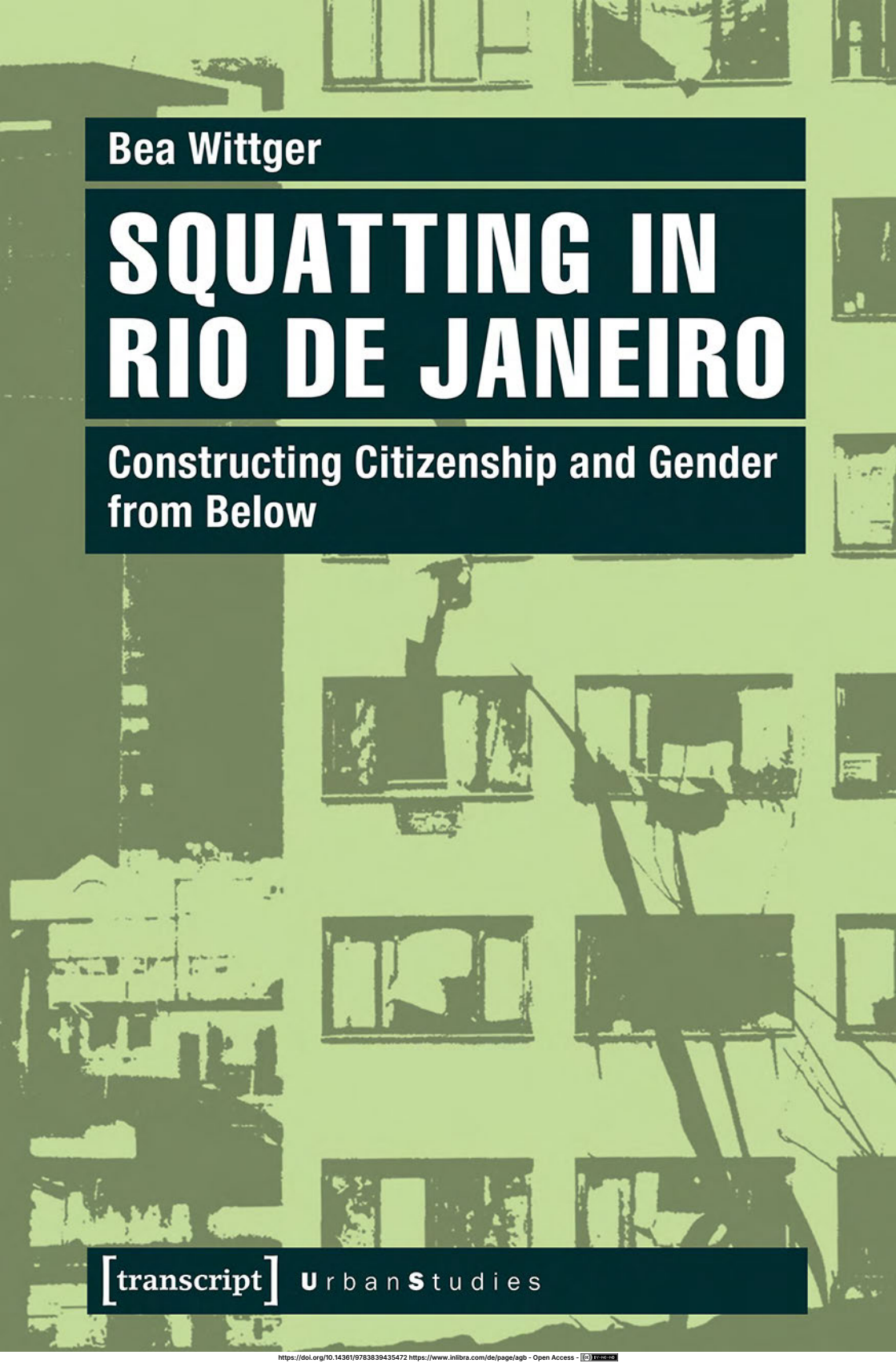

Bea Wittger

SQUATTING IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Constructing Citizenship and Gender from Below

[transcript] Urban Studies

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Bea Wittger
Squatting in Rio de Janeiro

Urban Studies

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To my mother

Bea Wittger completed her doctorate in Latin American History from the University of Cologne. Her research interests include Gender, Intersectionality, Citizenship, Social Movements, Urban History, with special focus on Brazil.

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List of Acronyms

ACM	Young Men's Christian Association YMCA (*Associação Cristã dos Moços*)
AHPOCG	Association of Popular Housing of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* (*Associação de Habitação Popular da Ocupação Chiquinha Gonzaga*)
CBEs	Basic Ecclesial Communities (*Comunidades Eclesiais de Base*)
CMP	Centre of People's Movements (*Central de Movimentos Populares)*
CNBB	National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (*Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil*)
CONAM	National Confederation of Neighborhood Associations (*Confederação Nacional das Associações de Moradores*)
CUT	Central Union of Workers (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*)
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FLP	Front of Popular Struggle (*Frente de Luta Popular*)
FNHIS	National Fund for Social Housing (*Fundo Nacional de Habitação de Interesse Social*)
FNRU	National Forum of Urban Reform (*Fórum Nacional da Reforma Urbana*)
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*)
ILO	International Labor Organization
INCRA	National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (*Instituto de Reforma Agraria e Colonização*)
IPEA	Institute of Applied Economic Research (*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada*)

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IPTU	Tax on urban property and land (*Imposto sobre a Propriedade Predial e Territorial Urbana*)
ITERJ	Rio de Janeiro State Land and Mapping Institute *(Instituto de Terras do Estado e Cartografías de Río de Janeiro*)
MCMV	My House, My Life (*Minha Casa Minha Vida*)
MNML	National Movement of Struggle for Housing (*Movimento Nacional de Luta Pela Moradia*)
MNRU	National Movement for Urban Reform (*Movimento Nacional da Reforma Urbana*)
MST	Landless Workers' Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalha–dores Sem-Terra*)
NGO	Nongovernmental organizations
PNAD	National Household Data Sample Survey (*Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios*)
PT	Worker's Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*)
SEHAB	Municipal Housing Secretariat (*Secretaria Municipal de Habitação*)
UMM	Union of Housing Movements (*União dos Movimentos de Moradia*)
UNMP	National Union for Popular Housing (*União Nacional de Moradia Popular*)
UPP	Pacification Police Unit (*Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*)

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1. Introduction

Prologue

> *Nunca vi cartão postal que se destaque uma favela, só vejo paisagem muito linda e muito bela. Quem vai pro exterior da favela sente saudade, o gringo vem aqui e não conhece a realidade. Vai pra zona sul, pra conhecer água de côco, e o pobre na favela, vive passando sufoco (...) Eu só quero é ser feliz, andar tranqüilamente na favela onde eu nasci, é. E poder me orgulhar, e ter a consciência que o pobre tem seu lugar, eu. Eu, só quero é ser feliz, feliz, feliz, feliz, feliz, onde eu nasci, han. E poder me orgulhar, é, o pobre tem o seu lugar.*
> (FUNK CARIOCA: "EU SÓ QUERO É SER FELIZ"—CIDINHO E DOCA)

When I visited Rio de Janeiro for the first time, walking on the beaches of Ipanema and Copacabana or climbing up the Sugar Loaf and the Cristo Redentor, I was deeply impressed by its beauty and truly felt that it was a marvelous city. Even the *favelas*, which huddled against the hills of the city, seemed to be a part of the beauty of it, especially at night and from distance, when thousands of lights glimmered.

But, as I began my research, this view changed drastically. I wanted to learn more about the lives of the people living in the squats in Rio de Janeiro's city center, and therefore began going to places that were much less marvelous than the *Zona Sul*—the upper- and middle-class residential area and main tourist destination. The city then confronted me with another face, namely that of exclusion and social inequality, which I knew from theory but which was now being given flesh by my interview partners, who opened up to me and talked about their everyday lives and the personal challenges they faced in the city.

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Hence, when I went back at night to the *Zona Sul*, after spending the day in the squats with my interview partners, I often felt as if I was entering another world, and I began to perceive many things around me differently. Talking with people in the *Zona Sul* about my experiences, I was often met with surprise, skepticism, or even warnings. I started to understand that many people living in the prosperous parts of the city ignored or did not really know about realities other than theirs, and they were mainly reflecting perceptions based on media reporting of crime and violence. Thus, the stories told to me by the people living in the squats turned out to be important testimonies, and it is necessary to listen to them if we want to overcome common stereotypes and segregation, as they allow a more realistic, human, and sympathetic view of the city.

1.1 SCOPE AND AIMS

> As important, if not more so, has been the impact of ordinary women and men – their consciousness, intentionality, everyday practices, and collective action – on the social construction of urban life.[1]

In their struggle for decent housing and living conditions and after months of careful and clandestine preparations by urban housing movements, in 2004 and 2007 more than 100 families entered two high-rise buildings in the city center of Rio de Janeiro. The occupation of these empty and abandoned buildings in central locations of the city formed part of a new and more radical protest strategy of urban housing movements, one that had been increasingly applied in Brazil since the end of the 1990s[2] alongside the practice of occupying empty

1 Smith, Michael P. 2001, Transnational urbanism: locating globalization, Malden: Blackwell Publishers, p.6.

2 Squatting has been a global phenomenon and was also very popular, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. But, as it is a heterogeneous phenomenon, its respective national and historical contexts and specificities must be taken into account. While the reasons behind squatting in Europe have been significantly motivated by the need to criticize and protest against neoliberal politics, in Brazil squatting has also been a way of satisfying basic needs in a context of a historical exclusion of the low-income population from exisiting constitutional rights that are to date still not being applied in practice (see chapter 2.1.2.2). For further reading on squatting worldwide see for

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(urban) land, mainly in the peripheries, which has continued to be employed since.[3] By occupying places, these movements claimed their right to the city[4] and aimed to draw attention to the poor living conditions of so many city-dwellers in the growing peripheries and *favelas*[5], struggling on a daily basis with the lack of equal access to affordable and decent housing, public goods and services. Thus, the continuously growing and heterogeneous urban space increasingly constitutes the arena in which inclusion and exclusion are negotiated, opening up new opportunities and spaces for social movements and other actors to provoke and shape participation, protest, and change. Through their actions, the occupiers of the two buildings opposed global dynamics of neoliberal urban policies, such

example Martínez, Miguel A. and Claudio Cattaneo, editors. 2014, *The Squatters' Movement in Europe: Commons and Autonomy as Alternatives to Capitalism,* London: Pluto Press; Corr, Anders. 1999, *No trespassing! Squatting, rent strikes, and land struggles worldwide*, Cambridge: South End Press; Vasudevan, Alexander. 2015, *Metropolitan Preoccupations: The Spatial Politics of Squatting in Berlin*, Chichester: Wiley; Manjikan, Mary. 2013, *Securitization of Property Squatting in Europe*, New York: Routledge.

3 Levy, Charmain. 2005. "The Housing Movement in the City of São Paulo: Crisis and Revival" in *Collective Action and Radicalism in Brazil: Women, Urban Housing, and Rural Movements*, edited by Duquette, Michel, Galdino, Maurilio, Levy, Charmain, Marques-Pereira, Bérengère, and Florence Raes. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 119, 121.

4 For more details see chapter 2.1.3.

5 Following Licia Valladares, I understand the term *favela* as a type of urban structure that is heterogeneous and transformable, and not as a "permanent social identity," as it often appears in social science (Valladares, Licia. 2006. "Social Science Perspective of Favelas in Rio de Janeiro. A Historical Perspective", *Lanic Etext Collection:* 1–31). There is a whole literature on *favelas* and their inhabitants. For an overview see for example Perlman, Janice E. 1976, *The Myth of Marginality. Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro,* Berkeley: University of California Press; Campos, Andrelino. 2007, *Do Quilombo à Favela. A Produção do "Espaço Criminalizado" no Rio de Janeiro,* Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil; Valladares 2006, Social Science Perspective of Favelas; Pereira Leite, Márcia. 2008. "Pobreza y Exclusión en las Favelas de Río de Janeiro" in *Procesos de Urbanización de la Pobreza y Nuevas Formas de Exclusión Social. Los Retos de las Políticas Sociales de las Ciudades Latinoamericanas del Siglo XXI,* edited by A. Ziccardi. Bogotá et al.: Siglo del Hombre Editores/ CLACSO, pp. 213–247; Zaluar, Alba, and Marcos Alvito, editors. 1998, *Um Século de Favela,* Rio de Janeiro Brasil: Fundação Getulio Vargas Editora.

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as the increasing trend of central-city renovation, initiated during the 1980s,[6] which had led property prices rise significantly and had reinforced gentrification, thereby fostering the displacement of the low-income population from central and prosperous city areas.[7]

In Rio de Janeiro this development had lately been particularly noticeable in the context of the forthcoming major sporting events, such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games, and their related urban renewal projects[8], which were trying to attract (foreign) investment and led to the production of new real estate markets, further accelerating the already ongoing gentrification and displacement.[9] Thus, when in 2009 the city of Rio de Janeiro was announced as one of the 12 venues for the 2014 FIFA World Cup many people living in the poor peripheries or *favelas* of the city felt trepidation about the event because they knew it would not bring much joy or profit to them. In fact, while billions were spent on the main venues for the events and on improving their accessibility, local people who urgently needed investment in infrastructure and

6 Hiernaux, Daniel. 2013. „Die historischen Stadtzentren Lateinamerikas“, in *Urban Studies, Stadtforschung aus Lateinamerika. Neue urbane Szenarien, Öffentlichkeit, Territorialität, Imaginarios,* edited by A. Huffschmid and K. Wildner. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 387-389; Rojas, Eduardo. 2004, *Volver al centro: la recuperación de áreas urbanas centrales*, New York: Banco Interamericano de Desarollo, pp. XIXf.

7 Janoschka, Michael, Sequera, Jorge, and Luis Salinas, 2013. “Gentrification in Spain and Latin America–a Critical Dialogue”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38 (4): 4–5, 14–26; Janoschka, Michael and Jorge Sequera. 2016. “Gentrification in Latin America: addressing the politics and geographies of displacement”, *Urban Geography*: 1–18; Lees, Loretta. 2014. “Gentrification in the Global South?” in *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South,* edited by S. Parnell and S. Oldfield. New York: Routledge, pp. 516-518.

8 One example of an urban renovation project initiated in the context of urban renewal policies is the reconceptualization of the old harbor area in Rio de Janeiro, the so called *Porto Maravilha* (Marvelous Port) Project. For more information on it see for example Monié, Fréderic and Vivian Santos da Silva. 2015. “O projeto Porto Maravilha de revitalização da área portuária do Rio de Janeiro entre inovações e retrocessos na produção do espaço urbano’”, *Revista Transporte y Territorio* (12): 110-126 or Rodrigues da Silva, Caroline. 2012. “A Dimensão política da revitalização do Porto do Rio de Janeiro: Um Estudo do Projeto ‘Porto Maravilha’”, *Revista Continentes (UFRRJ)*(1): 56-71.

9 Janoschka et al. 2013, Gentrification in Spain and Latin America, p. 17; Janoschka et al. 2016, Gentrification in Latin America, p. 10-12.

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improvements in housing were left empty-handed. In some instances, people were even forced to leave their homes and whole neighborhoods were destroyed to make place for new transportation infrastructure, stadium extensions, and tourist destinations. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and social movements estimate that in the lead-up to the World Cup and during the event itself, 250,000 people in Brazil were affected by forced evictions and displacements; of these, 38,297 were people living in Rio de Janeiro.[10] The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing, Raquel Rolnik, also expressed her concern regarding the situation and reported on concomitant violations of human rights, as *inter alia* people were evicted—sometimes violently—without adequate warning or consultation, assistance with relocation, or compensation. She emphasized that the government was thus running the risk of producing new informal settlements and homelessness, and exacerbating the existing housing problem in Brazil, especially for the low-income population.[11]

Hence, the preparations for the World Cup demonstrated to a broader public that the urban space was not equally accessible to everyone, but clearly characterized by segregation and social inequality. The urban development measures undertaken for the World Cup in Brazil resulted in a further exclusion of the low-income population from the benefits of the city, and reminded many people of old patterns of urban planning. From the very beginning of urbanization in the nineteenth century, the city of Rio de Janeiro had been marked by social segregation and inequality. In contrast to the prosperous parts of the city, the low-income population had been affected by insufficient access to affordable housing and unequal access to public goods and services, thus being forced to organize their lives without any state support in the peripheries and *favelas* of the city.

As events like the World Cup have demonstrated, this practice persists today, and the low-income population is still spatially displaced and effectively excluded from constitutional rights, such as the social right to housing.[12] In 2012

10 Augustin, Andre, Alessandro Biazzi, Miguel de Borba Sá, Sandra Quintela, and Rosilene Wansetto. 2014, *Copa para Que(m)? Quem vai Pagar a Conta.* http://www.movimientos.org/sites/default/files/files/CartilhaGastosCopa.pdf (05 Oct 2015), p.25.

11 United Nations News Centre. 2011, *Right to Housing at Risk as Brazil Prepares for World Cup and Olympics – UN Expert.* http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=38189#.VhKJoUYqY-O (05 Oct 2015).

12 The urban development of Rio de Janeiro will be the topic covered in section 2.1.3.1.

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the country's housing deficit was estimated to be about 5,792 million units,[13] mostly concentrated among families with a household income between zero and three minimum wages.[14] It is noteworthy and alarming that the number of vacant properties in 2010 in Brazil has been estimated as 6,052 million units, and thus more or less corresponds to the deficit.[15]

But, through the effective exclusion of certain parts of the population from their formal rights, the urban space also becomes the context and framework in which citizenship takes place and is negotiated and shaped on a daily basis. From early on, the affected population has organized, for example in the form of urban social movements, to contest their exclusion and differentiated access to the city. One of these is the aforementioned housing movement, which in the central areas of the cities now organizes the occupation of empty buildings in order to claim the right to housing and decent living conditions for the low-income population.

Hence, in the struggle for decent housing, several squats have emerged in Rio de Janeiro as part of this movement. Reliable and up-to-date data on the exact number of these occupations are hard to find, as only very few studies have tried to count them due to their inherently fluid nature. In 2010, according to a small local study, there were allegedly 48 occupations of land and buildings organized by social movements in the State of Rio de Janeiro—seven of them having emerged between 2004 and 2009 in the city center of Rio de Janeiro.[16] While some of them were unable to sustain resistance to eviction over time, others remained, and their inhabitants fought for their permanent right to stay and for the buildings to be transformed into regular housing. Researching two of these squats in 2011—named *Chiquinha Gonzaga,* and *Manoel Congo*—I was

13 Fundação João Pinheiro. 2014, *Nota Técnica 1 Déficit Habitacional no Brasil 2011-2012. Resultados Preliminares,* Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro-Centro de Estatística e Informações, p. 9.

14 The João Pinheiro Foundation, for example, estimates that 62.7% of the housing deficit corresponds to families with zero to three minimum wages (Fundação João Pinheiro. 2013, Déficit Habitacional Municipal no Brasil 2010, Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro-Centro de Estatística e Informações, p. 41).

15 Fundação João Pinheiro 2013, Déficit Habitacional Municipal no Brasil 2010, p. 73.

16 Rodrigues da Silva. 2010. "Ocupação Manuel Congo. Uma Experiência na Luta Urbana do Rio de Janeiro", *Anais do IV Simpósio Lutas Sociais na América Latina Imperialismo, nacionalismo e militarismo no Século XXI):* 145; other, but less accurate estimations were made for example by Mamari, Fernando G. C. de. 2008, *Se Morar é um Direito, Ocupar é um Dever! As Ocupações de Sem-Teto na Metrópole do Rio de Janeiro,* Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, p. 73.

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able to learn more about the inhabitants and their backgrounds, motivations, and personal opinions. Something that especially drew my attention and became impossible to ignore was the strong presence and activism of women inside the squats. I soon understood that it was they who mainly drove the citizenship activities forward.

Against this background, the main goal of this study is to explore from a micro perspective how participation in an active claiming of rights by occupying empty buildings shapes the actors' understandings of citizenship and gender. To achieve this goal, this study will focus on the oral histories, and thus on the individual perspectives and conceptualizations, of the inhabitants of the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* squats in Rio de Janeiro's city center, which constitute the two case studies of this research. I consider the everyday practices and the lived experience of the inhabitants, and include their own perspectives on their daily struggles—seeking to go beyond the dominant state or leadership discourses.[17] I want to highlight their agency and their capacity to develop a citizenship "from below" within dominant and excluding conceptions of politics.

To achieve this, this study addresses several topics and questions. They all relate to the theoretical discussions of citizenship and gender which are formulated against the background of the relevant research literature in chapter 2. Regarding citizenship, the study will demonstrate how local membership can be experienced, understood and negotiated in the urban context, and that dominant and historically rooted excluding practices also produce counter-imaginaries of, and acts within, the city. More precisely, I will explore the inhabitants' motivations for participating in the occupation of empty buildings, and reveal their own understandings and articulations of citizenship. While the concept of citizenship in academic and political contexts has in many cases turned out to be useful for the description, denunciation, and analysis of processes of inclusion and exclusion, it has also been criticized for hitherto offering little insight into how affected people themselves understand citizenship.[18] There are few studies that focus on the understanding of citizenship

17 These perspectives will be expressed *inter alia* in the form of original quotes from the inhabitants, especially in chapters 3 and 4. The fact that these are maintained in their original form—that is, in Portuguese—by no means implies that non-Portuguese speakers will not be able to read and understand the study.

18 Gaventa, John. 2002. "Introduction. Exploring Citizenship, Participation and Accountability", *IDS Bulletin*, 33 (2): 1–17; Kabeer, Naila. 2005. "Introduction. The Search for Inclusive Citizenship: Meanings and Expressions in an Inter-connected

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from the point of view of the participants in housing movements, and even those studies often take the relevance and validity of the concept for the participants for granted, thereby ignoring alternative argumentations and running the risk of missing relevant details.[19] This study will reveal that the inhabitants in fact use their own language to frame their struggles, without necessarily adopting dominant discourses.

Furthermore, I will highlight the gendered nature of mobilization around housing. Even though the large numbers of women engaged in housing movements—as well as the need for further specific research on it—has been noted by several scholars,[20] to date only a few case studies have focused on the topic.[21] Thus, taking gender into account when doing research on the squats also helps to address the invisibility of women in the urban space—something often criticized by feminist studies[22]—enabling us to focus on their agency and thereby helping to disclose prevailing power relations in society. Therefore, in this study I will explore the reasons behind women's participation, and the impacts of their agency on the understanding and articulation of gender within

World" in *Inclusive Citizenship. Meanings and Expressions,* edited by N. Kabeer. London: Zed Books Ltd., pp. 1–27.

19 None of the few studies, which also focus on the understanding of citizenship of the participants of housing movements (for example Earle, Lucy. 2009. "Occupying the Illegal City. Urban Social Movements and Transgressive Citizenship in São Paulo" PhD Thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science, London; Macedo Filho, Renato. 2010. "Onde Mora a Cidadania? Visibilizando a Participação das Mulheres no Movimento Sem Teto – Salvador / BA" Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador; Carle-Marsan, Marianne. 2013. "Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville. L'Expeérience des Femme de l'Occupation Manoel Congo à Rio de Janeiro au Brésil" Mémoire de Maîtrise (Master's Thesis), Université du Québec à Montréal, Montréal) really question the meaning and importance of the concept of citizenship for the participants.

20 For example Earle 2009, Occupying the Illegal City, p. 48; Gohn, Maria d. G. M. 2010, *Movimentos Sociais e Redes de Mobilizações Civis no Brasil Contemporâneo,* Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, p. 51; Holston, James. 2009. "Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries", *Civil & Society*, 21 (2): 257.

21 For example Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?. More details will be discussed in section 4.3.

22 See Soto Villagrán, Paula. 2013. „Zum Geschlecht (in) der Stadtforschung. Theoretische und empirische Überlegungen aus Lateinamerika" in *Stadtforschung aus Lateinamerika. Neue urbane Szenarien, Öffentlichkeit, Territorialität, Imaginarios,* edited by A. Huffschmid and K. Wildner. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, p. 187.

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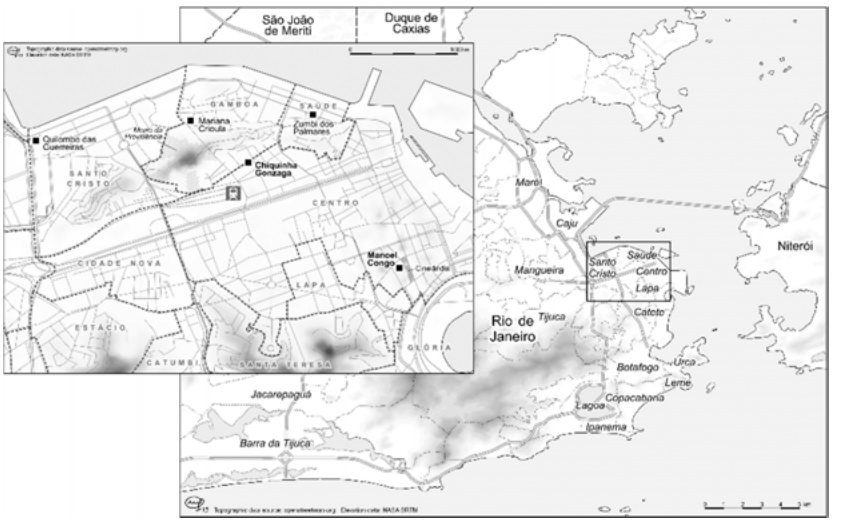
the squats, by elaborating on the prevailing gender roles, norms, and relations. The study will demonstrate how gender relations influence and shape women's engagement in citizenship activities and *vice versa*. In this sense, it also contributes to the main question raised in the academic literature on women's engagement in citizenship activities (see section 2.3.2)—that is, whether through their engagement one can observe a lasting impact on their lives with regard to the gendered division of labor, and gender equality, within their homes.

Alhough it focuses on aspects of citizenship and gender, this study is also intended to be open to other social categorizations becoming evident in the field, as these can provide useful insights for a better understanding on the inhabitants' construction of citizenship and gender. Thus, if other social categoraizations were introduced by the actors themselves and turned out to be important to them during the research process, they will—to the extent possible within the scope of this study—be briefly addressed.

Map 1: Location of the squats in Rio de Janeiro[23]



23 Cartography: Monika Feinen, Hürth.

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1.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In the following section, I will comment on the data collection method applied during my research and sketch out the main phases of the research process, which took place in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* in Rio de Janeiro during the years 2010 and 2011. Moreover, I will reflect on my personal role in the field and on the challenges encountered during the research process.

1.2.1 Data Collection and Evaluation

> A characteristic of qualitative interviewing is that it provides us with a means of understanding the social world from the distinct points of view of the research subjects, highlighting the meanings individuals attribute to their experiences.[24]

To obtain useful data for my study, I applied several methods during my research, such as problem-centered semi-structured interviews, expert interviews, and participant observation. There were no written sources of information provided by the informants. In order to incorporate the different experiences and perspectives of social actors who were not representing themselves in text form into my research, I had to collect the necessary information mainly through their narratives and my own observations. Thus, in order to collect the oral histories of the inhabitants of the two squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, problem-centered semi-structured interviews were essential. I usually started each interview with a question about the interviewee's reasons for becoming involved in squatting. Then I continued with questions about their life, daily routines, and the organization within the squats, maintaining a focus on issues of citizenship and gender. The interviews were combined with a short standardized questionnaire to collect additional basic quantitative data from each household interviewed.[25] With the explicit consent of

24 Miller, Jody. 1997. "Researching Violence against Street Prostitutes. Issues of Epistemology, Methodology, and Ethics" in *Researching Sexual Violence against Women. Methodological and Personal Perspectives,* edited by M. D. Schwartz. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, p. 145.

25 Bernard, H. R. and Gery W. Ryan. 2010, *Analyzing Qualitative Data. Systematic Approaches,* Los Angeles: SAGE, p. 29; Lamnek, Siegfried. 1993, *Qualitative*

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the research participants, the interviews were generally recorded and transcribed later, back in Germany. Due to the difficulty in accessing potential interviewees in the field, due to the fact that—especially in the beginning—my contact with the inhabitants was mainly based on trust and recommendations, participants for the interviews had to be mainly selected through network sampling—that is, through so-called snowball sampling.[26]

Thus, I asked participants to put me in contact with other possible informants. In addition, whenever possible, I selected participants during occasions such as meetings or demonstrations to achieve a more "exhaustive sampling frame."[27] In total, 50 people living in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* were interviewed between February and June 2011. In *Chiquinha Gonzaga* I was able to conduct a total of 26 interviews, of which nine were with men and 17 with women. In *Manoel Congo* I conducted a total of 24 interviews, of which six were with men, and 19 with women. The inhabitants I interviewed ranged in age from 19 to 69 years.

To collect more information on the broader context of the squats, to obtain background knowledge, and to clarify some points mentioned by the inhabitants during the interviews, I also decided to conduct expert interviews.[28] In total, I interviewed five experts, among them leaders of the main housing movements

Sozialforschung. Band 2 Methoden und Techniken, Weinheim: Beltz, pp. 74-78; Flick, Uwe. 2007, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung,* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verl., pp. 203-214; Mayring, Philipp. 2002, *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zu qualitativem Denken,* Weinheim et al.: Beltz, pp. 67-72.

26 Bernard et al. 2010, Analyzing Qualitative Data, pp. 367f; Schnell, Rainer, Paul Hill, and Elke Esser. 1999, *Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung,* München et al.: Oldenbourg, p. 280.

27 Bernard et al. 2010, Analyzing Qualitative Data, pp. 359-361, 368.

28 See Bogner, Alexander and Wolfgang Menz. 2005. „Das theoretische Experten–interview. Erkenntnissinteresse, Wissensformen, Interaktion" in *Das Experten–interview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung,* edited by A. Bogner, B. Littig, and W. Menz. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss., pp. 33–70; Meuser, Michael and Ulrike Nagel. 2005. „Vom Nutzen der Expertise. ExpertInneninterviews in der Sozialberichterstattung" in *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung,* edited by A. Bogner, B. Littig, and W. Menz. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss., pp. 257–272; Meuser, Michael and Ulrike Nagel. 2005. „ExpertInneninterviews – vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht. Ein Beitrag zur qualitativen Methodendiskussion" in *Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung,* edited by A. Bogner, B. Littig, and W. Menz. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss., pp. 71–94.

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and squats in Rio de Janeiro,[29] representatives of NGOs involved in the field of housing,[30] and a member of the Municipal Housing Secretariat (*Secretaria Municipal de Habitação*, SEHAB) of Rio de Janeiro. I also attended neighborhood meetings in the *Zona Portuária* (the harbour area behind the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*) and activists meetings which took place to prevent eviction in the context of the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games, in order to gain a broader understanding of the urban context of my research.[31]

Apart from conducting interviews related to my specific research topic, I tried to spend as much time as possible with the people living in both squats. Participant observation was therefore another essential method I applied during my research process.[32] Similarly to the expert interviews, participant observation allowed me to build a frame of reference that made it possible to draw a larger and more detailed picture of the situation inside the squats. I frequently visited households to participate in the daily life of the inhabitants, attended their meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations,[33] went to feasts, spent nights in the squats, joined the inhabitants on weekends during their free time, and was present when women worked and cooked at home. Afterwards, as soon as I was able to, I wrote up my observations and recorded the content of informal conversations in observation protocols. To manage and organize the quantity of

29 Leading members of the Centre of People's Movements (*Central de Movimentos Populares*, CMP), the Union of Housing Movements (*União dos Movimentos de Moradia*, UMM), and leaders of the squat *Quilombo das Guerreiras*.

30 Fundação Bento Rubião and FASE.

31 Additional interviews with female leaders and members of the biggest housing movements were conducted also in São Paulo in 2011. As their inclusion and analysis would go beyond the scope of this study, they served mainly as a tool to gain an impression of the wider context and activities of the housing movements and to identify central and common issues.

32 Diekmann, Andreas. 2007, *Empirische Sozialforschung. Grundlagen, Methoden, Anwendungen,* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch-Verl., pp. 563-569; Flick 2007, Qualitative Sozialforschung, pp. 282–296; Mayring 2002, Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung, pp. 80–85; Lamnek 1993, Qualitative Sozialforschung, pp. 239–317; Schnell et al. 1999, Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung, pp. 358–373.

33 For example, inhabitants of the squat *Manoel Congo* took part in the demonstration against forced eviction on 1 May 2011, and the demonstration in front of the Ombudsman of Public Rights in Rio de Janeiro (*Defensoria Pública do Rio de Janeiro*) on 11-12 May 2011, as well as in several demonstrations against forced evictions.

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the collected material, the data obtained were analyzed back in Germany with the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA.[34] During the evaluation process, the interviews and observation protocols were continuously coded and revised.

1.2.2 Reflections on the Research Process

> As engaged social subjects rather than neutral observers, social researchers are also participants in the research process (…). Engaging with the personal, and sometimes distressing, details of other people's lives places researchers in an ambiguous relationship with their participant subjects of research.[35]

Engaging in the research process in the field, I had to deal with a number of complexities and challenges. The first was that of gaining access to both squats and establishing rapport with their inhabitants. The research process was therefore divided in two phases: During an initial month of exploration in Rio de Janeiro in July 2010 I did research on existing literature on the squats and related topics in archives and at university libraries, established initial contacts, and talked to members of NGOs, activists, and other researchers relevant to my research. One of them helped me to contact the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, by arranging a meeting with a friend of his who lived there. During the meeting I explained my research project to the inhabitant and I learned that access to the squat would be possible through frequent visits in order to gain the trust of each of the inhabitants. During my second research stay from February 2011 to June 2011, I was also able to establish contact with the leaders of *Manoel Congo*, with help of the NGO FASE. In contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where access to the squat depended on the individual decision of each household, in *Manoel Congo* the approval of my research had to go through the leaders of the squat. This was highly important and facilitated my access to the inhabitants. In one of the official meetings in *Manoel Congo* I was invited to introduce myself and explain my intentions. It was made clear in front of everyone that the leaders would

34 See Kuckartz, Udo. 2010, *Einführung in die computergestützte Analyse qualitativer Daten,* Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften.

35 Warr, Deborah J. 2004. "Stories in the Flesh and Voices in the Head. Reflections on the Context and Impact of Research with Disadvantaged Populations", *Qualitative Health Research*, 14 (4): 583.

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support me and my research, and that it expected the inhabitants to cooperate with me—specifically, that they would participate in my interviews. Thus, the hierarchy in *Manoel Congo* was extremely helpful in facilitating my being accepted by and establishing rapport with the inhabitants. At the same time, however, there was an element of pressure and obedience from the beginning of our relationship, and it took me some time to gain the inhabitants' genuine trust and to access information beyond the official discourse of the leading social movement.

Thus, the selection of my case studies depended on their accessibility for me as a researcher, but were also chosen regarding their comparability. At the time of the interviews both squats had already reached a status of consolidation and were going through similar political processes, but on the other hand had developed very different forms of internal organization.[36] A comparative research design thus offered the possibility of revealing and verifying commonalities, but also helped to elaborate on the specificities of each particular case in detail, and thus to depict their complexity.[37]

During my second research stay I spent as much time as possible with the inhabitants of both squats in order to establish rapport, conducted interviews, and participated in meetings, demonstrations, and other events related to the research topic, while at the same time I deepened and broadened my contacts with other researchers and activists. In both squats it was much easier to obtain interviews and develop relationships with women than with men. At a certain point I asked one of my male interviewees in *Manoel Congo* why this happened. To my surprise he said, not without shyness, that most of the men in the squat were married. His brief explanation reminded me that the research process itself is always gendered. Furthermore, people wondered about the way I dressed. I tried not to dress in a too feminine way during my visits. I usually wore what I thought to be rather "neutral" outfits—long pants and t-shirts. This provoked questions—solely among the women—such as: "Don't you like dresses or shorts?" Since I was a woman, I was apparently expected to dress differently, in a more "feminine" manner, more like they did.

This kind of situation demonstrates again that in the interactions with our research partners, in interviews or participant observations, we cannot avoid the production and performance of gender during our research—we cannot avoid

36 More details on the differences in organization will be presented in chapter 3.

37 Lamnek, Siegfried. 1995, *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Band 1 Methodologie,* Weinheim: Beltz, pp. 114f, 118.

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"doing gender."[38] As will be described in section 2.2.1.1 there is an interactional, performative, and situationally changing character and praxis of gender constructions and identities in everyday life situations.[39] Beate Littig, who analyzes from a gender perspective how expert interviews are carried out, emphasizes that we are always "doing gender while doing interviews" and that we should be aware of this not only during the interview process, but also when analyzing our data: "The gendering of the contents of discussion and the (re)production of gender stereotypes will also—according to this theory—translate into the contents of discussion, i.e. the obtained data will reflect gender-typical interpretations and action patterns."[40]

Selecting and then frequenting my field sites also had a strong impact on my personal feelings and emotions. As "qualitative research is an emotional activity,"[41] other researchers also account for their experiences regarding the emotional impact of their research as well as on the personal challenges and

38 Of course, other social categorizations, such as class, ethnicity, religion, and age, also potentially influence the research process!

39 Gildemeister, Regine and Angelika Wetterer. 1995. „Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden. Die soziale Konstruktion der Zweigeschlechtlichkeit und ihre Reifizierung in der Frauenforschung" in Traditionen Brüche. Entwicklungen feministischer Theorie, edited by G.-A. Knapp and A. Wetterer. Freiburg im Breisgau: Kore, p. 212; Degele, Nina. 2008, Gender/Queer Studies. Eine Einführung, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, pp. 80f; Opitz-Belakhal, Claudia. 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verl., p. 27; Kotthoff, Helga. 2002. „Was heißt eigentlich „doing gender"? Zu Interaktion und Geschlecht" in Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, edited by J. van Leeuwen-Turnovcová, U. Doleschal, and F. Schindler. München: Verlag Otto Sagner, p. 2.

40 Own translation from: „*Die Vergeschlechtlichung der Gesprächsinhalte und die (Re-) Produktion von Geschlechterstereotypen wird sich – so die These – auch in den Gesprächsinhalten niederschlagen, die gewonnenen Daten also geschlechtertypische Deutungs- und Handlungsmuster wiedergeben*" (Littig, Beate. 2005. „Interviews mit Experten und Expertinnen. Überlegungen aus geschlechtertheoretischer Sicht" in Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung, edited by A. Bogner, B. Littig, and W. Menz. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss., p. 203).

41 Dickson-Swift, Virginia, Erica L. James, and Pranee Liamputtong. 2008, *Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Sciences. Managing Boundaries, Emotions and Risks,* Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, p. 77; see also Miller 1997, Researching Violence against Street Prostitutes, p. 147.

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difficulties they experienced when dealing with these aspects.[42] To admit these feelings and make them part of the research process is very important not only for understanding and knowledge, but also for becoming aware of the responsibility and human aspect of carrying out research: "Just as we cannot ignore participants' feelings and expect to understand the group, we cannot omit our feelings as field researchers. Attending to *our* feelings in the field helps us understand how group members construct meaning and understandings."[43]

I had to learn to deal with personal feelings of insecurity and sometimes even fear.[44] Often my visits to *Chiquinha Gonzaga* were specially challenging due to its location behind the Central Station (*Estação Central do Brasil*) of the city, at the feet of the *Favela Morro da Providência*.[45] The area surrounding the squat was at the time characterized by poverty, prostitution, drug trafficking, and a visible lack of urban development measures, and was therefore considered, especially by the middle and upper class, as one of the "dangerous" areas of Rio de Janeiro. I was repeatedly confronted with the stigmatization of people living and working in that area. For example, I was constantly warned by my middle-class friends not to go there alone or not to eat there for hygiene reasons. I did so nevertheless, and even though I never felt insecure in the squat itself, my journey to or from the building was often accompanied by a certain tension, especially at night. The meetings in the squat took place around 10:00 pm so sometimes I had to leave the area at midnight and had to find a safe way to go home, or sometimes even spend the night at the squat. I felt like an outsider in that area. Walking every day to the squat I was confronted with my own prejudices and my position as a white middle-class woman, and reminded that my life and experiences so far were very different from those of the people living in the area.

42 Miller 1997, Researching Violence against Street Prostitutes, p. 147; Stanko, Elizabeth A. 1997. "'I Second That Emotion'. Reflections on Feminism, Emotionality, and Research on Sexual Violence" in *Researching Sexual Violence against Women. Methodological and Personal Perspectives,* edited by M. D. Schwartz. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp. 75, 101; Mattley, Christine. 1997. "Field Research with Phone Sex Workers. Managing the Researcher's Emotions" in *Researching Sexual Violence against Women. Methodological and Personal Perspectives,* edited by M. D. Schwartz. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, p. 103; Armstrong, Lynzi. 2012. "Reflections on a Research Process. Exploring Violence against Sex Workers from a Feminist Perspective", *Women's Studies Journal*, 26 (1): 7.

43 Mattley 1997, Field Research with Phone Sex Workers, p. 102.

44 On risk in research see for example Dickson-Swift et al. 2008, Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Science, pp. 100ff.

45 See Map 1 or 3.

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These feelings became more intense during the interviews and personal contact with my research partners. The fact that through the interviews and visits to the squats "people's stories are given flesh"[46] meant I had to struggle with my own emotions, and confronted me with my position as a researcher during the field work, especially during the interview process. I interviewed people whose experiences and circumstances differed so much from my own, but at the same time I developed close relationships with them. All of them struggled through difficult and poor living conditions. In many cases, they had gone through traumatic situations, and they had often been victims of violence. They talked to me about their experiences and they frequently expressed their feelings of sadness, despair, and anger. Faced with their stories, I had to learn to accept the limits of my own research in terms of its capacity to bring about immediate, real, and profound change in the personal lives of my research participants.[47] This often led to feelings of frustration, anger, and sadness, and even to periods of doubt regarding the deeper meaning and legitimacy of my research. As Deborah J. Warr summarizes adequately: "Confronted with personal suffering and the overwhelming inequity that characterizes many societies, it is easy to doubt the capacity of research to make any real difference in improving the circumstances of research participants, or the social groups they represent."[48]

While most of my interview partners emphasized and confirmed the importance of my research to them, in that it would make people acquainted with their reality and situation, one inhabitant openly challenged my position as a researcher. For him I was only part of a privileged group who visited the squat solely for personal gain, like a doctoral degree, without real interest or afford to change his situation. He was, in fact, addressing a sore point, as he was referring to the unequal power relationship between us. Even though I was convinced of the broader utility of my research and its ability to change reality through knowledge, I sometimes felt as many other researchers do in similar situations: guilty and exploitative.[49] Jody Miller for example, when studying violence against street prostitutes, reports her wish to believe that she was part of the fight for prostitutes' rights, but at the same time says she felt like a voyeur while doing her research. She admits that "[a]lthough we are not dispassionate researchers who distance ourselves from our values and emotions, we continue

46 Warr 2004, Stories in the Flesh, p. 581.

47 For similar experiences see for example Armstrong 2012, Reflections on a Research Process, p. 8.

48 Warr 2004, Stories in the Flesh, p. 579.

49 Dickson-Swift et al. 2008, Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Science, p. 50.

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to objectify our research subjects through the very power we employ as researchers."[50] However, as the open criticism of one of my research participants showed, the inhabitants also tried to alter our unequal power relationship. I was often expected to share personal feelings and thoughts and to take a stance in interviews and discussions.[51] In order to balance carefully the existing power relation, I tried to "give back" if possible. Researcher self-disclosure and reciprocity are strategies many researchers apply in order to ensure that existing hierarchic differences are reduced as much as possible during the research process.[52] Part of this "giving back" also involves give the interviewees, through quotes from our discussions, enough space in this study to speak and introduce their views, feelings, and understandings.

