5. Conclusion

The present work has explored and demonstrated how participation in an active claiming of rights by occupying empty buildings has shaped the actors' understanding of citizenship and gender. Based on oral histories, I have reconstructed the perspectives of the inhabitants of the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* squats on their daily struggles in the city, within a context of dominant and excluding conceptions of politics. It has been shown that beyond dominant state or leadership discourses, the inhabitants develop their own understandings and articulation of citizenship and gender.

Hence, in the following section, I will first summarize the main findings of the study, taking into account the questions raised in the introductory chapter, and will then also identify cross-cutting issues that demonstrate the relevance of this study and lead us to a number of further potential areas of research.

Constructing Citizenship and Gender "from Below"

The ongoing academic debate on citizenship has shown the existence of various positions and areas of emphasis within the theoretical discussion. One central element of the citizenship debate has been the discussion of whether citizenship refers solely to a legal status of membership in a nation-state, or whether it is also a social process. Many studies still make an abstract separation, and focus either on citizenship as a status,[1] or citizenship as a practice.[2] This study has emphasized however that in order to be able to determine how membership may be experienced, understood, and negotiated, it is important to understand citizenship as an inseparable combination of both—a formal status as well as a social practice—since the legal status also entails processes and practices of negotiating, contesting, and broadening the content and character of given rights,

1 Bauböck et al. 2006, Comparative Analyses.

2 Isin 2009, Citizenship in a Flux, Isin 2008, Theorizing Acts of Citizenship, p. 17.

and *vice versa*. Hence, only when analyzing the entanglements of a citizenship "from above" (the formal status) with a citizenship "from below" (the social processes of its negotiation) are we able to uncover the concrete patterns and reasons for inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state.

Taking both aspects into account has thus offered the potential to concentrate in this study not only on dominant state discourses, but also on how people themselves try to shape and negotiate their inclusion, and thus has enabled the study to incorporate the view and voices of "excluded" social actors, such as the inhabitants of the squats, who are important agents in the creation of a citizenship "from below." Concentrating then also on the performative dimension of citizenship, it becomes possible to detect the gap between formal and substantive citizenship—the gap between having rights in theory and being able to exercise them in practice.

Turning with this theoretical background to the specific case of Brazil, a historical overview of its development of citizenship has shown the importance of taking the national context and its specific historical development into account when talking about citizenship and when trying to understand the patterns of exclusion in contemporary societies. Through an examination of Brazilian history, it became clear that T.H. Marshall's assumption of a progressive, linear, and cumulative expansion of citizenship rights cannot be maintained for the case of Brazil, where citizenship expanded and eroded unevenly throughout the course of history, and produced, according to James Holston, a differentiated citizenship.[3] Talking with the inhabitants of the two squats about their life stories and backgrounds has confirmed the existence of an ongoing unequal access to rights and privileges available to certain parts of the Brazilian population. In Brazil today, as in the past, people affected by poverty in particular are *de facto* excluded from constitutional social rights in their everyday lives—including the right to education, work, healthcare, and housing. The inhabitants' difficult (former) living conditions are thus a good example of how the extension of formal rights in the Brazilian Constitution has not led to their consistent recognition and application in practice.

However, I have also tried to illustrate in this study that, in common with other scholars, I argue that it is important not to deny the efforts and strategies of "the excluded" to change their living conditions and fight inequality and exclusion in the course of (Brazilian) history up until today.[4] For instance, in the

3 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 220f; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 7.

4 Lister 2011, From the Intimate to the Global, p. 29; Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 65f.

urban context the affected population had organized since the beginning of urban development—e.g. in the form of social movements—and had confronted their exclusion and differentiated access to rights in practice "from below."

In many cases the collective struggles for inclusion had been successful, as this study has shown in the case of housing, where movements achieved a formal inclusion of the right to housing, and mechanisms for its implementation, in the Brazilian Constitution. Here again the entanglement of legal status and social process becomes apparent, as the processes and practices of negotiating rights were able to contest and broaden the content and character of given rights: to retroact on the legal status. But the fact that despite these achievements people are still struggling for "full citizenship" also demonstrates that those who possess formal state-membership can nevertheless still be excluded from social, civil, and political rights in practice. The squats in Rio de Janeiro's city center are thus a good example of how this ongoing exclusion is still contested "from below" today.

