with the University of São Paulo.

The processes of negotiation were similarly limited in both favelas as they were put in place only after programs' implementation. Lastly, in terms of outcomes, the Vietnam favela actors have been able to achieve more compared to the SR favela residents. Even after considering their many differences, the Vietnam favela leaders and organizations have been more effective in promoting change in their residents' lives, even if only immediate changes such as food donations. Overall, considering the self-governance framework, the Vietnam favela organizations and leaders have been more successful in their efforts towards a self-governance practice.

Vietnam favela's challenges towards an effective self-governance practice

- Limited sharing of power
- Lack of interest
- Extreme socioeconomic vulnerability

São Remo favela's challenges towards an effective self-governance practice

- Scale
- Conflicts limit the work
- Variety of priorities
- Need for mediation and learning how to compromise

AA - Autonomous action

PD – Power to make decisions

NCM – Networks of collaboration and mobilization

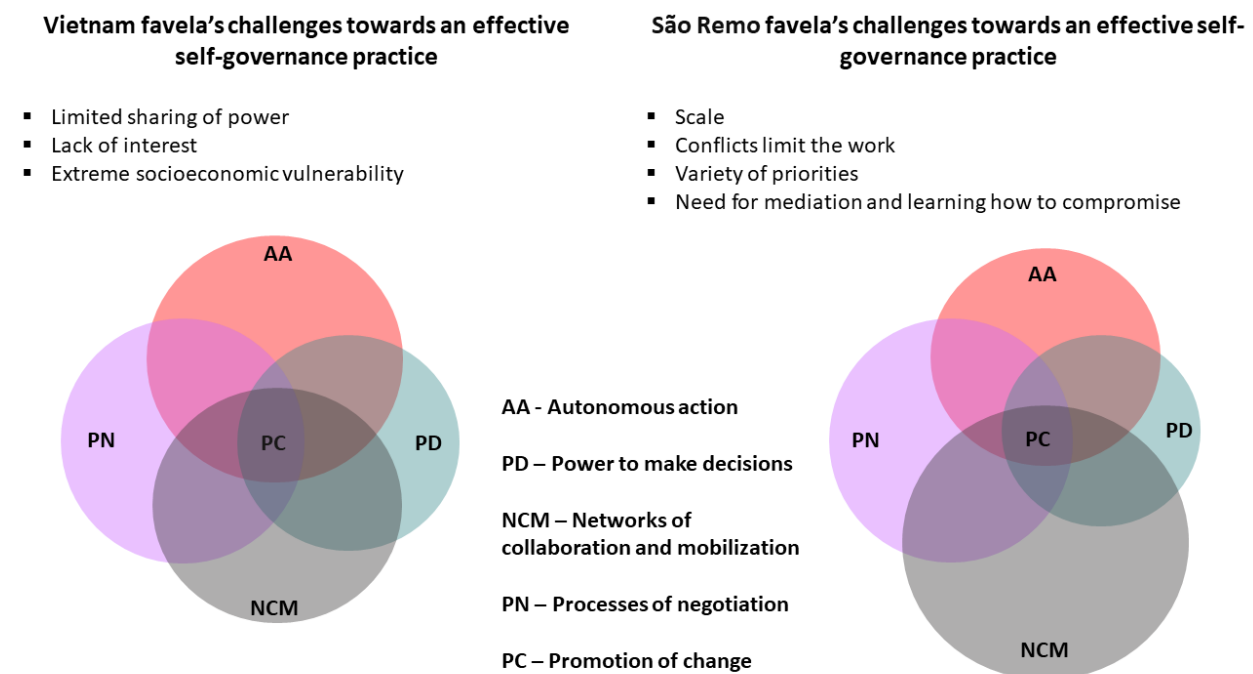PN – Processes of negotiation

PC – Promotion of change

Image 95: Comparison of the Vietnam and the São Remo favelas' challenges towards a self-governance practice.

Levels of Action towards a Self-governance Practice

After analyzing the many organizations, groups, and social-spatial nodes that exist in the São Remo favela, I found that an official residents' association is not the only self-organized group of people engaged in independently taking action and improving their community. There are many other groups of people that are brought together for a variety of reasons and are mobilizing to improve residents' lives as well. Independent leaders and groups are also acting autonomously around their interests, needs and priorities, building networks of support and activities and improving their everyday experiences and environment, engaged in efforts towards a self-governance practice. These can be groups of people who get together and organize themselves around sports. Other groups may assemble as part of church meetings and Bible study groups. Crafts, music, and dance groups are other examples. Social-spatial nodes also include a group of people who are collectively engaged in improving their environments and everyday lives.

These types of groups are particularly important because they represent the interests, needs, and priorities of smaller scale groups of people that are not necessarily represented by a residents' association. In sum, in favelas as big as the São Remo favela, there are invisible levels of action towards self-governing. These levels comprise of different groups of people working in different scales of action towards a self-governance practice. Independent groups of people beyond of a residents' association should also be considered when analyzing the collective capability, resources and needs of a community. If there are multiple levels of action, why are different levels not engaging and collaborating with each other? There is a gap between the different scales of action that exist at the São Remo favela. Engaging different scales of action could translate to more residents getting involved, sharing of power and resources, representing

a bigger variety of interests and priorities, and maybe, obtaining more outside resources to support the community's actions. The smaller scales of action need to be acknowledged by outsiders and engaged in interventions. Doing so would be one way to begin diminishing the size of this existing gap and connecting the people to broader residents-led type of organizations.

When there is Space to manage, Efforts towards Spatial Self-governance arise

Image 96: Third finding summary – When there is space to manage, efforts towards spatial self-governance arise

The São Remo favela is a large and densely populated community. Unlike the Vietnam favela, there are actual streets, sidewalks, and other shared spaces beyond the alleys. The Vietnam favela contains empty spaces between the houses. At the SR favela, there is no authoritative controlling agency to oversee the use and sharing of these spaces. However, residents have been managing and negotiating the use of these shared spaces by themselves, despite the absence of controlling power. In fact, both residents' organizations at the SR favela are mostly space managing organizations.

Despite the conflicts and questions of legitimacy and representativeness that exist in the SR favela, the few plans that the Jardim São Remo Residents' Association has put into place are focused on managing shared space. This was the case when the Jardim São Remo Residents' Association's leaders contacted the city government to take the metal poles that were installed by

residents to save parking spaces for themselves out of the curbs. The resident-led organization acted as a controlling agency to guarantee that the shared space was indeed being shared and not individually appropriated. These leaders used their positions within the residents' association to oversee the sharing of space.

The same is applicable to the second residents-led organization, the São Remo Sports Association. The main reason this second organization was created was to manage the use and maintenance of the sports court. Prior to the creation of the São Remo Sports Association, the sports court was in precarious condition, with uneven pavement and inadequate lighting. Because of this condition, the court was used for drug trafficking transactions. A few residents also started to park cars in the court during the night. A group of residents decided to create the São Remo Sports Association to attempt to renovate the sports' court and manage its use and prevent other residents from appropriating it for individual purposes.

Both residents-led organizations in the São Remo are space managing organizations. When there is shared space and no controlling agency to guarantee the sharing of space, efforts towards managing such space arises. This finding advances the scarce body of literature on spatial self-governance. Specifically, this finding is in agreement with the idea put forward by Power (2015) that the spatial and material environments are embedded in community self-governing processes. Community self-governance takes place through the built environment, instead of within or around it. Leaders in both organizations mobilize themselves to manage and maintain their shared spaces, thus contributing to the overall spatial self-governing process of their communities.

Favelas are not Homogeneous Settlements

Image 97: Fourth finding summary – favelas are not homogeneous settlements.

The fourth finding is the demonstration that *favelas are not and should not be considered as one singular homogeneous category*. In this sense, this study contributes to the literature that challenges the Brazilian government's "official" definition of favelas as put forward by the IBGE as well as the general consensus within urban planning scholarship that favelas are precarious, illegal, and disordered. This finding contributes to Silva and colleagues' (2009) characterization of favelas as territories capable of configuring plural identities, both in terms of material existence and symbolic. Favelas are heterogenous communities with plural identities, conditions, and characteristics and should be conceptualized as such.

The detailed characterization of the Vietnam and the São Remo favelas illustrates the significant differences between them. Despite both having emerged in late 1960s and being located in advantageous locations in the city of São Paulo, these favelas are unquestionably different in many ways. Context and scale matter. It is possible to identify substantial divergences between the two that are evidence of how one category alone (the favela) is no longer sufficient to describe them both.

The majority of the houses in the São Remo favela are sturdy and mostly finished. On the other hand, the houses in the Vietnam favela are structurally more precarious with only a few coated houses. The São Remo favela is a neighborhood with streets and sidewalks, many shops and services provided by residents themselves, while the Vietnam favela is only accessible by foot with significant spatial and environmental issues. The socioeconomic conditions and vulnerability of both favelas are significantly different. On average, the Vietnam favela population is much more socially and economically vulnerable than the São Remo favela residents.