It also sometimes became difficult for me to deal with "boundaries between friendship and research."[53] Doing qualitative research means entering into the private lives of others, often on a daily basis, and involves building trust and developing attachments to research participants.[54] Making friends during the research process is therefore quite likely. This may give rise to a number of challenges for a researcher, such as attempting to remain uninvolved in internal conflicts, and maintaining a certain distance and an assumed and often expected "objectivity" during the research process. This can be extremely difficult to manage:

> The researcher's own cultural and social embeddedness can be traced in the ways in which issues are framed, pursued, and interpreted. In other words, it is, arguably, impossible to engage with the lives of others from a position of assumed neutrality and objectivity (O' Neill, 1995). Less attention, however, is given to the implications of this for qualitative researchers engaging on an interpersonal level with research participants. This can be an incredibly intense and, occasionally, emotionally wrenching experience.[55]

Even though they bring a lot of additional responsibility for the researcher, friendships during the research process also offer new possibilities and perspectives for both the researcher and the research participant. They may help

50 Miller 1997, Researching Violence against Street Prostitutes, p. 149.

51 See for a similar experience Armstrong 2012, Reflections on a Research Process, p. 6.

52 Dickson-Swift et al. 2008, Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Science, pp. 38–42.

53 Ibid., p. 58.

54 Cf. also Dickson-Swift et al. 2008, Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Science, p. 58.

55 Warr 2004, Stories in the Flesh, p. 579.

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to overcome hierarchies and unequal power relations in the research process, or, as Tillmann-Healy, who promotes the use of friendship as a research method of qualitative inquiry,[56] puts it: "Friendship as method demands radical reciprocity, a move from studying 'them' to studying *us*."[57] In my case friendship offered me the possibility to learn from the other person, to be accepted, and to feel more comfortable, as well as to meet my interlocutors as equals even though our lives and experiences were so different. Of course that meant that the stories and problems I heard became even more emotionally intense and personally challenging. Sometimes I felt even more responsibility towards them:

> Friendship as method, although potentially rewarding, comes with a new set of obligations that do not pave a smooth, comfortable road. When we engage others' humanity, struggles, and oppression, we cannot simply shut off the recorder, turn our backs, and exit the field. Anyone who takes on this sort of project must be emotionally strong and willing to face pressure, resistance, backlash, and perhaps even violence.[58]

The emotional attachment and the friendships I developed with my research partners also made it difficult for me to leave the field.[59] I had mixed feelings when I left Brazil. On the one hand, I felt relieved to be able to leave. As has been described by other researchers in similar situations,[60] sometimes I felt so emotionally overwhelmed and exhausted by the stories and living conditions of my research partners that I needed a break. This was also one of the reasons why I did not decide to move into the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, even though the possibility was offered to me by a woman whom I had befriended. On the other

56 For Friendship as a research method see for example Pinto Passos, Malisa C. and Rita M. Ribes Pereira. 2012. „Rassismus und Identität in Brasilien. Über Begegnungen mit Freundschaften in der Forschung mit afro-brasilianischen Jugendlichen" in *Methoden dekolonialisieren. Eine Werkzeugkiste zur Demokratisierung der Sozial- und Kultur–wissenschaften,* edited by O. Kaltmeier and S. C. Berkin. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, p. 111; Tillmann-Healy, Lisa M. 2003. "Friendship as Method", *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9 (5): 729–749; Mackinlay, Elizabeth and Brydie-Leigh Bartleet. 2012. "Friendship as Research. Exploring the Potential of Sisterhood and Personal Relationships as the Foundations of Musicological and Ethnographic Fieldwork", *Qualitative Research Journal*, 12 (1): 75–87.

57 Tillmann-Healy 2003, Friendship as Method, p. 735.

58 Ibid., p. 743.

59 See description of Dickson-Swift et al. 2008, Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Science, p. 61.

60 Miller 1997, Researching Violence against Street Prostitutes, p. 149.

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hand, I felt terribly sad and very guilty for enjoying the privilege of being able to leave and continuing with my comfortable life, while others were struggling and suffering. I felt as if I were leaving them behind.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Against this background, this study will be structured as follows. In the next section (chapter 2), I will elaborate on the theoretical and historical framework of the study. In section 2.1, I will introduce and discuss the concept of citizenship and give an overview of its specific historical development in Brazil. This provides a framework for understanding why in Brazil those who possess formal state membership can nevertheless be excluded from social, civil, and political rights. I will then demonstrate how this exclusion from rights in practice is also contested from below. To approach these struggles and their concrete location in the urban space, I will sketch out urban development in Rio de Janeiro and show the perpetuation of historically rooted differentiated access for the inhabitants. Moreover, in section 2.2, I will introduce and discuss the concept of gender, emphasizing especially its performative dimension. I will also sketch out the current gender relations and household structures in Brazil, in order to be able to situate the daily routines and gender relations within the squats in a broader context. In section 2.3, I will demonstrate how closely linked the concepts of citizenship and gender are in theory and practice. Therefore, the chapter will highlight the criticisms and concerns raised by feminist thinking in relation to citizenship theory, as well as the former's attempts to broaden and reconstruct its traditional gender-blind conception. Finally, I will elaborate on the specific interdependence of citizenship and gender in the case of Latin America, and focus on women's engagement in popular urban movements, highlighting the reasons behind their involvement in citizenship activities, as well as the impact of their agency.

After having situated the topic of this study in a broader theoretical and historical context, chapter 3 will then be devoted to an introduction and detailed ethnographic description of the two case studies, the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* in Rio de Janeiro's city center. Based on informal observations and oral histories, I will approach the reality of the lives of their inhabitants, providing the background necessary for the analysis of the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship and gender that follows. Besides describing the first developments inside the squats, the chapter will also be concerned with the question of what changed over time and what problems and

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personal challenges the inhabitants had to face on a daily basis. In so doing, not only commonalities, but also important differences between the two squats will be revealed.

Chapter 4 will be dedicated to the question of how the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* understand and articulate citizenship and gender. In order to learn more about the actors involved and about possible reasons for engaging in citizenship activities, section 4.1 deals with the inhabitants' life stories and personal backgrounds, as well as their personal motivations for participating in the squats. Initial insights gained in this chapter will then be deepened in section 4.2, when exploring the understanding and articulation of citizenship on the part of the inhabitants of both squats. I will not only shed light on the language used by the inhabitants to legitimize their participation, but also illustrate how the inhabitants, through their engagement in citizenship activities, participate in the urban imaginary.

As the strong presence and activism of women inside the squats can hardly be ignored, section 4.3 is dedicated to the gendered nature of mobilization around housing, and explores women's engagement in the squats. After examining the reasons for their participation, I will look at the broader impacts of their mobilization, and illustrate the prevailing gender roles, norms, and relations within the squats.

In the last chapter of the dissertation I will discuss the conclusions that can be drawn, and will provide an overview of potential further research on the topic.

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2. Theoretical and Historical Framework

In the following chapter I will situate the topic of the study in a broader theoretical and historical context. I will introduce the concepts of citizenship and gender, which constitute the theoretical framework guiding this study, and provide an overview of their central assumptions, by highlighting the current state of research. In the first part, I will briefly outline the actual debate around citizenship and its specific historical development in Brazil in order to illustrate the existence of a differentiated citizenship and its implications. Afterwards, I will introduce the city as the context, framework, and social space within which this citizenship is constantly contested and negotiated.

In the second part, I will elaborate on the actual debate around gender, and argue for focusing on the processes of its construction—by introducing the concept of "doing gender"—before examining some concrete interactions in everyday life situations, and sketching out domestic relations and structures in urban Brazil. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, I will show how closely linked the concepts of citizenship and gender are in theory and practice. After demonstrating feminist concerns with citizenship, I will go more into detail on the specific interdependence of citizenship and gender in the case of Latin America, focusing on women's engagement in popular urban movements and the reasons behind their involvement in citizenship activities, as well as on the impacts of their agency.

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2.1 CITIZENSHIP

> Citizenship, then, is an intellectual and political tradition that has been repeatedly revisited and updated and, therefore, today consists of a string of citizenship discourses.[1]

There are various understandings of citizenship. In the past few decades there has been an increased interest in the study of citizenship, and as a result a remarkable amount of academic work about it has emerged, leading to the establishment of the field of so-called "citizenship studies"[2] in the 1990s.[3] Alterations in social, economic, and cultural conditions, defined by Turner and Isin as "postmodernization" or "globalization," made the articulation of new claims for citizenship rights possible and caused "an urgent need to rethink the political agent or subject under these transformations."[4] In Latin America, and elsewhere, processes like (re-)democratization and its consolidation, the experiences and struggles of social movements, migration, and many other manifestations of so-called globalization led to an increasing adoption of the Western notion of citizenship in the scientific and political vocabulary.[5] Referring to the reasons behind the increased use of the term, sociologist Maxine Molyneux summarizes that citizenship

1 Shafir, Gershon. 1998. "Introduction. The Evolving Tradition of Citizenship" in *The Citizenship Debates. A Reader,* edited by G. Shafir. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 2.

2 Isin and Turner emphasize that although citizenship studies "is not yet an institutionalized field, it has established itself as a *de facto* field in the humanities and social science in the 1990s" (Isin, Engin F. and Bryan S. Turner. 2011. "Citizenship Studies. An Introduction" in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies,* edited by E. F. Isin and B. S. Turner. Los Angeles: SAGE, p. 1).

3 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 1; Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. "Women, Citizenship and Difference", Citizenship: Pushing the Boundaries. *Feminist Review* (57): 4; Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 1.

4 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 1.

5 Dagnino, Evelina. 2007. "Dimensions of Citizenship in Contemporary Brazil", *Fordham Law Review*, 75 (5): 2469; Shafir 1998, Introduction, pp. 1f; Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 1; Sojo, Carlos. 2002. "The idea of citizenship in the Latin American debate", *Cepal Review* (76): 26.

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not only signifies a way of problematising the politics and policies of liberal democracy, the dominant political form in the modern world, but it can encompass a wide range of social and political issues raised by the new post-Cold War international and national context. Citizenship provides a political language for thinking about broader questions of social membership which have been sharply reposed by global trends such as migration, nationalism, indigenous claims and social marginalization.[6]

Thus, social movements formulated their struggle for crucial social issues, inclusion, and recognition in the language of rights and obligations—in the language of citizenship—and "found in the concept of citizenship not only a useful tool for their specific struggles, but also a powerful articulating link among them."[7] The concept of citizenship allowed social movements to overcome their prior isolation due to their great number and diversity, and to embed their different priorities and demands in a general struggle for the expansion of democracy.[8]

The ongoing academic debate over citizenship has focused on its various aspects and traditions. In the following chapter, therefore, I will first highlight the principal elements and topics of the ongoing theoretical debate on citizenship, and then turn my attention to the specific example of Brazil and its historical development of citizenship, before finally embedding it in the urban context.

2.1.1 The Citizenship Debate

One central element of the citizenship debate in Latin America, and elsewhere, has been the discussion about whether citizenship refers only to a *legal status* of membership in a nation-state, or whether it is also "a *social process* through which individuals and social groups engage in claiming, expanding or losing rights."[9] The two aspects are closely related, and it is very important to

6 Molyneux, Maxine. 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective. Latin America and Beyond, New York: Palgrave, p.163.

7 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 1; Dagnino 2007, Dimensions of Citizenship in Contemporary Brazil, p. 2469.

8 Dagnino, Evelina. 2003. "Citizenship in Latin America. An Introduction", *Latin American Perspectives*, 30 (2): 212.

9 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 4; Isin, Engin F. 2008. "Theorizing Acts of Citizenship" in *Acts of Citizenship,* edited by E. F. Isin and G. M. Nielsen. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 16; Isin, Engin F. 2009. "Citizenship in a Flux. The Figure of the Activist Citizen", *Subjectivity* (29): 369.

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understand that the legal status entails processes and practices of negotiating, contesting, and broadening the content and character of given rights, and *vice versa*. Even though most studies agree on this fact, they still make an abstract separation and focus either on citizenship as status, or citizenship as practice.[10] While studies which concentrate more on the former are mostly about membership, for instance, based on legal definitions of nationality,[11] studies paying more attention to citizenship as a practice normally analyze "new subjects, sites and scales of claim making,"[12] such as social movements and their claims, negotiations and struggles for equal access to rights. However, the case of social movements also shows how citizenship as membership and citizenship as process overlap and intersect. As we can see for example in the housing movements in Brazil, their formal membership of the political community is not questioned, but their access to and negotiation of the rights associated with that membership status are.

In the context of differentiating between citizenship as a formal legal status and citizenship as a process and practice, scholars have also differentiated between *substantive* and *formal* citizenship. Especially in the field of sociology there has been a great interest in studying and focusing on substantive citizenship by looking at the concrete patterns of inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state.[13] According to Brubaker substantive citizenship is "[t]hat which constitutes citizenship—the array of rights or the pattern of participation,"[14] and Bauböck affirms that it is "the particular nature of the relation [between individual and state] itself and the characterization of both individuals and states implied in it. We can, for example, describe this relation as a transaction of rights and obligations."[15]

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

11 For example Bauböck, Rainer, Eva Ersbøll, C. A. Groenendijk, and Harald Waldrauch, editors. 2006, *Comparative Analyses,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

12 For example Isin 2008, Theorizing Acts of Citizenship, p. 17.

13 Brubaker, William R. 1990. "Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany" Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, pp. 37f; Isin 2008, Theorizing Acts of Citizenship, p. 17.

14 Brubaker 1990, Citizenship and Nationhood in France, p. 36.

15 Bauböck, Rainer. 1994, Transnational Citizenship. Membership and Rights in International Migration, Aldershot: Elgar, p. 23.

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This suggests that it is important not only to look at the formal status or "rights in theory" but also at the ability to "exercise rights in practice,"[16] because formal and substantive citizenship are hardly separable, and inform one another. When researching the civic struggles and demands of certain groups in society, like social movements, the gap between formal and substantive citizenship becomes obvious and one can observe exactly how rights are configured, and in what ways people try to shape and negotiate their inclusion.[17] Accordingly, Isin and Turner state that "[b]eing politically engaged means practicing substantive citizenship, which in turn implies that members of a polity always struggle to shape its fate."[18] The possibility of a discrepancy between formal and substantive citizenship means, "[t]hat formal citizenship is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for substantive citizenship of either kind." Brubaker explains that even though possessing formal state-membership people can be excluded from social, civil, and political rights, and that formal membership is a necessary condition for some, but not for all components of substantive citizenship. As an example of the latter he points to social rights, which are also obtainable for non-citizens.[19]

Most scholars build their definition of citizenship on the work of sociologist T.H. Marshall who formulated his assumptions about citizenship in the context of the postwar creation of the British welfare state. For Marshall, citizenship is "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed."[20]

In his famous article "Citizenship and Social Class" from 1950, Marshall traced back the development of citizenship in Britain to the eighteenth century and divided citizenship into three "elements," or, as Shafir calls them, "generations" of citizenship rights, namely political, social, and civil.[21] In his analysis of citizenship, in the eighteenth century the *civil* element—"the rights necessary for individual freedom—liberty of the person, freedom of speech,

16 Glenn, Nakano E. 2011. "Constructing Citizenship. Exclusion, Subordination, and Resistance", *American Sociological Review*, 76 (1): 3.

17 Brubaker 1990, Citizenship and Nationhood in France, p. 36.

18 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 4.

19 Brubaker 1990, Citizenship and Nationhood in France, pp. 36f.

20 Marshall, T. H. 2009. "Citizenship and Social Class" in *Inequality and Society. Social Science Perspectives on Social Stratification,* edited by J. Manza and M. Sauder. New York: Norton, First published in 1950. pp. 149f.

21 Marshall 2009, Citizenship and Social Class, p. 148; Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 14.

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thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice"—developed first, and then the *political* element—"the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body" followed in the nineteenth century. Finally, Marshall explains, the twentieth century provided *social* rights—"the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society," in "equal partnership" with civil and political rights.[22]

Marshall's notion and discussion of social rights especially has since then become an object of intense debate regarding social citizenship.[23] For him, the emergence of social rights in the historical development of citizenship "was necessary, to transform formal rights into *substantive* ones; only with adequate economic and social resources would individuals be able to exercise civil and political rights."[24] Marshall emphasized the expansion and "progress" of citizenship over time and the associated inclusion of new actors into society.[25] He complains that civil and political rights had no effect on social inequality and he argues that the inclusion of the poor, and "class-abatement" can therefore only be achieved by social rights: "It [social rights] has assumed the guise of action modifying the whole pattern of social inequality."[26] The importance of social rights for democracy is highlighted not only by Marshall, but also by other authors.[27] As Peter Dwyer for example accurately summarizes: "Rights, and in particular social or welfare rights as they were often referred to, are central to the idea of citizenship. They help to define the extent and quality of a citizen's

22 Marshall 2009, Citizenship and Social Class, pp. 148f.

23 Fraser, Nancy and Linda Gordon. 1998. "Contract versus Charity. Why Is There No Social Citizenship in the United States?" in *The Citizenship Debates. A Reader,* edited by G. Shafir. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 115.

24 Glenn, Evelyn N. 2002, Unequal Freedom. How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p. 19.

25 Marshall 2009, Citizenship and Social Class, p. 153. He refers in his case to the English working class.

26 Ibid.

27 "The precise combination and depth of such rights [civil, political, social] vary from one state to another but a modern democratic state is expected to uphold a combination of citizenship rights and obligation" (Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 3); "there can be no democratic citizenship without social rights" (Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, p. 126).

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substantive welfare entitlements and are also often the focus of wider welfare debates and struggles."[28]

Though most scholars recognize the importance of Marshall's work and mainly build on his division of citizenship into three "elements," his work has also been object of intense criticism in historical and normative debates: The first criticism concerns the fact that Marshall treated citizenship in his historical analysis of its development as a uniform concept by taking the case of Britain as a universal model.[29] But what Marshall might assume for the case of Britain is not necessarily true for the development of citizenship in other countries, as Yashar and other scholars show for example for Latin America.[30] Here, for example, corporatist regimes in the mid-twentieth century extended social rights, but did not necessarily promote political rights.[31] Accordingly, Holston emphasizes: "Rather, the spread, timing and substance of citizenship vary substantially with historical and national context."[32]

The second criticism of Marshall is connected to the first, and refers to his description of a progressive, linear, and cumulative expansion of citizenship rights. Many scholars do not support such a "homogenous expansion" and draw attention to the lack of analysis "of the causal mechanisms that produced an expansion of citizenship."[33] Interestingly, in Britain, too, such an expansion of citizenship rights was not the case for all parts of the population. Women, for example, were denied many of the characteristics of full political and civil citizenship in Britain before 1928 (see also section 2.3.1). Researching the example of the United States, Nakano Glenn also criticizes Marshall's

28 Dwyer, Peter. 2010, Understanding Social Citizenship. Themes and Perspectives for Policy and Practice, Bristol: Policy, p. 5.

29 Turner, Bryan S. 2001. "The Erosion of Citizenship", *British Journal of Sociology*, 52 (2): 191; Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 15.

30 See for example Carvalho, José M. de. 2001, *Cidadania no Brasil. O Longo Caminho,* Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, Goirand, Camille. 2003. "Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil", *Latin American Perspectives*, 30 (2): 22 or Assies, Willem, Calderón, Marco A. and Ton Salman. 2002. "Ciudadanía cultura política y reforma del estado en América Latina. Citizenship, political culture and reform of the State in Latin America", *América Latina Hoy* (32): 58ff.

31 Yashar, Deborah J. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America", *World Politics*, 52 (1): 80f.

32 Holston, James. 2008, Insurgent Citizenship. Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, p. 317.

33 Turner 2001, The Erosion of Citizenship, p. 190; see also Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 7 or Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 15.

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assumption of a linear inclusion, in that it "does not capture the complexity, dynamism, and fluidity of citizenship,"[34] and Young acknowledges that although all groups in "liberal capitalist societies" enjoy equal citizenship rights, social injustice and inequality persist, and some groups are still "treated as second-class citizens" and *de facto* excluded from citizenship.[35] Accordingly, many Latin American scholars in particular have frequently criticized Marshall's assumption and revealed its inapplicability to the nonlinear development in the region.[36]

This debate on the question of universality of citizenship[37] is especially interesting when studying social movements. Due to the paradigm of universality, they find themselves in a "dilemma of difference"[38] as Young calls it. The assumption of the universality of citizenship implies the idea of equality and inclusion of all members of a society, that "[w]hatever the social or group differences among citizens, whatever their inequalities of wealth, status, and power in the everyday activities of civil society, citizenship gives everyone the same status as peers in the political public."[39] Thus social movements on the one hand, to be included, have to refer to this principle of equality and the universality of citizenship and as a consequence to deny their difference. On the other hand, they find it necessary to emphasize existing "group-based-differences" because the formal equal treatment disadvantages those groups.[40]

34 Glenn 2011, Constructing Citizenship, p. 3.

35 Young, Iris M. 1998. "Polity and Group Difference. A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship" in *The Citizenship Debates. A Reader,* edited by G. Shafir. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 264.

36 See for example Assies et al. 2002, Ciudadanía cultura política y reforma del estado en América Latina, pp. 61; 71-77; Jelin, Elizabeth. 1993. "¿Cómo construir ciudadanía? Una vision desde abajo", *European Review of Latin American and the Caribbean Studies/ Revista Europeade Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* (55): 24.

37 The universality debate opens up to the discussion of the necessity of differentiated or group-based citizenship or multicultural citizenship, which will not be discussed here in detail, but can be read in Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference; Kymlicka, Will. 1998. "Multicultural Citizenship" in *The Citizenship Debates. A Reader,* edited by G. Shafir. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 167–187; Yashar 1999, Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge.

38 Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 281.

39 Ibid., p. 263.

40 Ibid., p. 281.

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Or, as Shafir summarizes: "Formal equality, ironically, creates substantive inequality."[41]

The third criticism of Marshall deals with his concentration on the nation-state in his analysis, the fact that he is treating citizenship as "always rooted in the unit of the nation-state."[42] In the context of globalization, studies began to question whether citizenship had to be exclusively related to the nation-state.[43] Especially experiences of international migration and new supra- or transnational organizations like the European Union, for example, made it necessary, argued some scholars, to rethink the meaning of citizenship in modern theories—liberalism, communitarism and republicanism[44]—all of which refer to the nation-state as the main source of authority.[45] These studies challenge the idea of the nation-state as the only authority over citizenship, and broaden the debate by considering citizenship as meaningful beyond traditional national boundaries. Even though most of the studies still relate citizenship to the nation-state and equalize it with membership of a state, there is already an important production of literature on so-called post-national or transnational citizenship. Furthermore, scholars often refer to the origin of citizenship in the ancient Greek cities, and emphasize that it was only from the late eighteenth century onward that citizenship became associated exclusively with the nation-state instead of the

41 Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 25.

42 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 317; Marshall 2009, Citizenship and Social Class, p. 149.

43 For further reading see Soysal, Yasemin N. 2007, *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe,* Chicago et al.: Univ. of Chicago; Sassen, Saskia. 2011. "Towards Post-National and Denationalized Citizenship" in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies,* edited by E. F. Isin and B. S. Turner. Los Angeles: SAGE, pp. 277–293; Isin, Engin F., and Bryan S. Turner, editors. 2011, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies,* Los Angeles: SAGE; Bauböck 1994, Transnational Citizenship; Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1999. "The 'Multi-Layered Citizen'. Citizenship in the Age of 'Globalization'", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1 (1): 119–136.

44 "Liberalism puts strong emphasis on the individual, and most rights involve liberties that adhere to each and every person. Concomitantly, communitarism emphasizes the community (or the society or the nation), whose primary concern is with the cohesive and just functioning of society. Republican theories in both their conservative and radical variants put emphasis on both individual and group rights and emphasis the role of conflict and contest in the expansion or construction of such rights" (Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 4).

45 Ibid., pp. 3f.

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city.[46] In this context, especially in the area of urban studies, it is argued that citizenship should be reinserted into the urban context and that increasingly cities are replacing the nation as the important places and reference points of citizenship (for a further discussion of urban citizenship see section 2.1.3).[47] Hence, the discussion of national versus transnational, as well as urban dimensions of citizenship have also become an important aspects of the citizenship debate, and should therefore not be ignored.[48]

The fourth criticism of Marshall's work is "the absence of any understanding of ethnic and racial [or gender] divisions in relation to national citizenship."[49] Instead of problematizing explicitly existing hierarchies in his analysis of the development of citizenship, Marshall assumes a "heterogeneous society," in his case reflecting exclusively the citizenship experience of *white*, *men* from the working class.[50] Especially feminist theory has questioned and criticized this ideal of citizenship—as I will show in more detail in section 2.3.1—and Latin American scholars in particular have emphazised the importance of taking social categorizations into account when talking about citizenship. As Alvarez et al. adequately stress: "The rigid social hierarchies of class, race, and gender that typify Latin American social relations prevent the vast majority of de jure citizens from even imagining, let alone publicly claiming, the prerogative to have rights."[51]

46 Isin, Engin F. and Myer Siemiatycki. 1999. "Fate and Faith. Claiming Urban Citizenship in Immigrant Toronto", *CERIS Working Paper Series* (8): 7; Painter, Joe. 2005. "Urban Citizenship and Rights to the City", Background Paper for the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: 4; Gomes, Paulo C. d. C. 2001, *A Condição Urbana. Ensaios de Geopolítica da Cidade,* Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 31-125.

47 For example Holston, James and Arjun Appadurai. 1999. "Cities and Citizenship" in *Cities and Citizenship,* edited by J. Holston. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 1–18; Purcell, Mark. 2003. "Citizenship and the Right to the Global City. Reimagining the Capitalist World Order", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27 (3): 564–590; Isin et al. 1999, Fate and Faith.

48 Isin 2009, Citizenship in a Flux, p. 369; Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 4; Siim, Birte and Judith Squires. 2008. "Contesting Citizenship. Comparative Analyses" in *Contesting Citizenship,* edited by B. Siim and J. Squires. London: Routledge, p. 2; Isin et al. 1999, Fate and Faith, p. 10.

49 Turner 2001, The Erosion of Citizenship, p. 191.

50 Ibid.; Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, p. 116.

51 Alvarez, Sonia E., Dagnino, Evelina and Arturo Escobar. 1998. "Introduction: The Cultural and the Political in Latin American Social Movements" in *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements,* edited

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The fifth criticism of Marshall questions his optimism "about the ease with which social citizenship could be built upon a foundation laid in terms of civil citizenship."[52] In their examination of the relation between civil and social citizenship, Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon show that, especially when dealing with social citizenship, the different traditions and understandings of citizenship by country become apparent. Pointing to the United States, they demonstrate that a strong civil rights tradition has not led automatically to the obtainment of social rights, as described by Marshall for the case of Britain, but may also hinder the development of social citizenship. The almost complete absence of social citizenship in contemporary United States discourse is in their opinion due to a strong presence of and emphasis on a civil citizenship tradition which is dominantly characterized by contract as the hegemonic social relation.[53] Fraser and Gordon argue that the rise of civil citizenship created new forms of property rights and contract relations, and especially that "contract exchange was increasingly represented as the basic form of human interaction."[54] They assert that over time noncontractual forms of relations, apart from family relations, were modified towards contractual exchange, and that the increasing "hegemony of contract" led to the generation of the concept of charity as a "unilateral gift" opposing the concept of contract, because "[a]ny interaction that seemed neither contractual nor familial now appeared to be unilateral and entirely voluntary, entailing neither entitlements nor responsibilities."[55] The ideological consequence of this "contract-versus-charity" dichotomy was that charity increasingly came under attack, and became stigmatized as "unilateral gift-giving."[56]

In sum, the cultural mythology of civil citizenship stands in a tense, often obstructing relationship to social citizenship. This is nowhere more true than in the United States, where the dominant understanding of civil citizenship remains strongly inflected by notions of "contract" and "independence," while social provision has been constructed to connote "charity" and "dependence."[57]

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by Alvarez, Sonia E., Dagnino, Evelina and Arturo Escobar. Boulder: WestviewPress, p. 12; see also Sojo 2002, The idea of citizenship, p. 36.

52 Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, p. 117.

53 Ibid., pp. 114f; Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 15.

54 Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, p. 123.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., pp. 122ff.

57 Ibid., pp. 125f.

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Fraser and Gordon's argumentation supports the first and second criticism of Marshall by showing the necessity of greater sensitivity to the historical and national context of citizenship.

This brief overview of the principal elements and topics of the ongoing theoretical debate on citizenship has demonstrated the existence of different positions and areas of emphasis within the discussion. This study seeks to highlight the importance of understanding citizenship as an inseparable combination of both formal status and social practice, because as we will see, especially in section 2.1.3.1, regarding the struggles for housing, legal status also entails processes and practices of negotiating, contesting, and broadening the content and character of given rights, and *vice versa*. Hence, combining both these aspects of citizenship, this study will be guided by the following definition: Citizenship is a dynamic concept, incorporating both a historically specific bundle of rights and obligations (formal status), and the constant processes of negotiating this bundle and respectively the acts by which these rights are being claimed (practice/process).[58]

Integrating both aspects into my understanding, and accordingly into my analysis, I also hope to avoid some of the pitfalls addressed by the elaborated criticism above of Marshall's one-dimensional definition. Only an analysis of the entanglement of both the formal status—citizenship from above—and the social processes of its negotiation—citizenship from below—is able to detect the "blind spots" and uncover the concrete patterns of inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state. Additionally, it allows us to focus not only on dominant state discourses, but also on the "performative dimensions of membership which define the meanings and practices of belonging in society"[59] and thus to incorporate the views and voices of excluded social actors, who are important agents in the creation of a citizenship from below. This point is particularly interesting for the aim of this study, which focuses on precisely these actors in the squats of Rio de Janeiro, seeking to describe their own understanding and construction of citizenship.

58 This definition combines Marshall's basic assumption to understand citizenship as a status and the literature which claims to focus on citizenship as a social practice, like for example Shafir 1998, Introduction, and Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies.

59 Holston et al. 1999, Cities and Citizenship, p. 200.

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2.1.2 Citizenship in Brazil

> While the notion of democratic citizenship entails a composite of rights that, in theory, cannot be contingent upon privileges based on class, race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, and other features, in practice some social groups (…) are de facto excluded from the full benefits of citizenship.[60]

In Latin America in general and in Brazil specifically, the extension of formal rights has not yet led to their consistent recognition and application in practice.[61] As emphasized above, citizenship cannot therefore be analyzed only in terms of formal membership, but rather it is important that "we should be attentive to the difference between having rights in theory and being able to exercise rights in practice, that is, having substantive citizenship."[62] In other words, those who possess formal state-membership can nevertheless be excluded from social, civil, and political rights. This is, as we will see in the following section, the case in Brazil, where people are often excluded from access to, and the possibility of exercising, their "full citizenship," and instead experience the results of a historically rooted differentiated citizenship.

60 Armony, Ariel C. 2007. "Fields of Citizenship" in *Citizenship in Latin America,* edited by J. S. Tulchin and M. Ruthenburg. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publ., p. 96.

61 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America; Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil; Fischer, Brodwyn. 2008, *A Poverty of Rights. Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro,* Stanford: Stanford University Press; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship; Bitencourt, Luis. 2007. "Crime and Violence. Challenges to Democracy in Brazil" in *Citizenship in Latin America,* edited by J. S. Tulchin and M. Ruthenburg. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publ., pp. 171–186; Hagopian, Frances. 2007. "Latin American Citizenship and Democracy Theory" in *Citizenship in Latin America,* edited by J. S. Tulchin and M. Ruthenburg. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publ., pp. 11–56; Armony 2007, Fields of Citizenship; Jelin 1993, Cómo construir ciudadanía, pp. 22, 27.

62 Glenn 2011, Constructing Citizenship, p. 3.

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2.1.2.1. A Differentiated Citizenship

To understand and explain the unequal access to rights experienced by certain parts of the Brazilian population, some scholars[63] have suggested that, when talking about citizenship in Brazil, it is important to look back at history and its specific development over time. In doing so, they draw critically on T.H. Marshall's assumption of a linear development of citizenship, emphasizing that "the timing and substance of citizenship's development vary in different historical and national contexts but also (…) this development is never cumulative, linear or evenly distributed. Rather, citizenship always simultaneously expands and erodes in uneven ways."[64] Thus, to understand the specific historical development of citizenship in the case of Brazil, the anthropologist James Holston advocates taking into account both formal membership and the substantive distribution of rights, which in combination, over time, has produced what he calls an "inclusively inegalitarian citizenship." He explains that:

> This formulation of citizenship uses social differences that are *not* the basis of national membership primarily—differences of education, property, race, gender, and occupation—to distribute different treatments to different categories of citizens. It thereby generates a gradation of rights among them, in which most rights are available only to particular kinds of citizens and exercised as the privilege of particular social categories. I describe it, therefore, as a differentiated citizenship that uses social qualifications to organize its political, civil, and social dimensions and to regulate the distribution of powers. This scheme of citizenship is, in short, a mechanism to distribute inequality.[65]

Holston emphasizes that due to the perpetuation of this early formulation of citizenship—what he calls a differentiated citizenship—"most Brazilians have been denied political rights, limited in property ownership, forced into segregation and often illegal conditions of residence, estranged from the law, and funneled into labor as servile workers."[66]

63 For example Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil; Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship.

64 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 15.

65 Ibid., p. 7.

66 Ibid.

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Using the term *differentiated citizenship* in his analysis, Holston explicitly draws on Iris Young's notion of the same.[67] Young argues that the universal idea of citizenship had in practice led to the exclusion and homogenization of certain groups and to a so-called "dilemma of difference." On the one hand, in order to be included, these groups have to appeal to the principle of equality and the universality of citizenship, and as a consequence must deny their difference. On the other hand, however, they find it necessary and important to emphasize existing "group-based-differences" because the formal equal treatment in fact disadvantages them.[68] Thus, to avoid exclusion, Young opts for a solution based on a heterogeneous public, and stresses the need for a group-differentiated citizenship instead of a universal citizenship.[69] Accordingly, for Young "the best way to realize the inclusion and participation of everyone in full citizenship" is then a differentiated citizenship, as to fight perpetuated oppression and disadvantages of certain groups it becomes in her opinion necessary to articulate "special rights that attend to group differences."[70]

Although using the same notion for his analysis, Holston comes nevertheless to a different conclusion. Holston asserts that Young's understanding of a differentiated citizenship "allows for a generalized distribution of specific legalized privileges to compensate for various kinds of difference."[71] He counters that demand by emphasizing that citizenship in most countries already is and has been differentiated, and thus underlines again the importance for a historical analysis of citizenship in order to reveal this fact. Criticizing Young for her "ahistorical" and "uncomparative" portrayal of citizenship, Holston argues that "from the beginning of Brazilian nationhood, they [elites] created a national citizenship that was universally inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution of rights and membership" and points out that this "paradigm of inegalitarian national citizenship" persists and is widespread among nations as a means of managing social differences.[72] He thus challenges Young's presumption that differentiated citizenship is the best way to achieve full citizenship for everyone, and emphasizes that quite to the contrary "Brazil's differentiated citizenship consolidated social inequalities and perpetuated them

67 Holston, James. 2011, *Contesting Privilege with Right. The Transformation of Differentiated Citizenship in Brazil*. http://indiancities.berkeley.edu/speaker_content/docs/Holston_Contesting_Privilege_with_Right_2011_Feb.pdf (31 Oct 2015), p. 5.

68 Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 281.

69 Ibid., p. 271.

70 Ibid., pp. 264f.

71 Holston 2011, Contesting Privilege with Right, p. 7.

72 Ibid., pp. 7, 11f.

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in other forms throughout society."[73] For Holston, legalizing differences thus means legalizing and reproducing inequality:

[B]y legalizing special treatment as a matter of course to attend to group differences, they [nations] legitimate and reproduce inequality throughout the social system. What Young proposes is thus a token of this historical type of citizenship, albeit one she imagines restricted to compensating oppressed social groups. Considering its world history, it is difficult not to conclude that this thinking is wishful, if not deluded.[74]

Thus, while for Young a differentiated citizenship is the solution to dissolve inequality, for Holston it constitutes the very root of it. Holston's critique of the reproduction of inequality through a differentiated citizenship is also shared by other scholars. Shafir, for example, accordingly states that a differentiated citizenship can also be hierarchical, and that "[s]uch hierarchy of citizenships leads to struggle over the types of citizenship rights distinguished by Marshall, not all of which can be granted by all and a few of which cannot be taken for granted by some."[75]

In this study, I will draw on Holston's understanding of a differentiated citizenship as an argument for the exclusion of certain parts of the population from "full citizenship" throughout Brazilian history. I thereby share his strong argument for the need to look at the historical development in each single case and country, as well as to distinguish between formal membership and the substantive distribution of rights. Only then it is possible to recognize the causes and correlations of the exclusion of certain parts of the population, which in turn is a prerequisite for change. Hence, in the following section, I will provide an overview of the historical development of citizenship in Brazil.

2.1.2.2 The Historical Development of Citizenship in Brazil

In his book "Insurgent Citizenship—Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil" James Holston traces back the development and formulation of a differentiated citizenship in Brazilian history. To prove his argument he analyzes key aspects of Brazil's imperial and republican past, up until democracy:

[T]hroughout Brazilian history, the difference-based formulation of citizenship overwhelms. It persists as a system of unequal and differential access to rights, privileges, and powers from the colonial period (1500-1822), to the imperial (1822-1889), and

73 Holston 2011, Contesting Privilege with Right, p. 12.

74 Ibid., pp. 12f.

75 Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 25.

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through the republican (1889-present), thriving under monarchy, both civilian and military dictatorships, and electoral democracy.[76]

Like Holston, other scholars, such as Camille Goirand and José Murilo de Carvalho, also stress the historical development and specificities of Brazilian citizenship. Hence, Goirand identifies three "key steps" in Brazil's construction of citizenship. First, the end of the nineteenth century; second, the 1930s and Vargas era; and thirdly, the democratization process of the 1980s and 90s.[77] In the following, I will therefore highlight these scholars' main arguments, so as to depict the historical development of citizenship in Brazil.

In the course of independence, according to Holston, the first Brazilian Constitution of 1824 had already established, a "conceptual framework of a differentiated citizenship" in Brazil.[78] Regulating political rights, the Constitution defined who had the right to vote and accordingly, who were those defined citizens. This definition, given in Article 6 of the Constitution of 1824,[79] remains "essentially unchanged" today, and "formulated national membership in terms of unconditional *ius soli* and conditional *ius sanguinis*."[80] Citizenship was formally not restricted to any kind of social categorization, such as for example religion, ethnicity, or gender, but was strongly linked to the condition of freedom. As slavery had not yet been abolished in 1824, slaves were excluded and not

76 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 40.

77 Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil.

78 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 90.

79 Art. 6: "*São Cidadãos Brazileiros: I. Os que no Brazil tiverem nascido, quer sejam ingenuos, ou libertos, ainda que o pai seja estrangeiro, uma vez que este não resida por serviço de sua Nação. II. Os filhos de pai Brazileiro, e Os illegitimos de mãi Brazileira, nascidos em paiz estrangeiro, que vierem estabelecer domicilio no Imperio. III. Os filhos de pai Brazileiro, que estivesse em paiz estrangeiro em serviço do Imperio, embora elles não venham estabelecer domicilio no Brazil. IV. Todos os nascidos em Portugal, e suas Possessões, que sendo já residentes no Brazil na época, em que se proclamou a Independencia nas Provincias, onde habitavam, adheriram á esta expressa, ou tacitamente pela continuação da sua residencia. V. Os estrangeiros naturalisados, qualquer que seja a sua Religião. A Lei determinará as qualidades precisas, para se obter Carta de naturalisação*." (Presidência da República. 1824, Constituição Politica do Imperio do Brazil de 25 de Março de 1824. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/Constituicao24.htm (14 Nov 2015)).

80 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 63.

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considered citizens.[81] Holston shows that, although not formally restricted in membership, political rights were only made available to some citizens,[82] by "dividing the category of 'citizen' into classes, mixing six sorts of restriction to limit suffrage among adults: gender, income, household dependence, residence, religion, and birthright."[83]

In the following years the exclusion of certain groups from political rights was further extended. Through electoral reforms in 1881, Law 3029, the so-called "Saraiva Law" (*Lei Saraiva*), was passed. One of its consequences was that the already existing income requirement, as a condition in order to be able to vote, was raised from 100 to 200 mil-réis per annum. Although Holston and Carvalho assume that 200 mil-réis per annum was not that much money, a very strict enforcement of the condition, and new bureaucratic obstacles to prove this income through a number of legally recognized documents, meant that many people stopped voting.[84] Law 3029 also made voting optional and, as both authors agree, the most significant mechanism to exclude people from political participation was established: the requirement of literacy.[85]

> [O]nde a lei de fato limitou o voto foi ao excluir os analfabetos. A razão é simples: somente 15% da população era alfabetizada, ou 20%, se considerarmos apenas a população masculina. De imediato, 80% da população masculina era excluída do direito de voto (...). Em 1872, havia mais de 1 milhão de votantes, correspondentes a 13% da população livre. Em 1886, votaram nas eleições parlamentares pouco mais de 100 mil eleitores, ou 0,8% da população total. Houve um corte de quase 90% do eleitorado.[86]

Holston affirms that at the end of the century, most Brazilian citizens were deprived of political rights. In the founding Republican Constitution of 1891 the income requirement was finally dropped, and slavery officially abolished in

81 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, pp. 63, 90; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 28f.

82 Art. 90-97 (Presidência da República 1824, Constituição Politica do Imperio do Brazil).

83 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 90.

84 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 38f; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, pp. 100f.

85 These requirements (both or one of them) were also included in other Constitutions during the nineteenth century, for example in Chile, Mexiko or Peru (Sabato, Hilda. 2001. "On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America", *The American Historical Review*, 106 (4): 1290–1315).

86 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 39.

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1888. But the most important barrier, the exclusion of analphabetic citizens, was maintained until the Constitution of 1988.[87] This barrier remained an effective mechanism for excluding large part of the population from political citizenship throughout the twentieth century, especially as analphabetism continued to be high in Brazil, due to the failure of sufficient provision of public education. While the Constitution of 1824 had allowed analphabetic people to vote and had included at least theoretically the right to free primary education (in practice, this right was not enforced), the Republican Constitution "absolved the state of any responsibility for educating citizens to become voters."[88] In this sense, the exclusion of analphabetics and the reluctance of the state to provide sufficient education are a good example of the early development of a differentiated citizenship in Brazil:

> Brazil had taken an enormous step backward at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of its Republic. Moreover, for the next hundred years, from 1881 to 1985, each generation of political elites reconfirmed the step backward: they continued to differentiate political citizenship by reiterating in federal constitutions and electoral laws the principal means of disenfranchisement first decreed in the Saraiva Law, namely the exclusion of illiterates.[89]

Carvalho summarizes that until the 1930s civil and political rights had been precarious and that it is difficult even to talk about the existence of a social citizenship. To refer to this precarious citizenship situation, he describes it as a "negative citizenship" ("*uma cidadania em negativa*").[90] But, despite this critical evaluation, he nevertheless stresses that there were also already some political movements and other actors fighting for their rights, indicating the beginning of a nascent active citizenship.[91] He emphasizes that from early on people were active agents who tried to improve their living conditions within the nation-state. Hence, summarizing the situation until the 1930s, one can say that:

> Although an inclusive status, however, Brazilian national citizenship was not an egalitarian one. From the beginning, inclusion mattered less than the kind and quality of

87 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 40; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 102.

88 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 103.

89 Ibid., p. 102.

90 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 61, 75.