In the specific case of the squats it is the urban space which becomes the context and framework in which these citizenship struggles take place and are negotiated and shaped. Since early on the development and planning of urban structure, as described in this study for the case of Rio de Janeiro, has produced its specific forms of inclusion and exclusion, which still persist today, and also shape the actors' approach to citizenship and gender. The low-income population is (still) especially spatially displaced and excluded from access to the city and its benefits, and thus in practice excluded from their constitutional rights—such as the social right to housing. Hence, it has been demonstrated that historically rooted dominant excluding practices in the city form the basis for the claims and practices of—as James Holston calls it—an insurgent citizenship: a citizenship that is embedded in everyday practices, located in the urban context and organized around the need for housing.

Their exclusion from adequate access to affordable housing, and unequal access to public goods and services in the city, have in fact been the main reasons and stimuli behind the inhabitants' decision to participate in the occupation of empty buildings; that is, to become engaged in citizenship activities. We have learned that the need to improve their own and their families' living conditions in the city had been so urgent that they had decided to accept the risks involved in participation, and faced the challenge of occupation even though they sometimes had barely known what to expect. Additionally, some inhabitants had mentioned a political motivation for their participation, and had been engaged in citizenship activities before. But these inhabitants had also come to their activism through privation and the desire to improve their daily

living conditions. Thus the study suggests that citizenship is something that can develop from an everyday practice and is not *per se* bound to a pre-existing political education or consciousness.

As with similar research, this study has demonstrated the concept of citizenship on an academic level to be very useful for the description, denunciation, and analysis of processes of inclusion and exclusion,[5] but it has also aimed to highlight to the need for further research that takes account of how affected people themselves—such as the inhabitants of the squats—understand citizenship, and what it actually means to them.[6] Few studies explore the construction of the actors involved beyond dominant state or leadership discourses. By taking their perspectives into account and giving them "a voice," however, we are able to learn more about concrete mechanisms of exclusion within the nation-state, and how to better integrate the concerns of marginalized actors into politics.[7] Approaching citizenship struggles on a micro level, and thus focusing on their concrete actors, has also revealed their heterogeneity, which only then can be detected and taken into account.

Even though both squats formed part of the same citizenship process—namely the process of demanding the right to housing in practice—and therefore share common characteristics, this study has revealed that they nevertheless differed considerably from each other, especially regarding their internal organization. These differences had also influenced understandings of citizenship and gender in the squats and underlined the importance of citizenship always being situated in its specific political, social, and historical context, as well as highlighting how the experiences of citizenship are diverse and cannot be homogenized. A comparative approach had turned out to be especially useful in order to uncover the heterogeneity and specifics of the actors involved. This is also why case studies are so important, and why further research on the concrete understandings and experiences of citizenship is necessary.

A closer look at the inhabitants' understanding and articulation of citizenship has in fact revealed that the actors rarely used an academic conception of citizenship, but developed their own language with which to frame their struggles. For the case studies, two approaches the inhabitants used to legitimate their action could be detected: on the one hand they used a language of rights—consisting of references to text-based rights and contributor rights—and

5 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 163; Hearn et al. 2011, Introduction, p. 4.

6 Gaventa 2002, Introduction; Kabeer 2005, Introduction.

7 As also emphazised for example by Jones et al. 2009, Governance and Citizenship from Below, p. vii.

on the other hand a language of needs—consisting of references to their basic needs

It turned out that a language of rights was not used by all the inhabitants, and in fact hardly developed without the continual guidance and instruction of actors who were already speaking a language of rights, such as for example the actors (already) involved in the housing movements responsible for the squats. For these movements, a reference to text-based and contributor rights constituted an important instrument and effective tool with which to legitimate their actions and effectively operate in the public sphere. It enabled them to enter into a more effective negotiation with the state, as this reference to the Constitution implies a political vocabulary of rights and obligations, and thus reminds the government of its legal obligations to provide housing.