While there are favelas that have precarious physical and environmental conditions, such as the Vietnam favela, the São Remo favela shows that not all favelas are precarious. Despite having one area of its territory located in a precarious condition, most of the São Remo favela's territory is a consolidated, dynamic, and healthy environment. It is thus erroneous to characterize all favelas as precarious environments. This does not mean that there are no issues that need to be addressed in favelas, even in consolidated and dynamic ones. Rather, the diversity of environments in different favelas calls for a more nuanced and individual understanding of the physical, spatial, and environmental differences.

The favelas' organizations and levels of resident involvement are also undoubtedly distinct. Residents in the São Remo favela are more likely to be involved in groups or organizations that are engaged in improving residents' quality of life because the majority of them have their most basic needs for survival met. On the other hand, most Vietnam favela residents are in a vulnerable situation of sickness, hunger, and/or complete lack of income. In the case of the Vietnam favela, more vulnerable populations are less likely to get involved in any type of collective mobilization. These residents are generally in such a position of need and socioeconomic vulnerability that they

are unable to help or volunteer due to their own physical, socioeconomic, or time limitations and constraints. These are important differences that the normative definition of a single category "favela" does not take into account.

A Spectrum of Favelas

One recommendation of this dissertation to address such issue is to consider a spectrum or scale of favelas which could consider many different sets of variables, including physical and environmental conditions, spatial characteristics, socioeconomics, tenure status, collective mobilization efforts, among others. This project presented the theoretical model of favela development as an initial attempt to develop such scale. This model considers three phases of favela development that are consecutive in nature but can overlap with each other. The phases are: favela formation, favela development, and favela formalization. These stages consider the moment when a favela first appears to when it has been physically and socially consolidated, and to the legalization and upgrading of the favela, when it is legitimized by the government (see Chapter Two for a more detailed characterization of the theoretical model of favela development). While the model was an initial attempt to make favelas more legible and to start thinking about them through a more comprehensive and refined framework, it is not a finished solution. I thus plan to continue to develop the idea of a favela scale to better understand and characterize such settlements.

Favelas are not Chaotic or Randomly Built
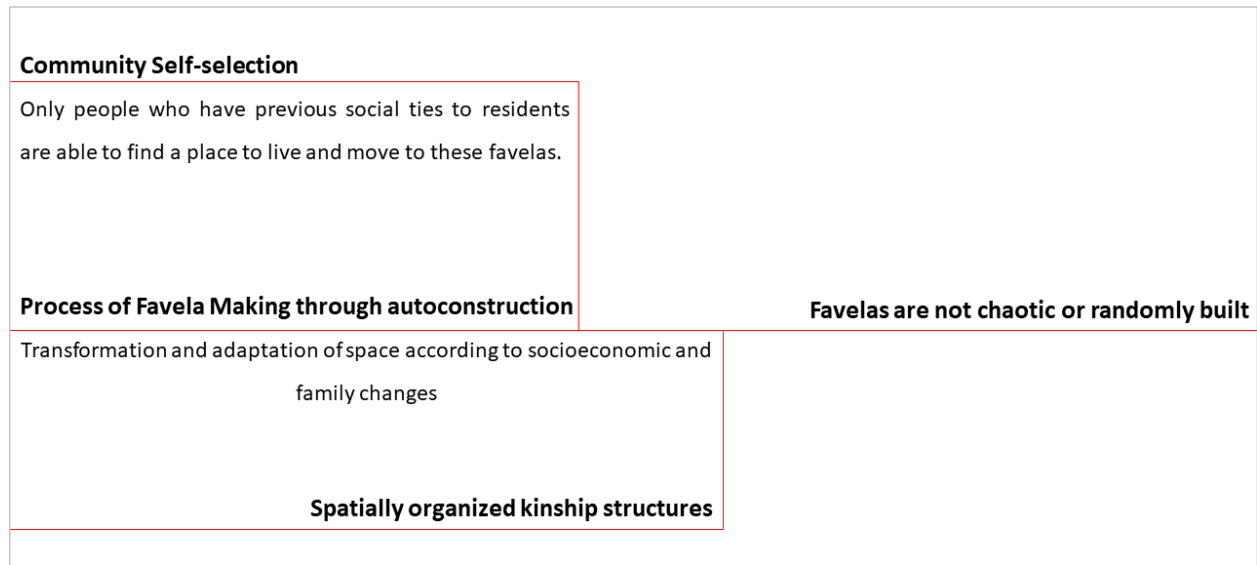
Image 98: Fifth finding summary – favelas are not chaotic or randomly built.

This study's fifth finding challenges the characterization of favelas as disordered and chaotic environments. While favelas might not conform to the parameters of order put forward by urban planning theory and practice, they are not randomly built either. This dissertation has shown that *there is a logic behind the making of space and community in favelas*.

The first piece of evidence to support this finding is what I labeled community self-selection. Present in both case studies, community self-selection is a mechanism through which only people who already have a social connection to favela residents can find a place to live and eventually move there. These favelas developed over time through existing networks of families, friends, and acquaintances. These are core processes in the making of both favelas as it determines who gets to occupy, appropriate, and modify these spaces. *Processes of community self-selection demonstrates that there is a logic behind how these communities form and develop socially and spatially.*

Residents in these two favelas have constructed and transformed their spaces through processes of autoconstruction due to residents' autonomy to build, adapt, and replicate these practices and structures on previously unused land. Holston defined the term *autoconstruction* in 1991 as "the house-building activity of the poor within a specific set of historical and spatial circumstances" (Holston 1991, 448). These circumstances include the growth of urban peripheries in Brazilian cities through self-built housing since the 1940s. Holston also acknowledges that autoconstruction refers to:

> (…) a variety of land occupations and tenure situations that share two attributes: first, that of a particular social production of space in which the need to build a house represents the builder's relations to a set of conditions that we might call peripheral urbanization; and second, that of house building as the figure or measure of an imagined future quite different from those conditions. (Holston 1991, 451).

Holston differentiates this practice from what he called "the illegal favelas, of jumbled shacks and raw sewage, of police assaults and government eradication" (450). Holston thus excludes the making of favelas as a practice of autoconstruction. However, this dissertation has shown that the same autoconstruction processes were in place in the development of the Vietnam and the São Remo favelas. In both cases, the formation of these favelas was associated with the development of peripheral areas of the city of São Paulo at the time. Similarly, the first residents of these favelas were migrant families from the North and Northeast of Brazil looking for a better life in the city. In this sense, *the concept of autoconstruction is also applicable to the development of the examined favelas*.

In both cases, autoconstruction processes continued to occur throughout the years as a response to family dynamics. As discussed earlier, kinship structures that are spatially organized

in social-spatial nodes are a fundamental unit in both favelas. Changes in these structures are also one of the main guiding factors of how the houses and the spaces in between the houses, the alleys, are transformed and adapted over time. Families expand their houses vertically and horizontally when there is space available to accommodate changes in their family structure. Therefore, *extended families are a core element in the making and transformation logics of these favelas*.

Space itself, the spatial and material elements in the São Remo and Vietnam favelas, highlight these processes of change, adaptation, and spatial self-governance that have been in place for over 40 years. The making of space in favelas constitutes a spatial self-governing practice as *residents independently make decisions and act upon their individual and collective environments to adapt to new realities*. The assumption that favelas are disordered and chaotic because they are not planned, designed, and built through "formal" or "normal" means of design and planning ignores their histories and processes of development as well as the structural inequalities embedded in them. Most importantly, these narratives disregard favela residents' agency in the process of transforming their conditions of existence.

Acknowledging favelas' logic and histories does not mean that they should be left without support. The fact that favelas exist is in itself a testimony to how the Brazilian state has continuously failed to fulfill residents' basic and fundamental rights by not providing the minimal conditions for their survival as healthy Brazilian citizens. The ongoing need for policy and public investment towards favelas and their residents is beyond words. Yet, acknowledging favelas' logic and histories is a step towards accepting them as a legitimate part of Brazilian cities. It is also a means to recognize that *the existence of favelas is not only a matter of housing*. Therefore,

detached housing and urban policies are not sufficient to address the reasons why favelas exist

and the problems their residents face. There is critical need for a more comprehensive approach

to address the existing issues in favelas that are beyond housing: minimum income, employment,

education, and health. These are pressing issues that are normally not addressed by urban

planning and housing policies.

Favelas are not Illegal

Lack of affordable housing

"People who have difficulty paying rent. So, how do they survive? Living in the favela."
(Seu João, February 2017)

The Right to Housing

(Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil of 1988, Article 6)

Occupation of Vacant Urban Land

"When I came to live here at the São Remo, there were no houses here. There was only one shack; it was up there near the soccer field. And then my mother came and set up another shack here."
(Dona Fatima, March 2017).