91 He refers here especially to the abolition movement (Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 65f).

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included citizen. All free native-born residents may have been Brazilian national citizens, but not all citizens had legally equal and uniform rights.[92]

The 1930s and the Vargas era marked another key step in Brazils' construction of citizenship. After the Revolution of 1930 important electoral reforms occurred in 1932, including amongst other things for the first time women's suffrage.[93] According to Carvalho, the evolution of political rights after 1930 was complex because "[*o*] *país entrou em fase de instabilidade, alternando-se ditaduras e regimes democráticos*."[94] In fact, during the Estado Novo from 1937 to 1945, political rights were curtailed, and after a short period of new growth for political citizenship from 1945 until 1964, this experience ended again with the implementation of dictatorship in 1964.[95] Holston emphasizes that even though it improved again during the years 1945 to 1964, political citizenship during that period was still restricted due to the continued exclusion of analphabetic citizens. Particularly concentrated in the countryside, in 1950 half of the Brazilians were still unable to write and read, and thus, according to Holston, a differentiated citizenship was maintained.[96]

Although political rights fell short under the corporatist and populist state of Vargas from 1930 to 1945, the literature on citizenship emphasizes the expansion of social rights for the first time in Brazilian history. Accordingly, Goirand summarizes "[t]hat Brazilian citizenship is social before being political"[97] and Carvalho concludes that "[*o*] *período de 1930 a 1945 foi o grande momento da legislação social. Mas foi uma legislação introduzida em ambiente de baixa o nula participação política e de precária vigência dos direitos civis.*"[98] Both authors thereby also illustrate that Marshall's assumption of a linear and cumulative development of citizenship in three steps, as described in section 2.1.1, is not valid for the case of Brazil.

92 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 63.

93 Ibid., p. 103; until then, women had been excluded from political citizenship, not only in Brazil, but in many other (Latin American) countries too. Women were allowed to vote (to name some examples) in Argentina in 1947, in Colombia in 1954 or in Ecuador in 1929.

94 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 87.

95 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 103; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 87f.

96 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 104.

97 Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil, p. 22.

98 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 110.

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The expansion of social rights under Vargas was especially aimed at the reorganization and regulation of the urban labor force.[99]

> [T]he state constituted urban workers as special citizens by bestowing social rights they had never had (…). However, it did so as the means to absorb them into its legal and administrative orders. Vargas reformulated the citizenship of workers precisely to eviscerate any alternative public sphere of autonomous working-class organization.[100]

But the implementation and extension of social rights did not benefit all Brazilians. The access to social rights—such as to be allowed to register grievances, to have access to labor benefits, be able to register passbooks, join unions, etc.—was limited only to workers, and despite being already restricted to that category, some of them were also excluded, as Holston emphasizes: "Although the government presented it as the universal incorporation of the 'workers of Brazil' into a regime of social rights and citizenship, not all workers, much less all citizens, had access to these rights."[101] Social rights were limited to urban workers[102] with possession of legal contracts in occupations regulated by law, and thus not all professions were included, such as for example domestic workers, the majority of whom were women.[103] According to Holston, Vargas's system of social citizenship therefore "differentiated Brazilian citizens into unequally graded subgroups with regard to the distribution of social rights: urban/rural, employed/unemployed, formal market/informal market, contracted/uncontracted, registered/unregistered, and unionized/not unionized."[104] Even though certain parts of the Brazilian population were thus officially excluded from access to social rights and thereby legally marginalized, historian Brodwyn Fischer emphasizes that this does not mean that the affected population themselves adopted Vargas' "legislation's definition of valuable work." Researching the practices and experiences of the excluded urban poor of that time, she stresses that even if working as *registered* wage-earners (with the so-

99 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 186; Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil, p. 22; especially his "labor, social security and social welfare laws were new, radical and wide-ranging" (Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights, p. 116).

100 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 186.

101 Ibid., p. 191.

102 The exemption of workers in agriculture reduced the amount of beneficiaries considerably (Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 114).

103 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, pp. 192f; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 114.

104 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, pp. 194f.

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called "*carteira assinada*") meant a certain prestige, working without it was acknowledged as a "rational choice" and people doing so also recognized as "workers" and "valuable members of the community."[105]

Hence, in the 1930s appeared what Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos describes as a "regulated citizenship": "Citizenship is embedded in the professions, and the rights of the citizen as restricted to the rights of the place he occupies in the productive process, as recognized by law. All those whose occupations the law does not recognize, therefore, become pre-citizens."[106] This understanding of citizenship "as a condition strictly related to labor" remained in place in Brazil, and would exclude workers from labor and social security systems, for decades.[107] Although widely adopted in the context of studies on citizenship in Brazil from 1930 to 1945, Holston points to two problems related to Santos' description of the citizenship situation in Brazil as "regulated." First of all, for Holston, the term "regulated" is already misleading, because in his opinion an "unregulated citizenship" does not exist. He therefore suggests describing the extension of social rights under Vargas rather as a "differentiated" type of citizenship, because:

> Identifying it as difference-specific has a significant advantage: it indicates that far from creating a new model, Vargas perpetuated the historic paradigm of Brazil's inclusively inegalitarian citizenship by giving it modern form, by adapting its differentiations to the new conditions of modern urban industrial society.[108]

Therefore, secondly, Santos' differentiation between "citizens" as the included and "pre-citizens" as the excluded makes no sense for Holston, because "both groups contain national citizens (…) are member-citizens of the same polity. It is precisely the inequality of their common citizenship that is the problem."[109]

Another "key step" in the construction of citizenship in Brazil was the democratization process of the 1970s, 80s and 90s. Along with the paralysis of political rights and very slow progress in social rights during the time of 1945 to 1964, the military government was especially characterized by a lack of the

105 Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights, pp. 145f.

106 Santos, Wanderley G. d. 1979, *Cidadania e Justiça,* Rio de Janeiro: Campus cited in: Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 193.

107 Dagnino, Evelina. 2005. "Meanings of Citizenship in Latin America", *IDS Working Paper*, 258): 6; Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights, p. 143.

108 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 193.

109 Ibid.

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possibility for citizens to exercise civil rights. In the process of the so-called "opening" ("*abertura*")—the time of transition from dictatorship to democracy from 1974 onwards—the country experienced an unprecedented political participation and mobilization, which finally led to the end of the military dictatorship in 1985 and to the Constitution in 1988.[110] In the context of the emergence of new political participation and social mobilization, citizenship in Brazil became a popular and common notion, especially among social movements, as an instrument and common reference point to formulate their demands for the recognition and expansion of rights.[111] The new emerging social movements used citizenship as a common and conjunctive reference to fight for their interests, and began thus also to "redefine" the notion of citizenship.[112] These actors thus tried to create a "citizenship from below" in order to fight previous concepts of citizenship, like that of a "regulated citizenship" or a "citizenship by concession":[113]

The role of the social movements, of the 1970s and 1980s in shaping this redefinition of citizenship is obviously rooted in their own struggles and practices. Although they drew on a history of rights that had given rise to regulated citizenship (…), they reacted against conception of the state and of power embedded in that history. They also reacted against

110 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 192f, 199; Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 107.

111 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 211; Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil, pp.18f

112 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 211; Dagnino, Evelina. 2007. "Citizenship. A Perverse Confluence", *Development in Practice*, 17 (4/5): 549; Dagnino 2005, Meanings of Citizenship in Latin America, p. 3.

113 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 213; Teresa Sales also evolved the notion of "citizenship by concession" ("*cidadania concedida*"). Trying to find the "roots of social inequality in the political culture of Brazil," she emphasizes the over time persisting political power and influence of the large landowners even after the creation of the Republic and abolition. In Sales conception, rights in Brazil thus are considered as "gifts" and "favours," and conceded in the powerful (Dagnino 2005, Meanings of Citizenship in Latin America, p. 6). "*A cidadania concedida está na gênese da construção de nossa cidadania. Isso significa que os primeiros direitos civis necessários à liberdade individual – de ir e vir, de justiça, direito à propriedade, direito ao trabalho – foram outorgados ao homem livre, durante e depois da ordem escravocrata, mediante a concessão dos senhores de terras*" (Sales, Teresa. 1994. "Raízes da Desigualdade Social na Cultura Brasileira", *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 25: no page).

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the control and tutelage of the political organisation of popular sectors by the state, political parties, and politicians. Their conception of rights and citizenship embodied a reaction against previous notions of rights as favours and/or objects of bargain with the powerful (…) (*cidadania concedida*). In this sense the struggle for rights, (…) encapsulated not only claims for equality but the negation of a dominant political culture deeply rooted in Brazilian society.[114]

The efforts and struggles of the social movements are reflected in the Constitution of 1988, the so-called "Citizens Constitution" (*Constituição Cidadã*). It expanded political, civil and social rights considerably in Brazil and eliminated one of the hitherto main obstacles for the universality of voting: the requirement of literacy.[115] New social rights were guaranteed, and amongst others the right to education, work, and healthcare were included in Article 6 of the 1988 Constitution.[116]

Analyzing the historical development of citizenship in Brazil after 1988, Carvalho points out that despite the noticeable amplification of rights, social and civil rights in particular are still not fully guaranteed in practice, and not fully accessible for most of the Brazilian population even today.[117] The decline of social rights after democratization is not only a phenomenon limited to Brazil, but is observable in many Latin American countries. For Yashar and Dagnino the neoliberal reforms—realized as a consequence of the economic crisis in the 1980s and 1990s—are the reason for the still inadequate granting of social rights after 1988.[118] According to Dagnino, in Brazil, "[t]oday's democratization processes are locked in a perverse confluence of two distinct political projects."[119] On the one hand she refers to the increasing participation of civil society, the extension of citizenship and deepening of democracy in the context of the 1988 Constitution; and on the other hand, she points to the determination of the governments to achieve a "minimal state, which requires the shrinking of its social responsibilities and the gradual abandonment of its role as guarantor of rights."[120] The neo-liberal definition of citizenship implies a "strictly

114 Dagnino 2007, Citizenship, p. 553.

115 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 200.

116 Goirand 2003, Citizenship and Poverty in Brazil, p. 18; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, p. 206.

117 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 206f, 210f, 220.

118 Yashar 1999, Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge, p. 85; Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 215.

119 Dagnino 2007, Citizenship, p. 550.

120 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 215.

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individualistic understanding" and the establishment of a strong connection between citizenship and the market. That changes the understanding of what it means to be a citizen and who has to guarantee citizenship rights. In a neo-liberal version, being a citizen means individual integration into the market as producer or/and consumer, and it is the market which is increasingly substituting the state's responsibility—so hard won by the social movements—to provide citizenship rights. Dagnino adverts to the fact that under neo-liberal logic especially social rights are increasingly eliminated, because they are accused of hindering "freedom of the market" and "economic development and modernization."[121] So, for her:

> The perverse nature of the confluence between the participatory and the neo-liberal projects lies in the fact that both not only require a (…) proactive society, but also share several core notions, such as *citizenship*, *participation*, and *civil society*, albeit used with very different meanings.[122]

The neo-liberal redefinition of citizenship and the associated withdrawal of the state also led to a new understanding of the provision of social policies. These are increasingly reduced to "emergency efforts" for "'needy' human beings" requiring charity, and not for citizens possessing rights. This has striking consequences especially for social policies on poverty and inequality, as responsibilities are withdrawn from the public sphere and become increasingly a "moral duty of every member of society."[123] This view of citizenship, and especially the understanding of social citizenship as "charity," is remiscent of the "contract-versus-charity" dichotomy introduced by Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon in section 2.1.1 for the case of the United States. Although analyzing the civil right tradition and its consequences for social citizenship in different nation-states, both cases show how "the idea of collective solidarity that underlies the classical reference to rights and citizenship is (…) being replaced by an understanding of solidarity as a strictly private moral responsibility.[124]

To summarize, a closer look into the history of the development of citizenship in Brazil has shown the importance of taking the national context and its specific historical development into account when talking about citizenship and trying to understand the patterns of exclusion in contemporary societies. In considering

121 Dagnino 2007, Citizenship, p. 553.

122 Ibid., p. 550.

123 Dagnino 2003, Citizenship in Latin America, p. 217.

124 Ibid.

https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839435472 https://www.inlibra.com/de/page/agb - Open Access - (cc) BY-NC-ND

Brazilian history, it became clear that Marshall's assumption of a progressive, linear, and cumulative expansion of citizenship rights cannot be maintained for the case of Brazil, where citizenship indeed expanded and eroded unevenly throughout the course of history:

> A cronologia e a lógica da seqüência descrita por Marshall foram invertidas no Brasil. Aqui, primeiro vieram os direitos sociais, implantados em período de supressão dos direitos políticos e de redução dos direitos civis por um ditador que se tornou popular. Depois vieram os direitos políticos, de maneira também bizarra (...). Finalmente, ainda hoje muitos direitos civis, a base da seqüência de Marshall, continuam inacessíveis à maioria da população (...). Seria tolo achar que só há um caminho para a cidadania. A história mostra que não é assim. Mas é razoável supor que caminhos diferentes afetem o produto final, afetem o tipo de cidadão, e, portanto, de democracia, que se gera.[125]

The historical formulation of a differentiated citizenship, as described by Holston, still persists and shapes and explains the understanding and exercise of citizenship in Brazil up until today. The brief overview of the historical development of citizenship in Brazil above has also confirmed that citizenship cannot be analyzed only in terms of formal membership, as those who possess formal state-membership can nevertheless be excluded from social, civil, and political rights. To date, there exists a distinct gap between the formulated equal rights in the 1988 Constitution and the implementation of and access to those rights in practice. Many people are not able to exercise their "full citizenship"—by putting into practice what is written in theory—and so experience the results of a differentiated citizenship, for example being confronted in their everyday lives with significant lack of access to affordable housing, and by unequal access to public goods and services.

But, as emphasized by scholars like Fischer, Lister, and Carvalho, it is also important not to deny the existence of the efforts and strategies of "the excluded" to change their living conditions and to fight inequality and exclusion in the course of (Brazilian) history.[126] To describe these struggles "from below," Holston develops the concept of an insurgent citizenship, which confronts the "entrenched regimes of citizen inequality."[127] In the following I will therefore go

125 Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 220f.

126 Lister, Ruth. 2011. "From the Intimate to the Global. Reflections on Gendered Citizenship" in *The Limits of Gendered Citizenship. Contexts and Complexities,* edited by E. H. Oleksy, J. Hearn, and D. Golańska. New York: Routledge, pp. 29; Fischer 2008, A Poverty of Rights; Carvalho 2001, Cidadania no Brasil, pp. 65f.

127 Holston 2009, Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries, p. 245.

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more into detail regarding the actors involved and provide the context for these citizenship struggles—the city.

2.1.3 The City: Context and Development of an Insurgent Citizenship

The previous section has demonstrated that the exclusion of certain parts of the Brazilian population from "full citizenship" is not a new phenomenon, but a practice that has a long tradition and has been exercised for decades. But the affected people have contested this practice, seeking—and finding—answers to their exclusion. James Holston argues that the historical formulation of a differentiated citizenship also produces and coexists with counter-formulations in the form of a new participatory citizenship—a so-called insurgent citizenship—which has emerged especially in the peripheries of Brazilian cities since the 1970s, destabilizing and contesting the historically deep-rooted formulations of citizenship.[128] He states:

> [P]recisely in the urban peripheries, residents come to understand their basic needs in terms of their inhabiting the city, suffering it, building their daily lives in it, making its landscape, history, politics a place for themselves. The many meanings of this making often coalesce into a sense that they have a right to the city. This transformation of need into right has made cities a strategic arena for the development of new and insurgent citizenship. By insurgent urban citizenship, I refer to the political transformation that occurs when the conviction of having a right to the city turns residents into active citizens who mobilize demands around city-based issues and often through residentially-based organizations that confront entrenched national regimes of citizenship inequality and disability.[129]

Holston's conception of an insurgent citizenship turns out to be a useful reference for my analysis, as it embeds the struggles for full citizenship in everyday practices, locates them in the urban context, and organizes them around the need for housing. In the following section I will go into detail with regard to these aspects and relate them critically to the topic of my research.

128 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 4.

129 Holston, James. 2013. "Housing Crises, Right to the City, and Citizenship" in *The Housing Question. Tensions, Continuities, and Contingencies in the Modern City,* edited by E. Murphy and N. B. Hourani. London: Ashgate, p. 261.

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Insurgent citizenship as conceptualized by Holston focuses on the everyday practices and the lived experience of the inhabitants of the city. This conception of citizenship thus considers a subaltern perspective, highlighting their agency and capacity to develop a citizenship "from below" within dominant and excluding conceptions of politics. The idea of an insurgent citizenship also confirms my observations that citizenship is something that can emerge from everyday life and practices (see chapter 4). I therefore strongly endorse Holston's conception of a citizenship embodied in everyday practices, as well as his reference to the emergence of resistance to dominant formulations of citizenship. However, I also agree with Brodwyn Fischer's critique of Holston's conception of an insurgent citizenship as failing to adequately take into account the historical consistency of resistance and the agency of oppressed groups. What Holston stresses as a novelty—as "new"[130]—is rather a problem of lack of historical research that takes the voices of the affected and oppressed population into account.[131] The danger with such a portrayal is that it may generate the impression of a newly emerging resistance which in fact, when placed in the context of a larger body of historical sources and archives, can be traced back much further in history; this historical context must be emphasized in order to avoid representing oppressed and disadvantaged groups as passive and powerless agents.[132] There is a historical consistency of agency that has to be addressed! As

130 See quote from Holston above.

131 Fischer, Brodwyn. 2010. "Review Essay. Histories and Anthropologies of Citizenship", *American Anthropologist*, 12 (1): 155.

132 One of the early examples of an insurgent citizenship is that of the tenant strikes and movements which emerged as early as 1907 and 1922 in the rapidly growing cities such as Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Veracruz (Mexico) and were directed against the state's inability to provide conditions that led to the availability of adequate housing for the working class. Interestingly, women in particular played a major part in these movements. For further reading see Baer, James A. 1993. "Tenant Mobilization and the 1907 Rent Strike in Buenos Aires", *The Americas*, 49 (3): 343–368; Potthast, Barbara. 2012. „Frauen und soziale Bewegungen in historischer Perspektive" in *Studien zu Lateinamerika, vol.* 16, *Soziale Bewegungen und Demokratie in Lateinamerika. Ein ambivalentes Verhältnis,* edited by H.-J. Burchardt and R. Öhlschläger. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 43–58; Castells, Manuel. 1983, *The City and the Grassroots. A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements,* London: E. Arnold; Lanz, Stephan. 2009. „Der Kampf um das Recht auf die Stadt. Städtische soziale Bewegungen in Lateinamerika" in *El Pueblo Unido? Soziale Bewegungen und politischer Protest in der Geschichte*

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Fischer—who is researching the formation of poor people's citizenship rights in Rio de Janeiro throughout the twentieth century—emphasizes:

If there is a note of caution to be sounded about Insurgent Citizenship, it lies at the juncture of history and anthropology. (…) Holston's characterization of the past does not for the most part depend the archival pursuit of common people, who might speak with the force and clarity of his modern informants. His interpretation depends, instead, on secondary sources: most precisely on a prominent strand of Brazilian historiography that emphasizes continuities in systems of class and racial oppression over time but is only shallowly rooted in historical research capable of showing the law's workings in their full complexity. Historians of this mold have rarely asked the sorts of questions Holston posed of his ethnographic present; given Brazil's persistent inequities, they took it as self-evident that the poor and powerless had been ineffective in their interactions with formal law and politics. (…) Once the past is interrogated with an ethnographic eye, it appears that poor and middling Brazilians have long engaged legal ambiguities to their advantage, that they have often employed a language of rights, and that the links between city building and citizenship so beautifully elucidated by Holston have parallels in the early decades of the 20th century.[133]

Fischer's critique also reminds us of the benefits of an interdisciplinary analysis, which allows us to combine different approaches and methods in order to open up new spaces of research and avoid the pitfalls of a one-sided display.

Another important characteristic of Holston's conception of an insurgent citizenship is the fact that he locates it in the urban space. He argues that it is precisely the city—and especially the urban peripheries—that has been and remains the main arena for the negotiation and development of (new forms of) citizenship.[134] Advocating "the urgent need to develop a framework of investigation which considers that cities are challenging, diverging from, and even replacing nations as the important space of citizenship—as the lived space not only of its uncertainties but also of its emergent forms,"[135] Holston shares the opinion of a number of scholars who are promoting the idea that citizenship should be reinserted into the urban context and that cities are increasingly

Lateinamerikas, edited by J. Mittag and G. Ismar. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, pp. 365–388.

133 Fischer 2010, Review Essay, p. 155.

134 Holston 2009, Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries, pp. 22f.

135 Holston et al. 1999, Cities and Citizenship, p. 189.

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replacing the nation as the central place and reference point of citizenship (as mentioned in section 2.1.1).

> Cities, particularly global cities, have therefore become political spaces where concentration of different groups and their identities are intertwined with the articulation of new claims and citizenship rights (Sassen, 1996b). It is this vast domain of groups, identities and appropriation and use of urban space to articulate claims that constitutes urban citizenship as a field of research.[136]

Thus, people that are excluded from full access to the city organize, for instance in the form of social movements, and claim their "right to the city." Holston, like most scholars studying urban citizenship, refers to the idea of this "right to the city," which was originally developed in 1968 by the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre in his famous book "*Le droit à la ville*" ("The Right to the City").[137]

In the context of an increasing socio-economic segregation in cities like Paris at the end of the 1960s, Lefebvre argues for a need "to restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, fundamentally shifting control away from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants."[138] He emphasizes the right of city inhabitants to urban life,[139] understood as the right to participation in its production and decision-making processes as well as the right

136 Isin et al. 1999, Fate and Faith, p. 8.

137 For further reading on the right to the city see for example Mitchell, Don. 2003, *The Right to the City. Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space,* New York: Guilford Press; Purcell 2003, Citizenship and the Right to the Global City, Purcell, Mark. 2002. "Excavating Lefebvre. The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant", *GeoJournal* (58): 99–108; Marcuse, Peter. 2009. "From Critical Urban Theory to the Right to the City", *City*, 13 (2-3): 185–197; Harvey, David. 2006. "The Right to the City" in *Divided Cities. The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2003,* edited by R. Scholar. New York et al.: Oxford University Press, pp. 83–103; Sugranyes, Ana, and Charlotte Mathivet, editors. 2010, *Cities for All. Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City,* Santiago: Habitat International Coalition (HIC); The notion was also adopted and used by several NGO's and the UN-Habitat Program: UN-Habitat and UNESCO. 2015, *Discussion Paper Urban Policies and the Right to the City. Public Debate 18 March 2005*. http://www.hic-mena.org/documents/UN%20Habitat%20discussion.pdf (29 Jul 2015).

138 Purcell 2002, Excavating Lefebvre, pp. 101f.

139 In his case the urban working class.

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to its appropriation by making full use of the urban space.[140] Accordingly, Lefebvre states: "the *right to the city* is like a cry and a demand (…). The *right to the city* cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life.*"[141] Hence, Holston's conception of an insurgent citizenship also echoes discussions of critical urbanists like Lefebvre and provides a useful context to frame and explore struggles for citizenship, which are located in urban people's everyday lives and practices, such as this case study.

Focusing on the processes of negotiating citizenship and on the acts by which formal rights are being claimed in the urban context, the concept of insurgent citizenship enables us to consider, and to connect, a citizenship "from above" with a citizenship "from below." I further agree that the spatial context of citizenship—such as, for example, the city—with its specific features and historical characteristics, should be taken into account when analyzing struggles for citizenship. However, I am critical of the assumption that cities are replacing increasingly the nation-state as the important places and reference points of citizenship. At a time when over 50% of the world's population lives in urban areas,[142] cities are of course important venues of negotiations of inclusion and exclusion, and represent one of the important levels at which citizenship is exercised and contested. But cities are still embedded in the nation-state, and laws—which form an essential part of citizenship (formal status)—are still ultimately enacted at the national level or, if at a trans- or supranational level, enacted only with the nation-states' approval.[143] Thus, in my opinion, the city is one of the many arenas[144] from which the nation-state is shaped—and *vice versa*—but not replaced. People acting in an urban context claim their right to a decent life—their rights to housing, education, healthcare, etc.—addressing and challenging ultimately the nation-state as the in- and exclusionary defining framework (see section 4.2). Thus, the city is one of the political spaces where

140 Lefebvre, Henri. 1996, *Writings on Cities,* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 177-181; Purcell 2003, Citizenship and the Right to the Global City, pp. 577f.

141 Lefebvre 1996, Writings on Cities, p. 158.

142 United Nations. 2014, *World's Population Increasingly Urban with more than Half Living in Urban Areas.* http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/world-urbanization-prospects-2014.html (27 Jul 2015).

143 For example the European Union.

144 It should be noted that in some countries a large part of the population still lives in rural areas. Thus, making the city the main arena of citizenship also runs the risk of producing new forms of exclusion, by not taking account of other spaces of citizenship.

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citizenship can be enacted. To summarize, I therefore agree with the opinion of Isin and Turner, when they state:

> Moreover, the increasing importance of cities in organizing and shaping cultural, social, symbolics [sic], and economic flows has also prompted a recognition of their role in fostering citizenship. Thus, the sovereign state is no longer the only locus of citizenship. Yet very few citizenship laws are enacted either above or below national levels (e.g. EU). So while negotiations for citizenship take place above and below the state, laws are still enacted at national levels. Hence national trajectories and practices still constitute important issues in citizenship studies despite the fact that citizenship is now negotiated at a variety of levels and sites.[145]

Besides embedding the struggles for full citizenship in everyday practices and locating them in the urban context, Holston also stresses their emergence around residence and housing issues. He argues that through autoconstructing the city, and especially the urban peripheries, since the 1970s, the urban low-income population "gained a sense of belonging by appropriation and production—in effect, of an ownership based on productive use—that in turn consolidated a new kind of earned right to the city."[146] Their exclusion turns into action, into an insurgent citizenship:

> As residents battled against eviction and for infrastructure and services, they mobilized on the basis of their daily lives in the city. They create a specifically urban status of belonging, an agenda of claims legitimated on the basis of their sense of city-making, and a discursive public about both that countered the national citizenship that had marginalized them.[147]

Hence, struggles for housing and related basic needs are central to Holston's understanding of urban citizenship and thus also make it an essential and important topic of research. To learn more about the urban context that frames the everyday negotiations and practices of citizenship and gender dynamics in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* in Rio de Janeiro's city center, therefore, in the following section I will sketch out the main phases of urban development and policy in Rio de Janeiro over the last decades and up until today, and will show the historically rooted differentiated access the

145 Isin et al. 2011, Citizenship Studies, p. 5.

146 Holston 2013, Housing Crises, Right to the City, p. 262.

147 Ibid., p. 264.

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inhabitants have to their city, which forms the basis for the claims and practice of an insurgent citizenship.

2.1.3.1 Rio de Janeiro: A Short History of a Consistent Urban Exclusion

> Lack of access to shelter and services is the starting point for a vicious circle of poverty.[148]

In Latin America, 80 % of the population currently lives in urban areas, which makes it the most urbanized region in the world. The rapid growth of Latin American cities since the beginning of the twentieth century has increasingly gone hand-in-hand with poverty and a lack of proper urban policy and planning.[149] As a result, today "Latin American and Caribbean cities remain strongly dual, divided, and segregated spatially and socially."[150] In Brazilian cities, and especially in Rio de Janeiro, from early on these problems found a highly visible expression through the emergence and spreading of the *favelas*. In order to understand the differentiated access of the inhabitants to their city, it is necessary to adopt a longitudinal perspective on urban dynamics covering a period of more than a century.

During the nineteenth century, significant changes took place in Rio de Janeiro—which had already started with the relocation of the Portuguese Royal family there—which drastically influenced its emerging urban landscape. After Independence, the expansion of the coffee- industry and the abolition of slavery in 1888 led to a new economic growth and the attraction of international capital to the city, which in turn increasingly brought national and international workers to Rio de Janeiro.[151] Along with this urban growth and change, the social

148 Martine, George and Gordon McGranahan. 2010, *Brazil's Early Urban Transition. What can it Teach Urbanizing Countries?,* London: International Institute for En–vironment and Development (IIED), p. 35.

149 UN-Habitat. 2012, The State of Latin American and Carribean Cities 2012. Towards New Urban Transition, Nairobi: UN-Habitat, pp. XI, 19.

150 UN-Habitat 2012, The State of Latin American and Carribean Cities, p. XII.

151 As a consequence of industrialization and the expansion of the coffee-based econo-my, Rio de Janeiro (at this time the capital of Brazil) and São Paulo had to deal with the highest levels of internal migration at that time (Brito, Fausto. 2006. "The Displacement of the Brazilian Population to the Metropolitan Areas", *Estudos Avançados*, 20 (57): 222); I will only briefly comment on the nineteenth century,

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segregation of the city—which had already started during colonial times—was further established.

Through the construction of Rio de Janeiro's first public transportation system in the middle of the nineteenth century—the *bonde de burro*[152] and the steam train—the expansion of the city into new areas outside the city center became possible. Hence, through a growing mobility, the tendency of the upper classes to settle along the coast was further intensified, and the city began to segregate into a wealthy south zone and a low-income-dominated north zone.[153] Despite these developments, at the end of the nineteenth century the city center still remained the main working and thus also living area for most of the people who came in great numbers to earn their living in Rio de Janeiro. Being financially limited in their access to transportation[154], and since workplaces—such as factories—were mainly located in the city center, they settled there and lived together in unhygienic conditions in overcrowded collective houses, the so-called *cortiços*.[155] Thus, as Brazilian geographer Mauricio de Almeida Abreu summarizes, at the end of the nineteenth century, the ideological basis for the occupation of the city had already been established:

Já no fim do século XIX estavam, pois, lançadas as bases ideológicas da ocupação da cidade no século XX. As áreas da zona sul, servidas por carris, passaram a ser sinônimo de estilo de vida "moderno", ideologia intensamente capitalizada pelas companhias

and will not go into much detail regarding the economic and political changes of that time, as to do so would be far beyond the scope of this study.

152 A sort of carriage drawn by donkeys.

153 Almeida Abreu, Mauricio de. 2010, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro,* Rio de Janeiro: IPP–Instituto Pereira Passos, pp. 35-59; Nacif Xavier, Helia and Fernanda Magalhães. 2003. "The Case of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil", *Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements Urban Slums Report:* 2f. Many of these early inhabitants of the city were former slaves, searching for better living conditions and opportunities in the growing urban areas.

154 There is not much literature on the history of urban transportation in Rio de Janeiro. See for example Pereira da Silva, Maria L. 1992, *Os Transportes Coletivos na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Tensões e Conflitos,* Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Transporte and Barat, Josef. 1975, *Estrutura Metropolitana e Sistema de Transportes. Estudo do Caso do Rio de Janeiro,* Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Planejamento Econômico e Social – IPEA/INPES.

155 Ferreira, Alvaro. 2011, *A Cidade no Século XXI. Segregação e Banalização do Espaço,* Rio de Janeiro: Consequência, p. 44; Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 42.

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imobiliárias que aí atuavam. As áreas abertas pelas ferrovias (…) por sua vez, deveriam se destinar aos mais pobres, que para lá já se deslocavam voluntária ou involuntariamente. Com efeito, datam do final do século as primeiras tentativas de erradicação dos cortiços do centro da cidade.[156]

The proliferation of the *cortiços* in the city center increasingly concerned the elites, and under a sanitary discourse, they were increasingly eradicated and their inhabitants displaced by the government.[157] One influential example was the demolition of the so-called *Cabeça de Porco* (Pig head), a big *cortiço* near the main train station—located in the same street as the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga* today—which at a single blow left more than 2,000 people homeless.[158] This practice was further enhanced through the first public urban reforms, which took place in Rio de Janeiro under the administration of Major Pereira Passos (1902-1906) and changed the face of the city significantly. In the context of economic growth, the extension of export activities, and an increasing incorporation into the global market, the city was modernized in order to "provide the city with an urban space that could express its increasing importance on the international scene."[159] Hence, new prestigious buildings, such as for example the Municipal Theater (*Teatro Municipal*), were constructed, the economically important harbor restructured, streets asphalted, and infrastructure and sanitation improved—especially in the south zone of the city.

Another important part of the urban restructuring included the transformation of the until then narrow streets into wide boulevards based on Haussmann's Parisian design, as for example the construction of the great *Avenida Central*—today *Avenida Rio Branco*—in the city center. As a result thousands of low-income people were evicted and their houses bulldozed. Evicted people were forced to move away from the city center because land value and rent skyrocketed. Thus, while most of them moved to the northern suburbs, others resettled on the hills of the city, giving thereby rise to a new form of popular

156 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 140f.

157 From early on questions of ethnicity played an important role in this context. For further reading on that topic see for example Chalhoub, Sidney. 1996, *Cidade febril – Cortiços e epidemias na Corte Imperial*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

158 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 50; Nacif Xavier et al. 2003, The Case of Rio de Janeiro, p. 10.

159 Brandão, Zeca. 2006. "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro. A Critical Review of the Urban Design Practice in the Twentieth Century", *City & Time*, 2 (2): 37; Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 59.

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housing: the *favelas*.[160] In contrast to the prosperous parts of the city, these forms of housing developed without any state support. In order to further legitimate exclusion and displacement, the development of the *favelas* was accompanied by an official discourse of marginality, which then, as today, depicted the *favelas* and their inhabitants as a source of criminality, danger, infectious diseases, and social disorder.[161] But, as Janice E. Perlman shows in her famous book "the Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro" this stereotypical and marginalizing presentation of the *favela* population is a "myth" and mainly an instrument of the dominant classes to justify oppression, as the inhabitants of the *favelas* have in fact, always been very integrated into society and city life.[162]

The social stratification that originated with Pereira Passos' Reforms increased further in the following years, but public investment switched from the center to the southern zone of the city. As Abreu emphasizes:

> A intervenção·direta do Estado sobre o urbano levou à transformação acelerada da forma da cidade, tanto em termos da aparência (morfologia urbana) como de conteúdo (separação de usos e de classes sociais no espaço). A longo prazo, entretanto as conseqüências foram ainda maiores. Com efeito, atuando agora diretamente sobre um espaço cada vez mais dividido entre bairros burgueses e bairros proletários e privilegiando apenas os primeiros na dotação de seus recursos, o Estado veio a acelerar o processo de estratificação espacial que já era característico da cidade desde o Século XIX, contribuindo assim para a consolidação de uma estrutura núcleo/periferia que perdura até hoje.[163]

Thus, the spatial expansion of the *favelas* in the following decades ran alongside the expansion of the formal city, as the *favelas* settled wherever work was available. Cheap labor was needed for the growing urban industrial expansion, and the number of urban inhabitants grew significantly over the years (see Table 1), reaching the highest numbers in the 1950s and 1970s.

In search of a better life, people migrated in great numbers to the city especially from the northeastern regions of Brazil.[164] Many of these immigrants

160 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 59–67; Brandão 2006, Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro, pp. 37ff.

161 Lanz 2009, Der Kampf um das Recht auf Stadt, p. 369.

162 Perlman 1976, The Myth of Marginality.

163 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 73.

164 For studies on internal migration flows and its development in Brazil see for example Baeninger, Rosana. 2011. "Migrações Internas no Brasil Século 21.

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arrived in Rio de Janeiro without financial means to settle down, thus they faced great difficulties in gaining access to housing after arriving in Rio de Janeiro.[165] Therefore, without any opportunity to establish themselves in the formal housing market, often their only choice was to settle in the *favelas* or other illegal settlements of the city,[166] which were normally self-constructed and lacked sufficient state provision of basic public goods and services.[167] These settlements grew and became concentrated especially in the northern suburbs (*Baixada Fluminense*), where the industrial area of Rio de Janeiro progressively developed over time, and also on the hills of the southern zone—the residential area of the middle and upper classes—where services (especially domestic services) were in demand.[168]

Attempts by the government to solve the housing problems, for example through government-funded housing programs—the construction of the so-called *conjuntos habitacionais* during the years 1930-1964—were largely symbolic since they had no significant effect on the housing shortage.[169] The housing crisis was further exacerbated through steadily rising property prices (especially in the middle- and upper-class southern and central areas of the city), an increasing real estate speculation, and the enactment of the tenancy regulating law (*lei do inquilinato*) in 1942.[170]

Evidências Empíricas e Desafios Conceituais" in *Mobilidade Espacial da População. Desafios Teóricos e Metodológicos para o seu Estudo,* edited by J. M. Pinto da Cunha. Campinas: Núcleo de Estudos de População-Nepo/Unicamp, pp. 71–93 or Brito 2006, The Displacement of the Brazilian Population.

165 Correia, Fernanda G. n.a., *Breve Histórico da Questão Habitacional na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. http://www.achegas.net/numero/31/fernanda_correa_31.pdf (01 Nov 2015), p. 32.

166 There are three main types of irregular settlements: *Cortiços* (collective buildings), *loteamentos* (illegal subdivisions of land) and *favelas*, see Martine et al. 2010, Brazil's Early Urban Transition, p. 32 or Nacif Xavier et al. 2003, The Case of Rio de Janeiro, p. 8.

167 Pereira Leite 2008, Pobreza y Exclusión en las Favelas, p. 215; Bonduki, Nabil G. 1994. "Origens da Habitação Social no Brasil", *Análise Social*, XXIX (3): 729.

168 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 103, 143; Killisch, Winfried and Jürgen Dietz. 2002. „Sanierung von Favelas in Rio de Janeiro. Bessere Lebensbedingungen in städtischen Marginalsiedlungen", *Geographische Rundschau* (3): 47f.

169 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 95.

170 The law not only, as intended, restricted the profit of the landlords, but also favored the eviction of the low-income population and fostered the spreading of businesses

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O aumento do valor do solo, a distância cada vez maior que separava os locais de emprego dos novos loteamentos, o congelamento dos aluguéis (que diminuíra em muito a oferta de novos habitações), tudo isso resultou numa crise habitacional generalizada que afetou principalmente a população pobre. Conseqüentemente, multiplicou-se a população favelada (…).[171]

Table 1: Percentage of total population living in urban areas and annual growth rates, Brazil 1940–2010[172]

	Urban at start of period (%)	Rate of Population growth
1940-1950	31.2	2.4
1950-1960	36.2	3.0
1960-1970	44.7	2.9
1970-1980	55.9	2.5
1980-1991	67.6	1.9
1991-2000	75.6	1.6
2000-2010	81.1	1.2
2010	84.4	-----

The eviction of *favelas* and their low-income populations, especially from areas attractive to speculative building, continued in the following years and was intensified by the authoritarian regime between 1962 and 1974. After a following brief period of urban *laissez faire* politics, from 1979 on, urban politics started to change: the first administrative and planning foundations for future renewal projects and infrastructure programs in the *favelas* were laid, and their first measures and programs implemented.[173]

with private properties. For more details on the *lei do inquilinato* see Bonduki, Nabil G. 1998, *Origens da Habitação Social no Brasil. Arquitetura Moderna, Lei do Inquilinato e Difusão da Casa Própria,* São Paulo: Estação Liberdade / FAPESP, pp. 247-264, 317; Bonduki 1994, Origens da Habitação Social no Brasil, p. 714.

171 Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 116.

172 Martine, George and Gordon McGranahan. 2013. "The Legacy of Inequality and Negligence in Brazil's Unfinished Urban Transition. Lessons for other Developing Regions", *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, 5 (1): 10.

173 Nacif Xavier et al. 2003, The Case of Rio de Janeiro, p. 13; Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 134f; Killisch et al. 2002, Sanierung von Favelas in Rio, p. 48.

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The Municipal Master Plan (*Plano Diretor Decenal da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*) in 1991 also included several *favela* upgrading programs, such as for example the famous *Favela-Bairro*[174] program which started in 1994 under the coordination of the then just established Municipal Housing Secretariat (*Secretaria Municipal de Habitação*, SEHAB), responsible for the housing policy in Rio de Janeiro.[175] Instead of aiming at the removal of the *favelas*, these programs now aimed *inter alia* at their urbanization and socio-spatial integration, in order to convert them into legal and regular neighborhoods of the city.[176]

However, despite the implementation of those housing programs, the low-income population is still affected by a lack of access to affordable housing and unequal access to public goods and services—in similar ways to the situation a century ago. The census from 2010 revealed that actually around 23% of the inhabitants of the State of Rio de Janeiro and 6% of the total Brazilian population are currently living in *favelas*.[177] After returning to democracy in the 1980s, neoliberal policies and economic crisis led *inter alia* to falling wages, rising unemployment, growth of the informal sector, and a lack of infrastructure development and construction in Rio de Janeiro (and throughout Brazil), which

174 For further information on and discussion of the *Favela-Bairro* project see Killisch et al. 2002, Sanierung von Favelas in Rio, pp. 49f; Cavallieri, Fernando. 2003. "Favela-Bairro. Integração de Áreas Informais no Rio de Janeiro" in *A Cidade da Informalidade. O Desafio das Cidades Latino-Americanas,* edited by P. Abramo and S. P. Taschner. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Sette Letras /FAPERJ, pp. 265–296; Jaitman, Laura and José Brakarz. 2013, *Evaluation of Slum Upgrading Programs. Literature Review and Methodological Approaches,* n.a.: Inter-American Develop ment Bank; Fiori, Jorge and Elzabeth R. R. Riley. 2004. "Melhoría Física e Integração Social no Rio de Janeiro. O Caso do Favela Bairro" in *Brasil Urbano,* edited by E. Fernandes and M. M. Valença. Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, pp. 189–210.

175 Since 1987 housing policy has been the responsibility of the municipal authorities. One the one hand this has fostered more flexible and people-oriented politics; on the other, financial resources are much more limited (Killisch et al. 2002, Sanierung von Favelas in Rio, p. 48).

176 Killisch et al. 2002, Sanierung von Favelas in Rio, pp. 48f; Nacif Xavier et al. 2003, The Case of Rio de Janeiro, p. 14; Cavallieri 2003, Favela-Bairro, pp. 265, 269f.

177 Garcia, Janaina. 2011, *Mais de 11 Milhões Vivem em Favelas no Brasil, diz IBGE; Maioria está na Região Sudeste.* http://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2011/12/21/mais-de-11-milhoes-vivem-em-favelas-no-brasil-diz-ibge-maioria-esta-na-regiao-sudeste.htm (14 Jul 2015); Cavallieri, Fernando and Adriana Vial. 2012. "Favelas na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. O Quadro Populacional com Base no Censo 2010", *Coleção Estudos Cariocas* (20120501): 5.

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in turn fostered the rising of rents and private property speculation. Thus, the historically established significant deficit in housing was intensified and led the number of *favelas* and informal settlements have increased again.[178] In 2012 the João Pinheiro Foundation—a prestigious institution in housing studies—estimated the country's housing deficit to be about 5,792 million units,[179] mostly concentrated among families with an income of 0-3 minimum wages.[180] It is noteworthy and alarming that the number of vacant properties in 2010 in Brazil has been estimated at 6,052 million units, and thus more or less corresponds to this deficit.[181] The maintenance of vacant domiciles is a common strategy of real estate speculation, in order to further increase the prices of the buildings on the real estate market over time. Map 2 shows the percentage distribution of vacant domiciles in relation to permanent households in the year 2000. It indicates the high number of vacant domiciles especially in the city center (23%)—location of *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*—and the upper-middle-class neighborhood of Barra da Tijuca (30%). Both areas have experienced an intensive process of investment and land valorization over the last decade, and especially in the context of the preparations for the Soccer World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016. The price per square meter in Barra da Tijuca increased from R$ 2,177 in 2008 to R$ 8,280 in 2014, and in the city center from R$ 3,752 in 2008 to R$ 9,493 in 2014.[182] This development

178 Pereira Leite 2008, Pobreza y Exclusión en las Favelas, p. 215; Levy, Charmain. 2010. "Brazilian Urban Popular Movement. The 1997 Mobilization of the Inner-City Slum Movement in São Paulo", *Studies in Political Economy* (85): 36; Alves Teixeira, Tiago R. 2011, *O Estatuto da Cidade e os Movimentos Sociais.* SUERB I Simpósio de Estudos Urbanos: desenvolvimento regional e dinâmica ambiental, 29 a 31 de agosto de 2011, Universidade Estadual do Paraná, Paranavaí. http://www.mauroparolin.pro.br/seurb/Trabalhos/EIXO_5_MOVIMENTOS_SOCIAIS_URBANOS_5_ARTIGOS/ALVES_TEXEIRA_O_ESTATUTO_DA_CIDADE_E_OS_MOVIMENTOS_SOCIAIS.pdf (14 Jul 2015), p. 3.