However, even when a language of rights was adopted and used by the inhabitants of the squats to legitimate their actions, a closer examination has revealed that this did not always go hand-in-hand with an understanding of this language, especially not if continued supervision by a movement was lacking over time. Thus, the interviews suggest that an engagement in citizenship activities can, but does not necessarily, foster a stronger sense of rights, or a political understanding of them, in all participants. It seemed as if only when embedded in and promoted by certain structures—such as a social movement—was an engagement in citizenship activities accompanied by a (further) development of a political consciousness.

Thus, apparently, for the inhabitants of the squats a language of rights was not their "natural" way of talking about their participation and could not completely explain their feelings of being entitled to occupy empty buildings. Instead, the inhabitants often perceived their right to occupy through their individual basic needs, and were correspondingly also using a language of needs to express themselves. This language was not learned or merely reproduced—as was the language of rights—but emerged spontaneously out of the everyday lives of the inhabitants, which were characterized by the experience of exclusion from access to basic needs in the city, such as housing, education, and healthcare. However, it was also pointed out that the two languages the inhabitants fell back on to justify their participation in the occupation of the buildings were not contradictory but closely related, since one—the language of rights—had the potential to emerge out of the other—the of needs—and both contained the demand for change. But, since rights were often not realized or satisfied in practice, they remained contested needs, and were also expressed as such. For many inhabitants, then, the squats became not so much a political project, as a practical opportunity to have a better life.

The occupation of empty buildings in order to challenge the lack of access to social rights—that is, becoming engaged in citizenship activities—has also been interpreted in this study as an expression of how the participants imagined the urban space in which they lived and wanted to construct their futures in. Their everyday experiences and narratives formed part of the so-called urban imaginaries, which shape the patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the city and challenge hegemonic ideas of who belongs and who does not. These urban imaginaries also encompass the subjective perspectives of the actors themselves, such as their dreams, hopes, and wishes for the future,[8] thus expressing the actors' views on the struggles for general access to basic needs in the city.

The study has shown that the inhabitants' dreams and wishes were dominated by needs, and that they imagined an urban space in which its benefits would be equally accessible to all; one in which they would be able to live a decent life and guarantee their children a better future. However, due to their experiences of exclusion, some inhabitants had lost their confidence in politics and its ability to bring about real changes for the low-income population. But it could also be observed that in some cases the engagement in the squats had also led to greater self-confidence and personal security, which helped people to face and resolve future difficulties on their own. Thus, it has been demonstrated that dominant excluding practices also produced counter-imaginaries of the city, which may then lead to concrete intentions and the potential to overcome social segregation and inequality, which may in turn give rise to an insurgent citizenship, contesting the historically deeply rooted formulations of citizenship.

During the research process, one thing that became impossible to ignore was the strong presence and activism of women in the squats. Women constituted an essential part of the insurgent citizenship activities, as they were strongly involved in both the initial organization of the squats and their maintenance over time. Thus, this study has also added to the calls for further research on the gendered nature of mobilization around housing, and explored the prevailing gender roles, norms, and relations in the squats in order to reveal and explain the impacts of their mobilization on the understanding and articulation of gender.

Just as with the notion of citizenship, the academic arena has over the last few years developed various understandings of the concept of gender within theoretical discussion. This study has employed a deconstructionist approach, emphasizing that gender is socially and culturally constructed. But it has also been noted that poststructuralist thinking like that of Judith Butler, especially in empirical studies and political practice, is sometimes difficult to apply, as it

8 Soto Villagrán 2013, Zum Geschlecht (in) der Stadtforschung, p. 195; Huyssen 2008, Introduction, p. 3; Cinar et al. 2007, Introduction, pp. xi–xvii.

implies completely abandoning theoretical categories such as "women," which then also means denying the existence of a common and unifying experience on the basis of which women can frame and claim rights. Thus, despite the theoretical critique and the deconstructive claim for the rejection of the category "women," actors such as the women's movement continue to use it, mainly as a strategy. This so-called strategic essentialism is used mainly by such actors to be able to present themselves as a homogeneous group in order to realize and achieve political goals.[9] Hence, this study has assumed the existence of a common identity as "women," but nevertheless I remain aware of the importance of emphasizing the problematic homogenization underlying such terms, and the need to therefore highlight and differentiate between the existing diversity within this category. An examination of contemporary gender relations in urban Brazil has for example demonstrated that low-income women do share common experiences and challenges in their daily lives that should not be ignored. They are still mainly responsible for their households, and often have to perform a double or even triple shift.