Social Function of Urban Land

"property will serve its social function."
(Constitution of the Federal Republic of Brazil of 1988, Article 5)

Favelas are not illegal

Image 99: Sixth finding summary – favelas are not illegal.

This dissertation's sixth finding relates to the characterization of favelas as illegal

settlements. This conceptualization serves no other purpose than to perpetuate the stigma,

marginalization, and criminalization of these neighborhoods and their residents. The idea of

favelas as illegal comes from the lack of property titles, which is not the case in the São Remo

favela. Additionally, two elements of the cases presented support the conclusion that favelas are not illegal and that the common mischaracterization contradicts Brazilian legislation itself.

This argument is twofold. Its first part relates to how the studied favelas occupied a piece of vacant and unused land in an urban area for the purposes of housing. It also refers to the concept of the social function of urban property, included in the Brazilian Federal Constitution. The second part of this argument refers to the lack of affordable housing in cities and the right to housing which is also foreseen by the Brazilian Federal Constitution. These two elements reinforce this study's assertion that, as born Brazilian citizens entitled to fundamental rights, favela residents are actually claiming their right to housing and the social function of urban property by making favelas. Therefore, favelas are not illegal settlements. Favelas' material and symbolic dimensions are in fact a political claim for favela residents' fundamental rights as Brazilian citizens.

The first part of this finding is likely rooted in the fact that both the Vietnam and the São Remo favela residents occupy a piece of urban land that was previously vacant and not being used. The social function of urban property was first introduced in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988 and furthered by the 2001 City Statue. Article 5, item XXIII states that "property will serve its social function" (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Brazil of 1988, Article 5). The idea of the social function of urban property means that the right to property is not a full one. Urban property must fulfill its social function within the urban environment through housing, work, circulation, leisure, integration among human beings, educational and cultural growth, and preservation of the environment (Fernandes 2007). In this sense, a piece of urban land that is not being used for one of these purposes is not fulfilling its social function. The act of occupying a piece of unused urban land for housing is thus a way to restore its social function.

304

The finding's second element refers to the fact that residents in both favelas occupied

vacant land to build their houses mostly due to the lack of other affordable housing options in the

city. One of Brazilian citizens' rights is the right to housing. The right to housing was first mentioned

in the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988. Article 7, Item IV states that every urban or rural

worker has the right to:

> minimum wage, fixed by law, nationally unified, capable of meeting their basic vital
> needs and those of their families with housing, food, education, health, leisure,
> clothing, hygiene, transport and social security, with periodic adjustments that
> preserve the purchasing power, (…). (Constitution of the Federative Republic of
> Brazil of 1988, Article 7, IV)

On February 14, 2000, the Constitutional Amendment No. 26 altered the text of article 6

of the Brazilian Federal Constitution, establishing housing as an actual right. The current text says:

> Social rights include education, health, food, work, housing, transport, leisure,
> security, social security, maternity and child protection, assistance to the homeless,
> in the form of this Constitution. (Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil
> of 1988, Article 6)

Despite being a social right included in the Constitution, it has been acknowledged that are

no instruments and legal safeguards that ensure the fulfillment of these rights (Gonçalves 2013).

In the context of the state's inability to ensure the fulfillment of the right to housing, the building

of favelas represent residents' efforts to materialize their social right to housing. The right to

housing was further reinforced by the Brazilian Law nº 10,257 from 2001, named the City Statute.

The City Statute was approved in 2001 to regulate the first chapter on urban policy introduced by

the 1988 Brazilian Federal Constitution and it legislates over the management of urban growth

and development. Moreover, the City Statute also legally recognizes the right to the city as an

individual fundamental right.

The *right to the city* is a concept further developed by Henri Lefebvre in the 1960s as a product of his investigations of urbanization processes in France. According to Lefebvre, the right to the city is a "cry and a demand" (Lefebvre 1968, 2001). It is a political claim, suggesting an urban reform, based on the study of current urban realities. The right to the city questions current structures of power in the urban society and proposes the thinking and development of new models for planning practices. For Lefebvre, the urban space is a result of the historical continuum of the capitalist modes of production, and also of the social practices in place throughout time.

The legal appropriation of the right to the city focuses on land use and property law. In this context, the word "right" is interpreted as a legal right foreseen through legislation. The acknowledgement of the right to the city as a legal right by legislation in Brazil endorses the right to housing. It also endorses favela residents' materialization of both of these fundamental rights when building a house for themselves in vacant land in the city. These elements of the Brazilian legislation support favela residents' claim to housing and to the fulfillment of the social function of urban property. The material and symbolic dimensions of favelas are thus a political claim for favela residents' fundamental rights as Brazilian citizens.

The in-between the house spaces as part of the "casa"
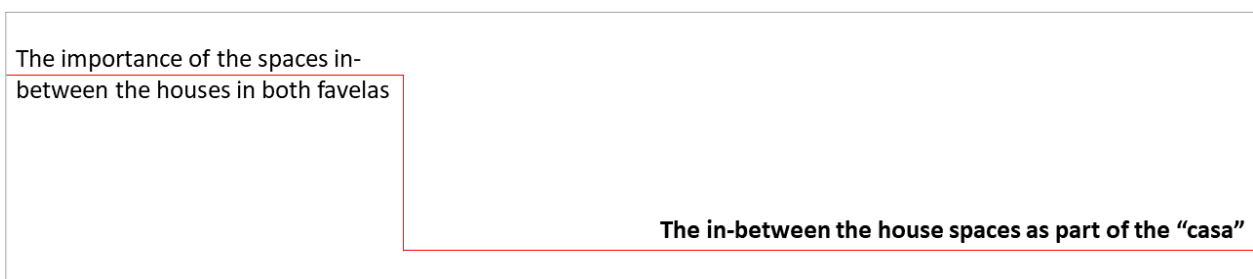
The importance of the spaces in-between the houses in both favelas

The in-between the house spaces as part of the "casa"

Image 100: Seventh finding summary – The in-between the house spaces as part of the "casa"

The "casa," the house, and the "rua," the street, are sociological categories that anthropologist Robert DaMatta analyzes as part of his work (DaMatta 1997). Within Brazilian society, these categories represent more than physical and spatial elements. They are also moral entities that awake and inspire feelings. More importantly, these categories are contradictory ones. The "casa" is a private domain, the space of the family, friendship, and loyalty. The "casa" offers shelter, love, and affection. Brazilians take individual responsibility in taking care of their "casas." The "rua" is the "casa"'s opposite category. It is the public domain where impersonal laws rule anonymous individuals. The "rua" is no individual's responsibility. Rather, it is the state's responsibility. According to DaMatta, Brazilians do not care about the "rua," it is not their responsibility.

Residents in both favelas care for the spaces in between their houses. They care for this space not only because it affects them individually but because it also affects their extended families. As demonstrated in the first finding, spatially organized kinship structures are the core of social-spatial nodes in these two favelas. Spatially organized kinship structures are the main reason why the residents of both favelas care so much about their alleys, the in-between the houses spaces. Accordingly, the in-between the houses spaces in these favelas are not "ruas." "Ruas" are neglected spaces, impersonal and ruled by the state. The spaces in-between the houses in these favelas are "casas" for the residents and their extended families, not "ruas."

This in an important finding that contributes to the theoretical reconceptualization of favelas. This finding demonstrates that residents' houses in these two favelas go beyond four walls. The spaces in-between the houses in these favelas are part of residents' "casas," taken care of accordingly. This finding has important implications for theory and for policy.

VI.II. Back to Lefebvre

Henri Lefebvre's theory of autogestion was the main theoretical basis for the development of this dissertation. In fact, it was Lefebvre's theory of autogestion that led me to the concept of community self-governance. Lefebvre's proposition of autogestion suggests a strategy of decentralization of power and control (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a). Autogestion is a theoretical framework of political orientation and governance that can be applied to all sectors of society, giving control and autonomy to those actors whose lives are at stake in the decision-making process.

This study suggests the idea of self-governance as an analogous analytical category to the concept of autogestion for research and for the most needed exercise of envisioning new realities. The conceptualization of self-governance offers an opportunity to implement and empirically investigate the potentials of autogestion, even if within the boundaries of a capitalist state. This dissertation proposes a framework of self-governance that draws from Lefebvre's theory of autogestion and from the literature on governance and self-governance. This framework takes into consideration autonomous action, the power to make decisions over resources and outcomes, networks of collaboration and mobilization, processes of negotiation, and the promotion of change. These five elements work together for the materialization of a self-governance practice. The idea of spatial and community self-governance offers an analytical approach to study the materialization of autogestion in research, policy and practice, and it is an important theoretical contribution of this dissertation.