179 Fundação João Pinheiro 2014, Nota Técnica 1 Déficit Habitacional, p. 9.

180 The João Pinheiro Foundation, for example, estimates that 62.7% of the housing deficit corresponds to families with 0-3 minimum wages (Fundação João Pinheiro 2013, Déficit Habitacional Municipal no Brasil 2010, p. 41).

181 Ibid., p. 73.

182 Garcia Castro, Demian and Patrícia Novaes Ramos. 2015. "Empreendedorismo Urbano no Contexto dos Megaeventos Esportivos. Impactos no Direito à Moradia na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro" in *Rio de Janeiro. Os Impactos da Copa do Mundo 2014 e das Olimpíadas 2016,* edited by D. Castro Garcia, C. Gaffney, P. Novaes Ramos,

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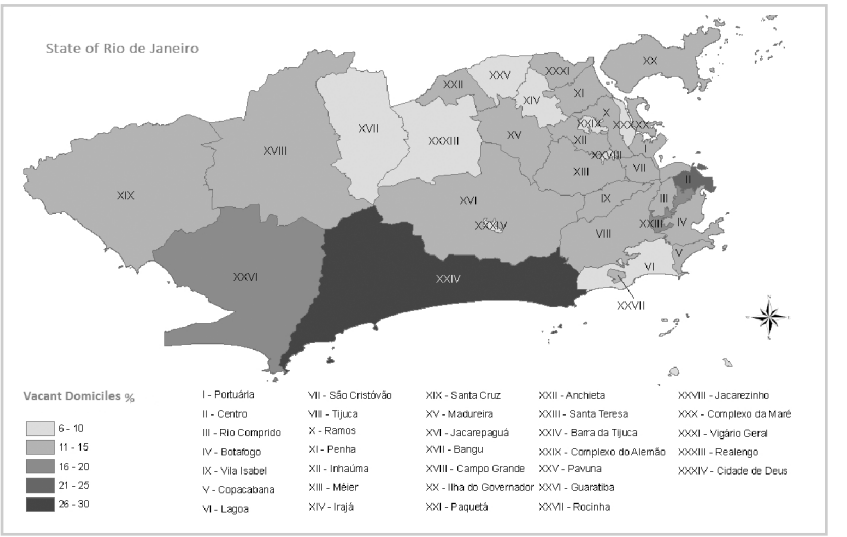
was also confirmed during the interview with one of the members of the SEHAB:

Vai melhorar sempre pros setores mais abastados, né (…). Sempre, pra quem mora aqui na Zona Sul, vai ficar ótimo. Agora, quem está com problema aqui vai ser expulso, rapidamente. O aluguel tá cada vez subindo. Quer dizer, quem mora aqui de aluguel vai ser expulso logo, logo. Porque essa valorização da terra que está acontecendo tá, eu digo que é uma limpeza étnico-social que está acontecendo na Zona Sul. Na Zona Sul, na Zona Norte, quer dizer Tijuca, Vila Isabel.[183]

Map 2: Percentage distribution of vacant domiciles in relation to permanent households, Rio de Janeiro 2000[184]



As mentioned in the interview, this development came along with a dramatic increase in forced evictions of the low-income population, especially from areas of interest to real estate speculation, further exacerbating the housing problem

and Rodrigues Juciano. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório das Metrópoles / IPPUR/ UFRJ, pp. 76ff.

183 Interview with a member of the SEHAB in Rio de Janeiro, 02.06.2011.

184 Drawn from Frota Sigaud, Márcia. 2007. "Caracterização dos Domicílios na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro", *Coleção Estudos Cariocas* (20070402): 4; lightly modified by myself.

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and following old patterns of segregation in the city.[185] Contemporary governmental housing programs such as My House, My Life (*Minha Casa Minha Vida*, MCMV)[186] also continue to locate the low-income population far away from the city center, preferably in the less valuable suburbs of the eastern zone where they still confront a lack of infrastructure and basic services and are often far away from their actual places of work in the city center (see section 4.1.2).[187]

185 The implementation of the Pacification Police Unit (*Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora*, UPP) in some of the central *favelas* had also led to an increase of land value and prices in the *favelas*, where people also used to, and continue to, pay rent. As Regina Bega dos Santos states: "*Morar em favela pode ser uma alternativa, mas não é para todos aqueles que estão fora do mercado formal de moradia. A demanda é sempre maior que a oferta e mesmo os "barracos" de favela, com os preços regidos pelos mesmos mecanismos do mercado formal de moradia , são ainda altos para a parcela mais pobre da população*" (Santos, Regina B. 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, São Paulo: Editora UNESP, p. 120). For further reading on the topic of the UPPs in Rio de Janeiro see for example Cano, Ignacio, Doriam Borges, and Eduardo Ribeiro. 2012, Os Donos do Morro. Uma Avaliação Exploratória do Impacto das Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora (UPPs) no Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro: LAV/UERJ; Garcia Castro et al. 2015, Empreendedorismo Urbano no Contexto dos Megaeventos, p. 82 or Blasi Cunha, Juliana. 2011, O PAC e a UPP no "Complexo Pavão-Pavãozinho-Cantagalo". Processo de Implementação de Políticas Públicas em uma Favela da Zona Sul da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. XI Congresso Luso Afro Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais Diversidades e (Des)Igualdades, 07 a 10 de agosto de 2011, Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA), Salvador. http://www.xiconlab.eventos.dype.com.br/resources/anais/3/1308347052_ARQUIVO_paperConlab.pdf (30 May 2015).

186 For information and evaluation of the program see for example Marques, Eduardo and Leandro Rodrigues. 2013. "O Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida na Metrópole Paulista. Atendimento Habitacional e Padrões de Segregação", *Estudos urbanos regionais*, 15 (2): 159–177; Pádua Rodrigues, Leandro de. 2015, *Como Avaliar a Produção Habitacional do Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida?* V Seminário Discente do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Ciência Política, 04 a 08 de maio de 2015, São Paulo. http://www.sistemas.fflch.usp.br/ocspkp/sdpscp/Vsem/paper/view/383/188 (16 Jul 2015); Bonduki, Nabil G. 2009. "Do Projeto Moradia ao Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida", *Teoria e Debate* (82): 8–14.

187 Garcia Castro, Demian, Christopher Gaffney, Patrícia Novaes Ramos, Rodrigues Juciano, Carolina Pereira dos Santos, and Orlando Alves dos Santos Junior. 2015. "O Projeto Olímpico da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Reflexões sobre os Impactos dos

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But, as mentioned earlier, since the beginning of urbanization there has been resistance to the excluding character of urban policy, in Brazil and elsewhere.[188] In cities, it was and is mainly urban social movements seeking to improve the living conditions for the low-income population, with many women among their participants (see section 4.3). Since the 1950s and especially the 1970s, grassroots movements, in the form of civic associations and neighborhood organizations developed in the *favelas* and around the city at a local level, and in the form of direct action—very often with the support of progressive wing of the Catholic Church—through the Basic Ecclesial Communities (*Comunidades Eclesiais de Base,* CBEs). These movements organized around basic goods and services they were lacking, such as healthcare, transportation, sewage, water, electricity, and housing, and were often fighting for legalization and against removal.[189]

One specific strategy to confront the growing lack of housing—increasingly applied during the 1970s and 1980s in capitals and larger cities of Brazil—was the occupation and claiming of unused urban land.[190] Through progressive linking of these often only locally organized housing movements from the 1980s onwards, large and nationally organized urban movements emerged, such as the National Union for Popular Housing (*União Nacional de Moradia Popular*, UNMP), the Centre of People's Movements (*Central de Movimentos Populares*, CMP), the National Confederation of Neighborhood Associations (*Confederação Nacional das Associações de Moradores*, CONAM) or the National Movement of Struggle for Housing (*Movimento Nacional de Luta Pela Moradia*,

Megaeventos Esportivos na Perspectiva do Direito à Cidade" in *Rio de Janeiro. Os Impactos da Copa do Mundo 2014 e das Olimpíadas 2016,* edited by D. Castro Garcia, C. Gaffney, P. Novaes Ramos, and Rodrigues Juciano. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório das Metrópoles / IPPUR/ UFRJ, p. 23; Martine et al. 2013, The Legacy of Inequality and Negligence, p. 35.

188 Such as for example the already mentioned tenant strikes and movements at the beginning of the twentieth century in Argentina and Mexico (see section 2.1.3).

189 Hochstetler, Kathryn. 1997, *Democratizing Pressures from Below? Social Move ments in New Brazilian Democray.* Latin American Studies Association XX International Congress, 17-19 April 1997, Guadalajara. http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/LASA97/hochstetler.pdf (16 Jul 2015), pp. 2f; Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, p. 126.

190 Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, pp. 132f; Drago, Felipe. 2011. "Autogestão na Produção Habitacional. Programa Crédito Solidário, entre a Institucionalização e o Confronto Político" Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, p. 84.

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MNLM).[191] After transition to democracy, civil society enthusiastically engaged in the debate over the new Constitution, and different actors tried to integrate their respective claims. The housing movements and other actors from civil society demanding urban reform came together as the National Movement for Urban Reform (*Movimento Nacional da Reforma Urbana*, MNRU) with the aim to elaborate a legal proposal that could be presented to the National Constituent Assembly. Although not all the demands presented in the final popular amendment for urban reform (*emenda popular pela reforma urbana*) were included in the 1988 Constitution, for the first time a section on urban policy was incorporated, consisting of Articles 182 and 183.[192] Article 182 anchored the social function of the city in the Constitution, which should be enacted on a municipal level through a Master Plan (*Plano Diretor*). The development of such a Master Plan then became obligatory for cities with more than twenty thousand inhabitants. Furthermore, the article states that the social function of urban land can be promoted through subdivision, expropriation, and progressive taxation.[193]

191 Queiroz e Mello, Irene de. 2014. "Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias de uma Ocupação no Centro do Rio de Janeiro" Tese de Mestrado, UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, pp. 75f; Freitas Oliveira, Elaine de. 2008, *Revitalização dos Centros Urbanos. Intervenção Público-Privada na Distribuição Sócio-Espacial da População e Movimentos Sociais de Contestação.* XVI Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais, 29 de setembro a 03 de outubro de 2008, Caxambú. http://www.abep.nepo.unicamp.br/encontro2008/docspdf/ABEP2008_1221.pdf (16 Jul 2015), p. 3; Gohn, Maria d. G. M. 1991, *Movimentos Sociais e Lutas pela Moradia,* São Paulo: Edições Loyola, pp. 12ff; Levy, Charmain. 2005. "The Housing Movement in the City of São Paulo. Crisis and Revival" in *Collective Action and Radicalism in Brazil. Women, Urban Housing and Rural Movements,* edited by M. Duquette and M. Galdino. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 101f, 108.

192 Avritzer, Leonardo. 2010. "O Estatuto da Cidade e a Democratização das Políticas Urbanas no Brasil", *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* (91): 205–209; Cordeiro Fonseca Ferreira, Regina F. 2008. "Constituição Cidadã e o Direito à Cidade. 20 Anos de Luta e Muitos Desafios", *Proposta* (117): 36f.

193 Art. 182: "*A política de desenvolvimento urbano, executada pelo Poder Público municipal, conforme diretrizes gerais fixadas em lei, tem por objetivo ordenar o pleno desenvolvimento das funções sociais da cidade e garantir o bem-estar de seus habitantes. § 1º O plano diretor, aprovado pela Câmara Municipal, obrigatório para cidades com mais de vinte mil habitantes, é o instrumento básico da política de desenvolvimento e de expansão urbana. § 2º A propriedade urbana cumpre sua função social quando atende às exigências fundamentais de ordenação da cidade expressas no plano diretor. § 3º As desapropriações de imóveis urbanos serão feitas*

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Article 183 had a considerable impact on squatters' rights, as it allows residents of small house lots to obtain an ownership title after five years of continuous residence.[194]

After the Constitution was passed social movements continued their struggle and formulated their demands, such as the inclusion of the right to housing in the constitutional text, or the regulation of the article on urban policy, aiming especially at the specification of the concept of social function and the mechanisms for its implementation.[195] In order to call attention to the housing deficit and the number of vacant and decayed buildings in Brazilian cities (for Rio de Janeiro, see Map 2), more housing movements were started in the 1990s—when living conditions further deteriorated as result of the neoliberal reforms—to occupy these buildings and to claim the social function of housing in practice.[196]

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com prévia e justa indenização em dinheiro. § 4º É facultado ao Poder Público municipal, mediante lei específica para área incluída no plano diretor, exigir, nos termos da lei federal, do proprietário do solo urbano não edificado, subutilizado ou não utilizado, que promova seu adequado aproveitamento, sob pena, sucessivamente, de: I – parcelamento ou edificação compulsórios; II – imposto sobre a propriedade predial e territorial urbana progressivo no tempo; III – desapropriação com pagamento mediante títulos da dívida pública de emissão previamente aprovada pelo Senado Federal, com prazo de resgate de até dez anos, em parcelas anuais, iguais e sucessivas, assegurados o valor real da indenização e os juros legais" (Presidência da República. 1988, Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil de 1988. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao.htm (22 Jul 2015)).

194 Art. 183: "*Aquele que possuir como sua área urbana de até duzentos e cinqüenta metros quadrados, por cinco anos, ininterruptamente e sem oposição, utilizando-a para sua moradia ou de sua família, adquirir-lhe-á o domínio, desde que não seja proprietário de outro imóvel urbano ou rural. § 1º O título de domínio e a concessão de uso serão conferidos ao homem ou à mulher, ou a ambos, independentemente do estado civil. § 2º Esse direito não será reconhecido ao mesmo possuidor mais de uma vez. § 3º Os imóveis públicos não serão adquiridos por usucapião*" (Presidência da República 1988, Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil).

195 One of the main actors of that struggle was the *National Forum of* Urban *Reform* (*Fórum Nacional da Reforma Urbana*, FNRU) who had originated from the MNRU and is active until today. Among its members are also the MNLM and the CMP.

196 Cardoso, Adauto L. 2008. "Vazios Urbanos e Função Social da Propriedade", *Proposta* (116): 8; Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, pp. 137–142.

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These grassroots movements obtained very important changes in legislation, to justify pressure on the authorities in their demand for decent living conditions.[197] Among their achievements they secured the inclusion of the right to housing in Article 6 on social rights of the 1988 Constitution in the year 2000,[198] and the enactment of Law number 10.257—the City Statute (*Estatuto da Cidade*)[199]—in 2001, regulating the constitutional articles 182 and 183 on urban policy. The City Statute provides further instruments for urban policy: it allows local administrations to better realize and enforce the social function of property, for instance by counteracting real estate speculation and the vacancy of buildings through expropriation after five years of disuse, or through progressive property taxation[200]. It further strengthened the role of the municipalities in the formulation of urban development directives, and obliged them to introduce Master Plans within five years. Another success for social movements was the introduction of the principle of "democratic management of the city," making popular participation obligatory in the formulation, exercise, and monitoring of urban planning and development.[201] Additionally, in order to support and urge

197 Also, according to the General Declaration of Human Rights (Art. 25.1), housing is part of the basic conditions for a decent life (United Nations. 1948, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml #a28 (22 Jul 2015)). Without housing, access to health, education and work become much more difficult or even impossible, as the interviews with the inhabitants of both squats also demonstrated.

198 Art. 6: "*São direitos sociais a educação, a saúde, a alimentação, o trabalho, a moradia, o lazer, a segurança, a previdência social, a proteção à maternidade e à infância, a assistência aos desamparados, na forma desta Constituição*" (Presidência da República 1988, Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil).

199 See Presidência da República. 2001, *Lei No 10.257, de 10 de Julho de 2001*. http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/LEIS_2001/L10257.htm (22 Jul 2015)).

200 Tax on urban property and land (*Imposto sobre a Propriedade Predial e Territorial Urbana*, IPTU).

201 Presidência da República 2001, Lei No 10.257. For more reading and discussion on the City Statute see Avritzer 2010, O Estatuto da Cidade e a Democratização; Cordeiro Fonseca Ferreira 2008, Constituição Cidadã; Rolnik, Raquel. 2015, *10 Anos do Estatuto da Cidade. Das Lutas pela Reforma Urbana às Cidades da Copa do Mundo*. http://www.usp.br/fau/cursos/graduacao/arq_urbanismo/disciplinas/aup 0278/Bibliografia_Basica/Ae01-2015.03.12-rolnik-10_Anos_Estatuto.pdf (23 Jul 2015); Santos Carvalho, Celso, and Anaclaudia Rossbach, editors. 2010, *The City Statute. A Commentary,* São Paulo: Cities Alliance and Ministry of Cities;

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local governments to implement the City Statute, in 2003—under the government of Lula—the Ministry of Cities (*Ministério das Cidades*) was created, which integrated the areas of housing, sanitation, urban transportation, and land affairs into one single institution to facilitate their articulation.[202]

Hence, since the beginning of urban development, citizenship struggles "from below" had confronted the "entrenched regimes of citizen inequality"[203] and had finally achieved a formal inclusion of the right to housing and mechanisms for its implementation in the Brazilian Constitution. Here the entanglement of legal status and social process (see also section 2.1.1) 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 struggles for urban citizenship also vividly demonstrate that in Brazil those who possess formal state-membership can nevertheless be excluded from social, civil and political rights.

Despite the achievements of urban social movements, to date there still exists a distinct gap between the formulated rights in the 1988 Constitution and the implementation of and access to these rights in practice. The requirement of the social function of property is rarely implemented by the private sector, and governments are still unable to enforce and apply sufficiently the right to housing in practice,[204] as also confirmed by one of the members of the SEHAB during our interview:

[D]esde da década de 70 que os movimentos, que as ONGs, que as Universidades, inclusive técnicos de municípios que demandaram a legislação, porque não existia nada pro urbano. Nem na Constituição, nem na lei, nem nada. Aí nós conseguimos então, na Constituição o Art. 182,183, e outro também sobre a questão da participação. Então, foi uma conquista muito grande. Lutamos muito, muito. E, justamente quer dizer, essa, essa demanda também da moradia foi fundamental pra explicar muito claramente que o direito a moradia tem que ser respeito e tem que ser previsto, etc. Mas isso não acontece (…) porque os interesses capitalistas são muito fortes.[205]

Fernandes, Edésio. 2007. "Constructing the 'Right To the City' in Brazil", *Social & Legal Studies*, 16 (2): 201–219.

202 Rolnik, Raquel, Renato Cymbalista, and Kazuo Nakano. 2011. "Solo Urbano e Habitação de Interesse Social. A Questão Fundiária na Política Habitacional e Urbana do País", *Revista de Direito da ADVOCEF*, 1 (13): 131.

203 Holston 2009, Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries, p. 245.

204 Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, pp. 138f.

205 Interview with a member of the SEHAB in Rio de Janeiro, 02.06.2011.

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Hence, since many people in their everyday lives in Brazil are still confronted with a significant lack of access to affordable housing and with unequal access to public goods and services, social movements continue their struggle to occupy vacant buildings in the city centers of Brazil in order to raise awareness of their exclusion and force governments to implement the existing legislation. Two of these movements are the already mentioned MNLM and CMP, which were both founded at the beginning of the 1990s, emerging out of the social struggles in the quest for democracy in the 1980s, and which are the national movements responsible for the squats *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*.

The MNLM[206] was founded in 1990 during the *I Encontro Nacional dos Movimentos de Moradia*, and is active in 15 states of Brazil.[207] Its central aim is the "*solidariedade pelo espaço urbano, numa luta orgânica e única em conjunto com o MST - além da terra, luta pelo lote, pela casa, saneamento e demais necessidades da população*."[208] Thus, even though their main concern is to pursue urban reform, and especially to establish a housing policy of social interest, they understand that these topics are related to other needs, such as healthcare and education, and therefore incorporate the latter into their struggle. As one of the national coordinators of the movement explained:

O objetivo do movimento é mudar a cidade. Estabelecer uma nova lógica de planejamento e de construção das cidades, que caibam todos e todas com a mesma qualidade. Com os mesmos acessos, os mesmos jeitos. Com acesso aos bens, aos serviços da cidade. Para que não seja uma cidade planejada na ótica do mercado, na ótica do capital, onde poucos que pagam têm tudo. Os muitos que não têm dinheiro para pagar não têm nada. Quando tem alguma coisa conquistada, às vezes uma moradia num bom local, conquistada. É tirado por esse planejamento excludente. Você ta vendo a ação que está sendo construída. Por conta dessa lógica de planejamento da cidade-mercadoria. Onde o transporte que é o nosso direito à mobilidade, para eles é transporte coletivo uma grande mercadoria! Que os ônibus lucram muito. Então tudo que para nós é um direito e uma condição de vida digna,

206 For a further overview and detailed description of the MNLM see for example Queiroz e Mello 2014, Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias; Drago 2011, Autogestão na Produção Habitacional and also Fornazin, Henrique. 2014. "Luta pela Moradia na Ocupação Manuel Congo. Imagens e Implicações Subjetivas" Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro.

207 Pará, Acre, Mato Grosso do Sul, Distrito Federal, São Paulo, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, Pernambuco, Sergipe, Bahia, Tocantins, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná, Paraiba and Rio Grande do Sul (MNLM-RS. 2007, *MNLM Rio Grande do Sul*. http://mnlm-rs.blogspot.de/ (28 Jul 2015)).

208 MNLM–RS 2007, MNLM Rio Grande do Sul.

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para eles é uma mercadoria. Eles querem saber como vão lucrar com aquilo. Então a nossa luta é pela desmercantilização dessas necessidades, desses serviços, desses pés que são necessários para a nossa vida. A gente acredita que só assim, só com a desmercantilização, é que a cidade vai entrar numa nova lógica de construção. Onde caibam todos. Onde caiba você na Gávea, num condomínio onde dois carros de polícia te guardando, mais a sua segurança privada, né? E os outros sejam varridos, igual a ocupação da Cruz onde a polícia mata você estando dentro. Então que lógica de cidade é essa? Agora mudar essa lógica não se muda com um ato. Não se muda com um decreto. É um processo de luta, de formulação, reflexão, mobilização, enfrentamento, negociação ... num consenso! E que o movimento nacional está comprometido com ele, porque a lição do movimento nacional da luta pela moradia, quando a gente organiza uma ocupação, a gente não ta convidando as pessoas a terem uma casa. Estamos convidando eles a participar de uma luta por uma outra cidade.[209]

In striving to achieve their aim, the movement's main strategy is to occupy vacant public buildings and land in central areas, such as the squat *Manoel Congo*.[210] In their struggle for urban reform the MNLM, both past and present, also relates to and supports other movements, such as the Landless Workers' Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Terra*, MST), the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (*Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil*, CNBB), the Central Union of Workers (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*, CUT) the CMP, and others.[211]

The CMP[212] was founded in 1993 during the *I Congresso Nacional de Movimentos Populares*, and is also active in 15 states of Brazil.[213] In contrast to the MNLM, the CMP constitutes a unit of several movements with a broad range of topics[214] that emerged in order to bring together and support their common

209 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

210 For the internal organization of the MNLM and its rules, see section 3.2.

211 Drago 2011, Autogestão na Produção Habitacional, p. 83.

212 For a further overview and detailed description of the CMP see for example Drago 2011, Autogestão na Produção Habitacional; Genilce Gomes, Francisca. 2010. "A Central de Movimentos Populares (CMP) e os Desafios da Articulação dos Movimentos Sociais" Dissertação de Mestrado, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo.

213 Drago 2011, Autogestão na Produção Habitacional, p. 58.

214 "*No encontro de fundação, estiveram presentes 950 pessoas oriundas de 22 Estados do País e representando vários movimentos, tais quais os de prostitutas, negros,*

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struggles and to mitigate the threat of their individual fragmentation.[215] As formulated by the CMP: "*Seu eixo central de atuação é as Políticas Públicas com Participação Popular, um instrumento de articulação dos movimentos populares*."[216] One of their main fields of action today is the struggle for urban reform and for a housing policy of social interest, which is also expressed through the hegemony of housing movements within the CMP.[217]

To sum up, the short historical overview on urban development and policy in Rio de Janeiro has demonstrated the consistent exclusion of certain parts of the population from access to and the benefits of the urban space. As sociologist Stephan Lanz stresses, since the beginning of urbanization the government was unwilling to meet the immigrants' high demand for housing and infrastructure, and was mainly interested in satisfying the needs of the elites of the city.[218] The consequences of this practice persist today, and—following old patterns—the low-income population is still spatially displaced and in practice excluded from constitutional rights, such as the social right to housing. However, through their exclusion, the urban space also becomes the context and framework in which citizenship takes place and is continuously negotiated and shaped. Since early on, the affected population had organized, for example in the form of social movements, and fought their exclusion and differentiated access to the city, constructing thus a "citizenship from below."

mulheres, crianças e adolescentes, homossexuais, moradores de rua, portadores de deficiência, índios, movimento por transporte, moradia, saúde, saneamento, direitos humanos, entre outros, demonstrando a amplitude e a diversidade ali representadas" (CMP–SP. 2011, Central de Movimentos Populares São Paulo. http://cmp-sp.blogspot.de/p/historia.html (29 Jul 2015)).

215 Genilce Gomes 2010, A Central de Movimentos Populares, p. 47.

216 CMP–SP 2011, Central de Movimentos Populares São Paulo.

217 Genilce Gomes 2010, A Central de Movimentos Populares, pp. 66f, 94f.

218 Lanz 2009, Der Kampf um das Recht auf Stadt, p. 368; Almeida Abreu 2010, Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro, p. 143.

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2.2 GENDER

On ne naît pas femme, on le devient.[219]

Since its emergence in the 1970s, the notion of gender has been highly debated and, as with the notion of citizenship, in recent years the academic arena has developed various understandings of its meaning. As a consequence, in the field of Gender Studies different methodological and theoretical approaches with different foci have developed.[220] Thus, when talking about gender, the underlying theoretical approach must be taken into account and must be made explicit.[221]

Gender is far, however, from reaching a state of consensus. While most feminist scholars agree on the distinction between sex and gender, and the need to explore masculinity as well as femininity, and homosexuality as well as heterosexuality, there is a vigorous intellectual debate about the construction of gender, and the way it should be used by scholars and critics.[222]

Therefore, after first providing a short overview of the main aspects and the development of the ongoing gender debate, I then will go more into detail regarding the main theoretical approach I refer to in this study, the concept of "doing gender." In a third step, I will then focus on the concrete case of Brazil and introduce some central terms into the debate on gender regarding household structures and organization, which will serve as the basis for section 4.2, where I will pick them up again to underpin my arguments.

2.2.1 The Gender Debate

From the very beginning, feminist theory emphasized that discrimination against and oppression of women was a historical result that had been socially constructed, and not an effect of naturally existing differences between the two

219 Beauvoir, Simone de. 1949, *Le Deuxième Sexe, Tomé II. L'Expérience Vécue,* Paris: Gallimard.

220 Bereswill, Mechthild. 2008. "Geschlecht" in *Handbuch Soziologie,* edited by N. Baur. Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss., pp. 99f.

221 Stephan, Inge. 2006. „Gender, Geschlecht und Theorie" in *Gender-Studien. Eine Einführung,* edited by C. v. von Braun and I. Stephan. Stuttgart: Metzler, pp. 56.

222 Stephan 2006, Gender, Geschlecht und Theorie, p. 56.

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sexes.[223] Therefore, in the 1970s feminist theory began to adopt the analytical distinction between sex and gender which had been introduced by previous medical research on trans- and intersexuality in the 1960s.[224] In this context sociologist Ann Oakley presented the following definition:

> 'Sex' is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female (…) 'gender' however, is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into 'masculine' and, 'feminine'. The constancy of sex must be admitted, but also must the variability of gender.[225]

The theoretical differentiation between sex and gender offered a new argument not only for feminist theory but also for the feminist movement. It facilitated the insight that since existing gender hierarchies were socially constructed and not naturally given, they could also be criticized and changed.[226] This differentiation was without a doubt an important step in the development of feminist theory; however, further research and empirical studies also exposed the problems of making a theoretical distinction between sex and gender. The biggest criticism directed towards such a differentiation (between sex and gender) was that theory indeed still assumed—rather than challenging, as intended—that an underlying biological sex really existed. Some scholars considered that such a separation of the "natural/biological" from the "cultural" sphere would reify the first (natural/biological), and thus be used to further support the devaluation and oppression of women.[227]

As a result of the debate on sex and gender, in 1986 Joan Wallach Scott proposed an alternative way to define gender in her famous and influential article "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." There she states:

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223 Knapp, Gudrun-Axeli, and Angelika Wetterer, editors. 1995, *Traditionen Brüche. Entwicklungen feministischer Theorie,* Freiburg im Breisgau: Kore, p. 205.

224 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 67; Griesebner, Andrea. 2003. „Geschlecht als soziale und als analytische Kategorie. Debatten der letzten drei Jahrzehnte" in *Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte. Positionen / Perspektiven,* edited by J. Gehmacher and M. Mesner. Insbruck et al.: StudienVerlag, p. 43.

225 Oakley, Ann. 1972, *Sex, Gender and Society,* London: Temple Smith, p. 16 cited in Griesebner 2003, Geschlecht als soziale und als analytische Kategorie, p. 43.

226 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, pp. 67f.

227 Opitz-Belakhal 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, pp. 12f; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 68; Knapp et al. 1995, Traditionen Brüche, p. 210.

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[G]ender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. Changes in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way.[228]

Using a poststructuralist approach, Scott focuses on the problems of the theoretical division of sex and gender, and especially on the risk of the ontologization of gender differences through historical research. She criticizes the so-common descriptive usage of gender by historians and argues for a more analytical usage of the term.[229] Instead of taking for granted the natural existence of only two sexes, Scott emphasizes the importance of "perception" and "representation" and, as Claudia Opitz illustrates, respectively "language" and "discourses" for the development of the differences between the sexes.[230]

While at the beginning, the differentiation between sex and gender sought to produce awareness of the social and cultural construction of "gender identities," and aimed "to dispute the biology-is-destiny formulation,"[231] over time the debate turned into a more fundamental critique of essentialist conceptions of gender.[232]

Building on Scott, Judith Butler in particular radically broadened the idea of the social construction of gender. In her famous 1990 book "Gender Trouble," she dissolves the distinction between sex and gender and argues that sex, just like gender, is socially and culturally constructed: "Indeed, sex, by definition, will be shown to have been gender all along."[233] Butler wants to show that sex and the assumed natural existence of two sexes are the effect of powerful and hegemonic discourses, and not "prediscursive" given facts.[234]

If the immutable character of sex is contested, perhaps this construct called "sex" is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at

228 Scott, Joan W. 1986. "Gender. A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", *The American Historical Review*, 91 (5): 1067.

229 Scott 1986, Gender, p. 1057; Griesebner 2003, Geschlecht als soziale und als analytische Kategorie, pp. 44f.

230 Opitz-Belakhal 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, p. 14.

231 Villa, Paula-Irene. 2003, *Judith Butler,* Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, p. 9.

232 Braun, Christina v. von, and Inge Stephan, editors. 2006, *Gender-Studien. Eine Einführung,* Stuttgart: Metzler, p. 4.

233 Villa 2003, Judith Butler, p. 12.

234 Ibid., pp. 61ff.

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all (…). It would make no sense, then, to define gender as the cultural interpretation of sex, if sex itself is a gendered category. Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pregiven sex (a juridical conception); gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as "prediscursive," prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts.[235]

As a result of these findings, Butler stresses the importance of identifying and reconstructing the discursive production of the natural condition of gender to show the underlying power structures and relations in society.[236] In criticizing the sex/gender division and stating that sex is not the basis of gender but only a part of it, Butler exposes also the problem of using the category "women" as a common identity. Referring to the complexity and heterogeneity which stands behind the term "women," she emphasizes the importance of asking how the subject is formed and endorses the openness and changeability of categories beyond ontological assumptions.[237]

Apart from the foundationalist fictions that support the notion of the subject, however, there is the political problem that feminism encounters in the assumption that the term *women* denotes a common identity (...). If one "is" a woman, that is surely not all one is; the term fails to be exhaustive, not because a pregendered "person" transcends the specific paraphernalia of its gender, but because gender is not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts, and because gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities. As a result, it becomes impossible to separate out "gender" from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained.[238]

Her radical deconstructionist approach to gender brought Butler harsh criticism from scholars and the feminist movement.[239] Particularly the feminist movement, whose political struggle is based precisely on the common and collective identity

235 Villa 2003, Judith Butler, pp. 10f.

236 Ibid., pp. 62f; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 106.

237 Villa 2003, Judith Butler, pp. 4, 37, 45.

238 Ibid., p. 6.

239 Scott's and Butler's work resulted in a debate on the importance of the physical experiences for gender studies. For a short overview see Opitz-Belakhal 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, p. 19.

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of being "women" and fighting for their rights and recognition, contested Butler's assumptions. To suppose and accept that "women" do not exist would question the basis, and hence the existence, of the feminist movement itself. The postmodernist critique of the maintenance of the category "women" not only generated a problem for the feminist and women's movement in terms of their right to exist but also for individual women, because "there is a denial of a unified experience upon which women can frame claims for rights."[240] Thus, despite the theoretical critique and the deconstructive claim for the rejection of the category "women," actors, although being aware of this problem, continue to use it mainly as a strategy. This "strategic essentialism" is mainly used by actors so as to be able to present themselves as a homogeneous group in order to realize and achieve political goals.[241]

This brief overview is intended to illustrate the different positions and understandings of gender in the social scientific discourse, and allows me to classify this study within the existing gender debate. While most scholars agree that gender is socially and culturally constructed and that the analytical division between sex and gender is problematic, the degree of understanding varies, and the most radical approach is to be found in the complete dissolution of the existence of a "natural" sex as in the poststructuralist thinking of, for example, Judith Butler. Following a deconstructionist approach, I agree with the critique of the division of sex and gender and consider it very important to understand and emphasize gender as socially and culturally constructed. Notwithstanding this, especially in empirical studies and political practice, it is hard to completely abandon theoretical categories, even if contested, as, for example, the category "women." Describing and explaining societies in Social Science and Humanities without resorting to categories such as "women" or "men" is difficult, if not impossible in practice, and therefore, I also argue, necessary.[242] Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize the potentially problematic homogenization underlying these terms. Therefore—although aware of the problems and discussions regarding the category "women," especially that stemming from the

240 Hobson, Barbara and Ruth Lister. 2001, *Keyword: Citizenship*. http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/files/7681/11128861501citizenship.pdf/citizenship.pdf (29 Dec 2015), p. 12.

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

242 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 114.

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debate on intersectionality[243], I will use the term "women" in this study. Not only for practicability reasons, but also because I believe, in agreement with the feminist movement, that a common experience of "women" does exist, which is socially and culturally constructed. However, despite such a common experience, the broad heterogeneity of individuals and realities within the group of women and in different historical contexts needs to be taken into account in each analysis.

After this general overview, in the following section I will go into detail regarding one of the approaches within Gender Studies, that of "doing gender." This focuses on the processes of the construction of gender, and is therefore particularly useful for revealing the agency of individuals, as intended in this study.

2.2.1.1 Doing Gender

> [G]ender itself is constituted through interaction.[244]

To avoid the pitfalls of the sex/gender division, some scholars[245] have suggested that apart from taking the social and cultural construction of gender as one of its main characteristics, it is also important to further concentrate on the processes of the construction of gender.[246] This interactionist perspective within Gender Studies aims therefore at capturing the empirical processes of the social and cultural construction of gender through the analysis of the processes of "doing

243 For a short overview on the actual debate on Intersectionality see for example Célleri, Daniela, Tobias Schwarz, and Bea Wittger. 2013. "Introduction. Interdependencies of Social Categorisation in Past and Present Societies of Latin America" in *Interdependencies of Social Categorisations,* edited by D. Célleri, T. Schwarz, and B. Wittger. Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, pp. 7–23 and Tuider, Elisabeth. 2013. „Von der Frauenforschung zur Intersektionalität. Ansätze der Theorisierung und Politisierung von Geschlecht und Macht" in *Frauen (und) Macht in Lateinamerika,* edited by E. Tuider, H.-J. Burchardt, and R. Öhlschläger. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 39–52.

244 West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender", *Gender and Society*, 1 (2): 129.

245 For example Hageman-White, Goffman and Garfinkel, Kessler/ McKenna, West and Zimmerman.

246 Gildemeister et al. 1995, Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden, pp. 211f.

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gender."[247] In order to avoid taking gender as a fixed characteristic of individuals, the "doing gender" approach focuses on gender as "an emergent feature of social situations"[248] and thereby stresses the interactional, performative, and situationally changing character and praxis of gender constructions and identities in everyday life situations.[249] This "ethnomethodological conception of gender"[250] was introduced to the scientific community in 1987 by Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman in their famous article "Doing Gender," which aimed to offer a new understanding of and critical answer to the hitherto dominant perspectives on sex and gender:[251]

> Our purpose (…) is to propose an ethnomethodologically informed, and therefore distinctively sociological, understanding of gender as a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment. We content that the "doing" of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production. Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures" (…). Rather than as a property of individuals, we conceive of gender as an emergent feature of social situations: both an outcome of and rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society.[252]

To develop and explain their approach of "doing gender," West and Zimmerman refer especially to Harold Garfinkel's empirical studies on transsexuality. Taking the case of the transsexual Agnes, who was born in a male body and later underwent sex reassignment surgery to become a woman, Garfinkel shows in his book "Studies in Ethnomethodology" published in 1967 "how gender is created through interaction and at the same time structures interaction."[253] He observes Agnes prior to and after her surgery while trying to "pass" as a woman, and describes the work she had to carry out in everyday interactions. Part of this

247 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 81.

248 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 126.

249 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.

250 West, Candace and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. „Doing Difference", *Gender and Society*, 9 (1): 9.

251 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 125.

252 Ibid., p. 126.

253 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 131.

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process included among other things changing her behavior in conversations, for instance by being more reserved and not asserting her opinions.[254] The case study of Agnes is so illustrative because it brings explicitly to light the problematic assumption of the existence of an underlying biological sex as the basis for the culturally constructed gender, as assumed in the traditional sex/gender distinction. To stress and analyze the social and cultural construction of gender, therefore, West and Zimmerman suggest a new differentiation, namely between three analytical independent concepts: *sex*, *sex category,* and *gender*.[255]

Sex is a determination made through the application of socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons as females or males (…). The criteria for classification can be genitalia at birth or chromosomal typing before birth, and they do not necessarily agree with one another. Placement in a *sex category* is achieved through application of the sex criteria, but in everyday life, categorization is established and sustained by the socially required identificatory displays that proclaim one's membership in one or the other category. In this sense, one's sex category presumes one's sex and stands as proxy for it in many situations, but sex and sex category can vary independently; that is, it is possible to claim membership in a sex category even when the sex criteria are lacking. *Gender*, in contrast, is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category. Gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category.[256]

In this threefold analytically independent conceptualization of gender, "biology" or "nature" is also interpreted as culturally constructed,[257] and together with

254 Kotthoff 2002, Was heißt eigentlich „doing gender"?, p. 2; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 80; West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 131.

255 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, pp. 127; 131; Gildemeister et al. 1995, Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden, p. 212; Gildemeister, Regine. n.a., *Soziale Konstruktion von Geschlecht,* Berlin. http://www2.gender.hu-berlin.de/geschlecht-ethnizitaet-klasse/www.geschlecht-ethnizitaet-klasse.de/indexb5e9.html?set_language=de& (02 Jun 2012), p. 10.

256 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 127.

257 West and Zimmerman comment in a footnote on the concept of sex: "the determination of an individual's sex classification is a social process through and through" (West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 148) and in "Doing Difference" West and Fenstermaker state: "From an ethnomethodological viewpoint, sex is socially and culturally constructed rather than a straightforward statement of the biological 'facts'" (West et al. 1995, Doing Difference, p. 20).

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stressing the continuing situational and interactional character of this construction processes, the notion of gender as a fixed and static characteristic of the individual is ruled out.[258] As Gildemeister states, in this understanding the classical view of gender is inverted, because gender is not seen as the "natural" base of differences in human behavior anymore, but as the result of complex social processes.[259]

In their work and their reflections on gender, West and Zimmerman put forward the question "can we ever *not* do gender?"[260] and suggest by way of an answer that "[i]nsofar as a society is partitioned by 'essential' differences between women and men and placement in a sex category is both relevant and enforced, doing gender is unavoidable."[261] This assumption, that "doing gender is unavoidable," has provoked harsh critique from many scholars. Especially the idea of gender as omnirelevant has been rejected.[262] Scholars like Hirschauer, Butler, and Deutsch have advocated also considering the possibility of *un*doing gender—that is, a temporary and situational neutralization of gender differences.[263]

Another important objection to the concept of "doing gender" is that gender is interdependent with other social categorizations such as class or race, and therefore may also be less important in certain situations and interactions. Even Candace West admits to having drawn "an incomplete framework for understanding social inequality" by neglecting other categorizations such as race and class. Therefore, in 1995 in her joint article with Sarah Fenstermaker, "Doing Difference," she reformulates and broadens her previous assumptions about "doing gender" and joins the debate on intersectionality.[264]

> [W]e hope to advance a new way of thinking about gender, race, and class, namely as ongoing, methodological, and situated accomplishments. (…) conceiving of these [gender, race, and class] as ongoing accomplishments means that we cannot determine their relevance to social action apart from the context in which they are accomplished (…). While sex category, race category and class category are potentially omnirelevant to social

258 Gildemeister et al. 1995, Wie Geschlechter gemacht werden, p. 213; Gildemeister n.a., Soziale Konstruktion von Geschlecht, p. 10.

259 Gildemeister n.a., Soziale Konstruktion von Geschlecht, p. 10.

260 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 137.

261 Ibid.

262 Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 93.

263 Kotthoff 2002, Was heißt eigentlich „doing gender"?, p. 7.

264 West et al. 1995, Doing Difference, p. 9.

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life, individuals inhabit many different identities, and these may be stressed or muted, depending on the situation.[265]

Finally, it is important to mention that both the ethnomethodological[266] and the discourse-analytical[267] approaches, although having different foci, are not mutually exclusive, especially if we understand them primarily as scientific tools that help us to find answers to our research questions. Choosing one of the approaches thus depends mainly on the research interest and, related to this, the available sources.[268] While the ethnomethodological approach of "doing gender" is especially useful to reveal and make visible the individuals' agency, the discourse-analytical approach focuses more on the structural constraints and power constellations that lead to the exclusion of certain groups.[269]

Accordingly, the concept of "doing gender" is particularly useful for my work for the following three reasons. First, as stated above, it allows us to avoid the pitfalls of the sex/gender distinction and 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, the introduction of a *sex category* such as "female," is, according to the "doing gender" approach, part of everyday life categorizations carried out through interaction, and therefore becomes significant, even if socially constructed. Second, when working empirically, the question emerges of how to capture and identify theoretical concepts, like gender in general, and the processes of its construction in everyday life situations—in practice—in particular. As it is "an ongoing activity embedded in everyday interactions"[270] the concept of "doing gender" conceptualizes people as actors possessing agency, and thus allows us to concentrate on the empirical.[271] Since my work focuses on the actors' understanding and performance of gender in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, the concept of "doing gender" thus offers the opportunity to consider and analyze their perspectives and their specific agency in each specific context. Third, the available sources, the

265 West et al. 1995, Doing Difference, p. 30.

266 For example authors like West and Zimmerman, Goffman and Garfinkel.

267 For example authors like Scott and Butler.

268 Griesebner 2003, Geschlecht als soziale und als analytische Kategorie, p. 46; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 111.

269 Opitz-Belakhal 2010, Geschlechtergeschichte, p. 28; Degele 2008, Gender/Queer Studies, p. 111.

270 West et al. 1987, Doing Gender, p. 130.

271 Griesebner 2003, Geschlecht als soziale und als analytische Kategorie, p. 46.

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interviews conducted in the squats, provide suitable material for the "doing gender" approach. Assuming that speaking is also a performative act, the actors' narratives allow the identification and examination of their own constructions of gender and their different gender identities in everyday life situations.
Moving closer to the concrete interactions in everyday life, in the next section, I will sketch out domestic relations and structures in Brazil, as a concrete situation. I will also introduce some central terms into the debate, which then will serve as a frame for the concrete analysis of gender relations in my empirical case study in section 4.3.