Especially against the background of these discussions within the gender debate the concept of "doing gender" has been particularly useful for this study, as it stresses the interactional, performative, and situationally changing character and praxis of gender constructions and identities in everyday life situations.[10] Thus, on the one hand, it allows us to focus on and emphasize the social and cultural construction of gender without the necessity of abandoning certain categories and concepts such as, for example, the category "women." The categorization of a person is, according to the "doing gender" approach, part of our everyday interactions, and therefore becomes significant, even if socially constructed. On the other hand, focusing on the performative dimension of gender, the approach offers the potential to examine actors' agency and their own construction of gender, as well as their different gender identities in daily life situations.

Focusing on and examining the inhabitants' agency in the squats has clearly shown the need to take gender into account when talking about citizenship. The frequent invisibility of women in research on citizenship has also found its expression in the ongoing intense theoretical debate over citizenship within

9 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 110. Also, though the feminist movement does not deny the use of the category "women," they greatly emphasize the diversity existing within this category.

10 Gildemeister et al. 1995, Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden, p. 212; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, pp. 80f; Opitz-Belakhal 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, p. 27; Kotthoff 2002, Was heißt eigentlich „doing gender"?, p. 2.

feminist thinking. This study has shown that feminists have thereby challenged the assumed universality and gender-blindness of liberal citizenship theory, as for example formulated by T.H. Marshall, and have tried to call attention to the historical exclusion of women from citizenship in theory and practice. In this context, feminist scholars have also criticized the progressive, linear, and cumulative expansion of the three stages of citizenship rights postulated by T.H. Marshall, arguing that this had been a description of the experience of *white*, *male* wageworkers in Britain, and therefore had ignored the different (historical) development and struggles of women and others excluded from dominant discourses.

The study has also tried to call attention to the fact that one of the main reasons for women's oppression and exclusion from full citizenship has been the liberal distinction between the public and the private sphere. Feminist writers have shown that it is highly problematic to make assumptions and to interpret women's activities in the private sphere as being "natural" and therefore not political.[11] They highlight how the gendered division of labor in the private sphere conditions the access of both women and men to the public sphere, and therefore to citizenship rights.[12]

Thus, this study has highlighted the contribution of feminist scholars and the advantages and importance of an inclusion of a gender perspective when conceptualizing citizenship. Taking gender into account when talking about citizenship enables us to look behind dominant discourses of universality or equality, and allows a critical perspective on the concept of citizenship by revealing the exclusion of certain actors—for example women—from citizenship rights in both theory and practice, as well as the reasons behind this exclusion. Including gender, and of course other social categorizations such as ethnicity, class, and religion, helps to situate citizenship in its specific context and thus bring out the diverse lived experiences of citizenship of the different actors involved, as well as their agency. A gendered analysis of citizenship then also allows a closer examination of the private sphere with its existing and predominant gender structures, and helps to reveal the unique motivations behind and possibilities offered by women's agency and involvement in citizenship activities.

Turning with this theoretical background to the specific case of urban Latin America, the study has confirmed that despite the longstanding exclusion of

11 Prokhovnik 1998, Public and Private Citizenship, p. 87; Siim 2000, Gender and Citizenship, pp. 32f; Yongxiang et al. 2012, Constructing a Gender-oriented Mode, p. 35; Tupper 2002, The Gendering of Citizenship, no page.

12 Lister 2001, Citizenship and Gender, p. 2.

women from full citizenship in theory and practice, very often it was and still is they who bring forward citizenship activities, such as fighting for housing, education, and healthcare. In Latin America there is a long tradition of women's engagement in urban social movements, a fact that has been the subject of numerous academic publications.[13] This study has reflected on the main concerns of much of this research, namely the reasons for low-income women's engagement in urban citizenship activities, as well as the broader impacts of their participation. Even when trying to avoid generalizations about women's interests, most scholars agree that the reasons for the engagement of women in those popular social movements are mainly based on the gendered division of labor in society, which allocates the responsibility for provision for the family and the defense and organization of living conditions to women, acting out their traditional roles as housewives and mothers.[14] Especially in Latin America, women have deployed a language of difference, emphasizing gender differences and especially their traditional role as mothers. Motherhood had thus been identified as a central aspect of the legitimation of women's participation in citizenship activities. Additionally, this accentuation of women's traditionally ascribed role as mothers and wives had been interpreted as a strategy adopted by these women to facilitate and justify their entry into the public sphere and to bring their concerns from the private to the public sphere.