The theory of autogestion was integral to the initial conceptualization of this project. Thinking of favelas through the lens of autogestion is also a critical exercise in my attempt to

reconceptualize them. As autogestion, the studied favelas were created by a marginalized population, migrants from the North and Northeast of Brazil, through the occupation of space as a means to live in the city, to take control over their everyday lives and conditions of existence (Lefebvre 1979, 2009a). However, autogestion has become less relevant to the overall findings of this dissertation. For instance, the significance of the family, spatially organized kinship structures, in the formation and development processes of the studied favelas and considerably limited relevance of the residents-led organizations at the SR favela is not within the scope of Lefebvre's autogestion.

Additionally, Lefebvre's proposition of autogestion has a utopian character that do not articulate the details and nuances of what self-governance means and what it looks like in practice. For instance, autogestion does not consider that many communities are not self-sufficient. Communities lack resources to put autogestion in place. In most cases, they need outside partners to self-govern. Similarly, Lefebvre's theory does not sufficiently explore the issue of scale. As discussed earlier, the different scales of action are critical components of what self-governance is in practice. The concept of autogestion is useful while envisioning possible realities of autonomy but it does not offer a comprehensive framework to grasp with the challenges and nuances of what autogestion would look like in practice in favelas.

VI.III. Implications for Policy

This dissertation's findings have five direct implications for the development and implementation of policy towards favelas: 1) the importance of context and scale, 2) the value of

understanding human experience, 3) the need to leverage local knowledge and resources, 4) decentralizing decision-making processes such as the management and allocation of resources, and 5) a more comprehensive policy approach that goes beyond housing and upgrading. First, context and scale matter. In this sense, each favela is unique in its context and history, and should be approached individually. Each favela has its own issues. The São Remo favela, for example, is a large and heterogenous community. Specific areas in the São Remo favela need different things. This should be considered in the design and implementation of any type of policy towards favelas. Nonetheless, such individualized approach might be unfeasible to implement considering the number of favelas that exist in Brazil. A solution for this issue is developing research focused on the spectrum of favelas described earlier as a way to create typologies of favelas with specific requirements.

In this sense, the only way to understand context and history from the residents' point of view is to go beyond investigations about the population of a community as a category and the natural and built environment. Understanding and interpreting human experience is essential in to studying a favela. The creation and implementation of policy should not be based exclusively on quantitative data about a favela and/or on its physical characteristics. Data collection and analysis should also focus on comprehending human experience through ethnographic research methods which allows for the investigation of qualitative aspects of phenomena.

All of the favela residents I talked to knew a great deal about their environments, spaces, communities, and the problems they face. There is an urgent need in the development and implementation of policy to acknowledge and leverage the knowledge favela residents have about their own communities. It is common practice in Brazil to assume the need of a "specialist," an

architect and urban planner, to identity and solve problems that favela communities face. Specialists can offer support through their expertise. However, the people who know the most about the problems they face are favela residents themselves. Policymakers in Brazil need to move beyond the discourse of participation towards collaboration.

Similarly, many favelas in São Paulo have already established groups and organizations led by residents. In many cases, these types of groups are working towards the improvement of their communities and residents' lives through a variety of approaches. These organizations, groups, and leaders are human resources that are already in place in these communities. These actors should also be considered and leveraged in the development and implementation of any policy or program.

Considering the existence of local knowledge and resources, organizations, and residents' capabilities to self-organize in favelas, make decisions, allocate resources, these groups should be incorporated into the process of decision-making regarding policy for their own communities. Leveraging these resources signifies a move towards decentralizing the process of policymaking and implementation in favelas. These groups can be part of the structure of governance of the boroughs, and the city, as they are already self-governing their own environments and communities. In order to implement such structure, resident-led organizations in favelas would need support, training, funding, accountability structures, and compensation for their work. The tendency of favelas towards self-organization and self-reliance does not mean they should be left without any support from municipal structures of governance. It means that the making of policy and programs towards these communities should adapt to integrate existing local self-organizing organizations in the making and practice of policies in these communities.

Lastly, as already discussed, there is need to acknowledge that the existence and perpetuation of favelas in Brazilian cities is not simply a matter for housing and urban upgrading policies. There are other pressing issues that favela residents face that sometimes have to be addressed first. For instance, both the Vietnam and São Remo favelas have the urgent need for daycare facilities and afterschool programs for children and young teenagers. In situations where there is any type of risk for residents, housing is the most critical issue. However, in other cases, the need for housing might not be the most important problem. Therefore, policy towards favelas should be specific for each favela or its tipology, addressing each favela's most pressing issues through a more comprehensive and individualized policy approach.

VI.IV. Future Avenues of Research

The recognition of local knowledge and resources in favelas offers a new challenge. Within the contexts of government and policy, how can urban planners and other professionals leverage these assets in the making of policy towards favelas? This is an issue that needs attention not only in the policy making realm but within academia as well. There is need for design, experimentation and evaluation of initiatives that leverage local knowledge and resources in favelas.

There is much more to be learned from the existing forms of collective organization and mobilization in favelas. Drug trafficking is in itself a self-governing social structure in favelas. There is also a clear process of negotiation that exists between drug trafficking socioeconomic arrangements and resident-led organizations. How much do drug trafficking gangs affect the autonomy (decisions and activities) of a residents' organization in a favela? The existence of these

processes of influence and negotiation was apparent throughout the development of this study. However, the limitations of this dissertation project precluded me from furthering this line of research. There is still need to further understand the dynamics of how these two types of social structures interact, influence, or limit one another, and how they contribute to a self-governance practice.

The issue of identity is one that emerged during my fieldwork but I could not pursue due to the limitations of time and scope of the dissertation. How does living in a favela affect or shape an individual's identity? Residents repeatedly talked about the judgment they are submitted to by identifying themselves as a favela resident. How does this stigma influence one's identity? Race is also an important variable in this matter. There is little research on how race plays a part in the life of favela residents. Does it further stigmatization and criminalization? These are important questions that need further consideration and research.

There is still an urgent need for research and reconceptualization of favelas as a way to move beyond the existing narratives and assumptions that perpetuate their stigmatization, marginalization, and criminalization within the Brazilian society. Therefore, I plan to continue to rethink the existing definitions and categorization of favelas as a way to study and develop an original theoretical framework to consider them. While there was an initial attempt to do so in this dissertation, the development of such framework goes beyond the scope of this study.

This study has just begun to consider what a self-governance practice would look like in favelas. While the study has contributed to this body of literature, there is still much research to be done. The conceptualization of a scale of efforts toward self-governance in favelas is a natural continuation of this project. Understanding the degrees of the action towards self-governance

would be an additional variable in the process of differentiating favelas. A scale of self-governance could be incorporated into the theoretical model of favela development in an effort to better characterize each stage. This scale could also inform the development of policy towards favelas. Favelas with different scales of efforts towards self-governance would be the focus of different policies. Understanding the struggle towards self-governance in favelas is a way to contribute to their reconceptualization in theory, policy, and practice.

As explained earlier, Lefebvre's ideas of autogestion were essential to the development of this project. However, as important as the theory of autogestion was for this project, it also prevented me from exploring other theories and the impact these would have in the data I collected and analysis I made. For instance, since the beginning of the data collection process I was focusing my analysis on groups of people acting independently to improve their community. The most obvious were residents' associations and already established groups and organizations. My fieldwork was thus guided by these already established organizations, groups, and leaders. But the stories I listened to lead me to a different and unexpected direction: the family as a key structure in the making and maintenance of these favelas.

For the continuation of this project, I hope to start this new phase of the project freed of the assumption of autogestion. What this means in practice is that, instead of letting Lefebvre and his theory of autogestion guide my fieldwork, I will allow the data itself to guide the project. I thus plan to focus on the family – spatially organized kinship structures, attempting to understand more about the role they have on self-organizing process within favelas, and how to make this element of their nature explicit for the Brazilian society as a whole. Instead of starting from above with

residents-led type organizations, I initiate the next part of the project from below: the family, the

smallest unit of analysis of self-governing efforts in the studied favelas.

Adorno, Sérgio. 1998. "Crianças e Adolescentes Em Situação de Rua: O Caso USP." São Paulo.

Albejante, Elise Mason. 2015. "Relação Entre Ser Humano e Meio Ambiente: Uma Análise Do Enraizamento/Desenraizamento Na Comunidade São Remo." Universidade de São Paulo.

Alfredo, Anselmo. 1999. "A Luta Pela Cidade Na Metrópole de São Paulo: Do Projeto à Construção Da Avenida Água Espraiada." Universidade de São Paulo.

Alves, Jaime Amparo. 2014. "From Necropolis to Blackpolis: Necropolitical Governance and Black Spatial Praxis in S??O Paulo, Brazil." *Antipode* 46 (2): 323–39. doi:10.1111/anti.12055.

Alvito, Marcos. 2001. *As Cores de Acari - Uma Favela Carioca*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2004. "Faith in Our Neighbors : Networks and Social Order in Three Brazilian Favelas." *Latin America Politics and Society* 46 (1): 1–38.