2.2.2 Gender Relations and Urban Household Structures in Brazil

Contemporary research on domestic relations and structures which places women at the forefront stresses two changes in particular in the organization of domestic life in Brazil. First, studies determine a growing number of women participating in income-generating work, and second, they also reveal an increasing number of women becoming the main person responsible for their households.

According to data from the National Household Data Sample Survey (*Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios,* PNAD) disclosed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística,* IBGE), women's participation in the labor market has steadily increased from 50.1% in 2000 to 54.6% in 2010. In contrast, men's participation was in 2014 about 75.7%, and despite women's increased presence in the labor market, it still remains much higher.[272] The growth of female presence in the labor market has also been greater in urban areas. While in 2010 in rural areas female participation was about 45.5%, in urban areas it was 56%, almost 10% greater.[273] Looking more closely, however, at the conditions under which women enter the labor market, data reveal that they still "remain disproportionately represented in the lowest paying sectors of employment and are not keeping pace

272 IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 2014, *Estatísticas de Gênero. Uma Análise dos Resultados do Censo Demográfico 2010,* Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, p. 108.

273 IBGE 2014, Estatísticas de Gênero, pp. 109f.

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with men in terms of their relative labor market position."[274] As Table 2 illustrates, women are still far more common than men in informal and poorly remunerated (23.1%) or even unpaid jobs (2.1%). Often the consequences are not only lower wages for women, but also reduced access to social security and other benefits that formal contracts offer. And finally, this situation is also more likely to reproduce gendered views of women in relation to their work.

Table 2: Percentual distribution of workers aged 16 years and older in Brazil, by sex and employment status[275]

Employment Status	**2000**		**2010**	
	Men	***Women***	***Men***	***Women***
Formal employment*	73.1	65.0	80.2	70.9
Informal employment	21.4	27.1	17.6	23.1
Unpaid work	2.4	5.5	0.7	2.1

*Formal employment includes workers with formal contracts, military personnel and civil servants, self-employed workers and employees contributing to social security. In contrast to informal employment, formal employment includes for example access to vacations, maternity leave, unemployment insurance, and benefits, etc. (IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 2014, p. 112).

To explain the increasing number of women who are participating in income-generating work, especially in urban households, scholars point to the economic crisis of the 1980s, which forced women into the labor market with the aim of improving the well-being of their families by increasing the number of income-earning household members. Additionally, an accelerated education of women, a reduced fertility rate, and processes of urbanization promoted female labor-market participation.[276]

274 McClenaghan, Sharon. 1997. "Women, Work, and Empowerment. Romanticizing the Reality" in *Gender Politics in Latin America. Debates in Theory and Practice,* edited by E. Dore. New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 25.

275 Own presentation based on IBGE 2014, Estatísticas de Gênero, p. 114.

276 Santana Pinhos, Patricia de and Elizabeth B. Silva. 2010. "Domestic Relations in Brazil. Legacies and Horizons", *Latin American Research Review*, 45 (2): 103; La

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Apart from these factors, another important part of the explanation is the growing number of women in urban Brazil who are becoming the main person responsible for their households. This phenomenon is broadly discussed in the literature under the term "female-headed households" (*chefia feminina de família*). It is important to emphasize that female-headed households are not homogeneous units but may have various compositions. To capture its heterogeneity, Luiza Santos Carvalho differentiates three types of the *chefia feminina de família*: the "*chefia* de jure," which implies the absence of a male partner but does not necessarily imply that the female (the women) is monetarily maintaining the family; the "*chefia* de facto," which denotes a female maintenance of the family but does not necessarily imply the absence of a male partner; and lastly Carvalho describes a third meaning, the combination of the absence of a male partner and the female maintenance of the family.[277]

According to the report of the Institute of Applied Economic Research (*Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada,* IPEA)[278] between 2001 and 2009 the number of female-headed households increased from 27% to 35%. Most of these households (49.3% of all female-headed households in 2009) were comoposed of women without a male partner, who had assumed the sole responsibility for their children and the economic maintenance of the family. The number of these households, however, has decreased over recent years, and the number of female-headed households in which the male partner is present has grown significantly (from 8.8% in 2001 to 26.1% in 2009).[279] Studies also

González Rocha, Mercedes de. 2002. "The Urban Family and Poverty in Latin America" in *Latin American perspectives in the classroom, Rereading Women in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Political Economy of Gender,* edited by J. Abbassi and S. L. Lutjens. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 64f; Simões, Solange and Marlise Matos. 2010. "Ideias Modernas e Comportamentos Tradicionais. A Persistência das Desigualdades de Gênero no Brasil" in *Desigualdades de Gênero no Brasil. Novas Ideias e Práticas Antigas,* edited by M. F. de Souza. Belo Horizonte: Argumentum, pp. 20f; Sorj, Bila. 2004. "Trabalho Remunerado e Trabalho Não-Remunerado" in *A Mulher Brasileira nos Espaços Público e Privado,* edited by Fundação Perseu Abramo. São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo/ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, p. 109.

277 Santos Carvalho, Luiza M. S. 1998. "A Mulher Trabalhadora na Dinâmica da Manutenção e da Chefia Domiciliar", *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 6 (1): 180.

278 The IPEA uses data from the PNAD.

279 IPEA – Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. 2010. "PNAD 2009 Primeiras Análises. Investigando a Chefia Feminina de Família", *Comunicados do Ipea* (65): 4-8.

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indicate that numbers of female-headed households have increased especially in urban areas, where the proportion of women *chefe de familia* is three times higher than the proportion of women *chefe de familia* living in rural areas.[280] Particularly since the 1980s, all these findings have led many scholars to challenge the until then prevailing myth of the man as head and principal breadwinner of the family. The former mostly homogeneous portrayal of family organization, which did not take gender relations sufficiently into account, contributed to the universalized notion of a prevailing patriarchal nuclear, so-called "traditional" family.[281] Other forms of family organization, such as female-headed households, have therefore often been characterized as "nontraditional." Historian Elizabeth Dore challenges this assumption by emphasizing that, female-headed households are not in fact a new phenomenon as is often presented in the literature, but that they have existed, and have even been the norm, since the early nineteenth century.[282]

Apart from the debate over whether they are a new phenomenon or not, most studies on female-headed households and women's increasing participation in income-generating work lead to the question of how these changes have affected domestic life and especially gender arrangements within the family. Scholars agree that women's participation in the labor market has not led to significant

280 Alves Mendes, Mary. 2002, *Mulher Chefes de Família. A Complexidade e Ambigüidade da Questão.* XIII Encontro da Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais, 4 a 8 de novembro de 2002, Ouro Preto. http://www.abep.nepo.unicamp.br/docs/anais/pdf/2002/GT_Gen_ST38_mendes_texto.pdf (30 Dec 2014), p. 1; Scott, Parry R. 2002, *Mulheres Chefes de Família. Abordagens e Temas para as Políticas Públicas.* Pré-Evento Mulheres Chefes de Família: Crescimento, Diversidade e Políticas, 4 de novembro de 2002, CNPD/FNUAP/ABEP, Ouro Preto. http://www.abep.nepo.unicamp.br/XIIIencontro/Scott_intro_mulher_chefe.pdf (30 Dec 2014), p. 1; Chant, Sylvia. 2002. "Researching Gender, Families and Households in Latin America. From the 20 th into the 21th Century", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 21 (4): 547.

281 Dore, Elizabeth. 1997. "The Holy Family. Imagined Households in Latin American History" in *Gender Politics in Latin America. Debates in Theory and Practice,* edited by E. Dore. New York: Monthly Review Press, p. 102; Santos Macedo, Márcia d. 2008. "Mulheres Chefes de Família e a Perspectiva de Gênero. Trajetória de um Tema e a Crítica sobre a Feminização da Pobreza", *Caderno CRH*, 21 (53): 392f.

282 Dore 1997, The Holy Family, p. 102.

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changes in the domestic division of labor[283] or to an alleviation of their domestic responsibilities, but on the contrary, has contributed to the intensification of women's general workload. As they often remain the main persons responsible for unpaid domestic work and at the same time have to contribute to the family's income, women may have to perform a so-called double shift.[284] As we will see in section 4.3, when it comes to engagement in citizenship activites to improve their living conditions, such as the fight for housing and education, women are also at the forefront.

Corresponding data from the IBGE confirms that even though the number of women entering the labor market has more than doubled over the last 40 years, at the same time they remain the main person responsible for non-remunerated domestic activities, such as childcare, cleaning, and cooking inside the family.[285] Figure 1 shows that women in Brazil cover most of the domestic work, doing on average 26.6 hours of this work per week, while those who are employed during the week do 22.0 hours on average. In contrast, men only spend an average of 10.5 hour per week on housework, and even less when they are employed (9.5 hours).

283 Domestic division of labor: Who does what and is responsible for what? (Jelin, Elizabeth. 1991. "Family and Household. Outside World and Private Life" in *Family, Household, and Gender Relations in Latin America,* edited by E. Jelin. London et al.: Kegan Paul International/ Unesco/ Routledge Chapman & Hall, p. 36).

284 See for example McClenaghan 1997, Women, Work, and Empowerment; Chant 2002, Researching Gender, Families and Households; Santana Pinhos et al. 2010, Domestic Relations in Brazil; Goldani, Ana M. 2000, *Famílias e Gêneros. Uma Proposta para Avaliar (Des)igualdades.* http://biblioteca.planejamento.gov.br/biblioteca-tematica-1/textos/direitos-da-cidadania/texto-40-2013-familia-e-generos-uma-proposta-paar-avaliar-des-igualdades.pdf (30 Dec 2014); Alves Mendes 2002, Mulher Chefes de Família; Venturi, Gustavo and Marisol Recamán. 2004. "Introdução. As Mulheres Brasileiras no Início do Século XXI" in *A Mulher Brasileira nos Espaços Público e Privado,* edited by Fundação Perseu Abramo. São Paulo: Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo/ Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp. 15–30; Simões et al. 2010, Ideias Modernas e Comportamentos Tradicionais; Safa, Helen I. 2002. "Economic Restructuring and Gender Subordination" in *Latin American perspectives in the classroom, Rereading Women in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Political Economy of Gender,* edited by J. Abbassi and S. L. Lutjens. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 43–60.

285 IBGE 2014, Estatísticas de Gênero, p. 119; IPEA – Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada 2010, PNAD 2009 Primeiras Análises, p. 16.

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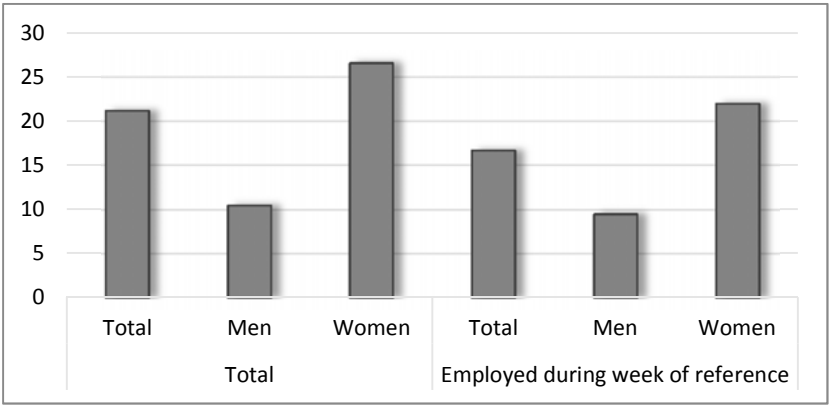
Figure 1: Average of hours per week spent on housework, of persons 16 years or older, by sex in Brazil 2009[286]



The number of hours per week spent on domestic tasks is especially high among low-income families. While they have to perform these tasks by themselves, families with better income often hire domestic workers.[287] These domestic workers are again mostly women (83% of all domestic workers worldwide are female)[288] so that existing gender structures which hold women responsible for domestic tasks are maintained and reproduced.

Women's average total workloads during the week are still much higher than men's, which reveals the persistence of inequality between women and men in the home. It also indicates the ongoing lack of social recognition of so-called

286 Own presentation with data from: IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 2010, *Uma Análise das Condições de Vida da População Brasileira 2010*. Tabelas Completas/ Mulheres. http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/indicadoresminimos/sinteseindicsociais2010/default_tab.shtm (10 Oct 2015), Table 9.10.

287 Soares, Cristiane. 2008, *A Distribuição do Tempo Dedicado aos Afazeres Domésticos entre Homens e Mulheres no Âmbito da Família.* XVI Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais / ABEP, 29 de setembro a 03 de outubro de 2008, Caxambú. http://www.abep.nepo.unicamp.br/encontro2008/docsPDF/ABEP2008_978.pdf (01 Nov 2015), pp. 8f.

288 ILO – International Labour Organization. 2013, *Domestic workers across the world: global and regional statistics and the extent of legal protection.* http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf, p. 19.

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reproductive work as *work,* and therefore often makes it extremely difficult for women to balance their non-remunerated work within the family with their remunerated work either outside or inside the home.[289] Certainly, the increasing incorporation of women into the labor market has, in theory, the potential to increase the autonomy and self-determination of these women, but it is not enough to change gender inequalities within the family as long as "normative assumptions of the female role, continue to be reinscribed."[290] Especially for women in low-income households, entering the labor market it is very often a question of survival, and can also be interpreted as motivated by an intention to fulfil their roles as mothers, rather than an intention to achieve personal gains. From this perspective, women's entry into the labor market can be also interpreted as an extension of their reproductive role.[291]

2.3 GENDER AND CITIZENSHIP

Even though the concepts of Citizenship and Gender have been discussed separately above, in an analysis of both it becomes clear, and is therefore necessary to show, how closely linked they are in both theory and practice.

Citizenship has always been gendered in the sense that women and men have stood in a different relationship to it, to the disadvantage of women. Yet, for much of its history, a veil of gender-neutrality has obscured the nature of this differential relationship. Today, as feminist theorists have stripped away this veil, the challenge is to reconceptualise citizenship in gendered terms in the image of women as well as men. We are thus talking about citizenship and gender from two angles: as a historical relationship and as a political and theoretical project.[292]

Thus, in the next section I will demonstrate how feminist thinking has been concerned with and has critiziced citizenship theory over recent decades, before

289 For missing recognition of women's work in the private sphere see also section 2.3.1.

290 McClenaghan 1997, Women, Work, and Empowerment, p. 29.

291 Ibid., pp. 28–30; Alvarez, Sonia E. 1990, *Engendering Democracy in Brazil. Women's Movements in Transition Politics,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 47.

292 Lister, Ruth. 2001, *Citizenship and Gender.* http://www.academia.edu/565216/Citizenship_and_Gender1 (01 Dec 2014), p.1.

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going more into detail about the specific interdependence of citizenship and gender in the case of Latin America, focussing on women's engagement in popular urban movements, and the reasons behind their involvement in citizenship activites, as well as the impacts of their agency.

2.3.1 Feminist Thinking on Citizenship

Is citizenship gendered?[293]

Over the last decades, feminist thinking has been concerned with citizenship theory.[294] Its main object thereby has been to criticize the assumed universality and gender neutrality of liberal citizenship theory and to call attention to the fact that "citizenship has been quintessentially male"[295]; that is to say, to the fact of the historical exclusion of women from citizenship.[296] On the one hand, feminists reject the prevailing conception of citizenship on the grounds that it is problematic in terms of the exclusion of women. On the other hand, citizenship has become "an avenue which has become positively crowded by feminist scholars (...) intent on re-gendering citizenship from the standpoints of women."[297] The opportunity to extend citizenship rights for women and to "(re)claim concepts which have been hi-jacked [sic] in the interest of men"[298] is highlighted in the literature on citizenship and gender, and points at an important object of feminist thinking about citizenship, namely that of broadening and reconstructing the traditional conception.[299]

293 Walby, Sylvia. 1994. "Is Citizenship Gendered?", *Sociology*, 28 (2): 379–395.

294 For an overview see Voet, Maria C. B. 1998, *Feminism and Citizenship,* London et al.: Sage Publications; Durish, Patricia. 2002. "Citizenship and Difference. Feminist Debates Introduction to the Annotated Bibliography" in *Annotated Bibliographies Series of the Transformative Learning Centre (TLC),* edited by D. Schugurensky. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, pp. 1–16.

295 Lister 2001, Citizenship and Gender, p. 1.

296 Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference, pp. 2f; Lister 2011, From the Intimate to the Global, pp. 27ff.

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

298 Ibid.

299 Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference; Bussemaker, Jet and Rian Voet. 1998. "Citizenship and Gender. Theoretical Approaches and Historical Legacies", *Critical Social Policy*, 18 (3): 281f.

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Feminist thinking criticizes the absence of gender in liberalist writing, such as that of T.H. Marshall, Mann, and Turner.[300] Especially T.H. Marshall's work, being highly influential on the theory of citizenship, has frequently come under attack from feminist writers due to its gender-blindness. One point of criticism is his assumption of the universality of citizenship, endorsed by liberalist theory. Liberalist theory, varying in its content from classical to social and neo-liberalism, has been the most influential theory in Western European modern history.[301] As Durish states, "[i]t is the theoretical paradigm of liberalism that animates the concept of citizenship in present day western capitalist democracies and therefore all feminist theory on citizenship positions itself in some relation to liberalism."[302] One of the most important features of liberalism is its "doctrine of individualism." Liberalism places the sovereign, rational, equal, and free human being, who is provided with a set of inalienable rights, at the center of its theory. This assumption incorporates the idea of universalism, which holds that liberalism transgresses the interests of any particular group or nation.[303] As discussed in section 2.1.1, the liberal paradigm of the universality of citizenship implies the idea of equality and inclusion of all members of a society, such that "[w]hatever the social or group differences among citizens, whatever their inequalities of wealth, status, and power in the everyday activities of civil society, citizenship gives everyone the same status as peers in the political public."[304]

This assumption has attracted immense criticism from feminist writers. Voet, Young, Lister, and others have argued that for women the assumption of this universality and equality was only true in theory, not in practice. They show that women were excluded from citizenship from the very first time the concept was put into practice.[305] Bussemaker and Voet point out that:

300 See Yongxiang, Wang, Li Jingping, and Guo Zhonghua. 2012. "Constructing a Gender-oriented Mode for Modern Citizenship", *Journal of Cambridge Studies*, 7 (4): 34; Walby 1994, Is Citizenship Gendered?.

301 Bussemaker et al. 1998, Citizenship and Gender, p. 286.

302 Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference, p. 5.

303 Ibid., pp. 5f; Dietz, Mary G. 1987. "Context is all. Feminism and Theories of Citizenship", *Daedalus*, 116 (4): 3.

304 Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 263.

305 Hobson et al. 2001, Keyword: Citizenship, p. 4; Lister 2001, Citizenship and Gender, p. 1; Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 267; Bussemaker et al. 1998, Citizenship and Gender, p. 281.

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From the 5th century BC till the mid-20th century AD full citizenship was a privilege almost exclusively given to (some) men. Therefore, we should not be surprised that until recently the discourse of citizenship has connected citizenship with maleness, whether through the idea of citizen as soldier, as someone carrying male virtues (*virtù*), as an economically independent being or breadwinner, or as someone who is allowed to share public office. Because of its conceptualization, most citizenship theories have excluded women from the full status of citizenship.[306]

The quote also reveals that it is not only women that have historically been excluded from citizenship. As discussed earlier in section 2.1.2, in Brazil social differences were used from the very beginning to exclude certain parts of the population from full citizenship. This was most evident, for example, with the fact that universalism only applied to free or sovereign individuals, a condition bound to owning property.[307] Therefore, citizenship status, and the claim that this implies a universalism in practice, were not valid for the part of the population that could hardly own property, such as women, slaves, peasants, workers, and children.[308]

The marks of the historical exclusion of women and other groups from citizenship are still visible today. In most countries women formally achieved full citizenship only during the twentieth century. Moreover, significant inequality gaps persist—despite the rights women have achieved over time. Therefore, scholars also point to the importance of distinguishing between formally granted and substantive rights (see section 2.1.1) when talking about women's citizenship, and of remaining aware of the gap often existing between them.[309]

The critique of the idea of universalism and the exclusion of women from citizenship introduces a new dilemma for feminist thinkers, namely whether they should advocate for equality or for difference. Young states that due to the paradigm of universality women and other oppressed and disadvantaged groups find themselves within a "dilemma of difference."[310] As explained earlier in section 2.1.2.1, on the one hand, in order to be included, these groups have to appeal to the principle of equality and the universality of citizenship, and as a consequence, they must deny their difference to some extend. On the other hand,

306 Bussemaker et al. 1998, Citizenship and Gender, p. 281

307 Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference, p. 6.

308 Ibid.; Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, pp. 120f.

309 Bussemaker et al. 1998, Citizenship and Gender, p. 281; Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 166.

310 Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 281.

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movements find it necessary and important to emphasize existing "group-based-differences" because the formal equal treatment disadvantages oppressed groups.[311] Or, as Shafir summarizes: "Formal equality, ironically, creates substantive inequality."[312] So, for feminists the question of whether to opt for the recognition of difference or for the equality of women has become a highly debated issue in feminist thinking.[313] Pateman identified this problem as "Wollstonecraft's dilemma":

> The extremely difficult problem faced by women in their attempt to win full citizenship I shall call "Wollstonecraft's dilemma." The dilemma is that the two routes toward citizenship that women have pursued are mutually incompatible within the confines of the patriarchal welfare state, and, within that context, they are impossible to achieve. For three centuries, since universal citizenship first appeared as a political ideal, women have continued to challenge their alleged natural subordination within private life. (…) On the one hand, they have demanded that the ideal of citizenship be extended to them, and the liberal feminist agenda for a "gender-neutral" social world is the logical conclusion of one form of this demand. On the other hand, women have also insisted, often simultaneously, as did Mary Wollstonecraft, that as women they have specific capacities, talents, needs and concerns, so that the expression of their citizenship will be differentiated from that of men.[314]

This discussion is especially relevant for Latin America, where women fighting for their rights deployed a language of difference, emphasizing gender differences and especially their traditional role as mothers, as we will see in the next section.

Another point of criticism and indicator of the gender-blindness of Marshall's work can be found in his description of a progressive, linear, and cumulative expansion of the three stages of citizenship rights (see section 2.1.1). Feminists have argued that this is the description of the experience of *white*, *male* wage-workers in Britain and therefore ignores the different development

311 Young 1998, Polity and Group Difference, p. 281.

312 Shafir 1998, Introduction, p. 25.

313 For a summary of the discussion see Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference.

314 Pateman, Carole. 1987, *The Patriarchial Welfare State. Women and Democracy.* http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~ces/publications/docs/pdfs/CES_WP7.pdf (01 Dec 2014), pp. 29f.

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and "struggles of minorities, women or colonized peoples for citizenship."[315] In many countries, the evolution of women's citizenship differed from that of men. Very often women gained political rights before full civil or social rights.[316] Even in Britain before 1928 women lacked many of the full characteristics of political and civil citizenship. Often, however, political citizenship was the condition and "power base" necessary to gain more civil rights, and *vice versa*.[317] That Marshall nevertheless adheres to his assumptions shows how much the specific concerns of women are ignored in citizenship theory. Lister points out that the special patterns of women's achievement of rights have been mainly ignored in mainstream theorization on citizenship, and that such theorization "has tended to dismiss women's earlier exclusion as a historical aberration, now more or less effectively remedied."[318]

Another important characteristic of liberalism that has been intensively debated by feminists is its strong distinction between the public and the private sphere. Political Theorist Carol Pateman, declared in 1983: "The dichotomy between the private and the public is central to almost two centuries of feminist writing and political struggle; it is, ultimately, what the feminist movement is about."[319] Pateman argues that the separation of the two spheres and the classification of women to the private sphere arose at the expense of women because equality in the public sphere was based on women's subjection to the private one: "What it means to be an 'individual', a maker of contracts and civilly free, is revealed by the subjection of women within the private sphere."[320]

As a result, women were excluded from citizenship, and the liberal ideal of equality and universalism helped to obscure this fact.[321] Feminists have criticized

315 Canning, Kathleen and Sonya O. Rose. 2001. "Introduction. Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations", *Gender & History*, 13 (3): 428.

316 Fraser et al. 1998, Contract versus Charity, p. 116; Bussemaker et al. 1998, Citizenship and Gender, p. 287; Siim, Birte. 2000, *Gender and Citizenship. Politics and Agency in France, Britain, and Denmark,* New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 14; Walby 1994, Is Citizenship Gendered?, pp. 380f.

317 Walby 1994, Is Citizenship Gendered?.

318 Lister 2001, Citizenship and Gender, p. 1.

319 Pateman, Carole. 1983. "Feminist Critiques of the Public/Private Dichotomy" in *Public and Private in Social Life,* edited by G. F. Gaus and S. I. Benn. New York: St. Martin's Press, p. 281.

320 Pateman, Carole. 1988, *The Sexual Contract,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 11.

321 Durish 2002, Citizenship and Difference, p. 9.

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and challenged the public/private distinction as a gendered one because historically "the liberal notion of 'the private' has included what has been called 'woman's sphere' as 'male property' and sought not only to preserve it from the interference of the public realm but also to keep those who 'belong' in that realm—women—from the life of the public."[322] Whereas liberalists approve state intervention in the public sphere, the private sphere is understood as the sphere of the family, which the liberalists maintain should therefore be free from state interferences.[323] To further favor the denial and difficulties of women's full access to and participation in public life, the association of men with the public and of women with the private sphere was also accompanied by a special distribution of values to each sphere.

> In the liberal tradition, married women's legal subordination (…) reflected an essentialist categorization of men and women's qualities and capacities, rooted in the public-private dichotomy. On the "public" side stood the disembodied citizen who displayed the necessary "male" qualities of impartiality, rationality, independence, and political agency. This was upheld by the "private" side to which embodied, partial, irrational, emotional, and dependent women were relegated.[324]

Hence, the public/private distinction is for feminist writers one of the main reasons for women's oppression and exclusion from full citizenship—on the one hand because it fostered women's exclusion from the public and political arena with its liberal principles, and on the other hand because women's work and activities in the private sphere, such as childcare, are less valued than activities and work in the public sphere. Feminist writers show that it is highly problematic to assume and interpret women's activities in the private sphere as being "natural" and therefore not political.[325] Pateman offers the criticism that even though feminists have pointed out the "complex interdependence between the two spheres," today especially the public, "civil" sphere is still treated as if it were independent from the private realm.[326] Feminist scholars stress that the way

322 Dietz 1987, Context is all, p. 4.

323 Voet 1998, Feminism and Citizenship, p. 32; Dietz 1987, Context is all, p. 4.

324 Lister 2011, From the Intimate to the Global, p. 29.

325 Prokhovnik, Raia. 1998. "Public and Private Citizenship. From Gender Invisibility to Feminist Inclusiveness", *Feminist Review*, 60 (1): 87; Siim 2000, Gender and Citizenship, pp. 32f; Yongxiang et al. 2012, Constructing a Gender-oriented Mode, p. 35; Tupper, Jennifer. 2002. "The Gendering of Citizenship in Social Studies Curriculum", *Canadian Social Studies*, 36 (3): no page.

326 Pateman 1988, The Sexual Contract, p. 12.

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in which the gendered division of labor in the private sphere conditions the access of women and men to the public sphere, and therefore to citizenship rights, is often ignored.[327]

In summary, women have been historically excluded from citizenship, and this has largely been ignored by citizenship theory. The contribution of feminist scholars in emphasizing the need for the inclusion of a gender perspective when conceptualizing citizenship is therefore very important. It has been shown that taking gender into account when talking about citizenship enables us to look behind dominant discourses and facilitates a critical perspective on the concept of citizenship, by revealing the exclusion of certain actors—such as for example women—from citizenship rights in both theory and practice, as well as the reasons behind this exclusion. Hence, a gendered analysis of citizenship also allows the development of a different and critical perspective on citizenship, beyond dominant discourses of universality and equality.

The incorporation of issues of gender, and of course also other social categorizations, such as ethnicity, class, and religion, helps to situate citizenship then in its specific context, and thus brings out the diverse lived experiences of citizenship of the different actors involved, as well as their agency. A gendered analysis of citizenship also allows the examination of the private sphere with its existing and predominant gender structures, and helps to reveal and explain the unique motivations and possibilities involved in women's agency and involvement in citizenship activities. Thus, it has also been confirmed again that citizenship cannot legitimately be analyzed solely in terms of possessing a status, as formal state-membership. Because only when also analyzed as a process can the specific actors involved—for example, women—along with their agency, become the focus of attention. As Maxine Molyneux puts it:

> While citizenship has been a goal of feminist political struggle for over a century, it has been an ever-changing one. Gendering citizenship requires us to see both how women's agency has been involved in defining that goal, and also how, over time, its meaning, as well as that of the rights with which it is associated, have changed.[328]

Hence, it is only possible to thoroughly understand citizenship in each specific case, and to detect the existence of a differentiated citizenship, by taking into account other relevant social categorizations, such as gender—and *vice versa*.

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

328 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 166.

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In the section that follows I will go into detail regarding the specific interdependence of citizenship and gender in the case of Latin America. I will focus on women's engagement in popular urban movements, and unveil the reasons behind and impacts of women's agency.

2.3.2 Women and Citizenship in Urban Latin America

> There was (…) a clear continuum in Latin America between women's roles in the family and in struggles for citizenship rights.[329]

Despite the long-standing exclusion of women from full citizenship in both theory and practice, very often it was, and still is, mainly women initiating and promoting citizenship activities, such as fighting for housing, healthcare, and education. In Latin America women's engagement in urban social movements—demanding a vindication of their rights—has a long tradition and has been the subject of numerous academic publications.[330] In this section I will mainly focus on the academic debate over the reasons for low-income women's engagement in urban citizenship activities such as the fight for housing, and the broader impacts of their participation.[331]

329 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 171.

330 As a detailed description of the history and development of women's participation in social movements in Latin America is beyond the scope of this study, see for an overview Potthast 2012, Frauen und soziale Bewegungen; Miller, Francesca. 1991, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice,* Hanover: University Press of New England; Potthast, Barbara. 2003, *Von Müttern und Machos. Eine Geschichte der Frauen Lateinamerikas,* Wuppertal: Hammer; Jaquette, Jane S., editor. 1994, *The Women's Movement in Latin America. Participation and Democracy,* Boulder: Westview Press; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil; Radcliffe, Sarah A., and Sallie Westwood, editors. 1993, *'Viva'. Women and Popular Protest in Latin America,* London et al.: Routledge; Jelin, Elizabeth, J. A. Zammit, and Marilyn Thomson, editors. 1990, *Women and Social Change in Latin America,* London: Zed Books Ltd.

331 Even though I will focus on women's participation in urban popular movements, it is also important to mention the existing diversity of the women's movement in Latin America. As Maxine Molyneux adequately summarizes: "In sum, the Latin American women's movement in its heterogeneous and distinctive forms has been a more diverse and vital force than has often been recognized. As Jaquette has noted, its contemporary political contours were shaped by three sociohistorical

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One of the biggest questions permeating the literature on women's participation in social movements is that of the reasons for their participation. To avoid generalizing about women's interests, authors like Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes and Sonia E. Alvarez, for example, stress the need to consider the diverse motivations of women for engaging in citizenship activities.[332] Indicating the interdependencies of social categorizations like ethnicity, class, and gender that shape women's position in society, Alvarez reminds us that

> "women's interests" are not more analytically useful as a conceptual category than "men's interests." When one considers that women span all social classes, races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities, political ideologies, and so on, then an infinite array of interests could be constructed as women's interests. Gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual preference, and other social characteristics determine women's social positioning and shape women's interests.[333]

Hence, when it comes to the analysis of women's agency, it is difficult to identify or even talk about women's interests. It has been argued elsewhere[334] that because of the diversity and heterogeneity of women, being of the same sex is not enough to assume common interests, and that "[w]omen's interests should be seen as processes which are constructed in specific historical contexts and in

components: a feminist movement with demands broadly similar to those of European, Canadian and US women; a women's movement which mobilized against dictatorship and authoritarianism and against the violation of human rights; and a popular movement which turned survival strategies into sociopolitical demands. To these can be added the significant mobilization of women by political parties" (Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 173).

332 Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. 1993. "Female Consciousness or Feminist Consciousness? Women's Consciousness Raising in Community-Based Struggles in Brazil" in *'Viva'. Women and Popular Protest in Latin America,* edited by S. A. Radcliffe and S. Westwood. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 139f; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 23.

333 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 23.

334 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, Molyneux, Maxine. 1985. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua", *Feminist Studies*, 11 (2): 227–254; Vargas, Virginia and Saskia Wieringa. 1998. "The Triangle of Empowerment. Processes and Actors in the Making of Public Policy for Women" in *Women's Movements and Public Policy in Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean,* edited by G. Lycklama à Nijeholt, V. Vargas, and S. Wieringa. New York: Garland Pub., pp. 3–23.

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confrontation, negotiation or alliance with men, society, the state and each other."[335] Therefore, some scholars build their analysis on sociologist Maxine Molyneux's work. Molyneux also points to the danger of generalizing about women's interests and criticizes the "false homogeneity imposed by the notion of women's interests."[336] To avoid such a homogenization, she suggests an analytical differentiation into two "conceptions of women's interests," those being "strategic gender interests" and "practical gender interests."[337] While strategic gender interests are "those involving claims to transform social relations in order to enhance women's position and to secure a more lasting repositioning of women within the gender order and within society at large,"[338]

> [p]ractical gender interests are given inductively and arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning within the gender division of labor. In contrast to strategic gender interests, these are formulated by the women who are themselves within these positions rather than through external interventions. Practical interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need, and they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality.[339]

In her later work, responding to the critique of her distinction as being too "neatly categorized"[340] Molyneux expands on the transformational character of her categorization by indicating that practical interests can also be transformed into strategic struggles.[341] In this regard, especially when it comes to the participation of women in popular urban movements and the reasons for their engagement, some authors suggest that practical gender interests prevail.[342] Even though strategic and practical gender interests may sometimes be difficult to separate clearly, when observing need-based struggles, the analytical distinction into strategic gender interests and practical gender interests seems to be a useful one. It offers a way to look at women's articulation and mobilization without

335 Vargas et al. 1998, The Triangle of Empowerment, p. 6.

336 Molyneux 1985, Mobilization without Emancipation?, p. 232.

337 Ibid.

338 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 153.

339 Molyneux 1985, Mobilization without Emancipation?, p. 233.

340 See for example Vargas et al. 1998, The Triangle of Empowerment, p. 6; Westwood, Sallie and Sarah A. Radcliffe. 1993. "Gender, Racism and the Politics of Identities in Latin America" in *'Viva'. Women and Popular Protest in Latin America,* edited by S. A. Radcliffe and S. Westwood. London et al.: Routledge, p. 20.

341 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 155.

342 Corcoran-Nantes 1993, Female Consciousness or Feminist Consciousness?, p. 141.

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thinking solely about feminism and feminist interests in the first place. As Molyneux herself stresses: "If in the formulation of practical interests, women take inequality or male authority over them for granted, then this is a different way of seeing the world to that which evolves in the course of political discussion premised on alternative, egalitarian visions."[343]

Although historically, women's participation in citizenship activities is not a new phenomenon, in Latin America it became especially visible during the 1970s and 80s. In Brazil, as well as in other Latin American countries, military dictatorships were accompanied by social and economic policies which "profoundly undermined the survival strategies of poor and working-class families and communities"[344] in urban areas. This development further overlapped with an accelerated urban growth from the beginning of the twentieth century, especially since the 1950s, characterized by an insufficiency of urban infrastructure development policies and unequal access to public goods and services for the urban population.[345] Together with the denial of access to "institutional channels of political participation," such as free elections, these developments led to the emergence of numerous urban grassroots movements in low-income neighborhoods, which organized around issues such as housing, transport, basic services, healthcare, cost of living, childcare, and unemployment.[346] These popular movements were dominated mainly by women, who organized self-help efforts (neighborhood kitchens and associations, community health, etc.)[347] in their communities.

Most scholars agree that the reasons for the engagement of women in those popular social movements are thus based on the gendered division of labor in society, which allocates the provision for the family and the defense and organization of living conditions to women, acting out their traditional roles as housewives and mothers.[348]

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343 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 156.

344 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 44.

345 Jelin, Elizabeth. 1990. "Citizenship and Identity. Final Reflections" in *Women and Social Change in Latin America,* edited by E. Jelin, J. A. Zammit, and M. Thomson. London: Zed Books Ltd., p. 187; Potthast 2012, Frauen und soziale Bewegungen, p. 54; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 45; see also Table 1, section 2.1.3.1.

346 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 39; Corcoran-Nantes 1993, Female Consciousness or Feminist Consciousness?.

347 Cf. Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, pp. 38f.

348 See for example Potthast 2012, Frauen und soziale Bewegungen; Jelin 1990, Citizenship and Identity; Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil;

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The lack of adequate social services and the deficient urban infrastructure found in peripheral neighborhoods directly affects women and their ability to perform their ascribed feminine role (…). It is women who are held primarily responsible for the day-to-day planning of their families' subsistence, even if men are held socially responsible for its "provision". Thus, sociostructural changes which undermine family subsistence, and therefore threaten women's ability to perform their socially ascribed roles as "wives, mothers, and nurturers", may lead some women to take whatever actions are within their reach to normalize the situation of their households.[349]

Interestingly, those women themselves often emphasize and legitimate their participation in these movements as *mothers*. Women claiming their rights as mothers and housewives is a crucial characteristic of the women's movement in Latin America. While in Western Europe and the US women denied differences between men and women and sought a more gender-neutral participation of women in the public sphere, in Latin America women deployed a language of difference, emphasizing gender differences and especially their traditional role as mothers.[350] The use of motherhood as the basis and referent for the legitimation of women's participation in citizenship activities is what Sonia Alvarez calls the *politicization of motherhood*.[351] Kevin Neuhouser holds that women's collective mobilization resulted from their problems in obtaining the necessary resources to fullfil their role as mothers, and therefore women opted to refer to motherhood as "the primary positive identity available to women."[352] In contrast, men, even though also lacking resources to be *fathers*, didn't assume the risk of mobilization because they possessed alternative culturally valued identities which were structurally less costly.[353]

Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective; Machado Vieira, Leda M. 1993. "'We Learned to Think Politically'. The Influence of the Catholic Church and the Feminist Movement on the Emergence of the Health Movement of the Jardim Nordeste Area in São Paulo, Brazil" in *'Viva'. Women and Popular Protest in Latin America,* edited by S. A. Radcliffe and S. Westwood. London et al.: Routledge, pp. 88–111.

349 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 46.

350 Safa, Helen I. 1990. "Women's Social Movements in Latin America", *Gender & Society*, 4 (3): 355; Miller 1991, Latin American Women, p. 74.

351 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 51.

352 Neuhouser, Kevin. 1998. "'If I Had Abandoned my Child'. Community Mobilization and Commitment to the Identity of Mother in Northeast Brazil", *Social Forces*, 77 (1): 333.

353 Neuhouser 1998, "If I Had Abandoned my Child", p. 331.

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The accentuation of the traditionally ascribed role as mothers and wives is also interpreted as a strategy used by these women to facilitate and justify their entrance into the public sphere and to bring their concerns from the private to the public sphere. To avoid challenging the nature of their gender subordination, and to organize around issues related to the private sphere, is thus a way to avoid larger conflict with and resistance from men in both private and public spheres due to their activism.[354]

> It makes sense for women to organize as mothers and to emphasize communitarian values within political cultures where motherhood is sacred, where men's and women's roles are sharply distinguished and considered both natural and normatively appropriate, and where the political culture rests on a Catholic concept of community rather than on an individualistic social contract. The rhetoric of political motherhood is thus rational and powerful for women, a "collective action frame" that avoids the costs of a frontal attack on traditional values while leaving considerable room to maneuver in the public sphere.[355]

Searching for women's motivations for engaging in citizenship activities also implies looking at the broader impacts of their mobilization. In the academic literature on women's engagement in citizenship activities—especially their engagement in popular urban movements—the question raised is whether 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 with and entrance into the public sphere has a great potential for change and may therefore lead to a rupture of the—hitherto prevailing—traditional patterns of gender roles.[356] On the other hand, it may also

354 Moser, Caroline O. N. 1993, Gender Planning and Development. Theory, Practice and Training, London et al.: Routledge, p. 36.

355 Jaquette, Jane S. 1994. "Conclusion. Women's Political Participation and the Prospects for Democracy" in *The Women's Movement in Latin America. Participation and Democracy,* edited by J. S. Jaquette. Boulder: Westview Press, p. 228.

356 As for example the case studies of Andujar, Andrea. 2005, *Mujeres Piqueteras. La Repolitización de los Espacios de Resistencia en la Argentina (1996-2001)*. Informe final del concurso: Poder y nuevas experiencias democráticas en América Latina y el Caribe. Programa Regional de Becas CLACSO. http://bibliotecavirtual.clacso.org.ar/ar/libros/becas/semi/2005/poder/andujar.pdf (07 Dec 2014) and Schütze, Stephanie. 2005. „Wir kämpfen um Raum für uns und unsere Kinder. Raum, Geschlecht und politische Partizipation in Mexiko-Stadt" in *Das räumliche*

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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.[357] As the ones mainly responsible for the private sphere, women suffer most from inadequate or non-existent access to housing, basic services, healthcare, etc., and therefore it is also mainly they who need to find solutions to deal with it—such as for example through engagement in citizenship activities. Hence, women are often forced to balance different roles at the same time—domestic work, childcare, income-generating work, and community activities.[358]

It is important to understand that mobilization around motherhood and need-based issues provides the potential for both, and that women's engagement in citizenship activities does not automatically lead to greater gender equality or a consciousness of gender subordination, as Molyneux adecuately summarizes:

Again, while few doubted that female participation in the world outside the home broadened women's experience, it was more difficult to demonstrate that it made a tangible or lasting impact on the majority of women's lives with regard to the division of labour and power relations in the home. (…) it showed that activism or participation could make a difference, as the testimonials of many key activists verified. But outside this group, often it did not, or did so for only a short time, with participants returning to the familiar oppressive patterns of before. One conclusion that could be drawn was that activism alone, in the absence of a transformative politics and supportive material circumstances, did not lead to 'empowerment'. This issue therefore revealed to women

Arrangement der Geschlechter. Kulturelle Differenzen und Konflikte, edited by M. Rodenstein. Berlin: Trafo, pp. 101–117, show.

357 See for example Jelin 1990, Citizenship and Identity; Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective; Flores, José à. H. and Beatriz Martínez Corona. 2006. "Género, Empoderamiento y Movimientos Sociales. La Unión Campesina Emiliano Zapata Vive, en la Región Tepeaca-Tecamachalco, Puebla", *Región y Sociedad*, XVIII (36): 107–146; Lind, Amy and Martha Farmelo. 1996. "Gender and Urban Social Movements. Women's Community Responses to Restructuring and Urban Poverty", United Nations Research Institut for Social Development. *UNRISD Occasional Paper* (76): 1–38; Hainard, François and Christine Verschuur. 2001. "Filling the Urban Policy Breach. Women's Empowerment, Grass-Roots Organizations, and Urban Governance", *International Political Science Review*, 22 (1): 33–53.

358 Moser, Caroline O. N. 1989. "Gender Planning in the Third World. Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs", *World Development*, 17 (11): 1801; Hainard et al. 2001, Filling the Urban Policy Breach, p. 37.

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activists both the potentiality and the limits of active citizenship, indicating that its significance and outcome were more contingent processes than had been assumed.[359]

Having situated the topic of this study in a broader theoretical and historical context, we will now take a closer look at the two case studies: the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* in Rio de Janeiro's city center, and the reality of the lives of their inhabitants.

359 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 177.