It has also been noted that searching for women's motivations for engaging in citizenship activities also implies looking at the broader impacts of their mobilization. The main question in the academic literature on women's engagement in citizenship activities has been whether through their engagement one can observe a lasting impact on their lives with regard to the gendered division of labor and the gender equality within their homes. Most scholars agree that the consequences of women's engagement in popular protest can be twofold. On the one hand, their engagement and entry into the public sphere has a great potential for change and can therefore lead to a rupture of the—hitherto

13 For example Potthast 2012, Frauen und soziale Bewegungen; Miller 1991, Latin American Women; Potthast 2003, Von Müttern und Machos; Jaquette 1994, The Women's Movement; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil; Radcliffe et al. 1993, 'Viva'; Jelin et al. 1990, Women and Social Change.

14 See for example Potthast 2012, Frauen und soziale Bewegungen; Jelin 1990, Citizenship and Identity; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil; Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective; Machado Vieira 1993, "We Learned to Think Politically".

prevailing—traditional patterns of gender roles.[15] On the other hand, it can also lead to an extension and reinforcement of women's traditional reproductive roles and responsibilities in the private sphere, especially as they often already have to perform a double shift.[16]

Against this background, women's concrete involvement in citizenship activities, in this case specifically their engagement in the occupation of empty buildings, has been analyzed, and the way in which gender relations actually influence and shape women's engagement in the squats—in citizenship activities—and *vice versa* has been revealed. A closer look at the specific reasons behind women's participation in the squats has shown that, just as assumed in the academic literature, their engagement in citizenship activities had been mainly motivated by practical gender interests based on a gendered division of labor in their homes, which allocated the responsibility for provision for the family and the defense and organization of living conditions to women. The women in the squats, as the interviews have revealed, were willing to assume this responsibility and to fight their difficult urban living conditions even against the wills of their male partners, who very often opposed their participation and refused to support them.

In order to identify not only the reasons for, but also the impacts of the inhabitants' engagement on their understanding and articulation of gender within the squats, and thus to contribute to the academic debate, the study then took a closer look at people's daily lives and routines in the squats—the division of labor both within and outside the family. Observations and talks brought to light a gendered division of labor that had not only been the reason for women's greater engagement, but had also persisted in both squats, in the private households as well as at a collective level. The study revealed that women in the squats assumed most of the domestic work, played the roles of mothers and caregivers, were often *chefes de família*, and in many cases performed a double or even triple shift; a situation (as identified earlier) faced by most low-income women in Brazil. Thus, their engagement in citizenship activities had not led to significant changes in the domestic division of labor. The differential participation of the sexes in the everyday life of the squats had rather revealed a persistence of traditional gender roles.

15 Such as for example the case studies of Andujar 2005, Mujeres Piqueteras and Schütze 2005, Wir kämpfen um Raum, show.

16 Jelin 1990, Citizenship and Identity; Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective; Flores et al. 2006, Género, Empoderamiento y Movimientos Sociales; Lind et al. 1996, Gender and Urban Social Movements; Hainard et al. 2001, Filling the Urban Policy Breach.

The gendered division of labor this study detected within private households could also be identified regarding the division of tasks dedicated to the collective of the squats. While cleaning, childcare, and income generation, at both private and collective levels, were mostly women's tasks, maintenance work was performed mainly by men. The division of tasks also demonstrated that in comparison to women, men had altogether fewer responsibilities in the squats.

In order to learn even more about the prevailing gender roles, norms and relations in the squats, this study identified the dominant female and male gender stereotypes—the traits and behaviors the inhabitants typically associated with men and women. Research has pointed out that gender roles form the basis of gender stereotypes, as these are beliefs that stem from the observation of men and women in different social roles.[17] Thus, it turned out that a diagnosed gendered division of labor inside the squats in fact went hand-in-hand with traditional stereotypical beliefs held by both the female and male inhabitants. While the inhabitants emphasized especially women's social and emotional skills as well as their domestic character, men were described as more rational, unemotional, and work-oriented. But it was also revealed that women especially were nevertheless aware of the existing patriarchal structures in which they were living, and of their negative effects on women. They expressed this awareness frequently through, for example, a negative stereotyping of men, and pointed to the disadvantages they faced in society due to being women.