———. 2006. "The Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38 (2): 293–325. doi:10.1017/S0022216X06000721.

Arnouts, R., M. Van der Zouwen, and B. Arts. 2012. "Analysing Governance Modes and Shifts: Governance Arrangements in Dutch Nature Policy." *Forest Policy and Economics* 16: 43–50.

Arnstein, S R. 1969. "A Ladder of Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. doi:10.1080/01944366908977225.

Atkinson, Dick. 1994. *The Common Sense of Community*. London: Demos.

Bagnasco, Arnaldo, and Patrick Le Galès, eds. 1997. *Villes En Europe*. Paris: La Découverte.

Belon, Ana Paula, Laura M. Nieuwendyk, Helen Vallianatos, and Candace I J Nykiforuk. 2014. "How Community Environment Shapes Physical Activity: Perceptions Revealed through the PhotoVoice Method." *Social Science and Medicine* 116. Elsevier Ltd: 10–21. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.06.027.

Benchimol, Jaime Larry. 1990. "Pereira Passos: Um Haussmann Tropical - a Renovação Urbana Da Cidade Do Rio de Janeiro No Início Do Século XX." Rio de Janeiro.

Bezerra, Kátia da Costa. 2017. *Postcards from Rio - Favelas and the Contested Geographies of Citizenship*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Bonduki, Nabil. 1998. *Origens Da Habitação Social No Brasil*. São Paulo: Estação Liberdade.

Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. 2002. "Social Capital and Community Governance." *The Economic Journal* 112: F419--F436. doi:10.1111/1468-0297.00077.

Box, Richard C. 1997. *Citizen Governance: Leading American Communities into the 21st Century*. London: Sage Publications.

Brazil. 1988. *Constituição Federal de 1988*. Brazil.

Brenner, Neil, and Stuart Elden. 2009. "Introduction." In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 1–48. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Brum, Mario. 2013. "Favelas e Remocionismo Ontem e Hoje: Da Ditadura de 1964 Aos Grandes Eventos." *O Social Em Questão* 29: 179–208.

Bucerius, Sandra Meike. 2013. "Becoming a 'Trusted Outsider.'" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (6): 690–721. doi:10.1177/0891241613497747.

Burdick, John. 2008. "Class, Place and Blackness in Sao Paulo's Gospel Music Scene." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 3 (3): 149–69. doi:10.1080/17442220802080584.

Burgos, Marcelo Baumann. 2006. "Dos Parques Proletários Ao Favela-Bairro." In *Um Século de Favela*, edited by Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, 5th Editio, 25–60. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Casanova, Pablo González. 2005. "The Zapatista 'Caracoles': Networks of Resistance and Autonomy." *Socialism and Democracy* 19 (3): 79–92. doi:10.1080/08854300500257963.

Castro, Laura Rocha de. 2016. "O Impacto Da Operação Urbana Consorciada Água Espraiada Na Implantação de Habitação de Interesse Social." Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

Catalani, Caricia, and Meredith Minkler. 2010. "Photovoice: A Review of the Literature in Health and Public Health." *Health Education & Behavior* 37 (3): 424–51. doi:10.1177/1090198109342084.

Cavalcanti, Mariana. 2009. "Do Barraco à Casa: Tempo, Espaço e Valor (Es) Em Uma Favela Consolidada." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* v. 24 (n. 69): 69–80. doi:10.1590/S0102-69092009000100005.

Cechetto, Fátima. 1997. "As Galeras Do Funk Cariocas: Entre o Lúcido e o Violento." In *Galeras Cariocas*, edited by Luiz Werneck Vianna, 95–118. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.

CECOI. 1988. "Favela São Remo - Estudo Dos Casos de Ocupação Irregular." São Paulo.

Clark, M, and J Steward. 1998. *Community Governance, Community Leadership and the New Local Government*. York: York Publishing Services.

Cohen, A.P. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London: Routledge.

Connelly, Steve. 2011. "Constructing Legitimacy in the New Community Governance." *Urban Studies* 48 (5): 929–46. doi:10.1177/0042098010366744.

Considine, M. 2005. *Partnership and Collaborative Advantage: Some Reflection on New Forms of*

Network Governance. Canberra: ANU Centre for Public Policy.

Corry, D., W. Hatter, I. Parker, A. Randle, and G. Stoker. 2004. *Joining-up Local Democracy: Governance Systems for New Localism*. London: New Local Government Network.

Cowan, Dave, and Alex Marsh. 2004. "Community, Neighbourhood, Responsibility: Contemporary Currents in Housing Studies." *Housing Studies* 19 (6): 845–53. doi:10.1080/0267303042000293964.

Cunha, Olivia Maria Gomes da. 1996. "Cinco Vezes Favela - Uma Reflexão." In *Cidadania e Violência*, 188–217. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.

DaMatta, Roberto. 1997. *A Casa e a Rua - Espaço, Cidadania, Mulher e Morte No Brasil*. 5th Editio. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

Delfino, Andrea. 2012. "La Noción de Marginalidad En La Teoría Social Latinoamerican: Surgimiento y Actualidad." *Estructura Social de La Facultad de Ciencia Politica y Relaciones Internaciones* 4807 (201212): 17–34. doi:10.11144/3640.

Dietz, James L. 1980. "Dependency Theory: A Review Article." *Journal of Economic Issues* 14 (3): 751–58.

Doimo, Ana Maria. 1995. *A Vez e a Voz Popular; Movimentos Socias e Participação Política No Brasil Pós-70*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume-Dumará.

Durkheim, Emile. 1964. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Etherington, Kim. 2007. "Ethical Research in Reflexive Relationships." *Qualitative Inquiry* 13 (5): 599–616.

Etzioni, A. 1996. *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society*. London: Profile.

Eversole, Robyn. 2011. "Community Agency and Community Engagement: Re-Theorising Participation in Governance." *Journal of Public Policy* 31 (01): 51–71. doi:10.1017/S0143814X10000206.

Fernandes, Edésio. 2007. "Constructing the 'Right to The City' in Brazil." *Social and Legal Studies* 16: 201–19.

Fix, Mariana. 2001. *Parceiros Da Exclusão: Duas Histórias Da Construção de Uma" Nova Cidade" Em São Paulo: Faria Lima e Água Espraiada*. São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial.

Fontan, Jean-Marc, Pierre Hamel, Richard Morin, and Eric Shragge. 2009. "Community Organizations and Local Governance in a Metropolitan Region." *Urban Affairs Review* 44 (6): 832–57. doi:10.1177/1078087408326901.

Freire-Medeiros, B. 2009. "The Favela and Its Touristic Transits." *Geoforum* 40: 580–88.

Freire, Leticia De Luna. 2008. "Favela, Bairro Ou Comunidade? Quando Uma Política Urbana Torna-Se Uma Política de Signifi Cados." *Dilemas - Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle Social* 1 (2): 95–114.

Frisch, Thomas. 2012. "Glimpses of Another World: The Favela as a Tourist Attraction." *Tourism Geographies* 14 (2): 320–38. doi:10.1080/14616688.2011.609999.

Galès, P. Le. 1995. "Du Gouvernement Des Villes à La Gouvernance Urbaine." *Revue Française Des Sciences Politiques* 45 (1): 135–70.

Gay, Robert. 1990. "Neighborhood Associations and Political Change in Rio de Janeiro." *Latin American Research Review* 25 (1): 102–18. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2503562.

———. 1994. *Popular Organization and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: A Tale of Two Favelas*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Germani, G. 1980. *Marginality.* New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Glebbeek, Marie-Louise, and Kees Koonings. 2016. "Between Morro and Asfalto. Violence, Insecurity and Socio-Spatial Segregation in Latin American Cities." *Habitat International* 54. Elsevier Ltd: 3–9. doi:10.1016/j.habitatint.2015.08.012.

Goldstein, Donna M. 2003. *Laughter out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. University of California Press.

Gonçalves, Fabiana Rodrigues. 2013. "Direitos Sociais: Direito à Moradia." *Âmbito Jurídico* XVI (110). http://www.ambitojuridico.com.br/site/?n_link=revista_artigos_leitura&artigo_id=12892%0A%3E.

González de la Rocha, Mercedes, Janice Perlman, Helen Safa, Elizabeth Jelin, Bryan R Roberts, and Peter M Ward. 2004. "From the Marginality of the 1960s to the 'New Poverty' of Today: A LARR Research Forum." *Latin American Research Review* 39 (1): 183–203. doi:10.1353/lar.2004.0021.

Goss, Sue. 2001. *Making Local Governance Work*. New York: Palgrave.

Gusfield, Joseph R. 1975. *Community: A Critical Response*. New York: Harper & Row.

Haar, Gemma van der. 2004. "The Zapatista Uprising and the Struggle for Indigenous Autonomy." *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 76: 99–108.