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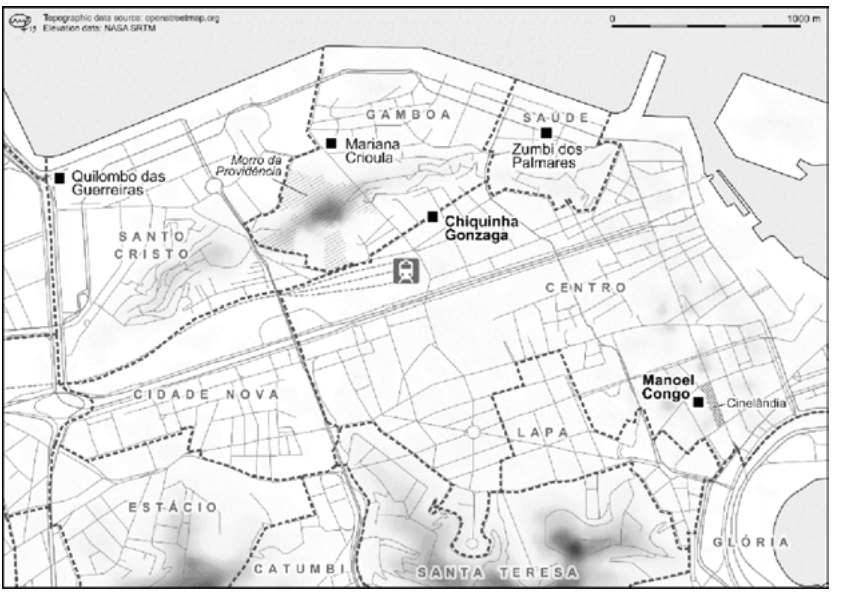
3. Insights into the Squats

A vida na ocupação é difícil![1]

Map 3: Close-up of the area surrounding the squats[2]



In the following chapter I will provide a detailed description of my case studies, the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*. To provide the necessary context and background for the analysis of the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship and gender, I will first introduce both squats by elaborating on their

1 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 14.03.2011.

2 Cartography: Monika Feinen, Hürth.

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emergence and the initial developments that took place—focussing especially on their internal organization. Then, in a second step, I will point to the changes that occurred in the squats over time, and also consider the potential difficulties and challenges experienced by the inhabitants living in the squats, thus revealing both the commonalities and differences between them.

My description of the squats is based on information I obtained through oral histories and informal observations I recorded in 2011 in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*. As the interviewees often contributed to the topic in a similar way, for reasons of legibility they are not all cited separately by interview, when e.g. describing the first developments or internal organization of the squats. Only when inhabitants are directly quoted or when they serve as specific examples will I provide an additional reference in the footnotes. As I prefer to rely on my own sources and want to include only the information on the squats that I consider necessary and useful for my study, the small amount of existing literature on the squats by other scholars was rarely used for this chapter.[3] In cases where I did draw on existing literature, for example to

3 Only a few studies have been done on the squats, and not all of them provide a really detailed description of them. The existing studies focus mainly on the housing movements and their political organization and practice, or on the self-management inside the squats. Little has been written about the changes and challenges experienced in the squats by the inhabitants themselves. For the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga* the relevant literature includes: Thesis of Silveira Grandi, Matheus d. 2010. "Práticas Espaciais Insurgentes e Processos de Comunicação. Espacialidade Cotidiana, Política de Escalas e Agir Comunicativo no Movimento dos Sem-Teto no Rio de Janeiro" Dissertação de Mestrado, PPGG/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro and related articles, for example Tomazine Teixeira, Eduardo and Matheus d. Silveira Grandi. 2008, O Agir Comunicativo e sua Espacialidade. Reflexões a partir do Exemplo da Ocupação Chiquinha Gonzaga, no Centro do Rio de Janeiro. https://www.yumpu.com/pt/document/view/12980627/o-agir-comunicativo-e-seus-territorios-reflexoes-a-partir-do-e (29 Sep 2015); Silveira Grandi, Matheus d. 2012. "Espacialidade Cotidiana e Processos de Negociação no Movimento dos Sem-Teto Carioca. Reflexões sobre um Caso da Variante por Coletivo", Revista Território Autônomo (1): 15–43; PHD Thesis of Tramontani Ramos, Tatiana. 2012. "As Barricadas do Hiperprecariado Urbano. Das Transformações no Mundo do Trabalho à Dinâmica Sócio-Espacial do Movimento dos Sem-Teto no Rio de Janeiro" Tese de Doutorado, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro; Mamari 2008, Se Morar é um Direito and articles of Gonçalves Almeida, Rafael de. 2013, A Territorialização da Dissidência no Movimento dos Sem-Teto no Rio de Janeiro. Entre "Mediadores", "Agentes Externos" e Protagonistas. XIII Simpósio Nacional de Geografia Urbana, 18 a 22 de

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complement my findings, I have explicitly indicated through the use of footnotes.

novembro de 2013, UERJ, Rio de Janeiro. http://www.simpurb2013.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Rafael-Almeida.pdf (30 May 2015). There is only one study comparing the squat Chiquinha Gonzaga to another squat (Quilombo das Guerreiras): Vanzan da Silva, Luciana. 2006. "Tramas Urbanas de uma Cidade Ocupada. Análise Possível de uma Experiência com Ocupações no Rio de Janeiro" Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói.

For the squat *Manoel Congo* the relevant literature includes: Thesis of Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia; thesis of Neves Vasconcelos, Vinícius. 2014. "O Espaço como Produto, Meio e Condição para uma Educação Popular Transformadora. A Prática Pedagógica do Espaço Criarte na Ocupação Manoel Congo – MNLM – RJ" Dissertação de Mestrado, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro; Thesis of Queiroz e Mello 2014, Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias and related articles and talks, for example Queiroz e Mello, Irene de. 2013, Ramifications of the Social Housing Movements. A Step towards an Alternative Society. Resourceful Cities. International RC21 Conference, 29-31 August 2013, Berlin. http://www.rc21.org/conferences/berlin2013/RC21-Berlin-Papers-3/26-MELLO-Irene.pdf (02 Nov 2015); Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville (see section 4.3) and article of Rodrigues da Silva 2010, Ocupação Manuel Congo.

The squats are also mentioned in some smaller studies or online reports (including by NGOs), but without studying or describing them in much detail; for example Instituto Pólis. 2009, Moradia é Central — Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Pólis; Fundação de Direitos Humanos Bento Rubião. 2010, Direito à Moradia na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação de Direitos Humanos Bento Rubião; Dantas, Diana, Elza Albuquerque, Patrícia Streit, and Renata Souza. 2007. "Direito à Moradia. Famílias Ocupam Prédios Abandonados para Sobreviver", Revista Eclética (24): 62–67; Schmidt, Katharina. 2010. „Aneignung öffentlicher Räume Rio de Janeiro" Masterarbeit, Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck; Hamdi, Alice. 2012. „Territorien des Widerstandes. Entstehungshintergründe und Perspektiven der autonomen Besetzungen in Rio de Janeiro" Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, Wien; Garuzi Luz Machado, Giulia. 2013, Cidadania, Reconhecimento e Movimentos Sociais. XXI Seminário de Iniciação Científica da Puc-Rio, 27 a 30 de agosto de 2013, Pontífica Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro. http://www.puc-rio.br/pibic/relatorio_resumo2013/relatorios_pdf/ccs/SOC/CSOC-Giulia%20Garuzi%20Luz%20Machado.pdf (29 Sep 2015).

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3.1 THE SQUAT *CHIQUINHA GONZAGA*

Figure 2: Front view of Chiquinha Gonzaga [4]

The squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*[5] is a run-down high-rise building, which is located on the street *Rua Barão de São Felix Nº 110* behind Rio de Janeiro's central station[6] at the foot of the *Favela Morro da Providência*[7] (see Map 3). At the time of the interviews, the area surrounding the squat was characterized by a visible lack of urban development measures, and by poverty, prostitution, and

4 The pictures used in this study serve only for illustration and are not part of the analysis. They are intended mainly to help the reader to better imagine the place of study. Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

5 According to some of the inhabitants of the squat, *Chiquinha Gonzaga* was a Brazilian composer and pianist. She was also a woman who had resisted the conventions of her time and also took part in social movements. The name was chose in order to honor a person who in the past had engaged in resistance and struggles. Interestingly, most of the inhabitants could not tell me much about her, or about the specific reason for the selection of the name.

6 Unless otherwise indicated, I use *Rio de Janeiro* to refer to the capital of the Federal State of Rio de Janeiro.

7 The *Morro da Providência* is supposed to be one of the oldest *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, and also the place where allegedly the name *favela* originated. For further reading see for example Braathen, Einaar, Timo B. Celina Myrann Sørbøe, Anna C. Christovão, and Valéria Pinheiro. 2013. "Rio de Janeiro. Favela Policies and Recent Social Mobilizations", *NIBR Working Paper* (110): 1–62 or Fabricius, Daniela. 2008. "Resisting Representation. The Informal Geographies of Rio de Janeiro", *Harvard Design Magazine* (28): 1–8.

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drug trafficking. Therefore it was considered—especially by many members of the middle- and upper classes—as one of the "dangerous" areas of Rio de Janeiro. That the area was in fact a problematic and sometimes challenging place to live was expressed frequently during the interviews by those who actually lived there—the inhabitants of the squat:

Aí o telefone tocou e fui atender e a menina: Olha, a ocupação vai ser hoje, hem! À meia-noite. Na Central do Brasil aqui. Na Central? Meu Deus do céu![8]

Se eu tivesse condições eu não moraria. (...) o centro do Rio esta muito abandonado. A energia daqui ta muito ruim. (...) você que passa, você vê drogado (...), prostituição. É uma coisa que não me faz bem.[9]

Aí no ano passado a filha dele ficou alguns meses aqui comigo, mas também não se adaptou ao meu regime porque não pode soltar, mesmo porque a situação aí de cima não ia deixar uma menina que nunca viveu aqui, sempre viveu em outro lugar, vivia aqui dentro, e vivia solta nessa rua aqui e você sabe muito bem que é a Central do Brasil. Entendeu, então eu não ia deixar ela conviver com determinadas coisas que ela não estava acostumada.[10]

Since the area is an important traffic junction in the city center, during the day it was always quite animated. The way from the central station to *Chiquinha Gonzaga* was flanked by small shops of unregulated street vendors, where prices in comparison to the south zone (*Zona Sul*) were low, and goods more affordable for the low-income population. This was also the area where street and beach vendors bought the products they offered for sale on the irregular market in the city center and the *Zona Sul*.

The streets and houses around the squat were highly degenerated. The *Rua Barão de São Felix* was full of recycling depots, so that besides of a lot of car traffic at rush hour, loaded trucks frequently passed through the small street and not only fostered its destruction and dirtiness, but also contributed to a high level of noise pollution. During the day it was therefore sometimes difficult even to follow a conversation in one of the street-facing rooms in the lower levels of the squat. The lack of investment in urban renewal measures in the area's sewage system meant that after rainy days the street was full of waste water, which caused a foul odor, especially in summer. The inhabitants of *Chiquinha*

8 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

9 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 23.2.2011.

10 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

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Gonzaga, who had to pass along the street every day on their way to work or school, also complained about it and about the associated risks to their health. Speaking during one of the interviews about potential investments in the area in the context of the—at the time of the interviews, still forthcoming—major sport events in Rio de Janeiro (FIFA World Cup and Olympic Games), a female inhabitant of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* expressed the need for public works in the area:[11]

A Rodoviária vai ser mexida, uma boa parte aqui do morro vai ser tirado. Vão tirar muita casa aí da vizinhança! Eles vão mexer com o centro do Rio todo. Não tem uma obra ali? Eles tão fazendo porque todas essas obras que tem aqui de saneamento, isso é tudo do tempo de Don Pedro. Então você vê que tudo aqui em volta, eles tão botando tudo em cima. Estão botando manilhas grandes, que quando chove um pouquinho essa rua enche, é horrível. Então eles vão ter que mexer nisso tudo aqui. Então você ta vendo o processo aqui. E tem muita coisa que está atrasada.[12]

Another problem, especially for the inhabitants in the squat with children, was the visible presence of prostitution and drug-dealing in the area surrounding the squat, and the inhabitants' related fear of getting involved or caught in a drug conflict. One of the founding members of the squat confirmed during our conversations that at the time the building was first occupied by them, the area already "had an owner." He confirmed that due to this fact, conflict and problems with the local drug dealers had emerged, and especially the young people living in the squat were in danger of getting involved in it.[13] Additionally, the installation of the UPP on the neighboring *Favela Morro da Providência* on 26 of April in 2010[14] led to an increased presence of the drug-dealing in front of the building, as the dealers were forced to *descer ao asfalto* (to come down to the asphalt) to be able to continue their drug business without being disturbed by the police: "*Ali depois da Central. A boca de fumo está ali. Todo mundo sabe onde é (...). Mas o tráfico ta lá (...). Aqui é para mostrar lá fora que vocês*

11 Finally in 2014, as some inhabitants told me, at least the sewage system of the *Rua Barão de São Felix* had been renewed.

12 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

13 Interview with founding member of the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, 06.05.2011.

14 Date from Governo do Rio de Janeiro. n.a., *UPP Providência. Dados sobre a Implantação da UPP Providência.* http://www.upprj.com/index.php/informacao/informacao-selecionado/ficha-tecnica-upp-providencia/Provid%C3%AAncia (30 May 2015).

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podem vir para cá. Mas não é assim. Porque quando tiraram eles lá de cima eles ficaram todos aqui em baixo."[15]

The other inhabitants also reported that the installation of the UPP had not helped to solve the problem of the drug traffic, but only to move the problem—meaning its location and visibility during the day—from one place (the *favela*) to another (in front of the squat).[16] Correspondingly, the inhabitants frequently expressed the fear that their children could get involved, and told me that it was one of the reasons why they wished to leave the squat and area in the long run:

[O] pai dos meus filhos não aceita isso de jeito nenhum. Porque ele acha muito ruim os filhos dele estarem morando ali, que não sei o que ... que não é um lugar legal! Mas graças a Deus eu consigo ter um controle. A pesar de assim: são três. A de 20 e o de 16 moram na ocupação. E o pequenininho mora comigo. Tem dois meses que está morando comigo. Eu consigo ter um controle tão grande com eles, que os meus filhos não se envolvem em nada.[17]

In some cases the involvement of children in the drug trade had already become reality. Some parents reported about their children's involvement and sometimes even imprisonment due to the drug-dealing in the area:

Eu tenho um filho que se envolveu (...). Que não quer dizer que está morto nem está perdido nem nada. Tanta gente passa por isso então ele até ... até tem uns que ajudam no futuro a dar mais valor à própria vida. Já outros é diferente. Mas os outros, meus filhos, eu vejo eles muito bem encaminhados.[18]

One of the female inhabitants, for example, reported that two of her three children had been involved since living in the squat. Her 22-year-old daughter had started to consume drugs and became involved shortly after they had moved to *Chiquinha Gonzaga,* and at the time of the interview had already served a prison sentence of nine months. During my stay, the interviewed woman was still waiting for her 26-year-old son to be released from prison after serving a sentence of two years. She repeatedly stressed the necessity that her children live somewhere else, especially after their sentences, so as not to get involved again. She was suffering due to the regular, humiliating visits to the prison and the additional financial pressure to ensure the sufficient alimentation of her son

15 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

16 Informal talk in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

17 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

18 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

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inside prison, something that, due to the poor prison conditions in Brazil, was not automatically guaranteed.

The building itself had been abandoned for at least 21 years, so at the time of its initial occupation, it was not in a livable condition. Only through the work of the occupants had it been made habitable again. Nevertheless, at the time of my visit the building was in a poor condition, and its previous long abandonment quite evident. The squat was the only high-rise building in the area and therefore easy to identify. As there was no bell at the main entrance door, it was only possible to enter the building by knowing someone who could open the door, or by waiting until someone was leaving the building.

On the first floor there was a big meeting room with an adjoining patio and three single rooms, one of which was planned to be used as a computer room.[19] Additionally, next to the entrance, the building possessed a big garage, which could be used by the inhabitants of the squat.

The building had been constructed in the 1950s, designated to be a hotel, before becoming the property of the Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (*Instituto de Reforma Agraria e Colonização*, INCRA). As it had been intended to be a hotel, the building consisted of 13 floors, each of them with six single rooms with an estimated size of 20 square meters, including a small separate bathroom.[20] Inside the rooms the facility standards varied according to the income and desire of each inhabitant to invest in it. The inhabitants tried to use the small spaces as well as possible, and very often used for example furniture to separate each apartment in order to have at least the feeling of having two rooms available. To what extent the space of the apartment was sufficient or comfortable for the inhabitants depended on their family size. According to my observations, the number of people living in one room varied between one and five.

Not only the interiors, but also the front doors of the apartments were individually designed. Just as in an ordinary apartment building, they were

19 This goal was never realized. Although the initial intention was to create a computer room for the people, and especially the children, in the squat, by the time of my short visit in 2012 the space had been "invaded" by a person and had become another apartment.

20 On the 13th floor only there were two bigger rooms instead of six smaller ones.

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furnished with their own locks.[21] The corridors and stairways of the squat were run-down, dirty, and in many places mold-infested. The lighting and the small windows in the stairways were very often broken. The same applied to the rooms, where the window glass was not always intact, and therefore the closing of windows was often only provisionally possible. The condition of the stairways also differed on every floor and depended on the people who lived there and the degree of responsibility they felt for its maintenance. That these feelings of responsibility for the maintenance of the floor differed considerably was not only visible, but also often subject of disputes among the inhabitants (see section 3.1.2). The walls inside the building were also used for announcements, such as for meetings, or to remind people to pay the water bill. The elevator did not work and therefore the elevator shafts were closed provisionally with wood, and some of the cables were exposed. The lack of a lift in a 13-story building was especially stressful in the hot summer, when people had to climb up to the upper floors with their daily groceries and their small children.

21 Even though this detail seems to be normal and therefore not worth mentioning, in *Manoel Congo*, as we will learn in section 3.2, for reasons of the internal control of the inhabitants, they were not allowed to lock their doors.

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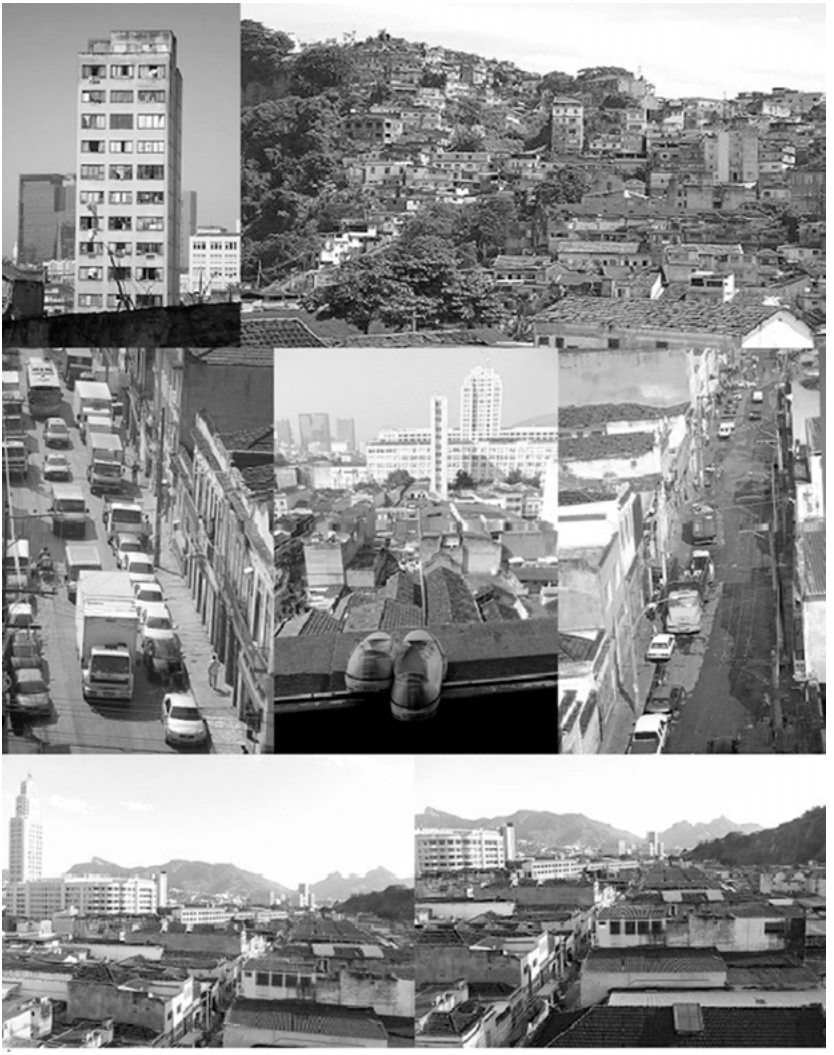
Figure 3: Rear view of the building from Favela Morro da Providência and area surrounding the squat[22]



22 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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Figure 4: Entrance area of Chiquinha Gonzaga[23]

Figure 5: Assembly room and terrace of Chiquinha Gonzaga[24]

23 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

24 Ibid.

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Figure 6: Individually designed doors in Chiquinha Gonzaga[25]

Figure 7: Official announcements[26]

25 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

26 Ibid.

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Figure 8: Corridors and stairways of the building[27]

27 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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3.1.1 Genesis and First Organization

> Foi a primeira ocupação organizada no Rio de Janeiro, num prédio grande igual a esse, num prédio que estava parado há 20 anos. E as famílias se reuniram e deu certo. Não foi nada desorganizado.[28]

The occupation of the building was the first of its kind in Rio de Janeiro, and the result of a long-term process of preliminary organization and planning. Over six months of preparatory meetings, initialized and led by the two social movements CMP[29] and the Front of Popular Struggle (*Frente de Luta Popular*, FLP) were conducted before the building was finally entered on 23 July 2004. Members of the two social movements started to organize the squat due to their common interest in the problem of housing in Rio de Janeiro, but students, syndicates, and NGOs also joined them, supported their activities, and expressed solidarity. While the CMP was a national organized social movement, the FLP was a small group of activists who had started to organize in 2000 with the aim to "*impulsionar a luta contra a violência, por moradia, cultura e trabalho, construindo a organização independente do povo na perspectiva do Poder Popular.*"[30] Part of the group had a Marxist-socialist orientation, and a major characteristic of the group was the rejection of authoritarian hierarchies and an emphasis on horizontal organization.[31]

The aim of the occupation was twofold: first, to force attention to the problem of housing and the existence of vacant buildings in the city center; and second, to establish a new form of organization based on self-government (*autogestão*), which had the so-called collective (*coletivo*)—the people living in the squat—as its center of reference, without submitting to the banner of any specific social movement.[32]

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28 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

29 For more information on the CMP see section 2.1.3.1.

30 Gonçalves Almeida 2013, A Territorialização da Dissidência no Movimento, p. 2.

31 For more information on the FLP see for example Silveira Grandi 2010, Práticas Espaciais Insurgentes; Gonçalves Almeida 2013, A Territorialização da Dissidência no Movimento.

32 Cf. also Gonçalves Almeida 2013, A Territorialização da Dissidência no Movimento, p. 4.

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Em segundo lugar, de colocar a experiência de outro tipo de organização, que tem seus problemas, é claro, mas que mostra que é possível ter um outro tipo de organização do movimento social que não é aquele tipo centralizado, onde a coordenação detém tanto poder que todo mundo só conhece a coordenação, a ocupação é identificada pelo movimento e não pelo coletivo da ocupação, etc.[33]

As the national coordinator of the CMP later emphasized, not acting under the banner of a leading movement was especially important to the FLP, and the CMP had therefore accepted this decision in order to avoid conflict.[34]

The preliminary meetings took place every Monday at the headquarters of the CMP in the *Rua Francisco Serrador*, close to the *Cinelândia* square, and gradually more and more people in need of housing joined the meetings with the intention of occupying the building.[35] During these meetings they discussed the necessary organization and potential difficulties inside and outside the building, and future inhabitants were also informed about the political background of the occupation. The building was chosen with care, with one of the criteria being to occupy a publicly owned building in order to increase the chances of a permanent stay.[36]

Essas reuniões aconteceram durante seis meses, nesse endereço que eu falei na Francisco Serrador no. 90, e ali nós fomos convidando pessoas. Quem morava na rua, quem morava em abrigo, quem morava num aluguel, mas não tinha condições financeiras de pagar. E durante esse período é que acontece o processo organizativo, porque boa parte das pessoas tinha uma certa experiência. E sabia perfeitamente que ao se entrar num imóvel desses, era necessário que as pessoas fossem identificadas de acordo com as suas profissões. Sabe-se perfeitamente que dentro do imóvel tem problemas de hidráulica, de elétrica, de pintura, de limpeza. Tem a questão da alimentação, da segurança, também a questão jurídica, aí subdivide. É uma coisa bem organizada mesmo. Aí durante o período em que essas

33 Quote fom an ex-member of the FLP, cited in Gonçalves Almeida 2013, A Territorialização da Dissidência no Movimento, p. 2.

34 Interview with the national coordinator of the CMP, 06.05.2011.

35 Interestingly, in both squats the families were registered in the name of the women in the family.

36 Occupying publicly owned buildings facilitates negotiation with the authorities on the basis of the constitutional right to housing (see section 2.1.3.1); negotiations can then be conducted directly with the State or Municipality and no expropriation of private property becomes necessary.

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reuniões vão acontecendo você vai tirando as comissões que vão se encarregando de assumir cada um a sua função.[37]

For security reasons,[38] the exact place and time of the occupation was kept secret and was not revealed until the day of the occupation itself. Due to the high level of preparation and organization, such as the allocation of tasks, people knew what could happen and how to behave from the time they entered the building. The thorough advance preparation was also the reason they were able to resist the first attempts by the police to prevent the occupation.

Aí nos organizamos, marcamos a data de ocupar, entramos, já organizamos também uma comissão para a defesa. Uma comissão para conversar com a justiça na hora da repressão. Tudo foi estudado antes, com a ideia da gente entrar e sofrer menos com a situação. Aí ficamos três dias com o portão trancado, com cadeado, sem poder sair. Com a polícia sempre passando, procurando saber como tava o andamento e tal. E depois disso a gente se organizou para estruturar o prédio, que estava parado há 23 anos. Muita sujeira, sem energia, sem água, sem esgoto, sem nada! A gente trabalhou uns três ou quatro meses todo mundo. Fizemos uma comissão de elétrica, uma comissão de hidráulica, uma comissão de limpeza, de segurança de portaria.[39]

Finally, inside the building, the occupiers faced the challenge of organizing and sprucing up the run-down and initially uninhabitable building. Besides the dirt and the dilapidation of the building, the occupants also had to face, for example, a lack of water and electricity. The internal organization was meant to be non-hierarchical, and decisions were supposed to be made in a horizontal and collective manner during regular meetings, which were obligatory for all participants. The necessary work inside the building was organized in *mutirão*, in self-help action. The *coletivo* became the main point of reference both inside and outside the building, and later, as the interviews show, also the main point of conflict (see section 3.1.2).

The *coletivo* came together in the form of regular meetings (*reuniões*), which at the beginning were held on a daily basis, and were where decisions were made together, which were then binding for everyone. They took place at seven o'clock in the morning to discuss the necessary tasks to be performed, and at eight o'clock at night to discuss the political questions regarding the building.

37 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 21.03.2011.

38 Above all, to avoid either the police or the local drug dealer turning up to prevent the occupation.

39 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

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During the initial stages of the occupation, the group also established a set of binding internal rules—the Charter of Principles (*Carta de Princípios*). This laid down the rules and norms governing everyone living inside the squat, and in addition to questions of neighborly behaviour also included the potential to expel (*expulsar*) someone if they were breaking these rules. One of the women in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* reported about this early experience:

Porque como você ocupa, você ocupa geralmente com pessoas que você nunca viu na vida, você aprende a conviver com essas pessoas de maneira que você respeite essas pessoas. Você tem regras, né. Para você ocupar você tem que primeiro fazer um regimento interno, ou seja, um conjunto de regras. (...) a gente teve que estabelecer umas regras de convivências. Como por exemplo: não fazer barulho depois de um certo horário à noite, não jogar lixo no corredor. Participar das reuniões, ou um representante maior de idade daquela família ta sempre participando na reunião. Evitar briga. Teve uma época que a gente até proibia bebida alcoólica aqui dentro.[40]

Even though the occupants stressed the fact that there was no leadership inside the squat, for formal reasons of negotiation with the authorities, it became necessary to set up an official association, the Association of Popular Housing of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* (*Associação de Habitação Popular da Ocupação Chiquinha Gonzaga*, AHPOCG). This consisted of various coordinators, among them a president, a representative, and a treasurer, who were (re-)elected every two years by the inhabitants.

[E] desses seis anos só após o primeiro ano foi que nós constituímos a associação. Porque o governo exigiu que nós tivéssemos uma personalidade jurídica. Porque ficava uma coisa muito solta. O pessoal aqui entendia que: "Não, porque tem que ser coletivo! E quem manda aqui é o coletivo!" E coisa do gênero, mas o estado brasileiro exige uma personalidade jurídica. Para poder dar sustentação a coisas desse gênero. Mesmo assim o coletivo continuou agindo, mas reconhecendo que nós precisávamos disso.[41]

The *coletivo* in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* also thought about possibilities for the generation of income in the form of a recycling cooperative, and planned several projects, such as a computer room and a childcare center. During the initial stages, some inhabitants ran handicraft classes, and a group of people prepared and sold food for events at universities or syndicates.

40 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

41 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 21.03.2011.

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The organization started to work immediately after entering the squat. While some inhabitants took care of the renewal of basic services such as water, electricity, and drains, others cleaned, did construction work, or were responsible for the security and legal defense of the building. Before the rooms were made liveable and the families could be divided into the single rooms, people also shared the bathroom, slept, cooked and ate together on the lower floors. As there was not, for example, a separate kitchen for each person or family, a cooking commission took over responsibility for the organization of the collective kitchen, the *cozinha coletiva*.

After water and electricity had been reconnected, the occupants tried to secure a legal supply of both, but were only successful in their negotiations with the municipal waterworks, *Nova CEDAE*. With the support of other social movements and lawyers, they managed to negotiate a social fee of around six *reais* per month per family (see Figure 7). Due to difficult negotiations with the privately owned public service company Light S.A. the inhabitants could only obtain the electricity for the building illegally. Even though the monthly water fee was very low, the treasurer and the president of the association reported that there were always people who did not pay the money, and that there had been occasions on which the water for the building had therefore been shut off.

Another commission was engaged in the organization of the *portaria*, the control of the main entrance door of the building, to avoid granting entry to uninvited persons—an arrangement designed to thereby hinder eviction and further conflict. Every inhabitant had to do shift work at the main entrance door and to control who entered and who left the building. This task was obligatory for everyone, and non-accomplishment was even punished by, for instance, turning off the lighting in the corresponding apartment. After the first basic problems had been resolved, people could be distributed to the rooms. Care was taken here that older occupants and those with children found accommodation in the lower levels of the building. Particularly in times of water supply problems—when water could only be obtained from the main tap in the basement—living in the upper parts of the building meant an extra burden.

Later in the process of organization and making the building habitable again, some changes were made, and some joint tasks were abandoned, such as the *cozinha coletiva*, due to the desire of the occupants to take care of certain things within their own families, or to the then reduced need to solve some problems within the group. Furthermore, conflict started to emerge, and contributed to problems and changes in the original structure and organization of the squat.

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É difícil né (Rir). Mas no primeiro momento, o mais difícil é você viver coletivamente. Eu nunca gostei disso. Nunca gostei. Porque assim: a gente quer ter a sua casa, quer ter o seu fogão, a sua máquina de lavar, quer fazer as suas coisas, na sua casa. E você ficar comendo com aquele montão de gente. Eu nunca gostei. Eu não gostava desse primeiro momento na ocupação porque você tinha que fazer um monte de comida. Aí domingo você quer comer com os seus filhos (...).[42]

In the following section I will go into detail regarding these changes and the problems that emerged inside the squat after the first period of occupation.

3.1.2 Still the Same? Talking about Problems and Changes

A Chiquinha está doente.[43]

A lot of things have changed in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* since its very beginning. The stories told by the inhabitants who had taken an active part in the occupation in 2004 contrasted strongly with the reality inside the squat in 2011. There was practically no internal organization or control on the part of the *coletivo* anymore, and the internal rules formalized in the Charter of Principles were mostly not considered. Furthermore, the political activities of the squat had almost come to a standstill. The loss of former organization went along with changes and conflict inside the squat and among its inhabitants. In the interviews I was interested to find out what had changed, and what the inhabitants experienced as particular challenges while living in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. When talking with the inhabitants about the challenges and difficulties they personally faced living in the squat, their answers indicated that a lot of challenges and problems were closely related to the organizational changes that had occurred over time.

Frequenting the place, one of the first changes I noticed was that the former organized commissions no longer existed in their original forms. Besides the already mentioned *cozinha coletiva*—whose activities had ended when occupants had moved into their own apartments (see above)—the *portaria* and the cleaning tasks were also no longer organized.

Não tem mais, mas tinha: eram a portaria, a limpeza do prédio, a portaria tinha um- a sua entrada, a sua saída- de todos os moradores. Tinha horário em que você não poderia fazer

42 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

43 Ibid.

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visitas, não ser acompanhada. Então cada um aqui tinha o seu compromisso. O prédio inteiro. Todos os moradores tinham que fazer a mesma coisa. Então não deixam entrar estranhos, a não ser os próprios moradores, e de repente aquilo foi acabando, foi acabando, agora ninguém tem mais compromisso com nada. A não ser com a sua própria casa.[44]

The *portaria* task was especially important at the beginning to restrict the entry of people to the squat, in order to prevent eviction and further conflict. The interviewed inhabitants reported that they had performed the *portaria* task for at least two years in daily shifts. After that time, everyone received a key to the main entrance door, and the *portaria* shifts had ceased. Most of the interviewees did not complain about this fact, nor did they express a desire to readopt the practice.

Então assim: a gente tinha uma portaria. Todo morador tinha que tirar a portaria. Porque a portaria não podia ficar sozinha. E as pessoas que entravam aqui tinha que ser identificadas: a onde iam, no apartamento de quem e tal. A gente conseguiu fazer portaria até uns ... dois anos e meio depois da ocupação a gente conseguiu segurar a portaria, depois já foi diminuindo até acabar. Daí cada um foi fazendo uma chave, daí não existe mais a portaria.[45]

The organization and regulation of the cleaning of the building was also lost over time, and became, in contrast to the discontinuation of the *portaria* task, a reason for disputes and a real challenge for some of the inhabitants. The cleaning of the stairways, as one could observe, was rarely done by the inhabitants after the cleaning tasks were no longer organized. Previously, the cleanliness of the building had been regulated by a fixed cleaning rota, but at a certain point people had begun to lapse in their accomplishment of their assigned tasks. This had resulted in a kind of chain reaction, and people explained their lack of fulfillment of their own cleaning responsibilities with reference to a similar lapse by the other inhabitants. At the same time, many of the interviewees—especially the female inhabitants—complained about the dirtiness and lack of a sense of responsibility of their neighbors regarding the cleanliness of the squat.

Eu acho que todo ser humano é digno de um teto. Então aí eu estou aí. Faço todo o possível, estou sempre limpando, sempre zelando, sempre arrumando. Mas eu sozinha. Essa escada aqui ... ela brilha quando eu estou boa! Quando eu estou com saúde, eu limpo

44 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

45 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

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tudo. Daqui a pouco vem outro e suja, vem outro que joga papel. E vem outro e joga um copinho, outro joga papel ... quando você vê a nossa entrada está ... muito suja que ninguém colabora. Tem que estar chamando, pedindo, falando.[46]

Another problem within the squat turned out to be the presence of drugs. As already described above, the inhabitants considered it a big challenge to live and to raise their children in the area where the squat was located. From the very start, the squatters had tried to keep the drug dealing out of the building in order to avoid letting the dealers take control of it. At the beginning, therefore, drug consumption was prohibited inside the building, but over time, this prohibition had been loosened. Many inhabitants reported drug problems inside the squat, or even within their own families, as illustrated by the following interview excerpts:

Evitar briga- teve uma época que a gente até proibia bebida alcoólica aqui dentro. As pessoas podiam até sair e beber na rua, mas não podiam trazer. Isso no início. No início da ocupação. Trazer bebida alcoólica para aqui pra dentro. Usar drogas ilícitas também. Então era um conjunto de regras. Algumas coisas com o tempo foram caindo, né. Como bebida (Rir), drogas também. É. As pessoas não usam dentro de casa. A gente acabou perdendo o controle de pedir para as pessoas não usarem. Mas enfim. Desde que não haja o tráfico, né? A pessoa consuma e acabou se deixando para lá.[47]

Mas no início o coletivo tinha mais força, né? As pessoas não faziam coisa errada porque ... não tem como você morar numa ocupação que o tráfico, se você fica usando droga, você vai vender o quarto, você vai roubar e trazer ali para dentro ... então para você conviver no local, tem que conviver legal. Porque a gente já sofre a discriminação.[48]

Due to the problematic situation of the area surrounding the squat, it turned out to be a difficult task to avoid letting the drug dealers take control of the squat. Therefore the inhabitants were proud that—at least until 2011—despite this being a real threat, they had still been able to manage and control the situation and to avoid such a takeover.

The inhabitants told me that the drug dealers had tried several times to influence and control the internal organization and decisions of the squat. Apparently it had also happened that some inhabitants had asked the drug dealers for help in disputes with other inhabitants, which had led to dangerous

46 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

47 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

48 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

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situations and even violence inside the squat. In 2012, when I briefly visited the squat again, the situation had become worse and the presence of drug dealing in the building started to increase. It was also reported to me that the building had begun to be used by the dealers as a place to hide, and that therefore already the police had entered the building while searching for them. This led to an increased fear on the part of the inhabitants of becoming involved in a conflict or being shot by a ricochet, which in turn led to a sense of no longer being safe inside their own homes.

The loss of the joint tasks and the increasing influence of the drug dealers formed part of the retrogression and loss of control by the *coletivo* inside the squat. This loss of control was one of the points most mentioned by the inhabitants when asked to talk about the changes that had occurred over time. The daily meetings at the beginning had been reduced to weekly meetings, and then had occurred only twice a month. In 2011 the meetings did not occur regularly at all, and sometimes were then even cancelled because no one felt the responsibility or need to organize them. People also complained about the shifting of topics during the meetings, which had led many of them to stop participating. While at the beginning, the meetings were more about the internal organization and the political process of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, now the inhabitants had the feeling that they was mostly about disputes and gossip between the inhabitants.

[A] gente tem falado isso: porque cansa. Você ficar toda hora falando, toda hora você está ajudando. E sendo criticada, entendeu? Aí, eu falei: pô, eu já to com a pressão a vinte, vira e mexe eu vou para uma reunião, saio de lá estressada, e quem passa mal sou eu. Tomo remédio para dormir. Aí eu fui me afastando, nem reunião.[49]

This led to a situation in which the inhabitants felt demotivated to participate, and hence stopped attending the meetings. As a result, they were often uninformed about the actual political processes and developments related to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. The participation of the inhabitants in the meetings in 2011, which I attended, was very low, and normally not more than 15-20 people were present. An exception was a meeting initiated by members of the NGO *Chiq da Silva*[50] and founding members of the CMP in order to talk about the political situation of the squat. On this occasion, I counted at least 30 participants. One of

49 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

50 NGO that focuses on the rehabilitation of abandoned public buildings as a strategy for social housing. They were also supporting the squat, and had developed plans for its restructuring.

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these participants told me later that he was only taking part in these kinds of meetings—when the architects and CMP were present—because then it was an important meeting, and not only about fighting.[51] Interestingly, the architect present at that meeting also openly expressed her preoccupation with the current situation, namely the evident "demobilization," lack of participation, and dissemination of misinformation in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. She thereby confirmed my impressions of the ongoing depolitization of the squat.

Even though 30 people was still a relatively small number of participants—taking into account that 70 families lived in the squat—this was as twice as many as normally present at such meetings, and therefore attracted my attention. It also reflected the inhabitants' desire to meet in order to learn about the political processes around *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, because one thing they were really concerned about was that they would be able to continue to stay in the building. At the same time, it confirmed how much the internal, independent self-organization of such meetings had suffered during the last few years.

Olha, A gente já teve muitas tarefas aqui dentro. Tipo assim, que no início a gente tinha que se organizar, tudo que a gente fazia na ocupação era mutirão. (...) todo mundo participava. Mais agora quando tem um mutirão, quando se fala assim de mutirão, nunca tem, ta todos. Ta meia dúzia só. Nunca ta todos. Antes, estavam todos.[52]

No começo era uma maravilha. Todo mundo se unia, todo mundo tal ... depois começou a descambar, descambar, descambar ... cada um quer fazer o que acha melhor, cada um acha que tem que fazer e vai fazendo. Não dá mais satisfação ao coletivo. Porque aqui nós tínhamos reuniões diárias. Reuniões diárias para saber como é que faz, como é que não faz, como é que deixa de ser.[53]

Another reason for the weakness of the *coletivo* was the loss of influence by the two responsible social movements inside the squat. While the FLP had dissolved completely in 2008, the CMP had also failed to continue to exert a decisive influence on the squat. Additionally, after two years of occupation, there had been increasingly personal and ideological misunderstandings between members of the two groups that had over time also led to a certain mistrust among them. It was difficult to understand what had actually happened, but it seemed as if the political aims and ideas of the two groups, and the ways they thought they

51 Informal talk in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

52 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 31-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

53 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

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should be implemented, were hard to combine or reconcile. The national coordinator of the CMP also explained these difficulties:

Um ano, dois ano, foi maravilhosa a organização, mas é uma coisa que você não pode confundir: é uma situação social injusta e a realidade das pessoas. Você junta um grupo de pessoas, tem todo tipo de pensamento e se você não deixa bem claro qual a linha politica que você tá ali caçando ... isso não é questão de ser, de impor ou nada ou de respeitar a independência o autonomia. Essa independência, autonomia, a chamada horizontalidade da organização tem que ser em cima de alguns pontos. Isso foi um problema seríssimo nesse processo da Chiquinha Gonzaga (…). Uma confusão muito grande do que, do papel ali. (…) Foi enfraquecendo justamente porque a base, os princípios da ocupação foram sempre deixados de lado, em nome do basismo, da horizontalidade. Aquela coisa do bonita do coletivo, mas sempre usando o coletivo pra justamente desqualificar a decisão do coletivo. Não sei se você compreende isso, porque …o processo foi muito assim, o coletivo decidia alguma coisa, aí numa reunião seguinte, se nem fazer cumprir aquilo que foi decido pelo coletivo o próprio chamado coletivo, como o pessoa dizia destruía o que ele havia decidido. (…) Foi um processo que começou a desqualificar tudo. Começou o cara a não cumprir a portaria porque o outro não cumpria. Começou ali na reunião a mudar, a reunião era semanal, primeiro passou pra três dias na semana, depois seminal, aí numa reunião, uma pessoa resolve discutir com o grupo lá pra ser quinzenal, quando passou pra quinzenal passou a cada quinze dias a não ter mais reunião. O processo é … você tem, aí sim, politicamente a Chiquinha Gonzaga constituindo vários grupos de vários interesses.[54]

At the time of the interview only a few founding members of the FLP were still living in the squat. The loss of influence of a social movement in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* was also a topic in the talks with the inhabitants. In contrast to *Manoel Congo*—where the situation, as we will see, was completely different—not every respondent even thought that the squat formed part of a social movement.

Accordingly, other aspects of the squat had also changed, such as the political activities of the inhabitants and the plans to make *Chiquinha Gonzaga* more than just a residential building. The plans for the income-generation project, like those for the recycling cooperative and other projects, were no longer promoted, and were almost never mentioned by the inhabitants at the time of the interviews. Only the small group that had sold food for events at universities or syndicates was still working from time to time—though its members were also quarrelling. One of the inhabitants therefore reported frustration: "*Eles falaram que fariam um núcleo de cultura, de trabalho em*

54 Interview with the national coordinator of the CMP, 06.05.2011.

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renda, e de formação política. Não tem nada disso. A gente tentou montar uma cooperativa de reciclagem, (...) se encerrou isso."[55] The only collective activities I observed in 2011 were that once a week the meeting room was used by an external *Capoeira* group, and that the planned computer room was being prepared to be used as such. However, the latter situation subsequently changed, and in 2012 the computer room had become another apartment.