The most dominant image of femininity reproduced in both squats was that of motherhood. To portray women as mothers, and to make motherhood central to womanhood, also implies allocating women explicitly to the private sphere. However, the study has shown that in general women did not question their role as mothers, and referred to it mainly as a positive identity. As a matter of fact, women's self-perception was mostly positive, and women expressed self-confidence and a belief that they were able to handle whatever situation they might face in life, almost to the same extent as that to which they identified with motherhood. The study suggests that it was ultimately this combination of responsibility for the private sphere and a strong self-confidence—a "self-confident motherhood," as I have called it—which created the pre-conditions for these women's engagement in citizenship activities. Women's conviction that they were able to make a change had certainly promoted their engagement, and their success in maintaining the squats had strengthened their positive self-perception even further.

17 Brannon 2002, Gender, p. 167; Guimond et al. 2006, Social Comparison, Self-Stereotyping, and Gender Differences, p. 221.

In order to further capture the dynamics and complexities of the gender relations in the squats, this study also attempted to capture the prevailing power relations among women and men. These found their most explicit and visible expression in the distribution of leadership positions inside the squats. Especially in the *Manoel Congo* squat, the topic of women's leadership could hardly be ignored, as it turned out that women were often coordinators not only of the local level, but of all levels of organization of the movements' hierarchies. It was found that an important factor which had promoted women's further engagement in the public sphere, and had encouraged them to take on more responsibilities, had apparently been the factor of being embedded in engagement-promoting structures, such as that of a social movement. These structures—as the case of *Manoel Congo* has shown, especially in contrast to and comparison with the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* squat—often provided orientation, networks, and role models for women.

However, the study found that women's engagement in leadership positions did not necessarily imply an overall challenge to their gender subordination or lead to reconfigurations of images and narratives of womanhood. On the contrary, the study has demonstrated that they established the same gender stereotypes as the other inhabitants, and had also stressed motherhood especially as an important part of womanhood. It was also found that women's citizenship cohabited with traditional ideals of gender in a relationship of tension. Women in leadership positions had reported that their engagement in leadership positions had often been accompanied by conflict in their private lives. They almost always confronted gender-related conflict at home with their male partners, since above a certain level of engagement, these women were facing the challenge of balancing their activism with traditional gender-role expectations as mothers and wives. Additionally, it turned out that despite women's strong engagement, within the movement in general there was still a male dominance in leadership positions, which also often constituted a challenge for female activists.

Hence, the squats turned out to be a good example of how mobilization around motherhood and needs-based issues provides a potential for change and emancipation, but does not automatically lead to a rupture of the—hitherto prevailing—traditional patterns of gender roles; that is, to women's greater gender equality or an awareness of gender subordination, especially when struggling to survive on a daily basis. It turned out that traditional gender roles had clearly fostered an engagement in citizenship activities, but had not led to significant changes regarding the domestic division of labor or to an alleviation of women's domestic responsibilities. Thus, this study cannot postulate a break with the traditional gender identities through participation in citizenship

activities, as it apparently needs more than internal engagement-promoting structures to provoke a real and long-lasting change in gender relations.

However, it is also important to stress that despite the influence of traditional gender roles on women's decisions to participate in citizenship activities, it is also not enough to argue that their engagement in citizenship activities is just an extension of their traditional responsibility for the private sphere. From a certain level of engagement, as we have learned, this had also been associated with great personal costs, and resulted in difficulties in fulfilling domestic roles and responsibilities. It had become clear that women in the squats had been willing to face these challenges and conflicts, especially with their male partners, by taking on leadership positions. Thus, this study has challenged the argumentation, made in the academic literature regarding women's participation in social movements, that not to challenge the nature of women's gender subordination and to organize around issues related to the private sphere is a way of avoiding larger conflict and resistance with men in the private and public spheres due to their activism.[18] Thus, when talking about women's engagement we must also consider additional aspects, such as their individual biographies, and their need and desire to develop on a personal level and to find opportunities to achieve personal gains and self-fulfillment beyond motherhood. Hence, even though citizenship has not provoked significant changes in gender equality within the squats, it has the potential to further promote personal development and change.