Hajer, Maarten, and Wytske Versteeg. 2005. "Performing Governance Through Networks." *European Political Science* 4: 340–47. doi:10.1057/palgrave.eps.2210034.

Hale, Charles R. 2001. "What Is Activist Research." *Social Science Research Council* 2: 13–15.

———. 2006. "Activist Research v . Cultural Critique : Indigenous Land Rights and the

Contradictions of Politically Engaged Anthropology" 21 (1): 96–120.

Heller, Kenneth. 1989. "The Return to Community." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 1: 1–15.

Hergenrather, Kenneth C., Scott D. Rhodes, Chris A. Cowan, Gerta Bardhoshi, and Sara Pula. 2009. "Photovoice as Community-Based Participatory Research: A Qualitative Review." *American Journal of Health Behavior* 33 (6): 686–98. doi:10.5993/AJHB.33.6.6.

Holston, James. 1991. "Autoconstruction in Working-Class Brazil." *Cultural Anthropology* 6 (4): 447–65. doi:10.1525/can.1991.6.4.02a00020.

Hutchinson, Vivian. 1999. "It Is the Local That Learns - Some Thoughts on Community Governance." In *Community Governance Forum*.

IBGE. 1991. *Censo Demográfico 1991*. IBGE.

———. 2001. *Censo Demográfico 2000: Características Da População e Dos Domicílios: Resultados Do Universo*. IBGE.

———. 2010. "Censo Demográfico." https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/.

Jesus, Carolina Maria de. 1962. *Child of the Dark: The Diary of Carolina Maria de Jesus*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.

Katsaura, Obvious. 2012. "Community Governance in Urban South Africa: Spaces of Political Contestation and Coalition." *Urban Forum* 23 (3): 319–42. doi:10.1007/s12132-011-9138-5.

Kay, Cristóbal. 1991. "Reflections on the Latin American Contribution to Development Theory." *Development and Change* 22: 31–68. doi:10.4324/9780203835418.

Kofman, Eleonore, and Elizabeth Lebas. 1996. "Lost in Transposition." In *Writings on Cities Henri Lefebvre*, 3–60. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Kooiman, Jan, ed. 1993. *Modern Governance*. London: Sage Publications.

———. 2003. *Governing as Governance*. London: Sage Publications.

Korah, Prosper, Patrick Cobbinah, Abraham Nunbogu, and Sarah Gyogluu. 2017. "Spatial Plans and Urban Development Trajectory in Kumasi, Ghana." *GeoJournal* 82 (6): 1113–34.

Korah, Prosper Issahaku, Patrick Brandful Cobbinah, and Abraham Marshall Nunbogu. 2017. "Spatial Planning in Ghana: Exploring the Contradictions." *Planning Practice and Research* 7459 (December). Routledge: 1–24. doi:10.1080/02697459.2017.1378977.

Koster, Martijn, and Monique Nuijten. 2012. "From Preamble to Post-Project Frustrations: The Shaping of a Slum Upgrading Project in Recife, Brazil." *Antipode* 44 (1): 175–96. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8330.2011.00894.x.

Kowarick, Lúcio. 2004. "Housing and Living Conditions in the Periphery of São Paulo: An Ethnographic and Sociological Study." CBS-58-04. Oxford.

Kowarick, Lúcio, and Nabil Georges Bonduki. 1994. "Urban Space and Political Space: From Populism to Redemocratization." In *Social Struggles and the City: The Case of São Paulo*, edited by Lúcio Kowarick, 121–47. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Kraatz, Elizabeth Santas. 2001. "The Structure of Health and Illness in a Brazilian Favela." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 12 (3): 173–79. http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/104365960101200301#articleCitationDownloadContainer.

Krefting, Laura. 1991. "Trustworthiness." *American Journal of Occupational Therapy* 45 (3): 214–22.

Lacerda, Daniel S. 2015. "Rio de Janeiro and the Divided State: Analysing the Political Discourse on

Favelas." *Discourse and Society* 26 (1): 74–94. doi:10.1177/0957926514541346.

Lara, Fernando Luiz, and Luis E. Carranza. 2014. *Modern Architecture in Latin America: Art, Technology and Utopia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Leach, R., and J. Percy-Smith. 2001. *Local Governance in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Leeds, Anthony, and Elizabeth Leeds. 1967. "Brazil and the Myth of Urban Rurality: Urban Experience, Work, and Values in 'Squatments' of Rio de Janeiro and Lima." In . St. Thomas: Conference on Urbanism and Work in Modernizing Societies.

———. 1978. *A Sociologia Do Brasil Urbano*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editora.

Leeds, Elizabeth. 1996. "Cocaine and Parallel Polities in the Brazilian Urban Periphery : Constraints on Local-Level Democratization." *Latin America Research Review* 31 (3): 47–83.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1964a. "L'État et La Société." *Les Cahiers Du Centre d'études Socialistes* 42/43: 17–29.

———. 1964b. "Les Sources de La Théorie Marxiste-Leniniste de l'État." *Les Cahiers Du Centre d'études Socialistes* 42/43: 31–48.

———. 1966. "Henri Lefebvre Ouvre Le Débat Sur La Théorie de l'autogestion." *Autogestion et Socialisme* 1: 59–70.

———. 1968. *Le Droit à La Ville*. Paris: Anthropos.

———. 1974. *La Production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos.

———. 1975. *Le Temps Des Méprises*. Paris: Stock.

———. 1979. "A Propos d' Un Nouveau Modèle Étatique." *Dialectiques* 27: 47–55.

———. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

———. 2001. *Direito à Cidade*. São Paulo: Centauro.

———. 2009a. "Comments on a New State Form." In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 124–52. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2009b. "The State and Society." In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 51–68. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2009c. "The Withering Away of the State: The Sources of Marxist-Leninist State Theory." In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 69–94. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2009d. "Theoretical Problems of Autogestion." In *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by S; Brenner, N; Elden. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, Henri, Stuart Elden, and Neil Brenner. 2009. *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mafra, Clara. 2008. "Drogas e Símbolos: Redes de Solidariedade Em Contextos de Violência." In *Um Século de Favela*, edited by Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, 5th Editio, 277–98. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Mangin, William. 1967. "Latin American Squatter a Problem Settlements : A Problem and a Solution." *Latin American Research Review, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer, 1967), Pp. 65-98* 2 (3): 65–98.

Mannarini, Terri, and Angela Fedi. 2006. "Multiple Senses of Community: The Experience and Meaning of Community." *Journal of Community Psychology* 37 (2): 211–27.

Marques, Eduardo. 2015. "Urban Poverty, Segregation and Social Networks in São Paulo and Salvador, Brazil." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 39 (6): 1067–83. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12300.

Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman. 2011. *Designing Qualitative Research*. 5th editio. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Marx, Karl. 1974. "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Introduction." In *Karl Marx - Early Writings*. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

McKieran, L, S Kim, and R Lasker. 2000. "Collaboration: Learning the Basics of Community Governance." *Community* 3: 23–29.

McMillan, D W, and D M Chavis. 1986. "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory." *Journal of Community Psychology* 14 (1): 6–23. doi:10.1002/1520-6629(198601)14:1<6::AID-JCOP2290140103>3.0.CO;2-I.

Mead, Margaret. 1977. *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Melenotte, Sabrina. 2015. "Zapatista Autonomy and the Making of Alter-Native Politics: Views from Its Day-to-Day Praxis." *Focaal* 2015 (72): 51–63. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2015.720105.

Merrifield, Andy. 2006. *Henri Lefebvre A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.

Moore, Henrietta, and Ed Mayo. 2001. *The Mutual State: How Local Communities Can Run Public Services*. London: New Economics Foundation.

Müller, Frank I. 2017. "Urban Informality as a Signifier: Performing Urban Reordering in Suburban Rio de Janeiro." *International Sociology* 32 (4): 493–511. doi:10.1177/0268580917701585.

Novaes, André Reyes. 2014. "Favelas and the Divided City: Mapping Silences and Calculations in Rio de Janeiro's Journalistic Cartography." *Social and Cultural Geography* 15 (2): 201–25. doi:10.1080/14649365.2013.872285.

Nun, Jose. 1969. "Superpoblacion Relativa, Ejercito Industrial de Reserva y Masa Marginal." *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociologia* 5 (2): 178–235.

Nunbogu, Abraham Marshall, and Prosper Issahaku Korah. 2016. "Self-Organisation in Urban Spatial Planning: Evidence from the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area, Ghana." *Urban Research and Practice* 10 (4). Routledge: 423–41. doi:10.1080/17535069.2016.1238502.

O'Leary, Rosemary, Lisa Blomgren Bingham, and Catherine Gerard. 2006. "Introduction to the Symposium on Collaborative Public Management." *Public Administration Review* 66: 1–170.