The inhabitants also did not participate in demonstrations or other external activities anymore. Sometimes, while assisting in a demonstration with the MNLM, I also met one or two inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. These were the ones who were politically engaged, and when I asked about the low level of participation, they complained about the other inhabitants' lack of interest. It also seemed that the rare announcements of planned activities in the name of the squat were mostly made by the CMP and affiliated activists.

Considering the living conditions of the people in the squat, and the changes that had occurred since the initial occupation of the building, I was interested to find out what they themselves felt to be the particular challenges of living in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. The answers my interlocutors gave were often related to the above mentioned changes that had occurred over time.

The biggest personal challenge for most of the interviewees that had come to live in the squat was the new (for them) situation of living closely together (*conviver*) with people they had not known before. Already, from the time of the initial occupation, some families could not stand the difficult living conditions in the squat, or had not been able to accept the collective manner of organization with its internal rules, and thus had finally left.

Que ele ligou para mim e falou que ia ter ocupação. Aí perguntou se eu queria. Eu falei, quero, só que não tinha começado ocupação ainda não. (...) Aí eu falei: tá, eu vou. Bota meu nome. Que a reunião era na segunda-feira. Aí ela viu no final da reunião que teve, na outra segunda-feira, ela disse: não, já está cheio, não tem mais não. Mas quando tiver vaga, eu boto o seu nome. Aí não apareceu vaga mais, ela não botou. Aí quando ocupou, depois de quatro meses de ocupação, ela ligou para mim. Falando que tinha vaga, que muita gente que entrou aqui estava desistindo.[56]

55 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

56 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 47-year-old woman, 28.03.2011; after occupation, every occupant had been allowed to suggest a family-member or friend to take part in the squat.

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Even though they had been prepared before moving in, the reality and practice of living in a squat was not what most inhabitants had expected it to be.

A organização tanto antes da ocupação eu entendo assim: antes a gente tinha mais uma teoria. A partir do momento em que a gente entrou no prédio, aí que a gente viu que a prática era diferente. Então automaticamente ficou um pouco a teoria que a gente tinha e partimos para a prática. E a prática acabou ensinando a gente como dar o andamento à ocupação.[57]

Thus, managing to live together with the other people inside the building in a collective manner turned out to be challenging. One of the interviewees explained these problems as being due to the fact of being in a special situation of dependency. Even though the inhabitants, after they had survived the critical phase and had set up their homes, were trying to live their private lives, the internal structure and special situation of being in a squat made it complicated to withdraw completely from the others. A woman stated that after she had moved to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, although she had her own place, she felt like she had lost all her privacy.[58]

Quando você vai para algum lugar e compra uma casa, ou ganha uma casa, você também ta perto de pessoas que você não conhece, né? Mas você é dono da propriedade. É diferente daqui que a gente sabe que não é dono e a gente tem que viver em coletivo. Toda essa conquista para você hoje estar morando aqui você precisou de outras pessoas para garantir a sua moradia. Então é diferente de você comprar uma casa num lugar, que você se sente dono daquilo e você acha que pode fazer o que você quiser. Aqui dentro não. A gente sabe que se a gente fizer determinadas coisas que possam vir a prejudicar o coletivo a gente vai estar prejudicando a várias pessoas. A gente corre o risco de perder a moradia de todo mundo. Então é bem diferente e um pouquinho complicado. Você às vezes tem que dar satisfação de coisas que você não ta acostumado. A gente é muito individualista. Fala assim: "ah, a vida é minha, eu faço o que eu quiser." E morar numa ocupação é muito difícil. Não é uma coisa fácil. O ser humano ele ainda não aprendeu a respeitar os outros. Então aqui você tem muitas vezes que respeitar as outras pessoas e nem sempre você é respeitado também, né.[59]

On almost every visit in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* I was confronted with neighborhood disputes, mistrust, rumors, or accusations, so that even for me it

57 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 37-year-old man, 01.03.2011.

58 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 14.03.2011.

59 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

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sometimes became difficult to remain neutral, as my position as a researcher required. The frequent mutual accusations and mistrust among the inhabitants were often related to the problems in the functioning of the *coletivo*. A lot of interviewees complained, for example, about money that had disappeared in unknown ways, and that some persons in or related to the squat would allegedly use it for their own profit. The fear that a small group of people was taking advantage of the occupation in order to profit from it was widespread. I was told several times about the existence of a website to accept donations from Europe for *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the supposed income from which never reached the people living inside the squat. The mistrust was often directed towards the former organizers of the squat, especially those who were members of the middle class (*clase media*).

Eles falam que não, mas eu acho que as pessoas falam aqui dentro que é um movimento aqui, comem o dinheiro nas nossas costas, usam a gente para poder comer dinheiro. (…) Então quem mora, precisa. Mas as pessoas que não moram aqui dentro ... aí usam isso. Faz parte do movimento social, que é para os pobres, estão ajudando aqueles que necessitam. É mentira! Ninguém faz nada. Eles falam que estão ajudando a gente, mas por trás estão fazendo alguma coisa. Eu acho.[60]

Tinha um site assim que ocuparam, né? Inclusive tinha até uns contatos na Alemanha e na Europa, e o pessoal mandava dinheiro do mundo inteiro para cá. Até um cara na rua falou: mandei 100 Euros. E eu: ah, cadê esse dinheiro? E o que acontece? A gente nunca viu a cor desse dinheiro e de nada. É complicado. Eu acho, tenho que falar isso: vocês quando mandam dinheiro para cá, vocês estão enriquecendo algumas pessoas.[61]

There were also rumors about a real-estate mafia inside the building, which would expel people and sell the apartments to the highest bidder. Several times I was told about people who allegedly already had a house and who were only living in the squat to take financial advantage of it.

Aqui dentro foi assim: eu conhecia você, aí eu moro aqui dentro. Aí ela vem falar aqui assim: mãe, apresenta lá um quarto para mim que eu te dou mil reais, dois mil. Aí eu vou, vou falar assim: olha fulano, tem um quarto desocupado aqui, né? Aí eu vou e falo assim para ... é a minha vez de apresentar alguém para morar aqui dentro. Na época era assim. Olha a malandragem. Aí eu vou e apresento você. Mas você vai me da mil reais, mil e duzentos, mil e quinhentos. Aí eu vou, apresento você, para morar no quarto que tá vazio,

60 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

61 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

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mas você vai me dar 1500. Aqui aconteceu isso! Não foi assim apresentar para morar (…). Não.[62]

All these rumors were always related to the feared practice of *expulsar*—the practice of expelling people who were not sticking to the rules from the squat. Even though this practice had not been applied for a long time—due to the weakness of the exercising of the internal rules in general—people still feared this possibility. Most of the interviewees did not agree with this rule, and in one case the fear of being expelled was so strong that it had already manifested paranoid characteristics. This person, for example, started to make noise when coming home from work to show the other inhabitants that he was still living in his apartment, in order to reduce the possible reasons for his expulsion.

Essa insegurança. Você mora inseguro, cara. O estado não expulsa. O estado expulsa bem menos. O estado expulsa, o estado é canalha. Mas de 70 famílias, em menos de sete anos eles expulsaram oito, no mínimo oito. Oito famílias expulsas. Pessoas integras e tal. No porcentual expulsam mais do que o estado. Entendeu? Tem pessoas que foram expulsas daqui para venderem o apartamento da família, para ganhar um dinheiro em cima. A mulher seqüelada, quase doente mental, diziam que botava papelzinho e tal. Olha a covardia! Entende?[63]

I could not verify whether all this was really true, or to what extent mistrust had also been spread intentionally to hinder further organization. But these rumors obviously worked perfectly to deepen mistrust towards the former organizers of the squat and among the current residents. These topics also dominated the few meetings of the small *coletivo* that still existed, therefore making further organization difficult, and also contributed to the demotivation to participate in the affairs of the squat (see above). The cases of other squats, like *Zumbi dos Palmares*, have shown that internal conflicts were dangerous for their long-term success, because they could foster external interference and make thus eviction and manipulation from outside easier.[64]

62 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 47-year-old woman, 28.03.2011.

63 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

64 The squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga* had also been the starting point for at least other two squats in the area, organized by members of the FLP: the squats *Zumbi dos Palmares* and *Quilombo das Guerreiras* (see Map 3). In 2011 one of these had been evicted (*Zumbi dos Palmares*) and the other was still massively threatened with eviction (*Quilombo Guerreiras*). These squats also were or had been experiencing serious internal conflicts. During the interviews, I was told frequently that the Municipality

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Although it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between truth and rumor, the obtained information about this situation should be read as an indicator of the internal problems and the lack of cohesion within the squat. During my stay, I witnessed the case of one of the inhabitants, who helped another man to enter the squat and, without authorization, to take over an apartment that had been kept free for someone who at that time could not live there for mental health reasons. It was especially surprising to me that this incident was initiated by a person that normally tried to make the *coletivo* work, and was, from outward appearances interested in the improvement of the squat. This incident, along with the existing rumors, made at least clear that in fact the space inside the squat was highly contested. Issues of power and power conflict inside the squat played a major role, and were not automatically visible from outside. It also showed how difficult interpersonal relationships can become in a living situation in which everyday life and political engagement are closely related—particularly when the inhabitants had all gone through difficult and sometimes even life-threatening and traumatic situations in their lives (see also section 4.1.1). One interviewee therefore explained that it was difficult to engage in militant political activity in the same place that you live, and told me that it would be much easier to go to a meeting once a week in a place where you would not have to live together with the participants afterwards.[65]

Dealing with these challenges, the inhabitants also expressed their disappointment about the lack of unity among the people living in the squat. This regret was expressed above all from the people who were still politically active. They remembered times when there was more unity among the inhabitants, and expressed their wish for another development:

O maior desafio (...) morar aqui, em uma comunidade, é falta de união. Falta de interesse de algum morador, de uma grande parte dos moradores (...) melhorar o prédio. Como tem alguns poucos que fazem, então deixa tudo por conta dessas poucas que fazem. Então não existe a união (...).[66]

had taken advantage of this situation, especially in the squat *Zumbi dos Palmares*, and had "bought people"—that is, had offered money to some of the inhabitants to leave the squat. This was also confirmed through the national coordinator of the CMP.

65 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

66 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 24.03.2011.

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Por isso que eu estava falando: é ruim de unir. É uma das coisas piores. Uma das coisas das mais difíceis é unir as pessoas. Para estar construindo se a gente se unir ia ser outra coisa.[67]

Apart from the internal conflicts, another big challenge for the inhabitants was the permanent fear of being evicted by the government. The insecurity of many inhabitants regarding this issue very often resulted from the described internal problems in the squat. People complained about rumors of eviction and about "not being informed," or about contradictory information, but at the same time did not try to foster their own engagement. The low level of information that people had about the actual political situation of the squat thus also indicated that the inhabitants were not all politically engaged with the same intensity. Although the danger of being evicted was not eliminated completely, and therefore of course a constant psychological stress, the political process had reached a point at which the actual risk was quite low, especially in comparison to the situation at the beginning of the squat.[68] While those who followed the political process of the squat with greater engagement were more relaxed about the issue of eviction and did not believe it to be very likely,

Não, o maior desafio que nós tínhamos era a certeza de ficarmos aqui ou não. O maior desafio que nós tínhamos era esse. Como isso está praticamente superado... E os outros desafios eram essa questão do emprego né?[69]

others still feared eviction:

É que nem morar num bairro. É sofrido porque tem reuniões, tem que obedecer àquelas regras, você tem que ... você não sabe se o governo vai vir para te tirar e te mandar embora. Você está naquela expectativa ali.[70]
Desafio? É um medo de um dia ter que sair. Chegar a prefeitura e mandar todo mundo sair. Para onde que eu vou? Se eles me derem uma casa ... porque a gente não sabe, né?[71]

Não. O difícil é a gente conviver sem um documento que prove que você pode continuar vivendo aqui, pelo menos. Só isso preocupa a gente aqui. Algum documento dizendo da

67 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.
68 This was also confirmed by the national coordinator of the CMP (Interview with the national coordinator of the CMP, 06.05.2011).
69 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 21.03.2011.
70 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 53-year-old woman, 16.03.2011.
71 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

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posse do apartamento para a gente. É só isso que nos preocupa, que a gente sempre tem um pé atrás.[72]

In fact, the political negotiations had been complex, time-consuming, and were not easy to look through.[73] It was mainly the CMP that had taken over the negotiations and solved the juridical problems in order to avoid eviction. As the national coordinator confirmed: "*A CMP assumiu muito mais a articulação na questão de tentar permanência do prédio, de resolver os problemas, impedir o despejo. E quem ficou com mais na articulação interna foi a FLP.*"[74] It had certainly been an advantage, and a reason for the continued existence of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*—in contrast to other squats—that a large and nationally organized social movement, with the power to exert massive pressure on the government, was leading the negotiations.

These negotiations were on the one hand directed towards the regularization of the building, and on the other hand towards the access to public funds for its renovation. The building originally belonged to the INCRA, which after intense negotiations with several actors—*inter alia* with the Ministry of Cities (see section 2.1.2.3)—ceded the building to the Union's Patrimony Secretariat (*Secretaria do Patrimônio da União*, SPU).[75] During the negotiations, the CMP

72 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

73 Due to the fact that the political process is not the focus of this study and a detailed description would be beyond its scope, for both squats I will provide only a brief and simplified overview of the political negotiations and results. Additionally, it turned out to be difficult to get a clear picture of the complex negotiation processes through the interview material alone. Therefore, in the following passages I have used a compilation of several sources to provide this overview, including my own interviews; the letters written by the CMP during the process of negotiation and the *Diário Oficial da União*. I also compared my findings with the research of Silveira Grandi 2010, Práticas Espaciais Insurgentes, pp. 223, 286, and added some of these other parties' obtained information if necessary.

74 Interview with the national coordinator of the CMP, 06.05.2011.

75 The SPU forms part of the Ministry of Planning and "is the unit which has jurisdiction over lands belonging to the federal government, and is responsible for their registration, inspection, destination, and regularization" (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). 2008, *Submission for United Nations Committee on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights Concerning Brazil*. http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/COHRE_BRAZIL.pdf (23 Sep 2015)).

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referred to the fact that due to the long vacancy of the building, it had not accomplished its social function, as determined in the Constitution.[76]

Finally, the SPU transferred the building to the State of Rio de Janeiro, charged with the task of transforming it into housing of social interest. Hence, in 2009 the occupants officially achieved the right to use the building:

O MINISTRO DE ESTADO DO PLANEJAMENTO, ORÇAMENTO E GESTÃO, no uso da competência que lhe foi delegada no art. 1º, inciso I, do Decreto nº 3.125, de 29 de julho de 1999, tendo em vista o disposto no art. 18, inciso I e § 1º, e no art.19, inciso IV, da Lei nº 9.636, de 15 de maio de 1998, c/c o art. 7º do Decreto-Lei nº 271, de 28 de fevereiro de 1967, e o art. 17, inciso I, alínea f, da Lei nº 8.666, de 21 de junho de 1993, e os elementos que integram o Processo nº 04905.006440/2008-01, resolve: Art. 1º Autorizar a cessão, sob o regime de concessão de direito real de uso gratuito, ao Estado do Rio de Janeiro, do imóvel, com área de 570,78m² e edificação com 3.438,97 m², situado na Rua Barão de São Félix, nº 110, Centro, Município do Rio de Janeiro, naquele Estado, com as características e confrontações constantes da Matrícula nº 45.088, Ficha 01, do Cartório do 2º Ofício de Registro de Imóveis daquela Comarca. Art. 2º A cessão a que se refere o art. 1º destina-se à regularização fundiária de interesse social, beneficiando sessenta e seis famílias de baixa renda ocupantes do imóvel desde 2004.[77]

Regarding the aim of accessing public funds for the renovation of the building, the squat achieved through mobilization and negotiations—including at the national level—inclusion in the Program: "Support for Social Housing Provision" (*Programa Apoio à Provisão Habitacional de Interesse Social*)[78] financed by the National Fund for Social Housing (*Fundo Nacional de Habitacão de Interesse Social*, FNHIS), which is responsible for the resources necessary to implement housing policies within the context of the City Statute. The responsibility for carrying out the reform was then transferred from the State

76 "*O imóvel se encontrava vazio e abandonado há pelo menos 21 (vinte e um) anos, não cumprindo assim com a sua função social, como determina a Constituição (...)*" (Letter of CMP during the process of negotiation).

77 Diário Oficial da União 2009—*Seção 1*, PORTARIA No. 233, Assinatura: 05/08/2009, No. 149, Publicação: 06/08/2009.

78 The aim of this project is: "*viabilizar aos segmentos populacionais com renda familiar de até R$ 1.050.00 o acesso à habitação digna, regular e dotada de serviços públicos em localidades urbanas ou rurais, minimizando as desigualdades sociais e contribuindo para a ocupação urbana planejada*" (Caixa Econômica Federal. no date, Programas de Repasse do OGU. http://www1.caixa.gov.br/gov/gov_social/municipal/programas_de_repasse_do_OGU/prov_hab_int_social.asp (23 Sep 2015)).

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of Rio de Janeiro to the Institute of State Territory and Cartography of Rio de Janeiro (*Instituto de Terras do Estado e Cartografías de Río de Janeiro*, ITERJ):

A GERENTE REGIONAL DO PATRIMÔNIO NO ESTADO DO RIO DE JANEIRO, no uso da competência que lhe foi atribuída pelo art. 1º, I, da Portaria nº 437, de 28 de novembro de 2008, da Secretaria do Patrimônio da União e tendo em vista o disposto no art. 6º, do Decreto-Lei nº 2.398, de 21 de dezembro de 1987, os elementos que integram o Processo Administrativo nº 04905.006440/2008-40, resolve: Art.1º Autorizar o Instituto de Terras e Cartografia do Estado do Rio de Janeiro - ITERJ a implantar o canteiro obras e efetuar todas as medidas necessárias para a implantação e execução das obras no imóvel da União, denominado Comunidade Chiquinha Gonzaga, localizado na Rua Barão de São Félix nº 110, Centro, Município do Rio de Janeiro/RJ. Art. 2º As obras a que se refere o artigo 1º destinam-se ao desenvolvimento do Programa Apoio à Provisão Habitacional de Interesse Social, com recursos provenientes do Fundo Nacional de Habitação de Interesse Social - FNHIS.[79]

Despite these achievements, at the time of writing the renovation of the building has still not begun, due to bureaucratic delay, such as for example the delay in releasing the money necessary to start the work.[80] That means that the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* are still waiting for the renovation, and therefore also for the definitive guarantee that the building is to be transformed into housing of social interest. The long process of negotiation and the delays in putting promises into practice are also reasons why people did not trust the announcements made by the government, and therefore still feared eviction, as described above. In my opinion, this delay in the process of renovation is also an example of how existing rights are not being enforced in praxis. As we will see in the following section, other squats, such as *Manoel Congo*, had to face similar problems.

79 Diário Oficial da União 2009—*Seção 1*, PORTARIA No. 15, Assinatura: 31/03/2009, No. 62, Publicação: 01/04/2009.

80 According to one inhabitant, in October 2015 the beginning of the reform had been announced for the year 2016.

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3.2 THE SQUAT *MANOEL CONGO*

Figure 9: Front view of Manoel Congo[81]

The squat *Manoel Congo*[82] is a run-down high-rise building in downtown Rio de Janeiro, which is located at *Rua Alcindo Guanabara Nº 20*, next to the city hall of Rio de Janeiro (*Câmara dos Vereadores*) (see Map 3). The squat itself is surrounded by other high-rise buildings, and therefore only the flag of the MNLM on its front face indicated a difference from the other buildings. At the time of the interviews, the area surrounding the squat was full of restaurants, shops, and business offices, and therefore during the day quite animated. The building was only walking distance away from the central *Cinelândia* square, where among other things the National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional*), the Municipal Theatre (*Teatro Municipal*), and the National Museum of Fine Arts (*Museu Nacional de Belas Artes*), as well as metro and several bus stations, were located. Hence, the inhabitants of the squat lived in a part of the city where, on the one hand, they had easy access to transportation, leisure and culture. But, since the commercial center was not a common residential area, on the other hand they also had to face the everyday noise pollution of traffic, people, bars, and restaurants.

81 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

82 According to the Coordination of the squat, *Manoel Congo* has been an important leader in the resistence of the slaves in Rio de Janeiro, which has been an area of coffee cultivation. The name was chosen in order to honor a leader of past resistance and struggles.

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The building was constructed in the 1940s and had been property of the National Institute of Social Insurance (*Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social*, INSS). It had been abandoned for more than ten years at the time of its occupation, and therefore the participants had to make it habitable again. But, in contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and due to its shorter period of vacancy, the building was in a much less dilapidated condition. The building consisted of ten floors, of which only nine could be used as living areas at the time of the interviews.[83] Each floor had at least seven single rooms, with an estimated size of 30 square meters each. To what extent the space of the rooms was sufficient or comfortable for the 42 families living in the squat depended on the respective family size.[84] As the rooms didn't have their own bathrooms, the inhabitants had to share one bathroom, as well as one wash-bowl and one washing machine, per floor.[85] Inside the rooms, just as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the facility standards varied according to the income and desire of each inhabitant to invest in them. The building had a small inner courtyard, which was used by a restaurant that occupied a part of the ground floor of the building, and some apartments led to the street while others to the inner courtyard. As the building shared a wall with the city hall, the people working there could see directly into the courtyard, and therefore also into the rooms of some of the inhabitants, what sometimes caused discomfort among them.

Unlike in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the front doors of the rooms were not furnished with their own locks, so people were obliged to live with unlocked doors. As Glória,[86] the national coordinator of the MNLM, told me in an informal meeting, this rule was established by the movement for several reasons. First, as the building was still in a provisional state this was a question of security, and second, the movement wanted to prevent the inhabitants from starting to feel that the apartments belonged to them in terms of property.[87] Something similar happened with the main entrance door. To enter the building, it was necessary to identify oneself to the concierge (*portero*) who was always

83 Due to the bad state of the tenth floor, only one person was living there.

84 The amount of people living in one room varied according to my observations between one and five.

85 They were obliged to use only the bathroom and washing machine on their own floor.

86 The names for the case narratives have been all changed in order to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees.

87 Even after the renovation the building would belong to the State and the inhabitants would only obtained the right to use the building (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011).

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present at the entrance area to guarantee access to the building.[88] Also here access to the key was restricted. In contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where every inhabitant had her/his own key, in *Manoel Congo* only the *portero* on duty and the general coordinator of the *portaria* possessed a key to the main entrance door.[89]

The *portero* had a small desk and chair, and also a television connected to an observation camera at the main entrance door. Next to the entrance, one could find the *portaria* shift plan for the week, and another space on the wall was reserved for announcements of meetings and activities.

Passing the entrance area, opposite there was a large room with access to the road *Rua Evaristo da Veiga Nº 17*, which runs parallel to the *Rua Alcindo Guanabara*. This room had been named *Casa de Samba Mariana Crioula* (House of Samba *Mariana Crioula*) and was used for bigger events, and was also planned to be the location of the income-generation project of the squat (see section 3.2.1).

On the first floor, the inhabitants used two other large rooms as meeting and education rooms. While one of these was mainly equipped with chairs, in the other the results of seminars and joint working or educational meetings were laid out, such as a time board with the history and development of the MNLM (see Figure 23). On the same floor there was also the child-care center of the squat—the *Espaço Criarte Mariana Crioula*—which took up two large rooms, filled with books and toys. On a short visit later in 2012, the space had been increased to include two more office spaces for the organization of the income-generation project, sponsored by the company *Petrobras*.

The corridors and stairways of the building were in quite a good state considering the long abandonment of the building. Even though mold-infested walls and run-down areas were also visible, the building was in a much better condition, and much cleaner, than the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. This was also due to the residents' adherence to a strict cleaning shift plan, a copy of which was hung up on every floor. Other official announcements and plans could also be found on the various floors, like the opening hours of the child-care center, meetings of the income-generation group, or the rota stating who could use the washing machine at what time. The elevator of the building did not work, and just as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* people had to climb up to the upper floors with

88 The main entrance door was closed between 01:00 am and 04:00 am. During that time no one could enter or leave the building.

89 As we will see, in comparison to *Chiquinha Gonzaga* this was only one example of the different control and intensity of rules in *Manoel Congo*.

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their children and daily groceries. More than once I met people "taking a break" on their way up, especially in the hot summer.

Figure 10: Back view of Manoel Congo and area surrounding the squat[90]

90 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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Figure 11: Casa de Samba Mariana Crioula before the renovation in 2011[91]

Figure 12: Shared wash-bowls, washing machines, and bathroom with shower on different floors[92]

91 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

92 Ibid.

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Figure 13: Entrance area of Manoel Congo[93]

Figure 14: Inner courtyard of the building[94]

93 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

94 Ibid.

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Figure 15: Corridors and stairways of the building[95]

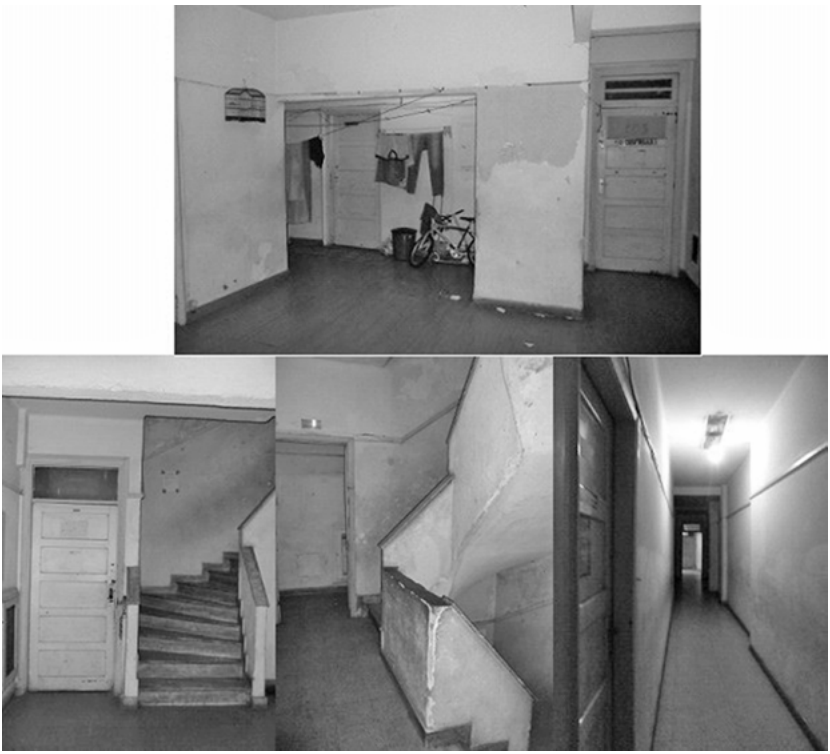

Figure 16: Espaço Criarte Mariana Crioula[96]

95 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

96 Ibid.

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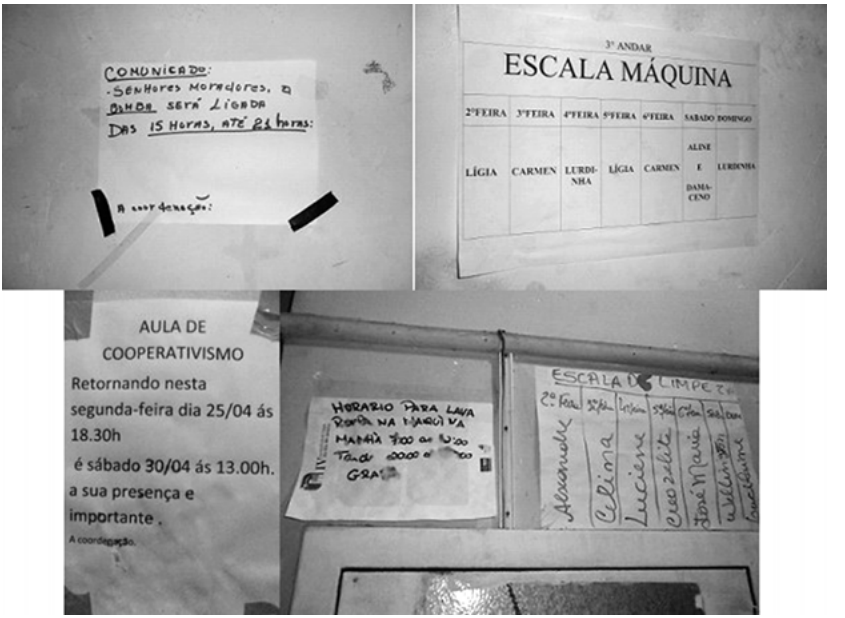
Figure 17: Official announcements and cleaning plans[97]



3.2.1 Genesis and First Organization

The occupation of the building, as with *Chiquinha Gonazga,* had been the result of a long-term process of preliminary organization and planning. Approximately one year of preparatory meetings—initialized and led by the MNLM—passed before the first squatters finally entering the building on the 28 October 2007. The movement started to organize its preparatory meetings with people in need of housing and earning not more than zero to three minimum wages. During this process, the initiators drew on a pool of people they already knew from their former work in the peripheries.[98]

Foi então que nós começamos a juntar as pessoas sem moradia que nós conhecíamos, porque o movimento, as pessoas do movimento já moravam em locais pobres, de periferia,

97 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

98 See also section 4.3.4 on the topic of the use of networks in the process of recruitment.

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de favelas, então já estava no meio do povo que já tinha esse direito negado. Então não era nada difícil, assim como não é nada difícil a gente juntar as pessoas.[99]

To facilitate their participation, the place of the meetings changed according to the areas where the participating families came from; among them, for example, the neighborhoods of Caju, Anchietas, Cantangalo, and Pavuna.

A curiosidade maior é sempre: mas como é que vocês juntaram essas pessoas, né? Isso é natural, porque a gente já faz parte deles. Já faz parte também deles. Então reunimos 126 famílias em reuniões toda semana no Sindicato dos Professores, aqui na Veiga, depois a gente percebeu que estava ficando muito caro para eles vir de diversos lugares: do Caju, de Anchieta, daqui das favelas da Zona Sul. Estava ficando muito caro para eles vir e para ter reunião toda semana, começamos a nos reunir de 15 em 15 dias, depois todo mês. Só que quando começamos a reunir de mês em mês, a gente fazia reunião descentralizada. Nos núcleos mais próximos das casas deles. Com isso nós ficamos mais de um ano nos preparando para essa ocupação.[100]

The preparatory meetings served, as they did in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, to discuss the necessary organization and the potential future challenges inside the squat, as well as to inform people about the political background of the occupation. The meetings formed part of a well-planned process and strategy that had already been used and applied by the MNLM before. In this process, the so-called "formation of the families"[101] was an important aspect in order to guarantee a successful occupation. It included, *inter alia*, the joint construction and adaptation of the participants to a charter of principles, which established, again, as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, a set of internal rules that applied to and were obligatory for everyone living in the squat. Among these rules were for example also the prohibition of fights and the use of drugs inside the building.

A gente primeiro, antes das famílias ocuparem o espaço, a gente faz o que a gente chama de formação das famílias. (...) Formação política e de convivência. De vínculos. E a gente nesse processo vai e fala um pouco o que seria uma ocupação, como é que a gente se organiza, né e tudo mais. E a gente constrói até numa carta de princípios. Que são coisas, ações de convivência. Seriam regras de convivência para todos. E essas regras envolvem muito a questão da ocupação dos espaços, entendeu? A gente é um movimento social, a

99 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

100 Ibid.

101 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

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gente não é uma empreiteira, então a gente trabalha muito essa questão de você ter essa disponibilidade de estar na luta com outras pessoas. Ter a disponibilidade também de ceder o seu tempo para a comunidade.[102]

The exact place and time of the act of occupation was kept secret, and the participants only knew about it shortly before taking action. In contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, altogether the occupants needed over a month until finally ending up in the building at *Rua Alcindo Guanabara 20.* The original plan had involved splitting up the group and occupying two buildings in the same street—the building of the actual squat *Manoel Congo* and also the *Cine Vitória,* an old building used formerly as a cinema, but equally vacant for years. On the day of the occupation, people were picked up early in the morning by a bus that would take them to the chosen buildings. But as the police started to follow the bus things got more complicated and the group decided not to split up, but instead to only occupy one building: the *Cine Vitória*. The occupation followed the same pattern as the occupation of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. People had to enter clandestinely and quickly, and had to stay inside the building without leaving it for at least 24 hours. This caused a lot of difficulties for the occupiers. Apart from facing the until then unknown dirty and run-down conditions of the building, some people also lost their jobs, due to the obligation to stay inside the building until things outside had calmed down.

Entrei correndo junto com a minha família, meu esposo, meus filhos, meus netos. Entramos numa carreira só. Aí entramos ali dentro do Vitória, minha filha! Tudo quebrado, tudo (Rir) As paredes todas quebradas, morcego. A gente andando, os morcegos voando atrás para morder a gente. Quase um palmo de poeira no chão. Era a grossura de quase de um colchão de poeira no chão. E cada um jogou o seu pano lá no chão, cada um se ajeitou num cantinho, olha, tem que ficar todo mundo junto. Porque a gente não sabe como é que tá. Só amanhã de manhã que a gente vai ver como é que está o chão … para poder não ter um acidente nem nada.[103]

Ele ficou desempregado. Trabalhava e ficou desempregado porque a coordenação exigiu que os moradores não podiam sair de dentro do prédio porque tinha que ficar mais de 24 horas. Eu falando que a gente tem que ficar porque a gente precisa morar. Você não vai. Aí no outro dia que ele foi o patrão dele tinha mandado ele embora.[104]

102 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

103 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

104 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

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The *Cine Vitória* had been abandoned for years, but was—in contrast to *Manoel Congo*—privately owned. Even though the chances of being evicted were therefore significantly higher (see previous section), the occupation of a privately owned building in this case was part of the strategy of the MNLM in order to force the authorities to make an offer and negotiate about a better place where they could stay.

Hence, as expected, after a few days the owner showed up and the police evicted the squatters from the building only eight days after its occupation. Some of the occupants then found short-term initial accommodation in another squat called *Regente Feijó*, before in a subsequent step they occupied an empty public building in the same street as *Regente Feijó,* which was owned by the Treasury Department (*Secretaria de Fazenda*). After being evicted by the police again, the labor union *Conlutas—Central Sindical e Popular* offered them shelter in a big hall in their then headquarters. During this time, organization and plans were already made again to occupy the building that later became *Manoel Congo*, but these were still difficult to realize. As the occupants also had to leave the shelter of the labor union, they moved to the squat *Quilombo das Guerreiras*, where they stayed for at least two weeks, reorganizing and further planning their next steps. Finally the occupants managed to implement their plan and to enter the building at *Rua Alcindo Guanabara 20*, despite the presence of security guards watching it, on 28 October 2007.

Inside the building, just as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the occupiers faced the challenge of organizing and sprucing up the run-down structure. At the beginning, everyone lived together on the second floor in the meeting room, where the conditions were better and where they had access to running water. Some occupiers took care of the renewal of basic services like water, electricity, and drains. Others cleaned, did construction work, or took care of security and coordination of the tasks inside the building. As in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the occupiers organized themselves into commissions that started to work immediately. As there were not enough kitchens for everyone to have access to their own, a cooking commission was responsible for the organization of the collective kitchen (*cozinha coletiva*). According to the interviewees, every family had to pay around 30 *reais* per month for approximately one year to receive daily meals.

Another important task was the control of the main entrance door of the building (*portaria*), to avoid granting entry to uninvited persons—an arrangement designed to thereby hinder eviction and further conflict. Every inhabitant had to do obligatory shift work to guarantee the continuous occupation of the main entrance door area.

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Aí viemos para cá. Aí entramos de dia, nove horas da manhã que foi a hora que a gente ocupou aqui. Com dois seguranças, ocupamos. Aí entramos, 30 segundos! Rapidinho. Entramos. Ficou todo mundo lá em baixo na sala de reunião que a gente não conhecia o prédio. Então aqui foi onde estava melhor, aqui já tinha água encanada, nós lavamos do décimo andar até aqui em baixo jogando água, sabão em pó, água sanitária. Lavamos o prédio todo e lavamos, limpamos. O menino botando luz, o pessoal da brigada, colocando luz. Vendo como estava a água, esgoto, aí aqui já tinha um banheiro que dava para usar que usamos até hoje. Cada andar tem um banheiro para as pessoas do andar. E aí fizemos a cozinha coletiva, aqui. A cozinha coletiva, cada família tinha que dar 30 reais para poder fazer compras (...) e aí na hora da comida a gente ganhava os nossos pratos, por exemplo aqui são cinco pessoas, aí pegava cinco pratos e ia para a fila.[105]

Figure 18: Assembly room in the squat Manoel Congo[106]

During this initial period, a commission the occupiers called the brigade (*brigada*) was responsible for both the internal and external security of the building, as well as its maintenance. Apart from doing manual work, wherever necessary, the brigade also detected dangerous situations or areas inside the building, and were prepared to face potential problems with the police. The brigade further took on the responsibility of an internal police force, ensuring

105 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

106 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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that all the rules established in the Charter of Principles were fulfilled. Hence, if necessary, the brigade also executed the expulsion of people from the building.

Então essa comissão, essa brigada de apoio, que tinha também a tarefa, se tivesse descumprimento, claro, da carta de princípios que e a pessoa tivesse que ser expulsa daqui, essa brigada tinha também a tarefa de tirar, de botar as pessoas para fora. Então a brigada tinha mais ou menos, a gente brincava, ela tinha mais ou menos o papel da polícia que a gente queria construir quando a gente tivesse uma sociedade nossa. A polícia que não sai prendendo, não sai batendo, não sei o que. Mas que participa do desenvolvimento de todo mundo e faz aquilo pelo coletivo dentro do contexto.[107]

In order to keep the building clean and tidy, a cleaning commission (*comissão de limpeza*) was created. After distributing rooms among the families, every floor was given a cleaning shift plan, and every family had to do the cleaning of the floor they lived on once a week. An exception was only made for recent mothers, as they received a maternity leave from such responsibilities for a period of four months.

All the tasks assigned to the various commissions were obligatory, and non-accomplishment was brought up in discussions in the regular assemblies, exposing the respective person to everyone. In extreme cases, a misbehavior could also lead to expulsion from the squat. Besides the obligatory tasks of cleaning, doing *portaria*, and participating in the regular meetings, the movement also required an active and regular participation in demonstrations.

Ao coletivo formalmente três horas e 20 que são da portaria, mas além de estar fazendo escala na limpeza, no corredor, mais uma hora. As reuniões de sexta-feira que são toda sexta-feira, de 22 às 23 e meia, meia-noite. A hora que acaba. E as mobilizações que a gente se prepara um dia antes e um dia depois para fazer um ato, uma mobilização, então são várias horas. Não por dia, mas na semana e no mês vai se somando a dedicação.[108]

Alongside the commissions, the movement had a great interest in promoting education and offering educational measures. The inhabitants were encouraged to go back to formal education, and it was also noted whether the children living in the squat were attending school. Several interviews and talks with the coordinators and the inhabitants of the squat revealed that the MNLM was the

107 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

108 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 49-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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driving force behind the fact that people had gone back to school or had restarted other kinds of further education.

Assim como nós ocupamos o espaço, dois meses depois nós orientamos todo mundo para estudar. Ninguém aqui tem que ficar fora da escola. Das crianças aos velhos. Todos eles foram para a escola. E para a nossa alegria, era ver as crianças com o uniforme público, ir para a escola pública. E vai a pé! Aqui na escola pública. E hoje acontece isso, hoje avançamos, as crianças vão, as meninas vão dançar balé! As crianças dançam, né. Quer dizer, estão tendo acesso a atividades culturais que eles não tinham quando moravam na periferia.[109]

E nessa parte a gente agora as crianças também têm três aulas por semana, aqui na salinha, tem a salinha delas, e existe uma lei de que cada criança tem que estar na escola, no colégio.[110]

Olha, a maioria dos moradores aqui estão todos voltando a estudar. Você olha, tem cabelo branco, e voltaram para a escola! É oportunidade. Porque? Porque a escola é aqui, entendeu? Então é essa a mudança radical que acontece na vida da pessoa. Essas senhoras, será que elas iam se animar de sair do morro para ir não sei até onde para estudar à noite? Não. Mas aqui tem.[111]

E a [Glória] também falava muito comigo. Falava: olha Lígia, você estuda! Entra no colégio e vai estudar. Entendeu? Ela me deu muito conselho para estudar, me deu muito conselho para fazer curso. Ainda falei com ela, falei: Ah, [Glória], eu sou uma mulher velha já! Com filho, com criança para tomar conta, marido com problema ... não! Vai estudar sim! Vai estudar. E aí comecei a estudar no Brizolão, à noite, aí depois achei que não estava bom lá, aí saí do Brizolão, para ir para lá sozinha eu achava muito perigoso. Como eu não estava acostumada, aí fui para a Presbiteriana que é de dia.[112]

Part of the educational efforts of the MNLM was the establishment of the child-care center—the *Espaço Criarte Mariana Crioula.*[113] The narratives of Lia—who built and organized the child-care center from the very

109 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

110 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

111 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

112 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

113 For a detailed study on education in *Manoel Congo* and the *Espaço Criarte Mariana Crioula,* see Neves Vasconcelos 2014, O Espaço como Produto.

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beginning—reflected the importance of education for the movement. Lia was invited by the coordinators to live in the squat in order to help the inhabitants, as she put it: "with a little bit of reflecting to do,"[114] and was herself finishing her studies at university. She emphasized the importance of education and the future opportunities it offered to the inhabitants:

E eu acompanhava as crianças na escola, conversava com eles. Eles não podiam dormir muito tarde senão não iam ter rendimento escolar. E sempre observando também. Conversando com as famílias, as famílias um pouco resistentes. Eu compreendia, porque tinha uma outra maneira de organizar a vida. (...) Mostrar a importância dela. Que se a gente estudar a gente tem mobilidade social. Que isso dependia da gente ... mostrar para a família que depende delas a educação das crianças, não é só na escola. Então a minha chegada aqui, eu vim diretamente trabalhar com as crianças pequenas e até aos 13, 14 anos. E esse projeto deu certo. Porque as crianças começaram a ficar apaixonadas, a gostar.[115]

The child-care center was run by Lia and other inhabitants[116] with the support of five students, who were not living in the squat. Twice a week, the center was open to the children living in the squat. They were divided into two groups: one group on Tuesdays from 18.30 until 19.30 o'clock for the children from three to seven years, and from 19.30 until 20.30 o'clock for children from eight to 13 years; and a second group on Saturdays from 10.00 until 11.30 o'clock for children from three to seven years and from 11.30 until 13.30 o'clock for children from eight to 13 years. The program offered by the center included, for example, cultural excursions and help with homework, and also part of the idea was to allow parents some free time.[117] The child-care center had also started with the idea of offering the children of the squat—which in a lot of cases had faced difficult living conditions in their past—some space of their own, and also aimed to help with the implementing of daily rules and routines, which were sometimes missing inside their homes. Besides school control and healthy alimentation, the program of the center also included a political education, oriented towards the ideology of the MNLM.

114 Own translation from: "*Para ajudar também um pouco com o refletir*" (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011).

115 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

116 All of them women, see section 4.3.2.2.

117 And being, for example, able to participate at the preparatory course for the income generation project, which took place on Saturdays.