Cross-cutting Issues and Outlook

As emphasized above, the study has not only focused on dominant conceptions and discourses of citizenship and gender but also, and especially, on the everyday meanings, practices and articulations of the excluded sectors of society—on the construction of a citizenship and gender "from below." It has thereby been possible to reveal and emphasis the heterogeneity of the actors involved in often assumed-homogeneous groups, such as e.g. "the excluded" or "the housing movements." Especially through a closer look at the understandings of citizenship inside the squats it became clear that in order to capture and consider the views and needs of all actors involved, we have to be sensitive to the existence of different interests and understandings among them. Further research therefore must address this heterogeneity and look beyond dominant discourses within excluded groups themselves in order to avoid producing a one-sided portrayal of the actors and processes involved.

18 Moser 1993, Gender Planning and Development, p. 36.

Taking gender into account when talking about citizenship has further contributed to such a differentiated view of the processes and actors involved in squatting. The frequent invisibility of certain actors—for example, women—in research and elsewhere, and the important roles they played in citizenship activities could thus be disclosed. This study has provided a deeper understanding of the current situation of low-income women in society, and demonstrated their different views on and strategies employed to deal with deep-rooted discriminatory practices of gender inequality. Such an understanding is important, since without a knowledge of the concrete arrangement of gender relations in everyday life, it becomes impossible to identify actors' specific needs and thus to take effective measures to overcome inequality.

Furthermore, not only gender, but also religion has emerged "out of the field" as a fruitful social categorization to use for a differentiated and actor-oriented analysis. It became clear that the presence of Pentecostals, especially in the squat *Manoel Congo*, had also potentially influenced gender roles and women's participation. As a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this study, a closer examination of religion within the housing movements and their squats would therefore be another profitable area of future research. The emergence of the topic of religion "out of the field" further illustrates the importance of opening the analysis up to include new insights at any time, and not merely determining the sole relevance of a fixed set of social categorizations from its beginning. Future research, therefore, by remaining sensitive to all kinds of social categorization, such as gender, ethnicity, age, class, and others, as well as their interdependencies, could provide additional details on mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that are exercised and influentially in everyday life.

Focusing on different social categorizations and their interdependency also has the potential to promote more interdisciplinary research, as it opens the discussion up and allows us to consider the topic of research from the angle of various disciplines and approaches. Accordingly, this study also touches upon a broad range of cross-cutting issues, and the results can be further discussed and may contribute to several areas of (future) research in various disciplines. These include for example sociological, historical, political, anthropological, and even geographical studies on social inequality, marginality, governance, urbanity, and space that are also concerned with uncovering and better understanding the concrete patterns, mechanisms, and reasons behind inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state—a knowledge that is necessary in order to change prevailing power relations and inequality. Within these areas of research, the new empirical evidence offered by this study can especially benefit and be further discussed in studies concerned with a similar perspective "from below,"

and are likewise seeking a better understanding of everyday processes and practices. This study can, for example, be integrated into the anthropological debates on processes of state formation and nation-building "from below" and "in the margins,"[19] as these debates similarly focus on imaginaries and everyday practices, exploring how the state itself is imagined, shaped, and rethought "from the margins" and *vice versa*.

However, besides the contribution to current academic debates and questions, this study has aimed to give people that are marginalized by political and economic structures a voice and to reveal their specific needs and wishes. In order to overcome the initially described existing spatial and emotional segregation of people living in the same city, as well as to reduce existing prejudices, these voices should be heard and find their way into concrete politics, such as urban development and planning. Thus, instead of spending billions on the preparation of events like the FIFA World Cup or the Olympic Games, investment could then be channeled into urgently needed housing, social services, and infrastructure—thus creating better conditions for a decent life.

19 See for example Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole, editors. 2004, *Anthropology in the Margins of the State,* Santa Fe: School of American Research Press; Hunt, Alan and Tokluoglu. 2002. "State Formation from Below. The Turkish Case", *The Social Science Journal*, 39: 617–624.