O'Toole, Kevin, and Neil Burdess. 2004. "New Community Governance in Small Rural Towns: The Australian Experience." *Journal of Rural Studies* 20 (4): 433–43. doi:10.1016/j.jrurstud.2004.01.002.

Oliveira, Jane de Souto de. 1997. "Os Outros Lados Do Funk Carioca." In *Galeras Cariocas*, edited by Luiz Werneck Vianna, 59–93. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.

Oliveira, Jane de Souto de, and Maria Hortense Marcier. 1998. "A Palavra é: Favela." In *Um Século de Favela*, edited by Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, 5th Editio, 61–114. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Opalach, Bethany. 1997. "Political Space: The Architecture of Squatter Settlements in Sao Paulo, Brazil." *Tradional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 9 (1): 35–50.

Ostrander, Susan A. 2013. "Agency and Initiative by Community Associations in Relations of Shared Governance: Between Civil Society and Local State." *Community Development Journal* 48 (4): 511–24. doi:10.1093/cdj/bss051.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1993. "A Communitarian Approach to Local Governance." *National Civic Review* 82 (3): 226–33. doi:10.1002/ncr.4100820305.

Packer, Martin. 2011. *The Science of Qualitative Research*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pardue, Derek. 2010. "Making Territorial Claims: Brazilian Hip Hop and the Socio-Geographical Dynamics of Periferia." *City and Society* 22 (1): 48–71. doi:10.1111/j.1548-744X.2010.01030.x.

Park, R.E. 1967. "Community Organization and the Romantic Temper." In *The City*, 113–22. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Patton, Michael Quinn. 2014. *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. 4th editio. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Penglase, Ben. 2009. "States of Insecurity: Everyday Emergencies, Public Secrets, and Drug Trafficker Power in a Brazilian Favela." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 32 (1): 47–63.

Perlman, Janice. 1976. *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2010. *Favela - Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pierre, J. 1999. "Models of Urban Governance—The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics." *Urban Affairs Review* 34 (3): 372–396.

Pierre, J., and B.G. Peters. 2001. *Governance, Politics and the State*. London: Macmillan.

Pierre, Jon, ed. 2000. *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.

Power, Emma R. 2015. "Placing Community Self-Governance: Building Materialities, Nuisance

Noise and Neighbouring in Self-Governing Communities." *Urban Studies* 52 (2): 245–60. doi:10.1177/0042098014525242.

Quijano, Anibal. 1977. *Imperialismo y 'Marginalidad'En America Latina*. Lima: Mosca Azul Editores.

Rauws, Ward. 2016. "Civic Initiatives in Urban Development: Self-Governance versus Self-Organisation in Planning Practice." *Town Planning Review* 87 (3): 339–61. doi:10.3828/tpr.2016.23.

Rhodes, R. 1997. *Understanding Governance, Policy Networks, Reflexivity and Accountability*. Buckingham: Oxford University Press.

Rhodes, R A W. 2000. "Governance and Public Administration." In *Debating Governance: Authority, Steering, and Democracy*, edited by Jon Pierre, 54–90. Oxford.

Rocha, Mariana Machado. 2016. "Quando a Favela é Extensão Da Universidade: O Programa Avizinhar Em Meio Às Relações Entre a USP e a São Remo." *Dissertation*. Universidade de São Paulo.

Rolfes, Manfred. 2010. "Poverty Tourism: Theoretical Reflections and Empirical Findings Regarding an Extraordinary Form of Tourism." *GeoJournal* 75 (5): 421–42. doi:10.1007/s10708-009-9311-8.

Rose, Nikolas. 1996. "The Death of the Social? Re-Figuring the Territory of Government." *Economy & Society* 25 (3): 327–356.

———. 2000. "Community, Citizenship, and the Third Way." *American Behavioral Scientist* 43 (9): 1395–1411.

Roy, Ananya. 2005. "Urban Informality." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71 (Spring): 147–58. doi:issn.0194-4363.

———. 2009. "Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization." *Planning Theory* 8 (1): 76–87. doi:10.1177/1473095208099299.

Ruby, Jay. 1980. "Exposing Yourself: Reflexivity, Anthropology, and Film." *Semiotica* 30 (1–2): 153–80.

Russell Bernard, H. 2015. "Participant Observation." In *Research Methods in Anthropology*, 4th editio. Plymouth, PY, UK: AltaMira Press.

Saaristo, Saila. 2015. "Favela Associations: Between Repression, Violence and Politics." *Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 40 (2): 28–49.

Sanjek, Roger. 2014. *Ethnography in Today's World: Color Full before Color Blind*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Santos, Boaventura de Souza. 1978. "Estarão as Pranchetas Mudando de Rumo?" *Revista Chão* 1: 22–31.

———. 1980. "Como Projetar de Baixo Para Cima Uma Experiência Em Favela." *Revista de Administração Municipal* 156: 6–27.

Savell, Stephanie. 2015. "'I'm Not a Leader': Cynicism and Good Citizenship in a Brazilian Favela." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 38 (2): 300–317. doi:10.1111/plar.12112.

Schmid, Christian. 2008. "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialetic." In *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, edited by Kanisha Goonewardena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schimd, 27–45. New York: Routledge.

Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press.

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

Shields, Rob. 2005. *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*. Routledge.

Silva, Angela Dos Santos. 2015. "Operação Urbana Consorciada Água Espraiada: Análise de Política Pública Para Implantação de Projetos de Habitação de Interesse Social No Setor Jabaquara Ano 2001-2012." Universidade de São Paulo.

Silva, Gerardo. 2011. "ReFavela (Notas Sobre a Definição de Favela) 19." *Revista Lugar Comum– Estudos de Mídia, Cultura e Democracia* 39: 37–43. http://uninomade.net/wp-content/files_mf/110906130223ReFavela notas sobre a definição de favela - Gerardo Silva.pdf.

Silva, Jailson de Souza, Jorge Luiz Barbosa, Mariane de Oliveira Biteti, and Fernando Lannes Fernandes. 2009. "O Que é a Favela, Afinal?" In *O Que é a Favela, Afinal?*, 104. Rio: Observatório de Favelas. www.observatoriodefavelas.org.br.

Silva, Luiz Antonio Machado da. 1971. "Mercados Metropolitanos de Trabalho Manual e Marginalidade." Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

Silva, Luiz Antônio Machado da. 1967. "A Política Na Favela." *Cadernos Brasileiros* IX (41): 35–47.

Snow, David A., and Danny Trom. 2002. *The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Somerville, Peter. 2005. "Community Governance and Democracy." *Policy and Politics* 33 (1): 117–44. doi:10.1332/0305573052708438.

Stacey, Paul, and Christian Lund. 2016. "In a State of Slum: Governance in an Informal Urban

Settlement in Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 54 (4): 591–615. doi:10.1017/S0022278X16000586.

Stanek, Lukasz. 2011. *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Steele, Liza G. 2011. "'A Gift from God': Adolescent Motherhood and Religion in Brazilian Favelas." *Sociology of Religion* 72 (1): 4–27. https://academic.oup.com/socrel/article-abstract/72/1/4/1614219.

Stoker, Gerry. 1991. *The Politics of Local Government*. London: Macmillan.

———. 1998. "Governance as Theory: Five Propositions." *International Social Science Journal* 50 (155): 17–28. doi:10.1111/1468-2451.00106.

———. , ed. 1999. *The New Management of British Local Governance*. London: Macmillan.

Sullivan, Helen. 2001. "Maximising the Contribution of Neighbourhoods - The Role of Community Governance." *Public Policy and Administration* 16 (2): 30–49.

Swyngedouw, Erik. 2005. "Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the-State." *Urban Studies* 42 (11): 1991–2006. doi:10.1080/00420980500279869.

Tanaka, M.M. Soban. 1993. "Favela e Periferia: Estudos de Recomposição Urbana." São Paulo.

Tanaka, Marta Maria Soban. 1991. "Estudo de Caso: A Favela Da USP." São Paulo.

Taylor, Marilyn. 2007. "Community Participation in the Real World: Opportunities and Pitfalls in New Governance Spaces." *Urban Studies* 44 (2): 297–317. doi:10.1080/00420980601074987.

Termeer, Catrien J.A.M., Marian Stuiver, Alwin Gerritsen, and Patrick Huntjens. 2013. "Integrating Self-Governance in Heavily Regulated Policy Fields: Insights from a Dutch Farmers'

Cooperative." *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning* 15 (2): 285–302. doi:10.1080/1523908X.2013.778670.

Thomas, Michael P. 1966. *Community Governance and the School Board: A Case Study*. Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas.

Tonkiss, Fran. 2005. *Space, the City and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Torfing, J. 2005. "Governance Network Theory: Towards a Second Generation." *European Political Science* 4 (3): 299–309.

Torres, Carlos Alberto. 1994. "Paulo Freire as Secretary of Education in the Municipality of São Paulo Author." *Comparative Education Review* 38 (2): 181–214.

Totikidis, V., A. F.. Armstrong, and R. D. Francis. 2005. "The Concept of Community Governance: A Preliminary Review." *GovNet Conference*, 20.

Turner, John F C. 1969. "Uncontrolled Urban Settlement: Problems and Policies." In *The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization*, edited by Gerald Breese. New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs.

USP. 1984. "Projeto Habitacao / Favela Sao Remo." São Paulo: Arquivo Geral da USP. doi:22518/84.

———. 1988. "Solicitacao de Uma Area Localizada Na Favela Sao Remo, Para a Construcao de Uma Creche." São Paulo: Arquivo Geral da USP. doi:88.1.324.49.2.

———. 1992. "Consulta a CJ Quanto o Prologamento Da Rede Coletora de Esgoto, Junto Aos Moradores Da Favela Sao Remo." São Paulo: Arquivo Geral da USP. doi:92.1.50997.1.0.

———. 2004. "Permissao de Uso de Espaco/Area." São Paulo: Arquivo Geral da USP. doi:2004.1.22801.1.0.

Valladares, Licia do Prado. 2005. *A Invenção Da Favela: Do Mito de Origem a Favela. Com*. FGV.

Vaz, Lillian Fessler. 1986. "Notas Sobre o Cabeça de Porco." *Revista Rio de Janeiro* 1 (2): 29–35.

Vianna, Luiz Werneck. 1997. *Galeras Cariocas: Territórios de Conflitos e Encontros Culturais*. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2008. "The Militarization of Urban Marginality : Lessons from the Brazilian Metropolis." *International Political Sociology* 2: 56–74.

Wang, Caroline, and Mary Ann Burris. 1997. "Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessment." *Health Education & Behavior* 24 (3): 369–87. doi:10.1177/109019819702400309.

Wang, Caroline C. 1999. "Photovoice : A Participatory Action Research Strategy Photovoice." *Journal of Women's Health* 8 (2): 185–92.

Weber, Max. 1954. *Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wiesenfeld, Esther. 1996. "The Concept of '"We"': A Community Social Psychology Myth?" *Journal of Community Psychology* 24 (4): 337–46.

Williams, Claire. 2008. "Ghettourism and Voyeurism, or Challenging Stereotypes and Raising Consciousness? Literary and Non-Literary Forays into the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27 (4): 483–500. doi:10.1111/j.1470-9856.2008.00280.x.

Wosket, V. 1999. *The Therapeutic Use of Self: Counseling, Practice, Research and Supervision*. London: Routledge.

Yin, Robert K. 2003. *Case Study Research Design and Methods*. Third Edit. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Young, Iris Marion. 2011. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University

Press.

Zaluar, Alba. 2000. "Perverse Integration: Drug Trafficking and Youth in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro." *Journal of International Affairs* 53 (2): 653. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=3035999&site=ehost-live.

———. 2008. "Crime, Medo e Política." In *Um Século de Favela*, edited by Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, 5th Editio, 209–32. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.

Interview Protocol

Ice-Breaker
1) Você poderia me contar um pouco sobre você e a sua história? De onde você é?

2) Como você veio morar nessa comunidade? Onde você morou no começo? Era sua casa ou aluguel?

3) Como era aqui quando você chegou?

4) O que mudou aqui na comunidade desde quando você chegou aqui?

5) Você gosta de morar aqui? Porque?

6) Você interage com outros moradores da comunidade no dia-a-dia*? Como, com quem e porque?*

7) *Você conhece os seus vizinhos? Que tipo de relacionamento você tem com eles? Você conhece a família dos seus vizinhos?*

8) Você conversa com os seus vizinhos? Sobre o que vocês conversam? E onde vocês se encontram pra conversar?

9) *Você sente que pode contar com as pessoas da sua comunidade*? Se você tiver algum problema, alguma dificuldade , você pode contar com as pessoas da comunidade?

10) *Como é a sua rotina aqui na comunidade*? Você trabalha? Se sim, aonde? Você gosta do seu trabalho? Há quanto tempo você trabalha lá?

11) Qual caminho você faz quando vai para o trabalho? Você se sente seguro nesse caminho?

12) *Quem mora com você*? Quantos anos eles tem?

Espaço
1) Me conte um pouco sobre a sua casa. Como ela é*?*

2) *A sua casa é grande ou pequena*? Quantos cômodos tem a sua casa?

3) *O que mudou nela nos últimos anos?*

4) *A casa em que você mora é sua ou é alugada? A terra é sua? Se não, onde começa o seu pedaço e termina o do outro?*

5) Você tem algum documento atestando que a casa é sua?

6) *Se não, você tem medo de perder a sua casa*?

7) *Você participou da construção da sua casa*? Alguém te ajudou?

8) *O que você gostaria de mudar na sua casa e porque?*

9) A sua casa foi construída de uma vez só ou você construindo aos poucos?

10) As vezes quando uma família aumenta, a casa muda também. Você já mudou alguma coisa na sua casa por causa de mudanças na sua família?

11) *Quais são as coisas que você mais valoriza/gosta na sua comunidade*? *Porque?*

12) O que você não gosta aqui na comunidade? Porque?

13) Quem que toma conta da comunidade?

14) *O que você acha que ainda está faltando aqui na comunidade (playground, áreas verdes, creche)?*

15) *Você ajuda a cuidar do espaço da comunidade? Como? Quem mais cuida do espaço na comunidade?*

16) Qual é o seu lugar favorito na comunidade e porque*?*

17) Quais lugares você frequenta aqui na comunidade? (casa de amigos, vendinha, bar, associação)

18) O que você acha dos becos da sua comunidade? *Eles são bem cuidados?*

19) Como você avalia os seguintes itens na sua cominidade - Áreas verdes*? Playground? Creche? Posto de saúde? Transporte?*

20) *Você considera a sua comunidade um lugar seguro?*

21) Quem que toma conta da comunidade*?*

22) *Porque você chama o lugar que você mora de **COMUNIDADE**?* O que a palavra comunidade significa para você? O que é diferente em morar em uma comunidade ou morar em um bairro qualquer da cidade?

Ação coletiva
1) *Você sabe como surgiu a associação Conquistando um Espaço*?

2) Você sabe quais são os principais objetivos da associação? Quais são os projetos da associação*?*

3) Você está envolvido na associação*? Como? Qual o seu papel e função?*

4) *Porque você está envolvido? Como começou o seu envolvimento?*

5) *Como você avalia o trabalho que já foi feito pela associação até agora? O que você diria foram as maiores conquistas da associação?*

6) *O que você espera que a associação alcance no futuro?*

7) *Você acha que você se beneficia do trabalho da associação*? Quem mais se beneficia do trabalho da associação*?*

8) Quais são as maiores dificuldades da associação?

9) Você sabe quantas pessoas na comunidade estão envolvidas na associação*? Quem são os lideres? Existe alguma hierarquia?*

10) *Como as pessoas na associação toman decisões como um grupo? A comunidade é envolvida nos processos de decisão?*

11) *Como a comunidade é informada sobre o que acontece com a associação?*

12) Como você lida com problemas e desentendimentos com o grupo*?*

13) *Como/onde você busca doaçãoes e contribuições financeiras? Quem são os doadores principais? Como vocês decidem o que fazer com as doações?*

14) *Vocês tem uma sede? Como vocês conseguiram essa sede?*

15) *Vocês tem o apoio de políticos ou outros funcionários do governo? Que tipo de apoio? Como foi o processo de conseguir esse apoio? Há alguma contrapartida em troca dessa ajuda?*

16) *Vocês têm parceiros na comunidade? Como a parceria funciona? Quais são os objetivos dessa parceria? Como que essa parceria foi criada?*

Mudanças
1) Na sua opinião, como a comunidade mudou desde quando você chegou aqui? O que mudou? Algo melhorou ou piorou?
2) Você se considera responsável por alguma mudança na comunidade? Se sim, como? Se não, porque? Quem você diria que são os responsáveis por essas mudanças?

3) Como essas mudanças aconteceram? Ainda existem mudanças acontecendo? Quais?

4) O que você acha que ainda não mudou mas precisa mudar? Você pode colaborar de alguma forma para que essas coisas mudem? Se sim, como? Se não, porque não?

Cidadania
1) Você se considera um cidadão brasileiro?

2) Você acha que tem os seus direitos como cidadão?

3) Quais direitos vocês tem?

4) Quais direitos você não tem?

5) Você luta pelos seus direitos? Como? A associação luta pelos seus direitos?

- Há alguma coisa sobre esse tema que eu não te perguntei, mas que você gostaria de dizer?
- Quem você recomendaria que eu conversasse sobre esse tema aqui na comunidade? Tem como você me colocar em contato com essa pessoa?
- Tem alguma coisa que você gostaria de me perguntar?