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Na escolinha também nossa, no espaço Criarte, também ajuda muito nessa coisa de acompanhar as crianças. De tentar integrar a criança a esses conceitos gerais que estamos dando. Entendeu? Do espaço geográfico, da questão da exclusão territorial, porque eles moravam em Anchieta e agora moram estão morando aqui ... do que é coletivo, sabe? Qual é o limite do coletivo para o individual. Então a escolinha faz muitos exercícios com eles para poder tentar trabalhar esses conceitos. E eles assimilam. Às vezes com muito mais facilidade do que os adultos, né. Eles são meio que um papel em branco, né. Para ser escrito. Os adultos já estão cheios de vícios.[118]

Apart from the child-care center, the MNLM had organized the opportunity for the children of the squat to participate gratis in the broad range of sports activities offered by the Young Men's Christian Association (*Associação Cristã dos Moços*, ACM) in the neighborhood of Lapa—such as ballet, soccer, and swimming. Most of the children took advantage of the sports program, and it was often emphasized by their parents how lucky they were to have this opportunity, as they otherwise would not have been able to afford such activities for their children.

A minha filha sempre quis fazer balé. Mas eu não podia pagar. Além de pagar o aluguel, eu não poderia pagar um balé para ela. Porque aula de balé é caro. (...) Aí quando eu vim para cá, graças a Deus eu consegui. Hoje ela faz balé todos os dias. É uma coisa que ela sempre quis desde pequena, fazer alguma coisa que tenha dança, que seja dança. E faz. O meu filho faz ACM, 3 vezes na semana. Ele faz futsal, e GA, que é ginástica olímpica. Enfim, eu não podia dar isso para os meus filhos! A outra de 5 anos já diz que vai fazer balé também. Então uma coisa puxa a outra. E se fosse lá ... se eu não estivesse aqui, eu não podia.[119]

As the occupation of the building implied the idea of staying there on the long-term, it became necessary to find a solution early on regarding how to cover future costs that would emerge after the renovation of the building—such as the charges for water, electricity,[120] and the taxes for the building. Because, due to their low or nonexistent incomes, most of the people living in the squat would not be able to pay these charges. Hence, the idea of a cooperative that would generate jobs and income for the inhabitants was established. The idea of

118 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

119 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.201.

120 Until the time of the interviews in 2011, the occupiers did not pay for water or electricity.

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combining employment in the form of a cooperative with the political project of squatting was not an idea that only emerged in *Manoel Congo*; it also formed an important part of the general strategy of the MNLM.[121] To make the implementation of the cooperative easier, the squat thus additionally applied for funding for the project at *Petrobras*, which at the time of the interviews was starting to sponsor the project *inter alia* with weekly courses on how to do cooperative work.[122]

Inside the squat, the influence and guidance of the MNLM was strong and binding from the very beginning. Based on elections, there existed clear hierarchies inside the squat, which also reflected the general structure and organization of the movement. The internal structure of the MNLM was based on coordinators with different levels of reference—namely the local, the municipal, the state, and the national level. Each level implied different responsibilities, and the coordinators met on a regular basis. At the local—the squat—level, every commission had a coordinator, who also formed part of the general coordination group of the squat.

Existe uma hierarquia por esfera. Você tem a coordenação estadual, quer dizer, a nacional, estadual, municipal e local. Normalmente é eleita a partir de locais. Cada ocupação que se diz ocupação, São Cristóvão, Duque de Caxias, Petrópolis, eleitos os representantes, como representantes locais. E normalmente ser representante local vai ter reunião semanal ou quinzenal, que cada esfera faz.[123]

Apart from the local level—at which the everyday life in the squat was organized—at the municipal-level coordinators also met regularly to discuss issues and topics that could not be resolved inside the MNLM squats or that needed the support of a higher level, such as for example solving problems or discussing the need for mobilization in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro. Out of every squat in the same municipality that was part of the MNLM, two municipal coordinators were elected.

121 Cf. Queiroz e Mello 2013, Ramifications of the Social Housing Movements, p. 9.

122 For more information on the cooperative "*Liga Urbana*," see Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia, pp. 31, 73-75 or Queiroz e Mello 2014, Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias, p. 102.

123 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

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A coordenação municipal, a composição dela são representantes, moradores da Manoel Congo, são moradores da São Cristóvão, são moradores espalhados no Rio de Janeiro, aqui na capital, que compõem a coordenação municipal.[124]

A gente participa e fala da problemática do município. Tem um conflito, estamos ocupando um espaço em tal lugar. Aí tem que saber como mobilizar, como a gente vai trabalhar isso tudo. Onde o movimento vai estar atuando, entendeu? Nessa situação, nesse conflito. Tem uma remoção, aí a gente vai ver como vai funcionar, mobilizar as pessoas para estarem lá no horário, no dia.[125]

While at the municipal level the topics discussed brought into focus the problems and organization inside the different squats, the state level coordinators took care of the general political issues, such as direct negotiations with the authorities in the municipalities. Every year the state encounter took place, at which the coordinators of the state levels were also elected. At the same state meetings, the assembly also voted for national coordinators, who took part in the national operations of the movement, such as important political negotiations and general decisions about the political standing of the movement.

Aí o encontro estadual não é só a ocupação Manoel Congo. São todos aqueles que pertencem ao movimento nacional: Volta Redonda, Caxias, Petrópolis, São Cristóvão que é da municipal. Aqui a capital do Rio de Janeiro tem um encontro estadual, que nesse encontro estadual, a gente elege a coordenação estadual. (...) Nesse encontro estadual é que se elegem dois representantes nacionais. Esse encontro estadual, bateu o martelo: aí eu e [Glória], a [Glória] é titular, e eu sou suplente.[126]

Então o coordenador nacional tem o papel de falar em nome da política do movimento. E a política do movimento é a política da ocupação Manoel Congo também. Tem esse direito e dever de falar. Mas eu tenho esse direito e dever, trazido pelos pobres. Nos encontros, nas instâncias, entendeu? Nas discussões.[127]

124 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

125 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

126 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

127 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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At the time of the interviews, two of the national coordinators of the MNLM lived in *Manoel Congo*, which was clearly an exceptional case. Even though they tried not to mix their responsibilities, their presence and strong political consciousness influenced the daily life in the squat. Especially Glória, a highly charismatic and engaged leader, had become an important point of reference for the inhabitants (see also section 4.3.4), which sometimes led, as she herself explained, to serious conflict and also problems with or confusion of responsibilities:

Eu acabei ficando com um problema sério porque nenhum coordenador nacional do movimento mora numa ocupação. Entendeu? Ele às vezes mora num assentamento precário, há 30 anos, 40 anos. Mas ele nunca fez uma ocupação para ele ir morar nela. Nessa ocupação. E eu acabei fazendo isso. Em determinado momento achei que seria bom. Mas tem momento que eu acho que foi um erro. Porque eu com um monte de tarefa nacional, estadual, local, eu acabei ainda ficando como referência dentro da ocupação. Então muitas vezes a própria coordenação local ela era desautorizada pelos moradores em função de alguma coisa que eu pensava. (...) Então ficou uma relação muito centrada em mim, sabe? E isso é ruim também politicamente falando, porque quem na verdade tem a bandeira de luta pela reforma urbana, é o Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia. Do qual a ocupação naturalmente faz parte. Como a coordenadora nacional mora na ocupação Manoel Congo, quando eu chego num órgão público aí, eles falam assim: Ah, a [Glória], da ocupação Manoel Congo.[128]

In the subsequent process of organization—even though less drastic than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*—some changes had begun to appear over time, and new conflicts had emerged within the squat. Especially the strong influence of the MNLM turned out to be a problem for some of the inhabitants. In the following section, therefore, I will go into detail about these changes and the problems that had emerged in the squat after the initial period of occupation.

128 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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3.2.2 Still the Same? Talking about Problems and Changes

> Mas para quem não aceita, não tem como viver.[129]

Visiting *Manoel Congo*, one's first contact with its inhabitants is usually with someone sitting at the *portaria*, restricting entry to the squat. In contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where almost all commissions were dissolved over time and the *coletivo* had practically ceased to exist, in *Manoel Congo* the situation developed very differently. Almost all commissions described above and established at the beginning still existed, or had changed only in terms of their focus or intensity over time.

One of the few commissions that stopped functioning in *Manoel Congo* was the already mentioned *cozinha coletiva.* After moving into separate spaces the inhabitants wanted to organize their meals independently for themselves and their families. Another commission, the aforementioned brigade, reduced its responsibilities to dealing with pending problems with the infrastructure of the building, and was later dissolved completely.

> Quando a gente teve um período mais difícil nosso, que foi o nosso primeiro ano, a brigada funcionou. Na medida em que os perigos foram diminuindo, que a comunidade foi se acostumando, que as reuniões dos andares foram acontecendo, as escalas de trabalho do andar, da cozinha, tudo foi acontecendo, a coordenação foi dando conta disso, a brigada foi ficando só por conta dessa infraestrutura. Então precisa de ampliar a rede da água. A gente se juntava, dizia para a gente quanto que ia custar, a gente se cotizava, e eles construíam, entendeu?[130]

In the place of the brigade, a new commission—the so-called construction commission (*commissão de obras*)—started to work in order to organize the future renovation of the building. The organization of the cleaning of the building was still strictly maintained, and as before, regulated through a weekly cleaning plan. Since the inhabitants of each floor shared one bathroom and one sink, the necessity of keeping them clean in order to avoid conflict was much higher than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where every room had its own sink and bathroom. But still, the corridors and stairways were also part of the regular cleaning and therefore the building was well-tended. The cleaning, like the work

129 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

130 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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in the *portaria,* was still not voluntary, but part of the conditions for living in the squat, and everyone was admonished to invest a certain number of hours in tasks dedicated to the community. The number of hours that everyone over 18 years of age had to provide in the areas of cleaning, *portaria,* or infrastructure, was reduced over time from eight hours to three hours and twenty minutes per week.

E nós, que fazíamos portaria. São três horas e vinte. Uma vez por semana. E dentro de cada andar temos a nossa escala própria do andar. Entendeu? Que é o nosso corredor, e o nosso pedaço de escada, e o banheiro. Cada dia é uma pessoa também. Somos seis. São apartamentos por andar. Aí é um dia de cada um.[131]

Mas como agora foi para três horas. Eram oito horas, que a gente fazia na portaria. (...) Aí quando ia fazendo 18 anos já ia entrando para a portaria, para a limpeza. Aí (...) diminuiu para três horas. Quer dizer: eu pago três horas na portaria, meu esposo também três horas na portaria, e quem é da limpeza também, paga três horas.[132]

Another obligation for the inhabitants was participation of at least one member per family in the regular meetings (*assembléias*) of the squat. Whereas at the beginning these had been held daily, over time their frequency was reduced to weekly, then fortnightly, and finally to monthly meetings. These meetings took place fairly late at night (22:00 pm) in order to facilitate the participation of everyone. Apart from the general assembly, the different commissions such as the *portaria* met regularly in additional assemblies. Even though in *Manoel Congo* the frequency of the meetings was also reduced over time, no decline of the *coletivo* occurred as it did in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. This was due to the obligatory character of the residents' participation, not only in the meetings, but also in public demonstrations, which was controlled by the coordination of the MNLM inside the squat.

O primeiro ano nós tínhamos assembléia diária. Quando tinha ameaça de despejo tinha assembléia todo dia. Aí no segundo ano nós passamos a assembléia para semanal. Nós só passamos a assembléia quinzenal no ano passado, e mesmo assim a gente faz de 15 em 15 dias assembléia, mas na sexta tem assembléia e na outra tem portaria. (...) Então na verdade toda semana tem reunião do conjunto das famílias e toda semana tem reunião da comissão que coordena a ocupação local.[133]

131 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 49-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

132 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 47-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

133 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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Additionally, due to the presence of the national coordinator at almost every regular meeting of the squat, there was always a regulating and controlling authority that interfered in the issues discussed and raised awareness of the until then established rules and procedures. The guiding reference was always the Charter of Principles, which was still in force, and which also contained the binding commitment to active participation at the regular assemblies. During one of the observed meetings of the *coletivo*,[134] this commitment to active participation was renewed in the form of a written assurance, which every inhabitant had to sign immediately. The reason for this renewal was the change in the frequency of the meetings, and the forthcoming renovation of the building. Observing the corresponding meeting, the coordination of the squat distributed a new declaration of commitment, which included the obligation of at least one family member to take part in the regular meetings, and the stipulation that they would be allowed to miss only two assemblies before being expelled from the squat. The invitation to sign the commitment immediately during the assembly contributed to an extra pressure on the inhabitants, as refusal implied the danger of being exposed in front of everyone. However, one of the inhabitants nevertheless challenged the renewal of the commitment, asking if this meant that she could still be expelled after the renovation: "*Mulher: Também depois das obras vou correr o risco de ser mandado na rua? Coordenação: Vai!*"[135] However, she had to desist after a short verbal exchange with the coordinators, and finally signed the commitment.

Other inhabitants later expressed to me their concern and discomfort with the situation. Especially the insecurity over whether they would be able to stay in their homes that this generated was challenging for the inhabitants.

Até teve uma situação que a gente assinou, eu acho que você estava no dia da assembléia, a gente assinou um compromisso, né? De ir na assembléia e permanecer freqüentando as manifestações, as coisas assim. Porque já cheguei no final, não tive nem tempo de ler direito, mas aí como tinha que assinar ali no ato da assembléia eu peguei assim e entreguei. Então tem essas coisas. Que se você tiver que morar, você pega e tem que fazer. (...) Mesmo depois do prédio pronto, a gente vai ainda continuar nessa coisa: ah, se não cumprir regra vai ser expulso? Vai ser mandado embora? E você ouviu muito bem a resposta da [Glória], né?[136]

134 Assembly in *Manoel Congo*, 29.04.2011.

135 Ibid.

136 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011

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Então o que acontece com a gente aqui na ocupação. A gente está sempre sob areia fofa. Não há uma garantia, sabe? De dizer: não vou mais sair daqui. Porque esse documento que nos fizeram assinar, dizendo que esse documento é para sempre, e se depois faltar três reuniões, você é convidado a sair, e me colocarem na rua eu, meu marido e meus filhos.[137]

What became evident in the case of the commitment renewal was that in *Manoel Congo* the practical power the responsible movement had to expel people from the squat for non-accomplishment of internal rules had been maintained, and expulsions still actually happened. During my visits I had to witness the expulsion of one of the inhabitants by the coordinators of the squat because he allowed someone from outside (actually his pregnant girlfriend) to stay for a few days with him in the squat without the official permission of the coordination. The policy of entrance control and regulation of visits in order to protect the squat[138] was strictly maintained. Still, for some of the inhabitants this rule also signified a big challenge, because they were not able to receive guests or to offer overnight stays. Some of the inhabitants reported that due to their living in the squat and being subjected to these rules, they had lost former social contacts, like family and friends, and also felt more vulnerable for not being allowed to lock their doors.

A minha casa é uma casa que vivia cheia de amigos e tudo. Isso mudou radicalmente. Agora quando eu quero ver os meus amigos eu tenho que ir até eles, não eles virem até a mim.[139]

E outra experiência que a gente vive hoje, que eu acho muito difícil, é a gente não poder trancar as nossas portas. É você ter que viver aqui o dia a dia com a sua porta aberta. E você sair … vamos supor, se você viajar, ficar três dias fora, quatro dias, a sua porta dica aberta. Entendeu? A sua casa fica vulnerável. Se a coordenação não estiver … vai entrar na sua casa, entendeu? Se sumir alguma coisa no prédio, todas as casas ganham revista. (...) Existe! Revistam todas as casa. Revistam mesmo. Levantam colchão, abrem armário. Revistam tudo. Procurando para ver se o objeto tá na casa de algum morador.[140]

In extreme cases a disregard of that rule could also, as the example shows, lead to expulsion from the squat. Asking the national coordinators about this practice,

137 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

138 Also because the practice of not having a key for the apartments and therefore being accessible all the time made a strict control at the entrance even more necessary.

139 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

140 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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I was told that expulsion unfortunately still existed and was in extreme cases necessary to guarantee and protect the interests of the coletivo.[141] Especially those persons engaged in the movement with a certain responsibility, for example as coordinators, also confirmed the necessity of expulsion. They argued that it was sometimes difficult to deal with people inside the squat who had a different idea of living together and therefore did not follow the rules, thus hindering the advancement of the others.

Então a gente vem fazendo um trabalho com essas famílias, até chegar. (...) Porque tem algumas famílias também que não aceitaram mudar aquele ritmo porque não conseguiam mudar, aí tiveram que sair daqui, porque a pessoa quando acostuma a fazer o que quer, ela não fica presa, assim. Por exemplo: se você tem um grupo e esse grupo faz uma assembléia e ali é discutido tudo. Resolvido ali. Só que tem algumas pessoas que não aceitam isso. E não aceitam assim, por exemplo: eu te ajudar. Ela só quer fazer tudo do jeito dela. Então não tem, não avança. Sempre fica para trás. Aí a gente conseguiu ficar com um grupo aqui de pessoas que quer mudar de vida mesmo. Quer ir para a frente, porque não adianta você ter lá as pessoas que não querem, atrasam todo o processo! Aí você em vez de avançar fica andando para trás.[142]

Through the strict control of the MNLM, rules and order were in fact better preserved than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. But the effect on the inhabitants was often that they felt a certain insecurity, fear, and sometimes even resentment. Accordingly, the strict rules and their implementation constituted one of the greatest personal challenges for the inhabitants in *Manoel Congo*:

Agora no caso de ter essas coisas assim, por exemplo é usuário, tá com drogas, trouxe drogas. Então é obrigado a sair. Tudo bem. (...) Agora o que eu não aceito, mas é uma coisa que está em mim, é mandar as pessoas embora sem atos graves. Entendeu? Por: ah, eu não lavei o meu corredor hoje, não lavei na outra semana também. Então vamos chamar, tem que ter uma justificativa. Não pode continuar sem lavar. (...) Porque às vezes acontece, como já aconteceu de eu não lavar, porque eu não tinha dinheiro para comprar sabão em pó. (...) E às vezes você para comprar comida para dentro de casa, gás, remédio, é uma roupa. Você tem gastos. É material de escola, então você tem gasto. Aí você deixa de comprar um caderno para comprar um sabão para lavar o corredor? Não. (...) Então

141 Informal talk in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

142 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

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essas coisas aí, são coisas que eles não relevam. Entendeu? (...) se você não descer para a portaria, eles vão na sua casa e te chamam para as reuniões. Eles te oprimem (...).[143]

Aceitar regras de pessoas (...) o maior desafio que existe aqui dentro é isso. É você ver uma coisa, você não concordar com aquilo, mas como você precisa morar, você tem que abaixar a cabeça e tem que ficar ... Isso é horrível. É chato. Às vezes eu nem sei se compensa. Às vezes. Às vezes eu nem sei se compensa. Mas como a gente tem filho, não somos só eu e meu marido. E eu realmente não tenho dinheiro para comprar uma casa. Não tenho. Então muitas das vezes é melhor agüentar.[144]

That the strict internal rules and control were in fact a challenge for some of the inhabitants was sometimes difficult to discern, especially at the beginning of my fieldwork. Only some of them talked openly about these feelings. Most of the concerns and doubts were uttered after a while in informal talks, because of the fear of getting into trouble for expressing their criticism openly. On one occasion one of the female inhabitants even refused to give an interview because she was afraid of "having to tell the truth" because, as she told me, the truth was that "it is an obligation to participate. Nobody is an activist (*militante*) here!"[145] In an informal meeting this inhabitant expressed her feeling of having been betrayed, because she had thought that she would obtain housing and not that she would be obliged to participate to this extent and also be exposed to the fear of expulsion. She was convinced that people only talked positively about the squat in the interviews with me because of their fear of being expelled if they did not, and she stated that most people would leave the squat immediately if only they had another place to go.[146] Even though this was certainly an extreme case of dissatisfaction, which did not represent the opinion of all inhabitants of the squat, on other occasions other inhabitants also expressed their doubts, and it became quite clear that there existed some tension between the needs and expectations of the MNLM and of the people living in the squat.

However, not all inhabitants experienced the obligatory participation and strict implementation of rules mainly as a burden. For some it also meant the prevention of disputes and conflict. They expressed for example how pleasant it was to know that their children would not be able to leave the squat without them knowing, or that violence or drugs were prohibited inside the squat. This often stood in sharp contrast to their former living conditions, where they and

143 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

144 Ibid.

145 Informal talk with a woman in *Manoel Congo*, 16.05.2011.

146 Ibid.

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their children had often been exposed every day to dangerous situations, like drug-dealing or other kinds of violence. Their life in the squat therefore was clearly experienced as an improvement.

Por exemplo: eu saí da favela porque eu pagava aluguel, então eu queria sair da favela por causa do tráfico, que a gente percebe que oprime muito as pessoas. E por causa do aluguel. Então se eu tivesse que morar num prédio também, que mesmo que não estivesse pagando aluguel, mas que tivesse que conviver com o tráfico de drogas lá dentro, eu também não conseguiria viver. (...) Então eu gosto daqui por essa situação né? É bom também por essa parte. Que a gente não vê o tráfico de drogas, não tem prostituição. Tem umas regras que são legais, sabe? Às vezes eu acho que existe um exagero, mas tem algumas coisas que são legais.[147]

Living in a *coletivo* was for almost all inhabitants a new experience however, and something they had to get used to. The situation of being required to organize and to live in a group, to share daily workflows and facilities—like the bathroom, or the cleaning of clothes and dishes—or not being able to lock the doors, often meant a significant change in the lives of many interviewees. The challenges described had also led to situations in which families had not been expelled, but had decided to leave the squat, because they had not been able to adapt to the new living conditions.

Mas todo mundo no mesmo local. E assim foi durante algum tempo. Até surgir a divisão e tudo. (...) Aí depois ficaram duas famílias em cada local. Aí depois foi dividindo. Dividindo. Porque muitos foram desistindo no meio do caminho. Porque tinha muita gente no começo. Aí depois tem gente que vai parando. Companheiros que vão desistindo, parando, no meio do caminho. Aí foram dividindo assim.[148]

Another characteristic, and possible reason why the described internal organization in *Manoel Congo* had developed differently from that in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, emerged quite unexpectedly during the interviews. Inside the squat *Manoel Congo* the topic of religion, and especially that of "being evangelical" (*evangélico*) was introduced by the inhabitants, and provided some interesting additional information regarding the squat. It turned out that the number of *evangélicos* in *Manoel Congo* on the one hand had the potential to facilitate its internal organization, but on the other hand constituted a challenge for some of the inhabitants.

147 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

148 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.

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Data show that Pentecostalism has grown considerably in Brazil over the last few decades.[149] Even though Catholicism is still the most widespread religion, its members have declined and membership in Pentecostal churches has increased, especially in poor urban areas and among women.[150] It is therefore no surprise that there were also Pentecostals living in the squats, and that most of them women,[151] but what caught my attention was how many there were in *Manoel Congo*. While in the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga* people did not talk a lot about religion on their own initiative, and therefore it almost never emerged as a topic during the interviews, in *Manoel Congo* this was not the case. On several occasions during my visits, I was not only verbally but also visually confronted with Pentecostalism inside the squat. For example, some of the inhabitants were reading the Bible or other religious books, such as "The power of the woman

149 Previous work has shown the expansion and characteristics of Pentecostalism in Brazil. See for example Chesnut, R. A. 1997, *Born again in Brazil. The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty,* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press; Höllinger, Franz and Adriana Valle-Höllinger. 2007, *Religiöse Kultur in Brasilien. Zwischen traditionellem Volksglauben und modernen Erweckungsbewegungen,* Frankfurt am Main: Campus; Mariz, Cecília L. 1992. "Religion and Poverty in Brazil. A Comparison of Catholic and Pentecostal Communities", *Sociological Analysis*, 53: 63–70; Motley Hallum, Anne. 2003. "Taking Stock and Building Bridges. Feminism, Women's Movements, and Pentecostalism in Latin America", *Latin American Research Review*, 38 (1): 169–186; Oosterbaan, Martijn. 2014. "Religion, Popular Culture, and the City: Pentecostalism, Carnival and Carioca Funk in Rio de Janeiro" in *Global Prayers: Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City* edited by J. Becker, K. Klingan, S. Lanz and K. Wildner. Zürich. Lars Mueller Publishers, p.452; Heck, Gerda and Lanz, Stephan. 2014. "Religiöses „worlding" in der Stadt: Globaler Pentekostalismus in Rio de Janeiro", *PERIPHERIE* 34 (134/135): 213.

150 For the socio-economic profile of the members of the Pentecostal Church, see IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. 2010, *Censo Demográfico. Características Gerais da População, Religião e Pessoas com Deficiência,* Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, pp. 89-105; on the great number of women in the Pentecostal Church, see Drogus, Carol A. 1994. "Religious Change and Women's Status in Latin America. A Comparison of Catholic Base Communities and Pentecostal Churches", *Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies Working Paper* (205): 2; Chesnut 1997, Born again in Brazil, pp. 7, 14ff; Motley Hallum 2003, Taking Stock and Building Bridges, p. 171.

151 For the influence of Pentecostalism on gender roles in *Manoel Congo* see chapter 4.3.3.

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who prays" ("*O poder da mulher que ora*"), while doing *portaria*, and sometimes even prayed for me and my future after our interviews. Intrigued by these observations, I went through my interview material, and it turned out that 50% of the interviewed inhabitants in *Manoel Congo* were *evangélicos* (see Figure 19). Thus, religion turned out to be a really interesting issue in *Manoel Congo*.

While there has been a production of literature stressing the importance of religion in the urban context and pointing to the influence and spreading of the Pentecostal church especially in the *favelas,*[152] I could hardly find any reference or specific attention paid to the large number of Pentecostals in the squat in any of the academic literature or internet sources written so far on *Manoel Congo*.[153] Thus, even though not planned as a major topic of interest in my research, the importance of religion grew "out of the field," and was introduced as an issue by the actors themselves. It could therefore hardly be ignored completely as a topic here, especially because this study advocates being open to other social categorizations, as these can provide useful insights for a better understanding of citizenship and gender inside the squats (see chapter 1.1).[154]

152 Heck et al. 2014, Religiöses „worlding" in der Stadt, pp. 212-238; Lanz, Stephan. 2014. "Assembling Global Prayers in the City: An Attempt to Repopulate Urban Theory" in *Global Prayers: Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City* edited by J. Becker, K. Klingan, S. Lanz and K. Wildner. Zürich. Lars Mueller Publishers, pp. 16–47; Lanz, Stephan. 2010. „Neue Götter und Gläubige in der Stadt. Thesen und Fragen zum veränderten Verhältnis zwischen dem Städtischen und dem Religiösen", *dérive. Zeitschrift für Stadtforschung* (40/41): 33-37.

153 Even though the studies by Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia; Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville and Rodrigues da Silva 2010, Ocupação Manuel Congo, mention in a few sentences the great number of *evangélicos* inside *Manoel Congo*, they do not go any further into an analysis of this fact.

154 One can observe that religion adresses and interacts with issues of citzenship and gender, such as participation and gender relations (see also chapter 4.3.3 and 4.3.4), and therefore serves as a potentially fruitful topic of investigation through which to learn even more about the reasons behind the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship and gender in the squats. The emergence of the topic "out of the field" also illustrates the importance of opening the analysis up to include new aspects at any time, and not merely to determine from its beginning the sole relevance of a fixed set of social categorizations. Due to the small amount of data I collected specifically on the subject of religion, and because a detailed analysis would be beyond the scope of this study, I am only able to offer a brief overview and selected

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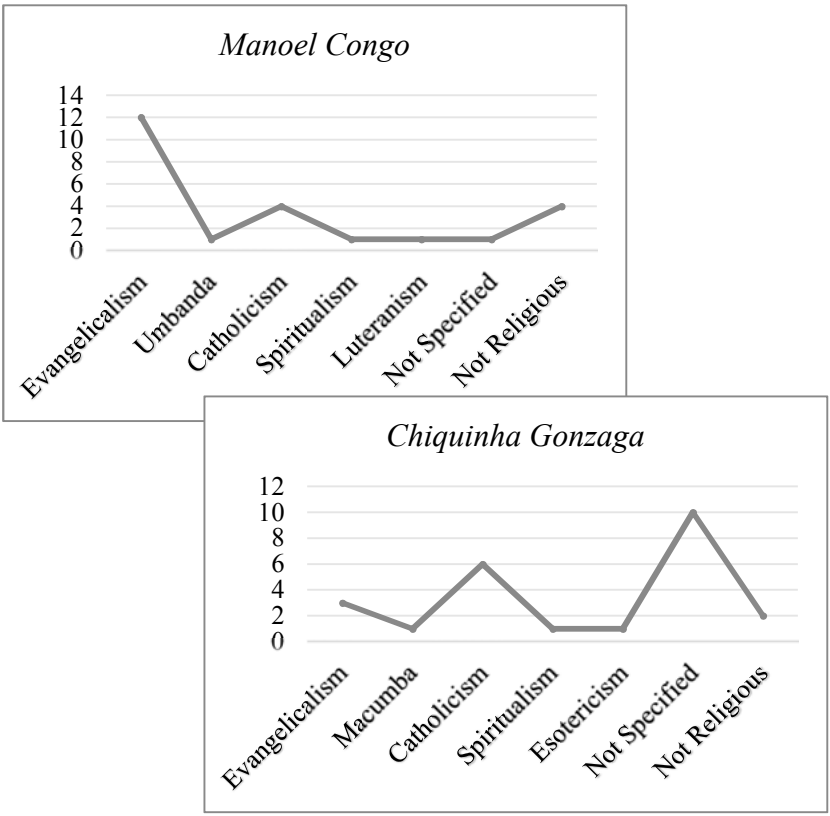
Figure 19: Different religions in Chiquinha Gonzaga and Manoel Congo[155]



Hence, some interviews revealed that the fact that there were a large number of inhabitants who were *evangélicos* in the squat had been an important and also controversial topic among the inhabitants. The interviewees often pointed out how many *evangélicos* there were of their own accord, without being asked about it, and reported that at the beginning, people also had used the squat to perform religious services at home. The services (*cultos*) described by the

insights into the topic of religion and its possible interdependency with gender and citizenship in this thesis. It turned out to be an important topic in *Manoel Congo,* and therefore remains another profitable area of further research in this context, as do other social categorizations, such as ethnicity and age—which did not however emerge during the interviews with the same intensity.

155 Own data.

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inhabitants during their interviews form part of Pentecostal practices.[156] Their enactment and dominating presence inside the squat had then also become a reason for disagreements among the inhabitants, as some felt bothered by these practices:

Olha, religião aqui já foi uma coisa que tentaram fazer uma coisa predominante. Predominante que eu digo: que a religião fizesse parte disso aqui. Que tivesse espaço para uma determinada religião. Que eu acredito que é a maioria, que são os cristãos, né. Os crentes, que nem se diz. Mas isso com as palestras, com as reuniões isso foi ficando em segundo plano, porque aqui é uma ocupação. A pessoa tem que praticar a sua religião dentro da sua casa, morar lá, rezar, acender vela.[157]

Teve até uma época que eles faziam culto aqui dentro. Que a [Glória], como é católica, e esse pessoal tem uma mania de fazer as coisas muito barulhento. Eu não gosto justamente por isso! Não é que eu tenha nada contra a religião. Porque a religião existe e você vai atrás daquela que você quer. Se você se sente bem na igreja evangélica, ótimo! É um direito seu. Se você se sentir bem na católica, que é onde eu me sinto bem, tudo bem. Eu acho que cada um tem que respeitar um ao outro, né?[158]

As a consequence, it had become necessary, for the coordination of the squat, to establish rules over time in order to prevent such dominant religious practices and further internal conflicts about them.

Hence, if many of the inhabitants of *Manoel Congo* were *evangélicos*, it is likely that not only religious practices, but also the ideology of the Pentecostal church was reproduced in the squat by its members, and had some influence on their activism. Even though this aspect has yet to be studied in more detail in future research, some of the interviews already suggest a certain influence:

156 These practices are, as Carol Ann Drogus states, often organized by women: "Women can lead religious services in the *cultos* or consciousness-raising discussion in the *grupos*. Through such activities, they may learn valuable practical skills, including public speaking, and they may also gain an important measure of confidence" (Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 5). Her statement points to two aspects, which are discussed in the literature on Pentecostalism and are also of significance for the topic of this study: First, the question of to what extent Pentecostalism has the potential to change gender roles in the private home environment; and second, to what extent it offers new participatory opportunities for women. I will therefore pick it up briefly later in chapter 4.3.3.

157 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 51-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

158 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

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Sim. Muita influência. Acho que foi a partir da igreja que eu consegui enxergar melhor o meu papel no mundo. De lutar pelo reino de Deus aqui. Que o reino de Deus não é aquele só lá em cima. Ele ta aqui. O reino de Deus é construído e conquistado à força. Então é isso.[159]

Não, eu separo. Para mim essa coisa é bem clara: eu separo. A questão da igreja evangélica, a questão da religião, com a minha questão mesmo de militância, né? Do que eu acredito. Mas também não interfere também. Não tem interferência. Se eu separar isso ... mas tudo isso eu vejo que, quando você conhece Deus, você tem uma vida cristã, de frente a Deus, você percebe que isso também faz parte. A desigualdade social, a diferença entre os nossos irmãos em Cristo ou então o ser humano como irmão ... tem essa diferença. Você vê muito isso no movimento, né? Do movimento de moradia, de criança e adolescente, na comunidade, de ver muito isso. E até separar. Eu como tenho a minha profissão como psicóloga, eu separo a questão ... eu como pessoa separo da religião e disso. Mas quando a gente se depara, a gente vê que as coisas se encaixam. É todo um contexto da necessidade. É importante. Então isso para mim ... a minha igreja evangélica não me atrapalha no dia a dia, naquilo que eu acredito e tudo mais, não atrapalha. E sempre que eu puder usar algumas questões eu uso. Se for pertinente a esse processo do movimento e da militância.[160]

As the first quote shows, some interviewees even reinterpreted their struggle for housing as a divine mission. This influence of Pentecostalism on activism clearly did not meet with the approval of all inhabitants. Especially those who had come to the squats prompted by a political motivation criticized this fact vehemently on several occasions. For them a religious motivation was clearly undermining the motivation and efforts of the squat to provoke serious political change:

Influencia. Para as atividades culturais, definições básicas, de leitura de realidade, assim. Que Deus quer, se Jesus quiser ... pelo amor de Deus, sabe? Se for para querer alguma coisa, você tem que ser ativo, né? Ficar esperando não dá, né? E essas questões religiosas, já aconteceu por exemplo da gente ter uma Roda de Jongo, e a galera decepar e fazer oração. Isso é o cúmulo, sabe? Como é que você ... ta fortalecendo a cultura do seu país, né? O folclore e as formas de expressão da própria população, sabe? O outro vai lá, criminalizar, e falar que não, que não tem que ser feito aquilo, que aquilo é do diabo, sabe? Não tem cabimento esse tipo de coisa. Então eu acho que isso meio que influencia.[161]

159 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 45-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

160 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

161 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

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Porque eles no Brasil até a década de 70, o catolicismo era muito forte. A teologia da libertação. Com as comunidades eclesiais de base católica, com os teólogos mais comprometidos. E isso daí, um grupo então desses teólogos da teologia da libertação, contribuiu muito para as comunidades. Mas ao mesmo tempo também começavam a nascer a partir daí, uma outra, mais a linha pentecostal norte-americana, conservadora. Muito forte aqui dentro do Brasil. Então o pentecostalismo, as igrejas eletrônicas, essas igrejas que pegaram, transformaram a igreja num mercado. Então nós temos muita gente aqui que acha que a nossa luta aqui, que o prédio aqui foi milagre de Deus! Foi a nossa luta! O milagre foi a gente ser despertado para lutar! Não é ganhar o prédio. Porque se não tivesse luta, não tinha prédio. E até hoje. A resistência, entendeu? Então a pessoa mistura. Acha que não ... foi um milagre de Deus. Um milagre de Deus? Como? Se a gente não tivesse nós para nos organizarmos.[162]

The large number of Pentecostals in *Manoel Congo* was not only perceived and criticized inside the squat. In an informal meeting, the national coordinator of the CMP, who had been involved in the organization of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, also commented on the noticeable presence of *evangélicos* in *Manoel Congo*. For him, the religion of the inhabitants and its associated rules, such as for instance the prohibition of alcohol and drugs,[163] facilitated the organization and control of the squat for the MNLM and thus also partly explained the differences between it and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where for example the presence of drugs constituted one of the big challenges (see section 3.1.2).

Mas eu acho que cada um tem seu estilo, tem sua forma de organizar, que pode ser melhor ou pior, mas o importante é que você mantenha a sua linha. Isso que vou falar, você tem coisas boas na Chiquinha, tem coisas que deveria ter sido mais organizadas e tem coisas na Manoel Congo que eu também não concordo. Eu acho por exemplo, você deve ter percebido, não tenho nada contra, mas você deve ter percebido um grande número de evangélicos, ne? Aí você, essa linha de você querer exigir demais um comportamento (...)

162 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

163 Pentecostal rules include, for example, the prohibition of alcohol, drugs, gambling, and adultery, and especially in the *favelas* for the inhabitants it therefore often presents an opportunity to escape from the influence of drugs and violence; see Mariz, Cecília L. 1998. "Deliverance and Ethics. An Analysis of the Discourse of Pentecostals who have Recovered from Alcoholism" in *More than Opium. An Anthropological Approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal Praxis,* edited by B. Boudewijnse, A. F. Droogers, and F. Kamsteeg. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, pp. 203–223; Höllinger et al. 2007, Religiöse Kultur in Brasilien, p. 125; Heck et al. 2014, Religiöses „worlding" in der Stadt, pp. 220-223.

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o cara bebe, é claro que, se ele beber e aprontar, é aquele história, ne. Mas, você não pode controlar demais a vida das pessoas, não. É claro que no inicio, você realmente, como foi o Chiquinha Gonzaga nos dois primeiros ano no inicio teve que controlar muito, mas depois você tem que a pessoa tem que ter a vida dela, respeitando algumas coisas e ali tem muito isso que ... claro que todo mundo fala, percebe, ne ... e você provavelmente percebeu que existe mais uma dependência quando você conversa com alguém da Chiquinha Gonzaga que quando você conversa com alguém de lá.[164]

Figure 20: Psalm as decoration near one of the doorways in Manoel Congo[165]

I agree that Pentecostal ideology, promoting obedience and self-control, certainly facilitated certain processes in the coordination of *Manoel Congo*. But the extent to which the recruitment of a high percentage of *evangélicos* in *Manoel Congo* really formed part of an explicit or active strategy of the movement's leadership to facilitate its control over the inhabitants—as stated by the national coordinator of the CMP—is difficult to ascertain. However, the

164 Interview with the national coordinator of the CMP, 06.05.2011.

165 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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statement of one of the national coordinators of the MNLM in the squat *Manoel Congo* at least suggested that this was a possibility:

Tem uma influência na ocupação, no movimento? Não! Não tem não. Não tem. Se tiver a gente corta. A gente mostra a linha política, aí a gente não brinca. A gente respeita. A gente respeita a fé deles. Teve um momentos aqui que eles se encontravam num apartamento e faziam os seus cultos. Aí ficavam gritando e tal ... aí depois fizemos a assembléia, e dissemos: olha, a manifestação da fé de vocês é interessante, mas tem que ter silêncio, porque o povo precisa dormir. Porque se deixasse ia ter uma igrejinha aqui, todo mundo cantando, rezando, todo dia e esquecer da luta. A gente mostra para eles que orar, a oração ela se manifesta através das lutas. Um bom cristão é aquele que pega na luta e vai à luta defender os seus direitos. Não é só ficar: Meu Deus e tal (...). Aí só que eu não trato muito dessas questões. Quem tem mais craquejo com essa discussão é a [Glória]. Eu que já tenho uma leitura determinada, pelo fato de já ter uma convivência ... eu tive uma convivência muito grande com esse espaço religioso. E achei por bem, assim: pra mim não é um instrumento de luta, mais. Foi um tempo. Agora não é mais. Quer dizer: afasta mais o povo do que ajuda. Essa é a leitura que eu tenho. A [Glória] acha que não, ela acha que a fé ajuda em algumas coisas. Então ta bom: se para você ajuda, para mim eu não conto ... é isso.[166]

Even though he assured me of the strict separation between the issues of the squat and religion, he admitted at the same time that some of the coordinators sensed the influence of Pentecostalism as positive and even helpful.

After the establishment of a daily routine, the squat also became the starting point for other occupations. The preparatory meetings for the squat *Mariana Crioula*, which was planned to be located in a vacant public building in the neighborhood *Gamboa*, took place in the education room, and were led by some of the (overall female) inhabitants of *Manoel Congo*. The future inhabitants of *Mariana Crioula* passed through the same process of preparation as the inhabitants of *Manoel Congo* had previously.[167] Only the legal procedure of choosing the squat differed, because the movement started negotiations for the space before occupying, to increase the chances of later success.

Just as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the political negotiations regarding *Manoel Congo* had been complex, time-consuming, and were not easy to look through. The negotiations led by the MNLM also aimed to achieve the regularization of

166 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

167 The squat had been successfully established.

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the building and to guarantee access to public funds for its renovation. The building originally belonged to the INSS, which after intense negotiations with several actors—*inter alia* also with the Ministry of Cities—was finally bought by the State of Rio de Janeiro in 2010 with funds of the FNHIS through the Program "Support for Social Housing Provision" (*Programa Apoio à Provisão Habitacional de Interesse Social*),[168] in order to transform the building into housing of social interest and guarantee its renovation. But, due to bureaucratic delay, the renovation of the building had not yet begun at the time of the interviews in 2011, and the MNLM was still fighting for the implementation of the legal provisions. In contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga,* where the situation apparently had not changed in 2015 and the inhabitants were still waiting for the implementation of the legal provisions, in *Manoel Congo* renovation of the building finally began in 2013. But, in 2014—again due to bureaucratic problems—the renovation of the building had to be stopped, and only after moving the contract of the squat with the FNHIS to the program MCMV-*Entidades*, where regulations were less bureaucratic and more funds available, could the construction work continue again.[169] The inhabitants managed to stay in the squat during its renovation, and were also, as they had planned, taking an active part in the construction work, which in 2015 had not yet been completed.

Since the beginning the negotiations for the purchase and renovation of the building had been accompanied by massive protests and mobilization by the MNLM. Just as for *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the fact that a large and nationally organized social movement with the power to exert massive pressure on the government was leading the negotiations had clearly been an advantage, and had helped the negotiations. The advantages of the involvement of a national social movement was confirmed by inhabitants in both squats:

[T]odo esse processo, foi um processo de resistência. Agora no campo político, essa ocupação ela deu uma sinalização para os outros movimentos sociais de que era possível fazer uma política de ocupação no Centro. Mas requer todo um processo de enfrentamento, de mobilização, de articulação nacional.[170]

168 Three occupations had applied for the inclusion into the Program: the squat *Manoel Congo*, the squat *Chiquinha Gonzaga* (see section 3.1.2) and the occupation *Matadouro*, which was led by the UNMP.

169 Queiroz e Mello 2014, Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias, pp. 102f; Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia, p. 58.

170 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

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Mas conseguiram uma coisa inédita que é ganhar um imóvel que pertence ao INSS. Eu acredito que isso pode servir de precedente para outras mais, mas é preciso organização política, é preciso organização interna, é preciso que as pessoas realmente estejam bem a par de como deve se dar esse processo.[171]

These quotes demonstrate that in addition to this, good internal organization of the squats—even for many inhabitants a new and sometimes not easy to handle situation—was also necessary, and increased the likelihood of being successful in the official negotiations with the governement in the long term.

3.2.3 Preliminary Summary

The detailed descriptions of both squats have revealed important information about their internal organization and the everyday lives of the inhabitants. Through their comparison, specific aspects and characteristics of each squat came to light that would not have attracted as much attention if only one of them was observed. Even though both squats form part of the same citizenship process—namely the process of demanding the right to housing in practice—and therefore share common characteristics, they nevertheless differed considerably from each other, especially regarding their internal organization. As we will see in chapter 4, these differences also had an influence on the understanding of citizenship and gender within the squats.

The establishment of the internal organization and associated rules took different paths in both squats over time. While in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* the almost complete absence of common rules and political engagement seemed to be the main source of trouble, in *Manoel Congo* the exact opposite was the case, and the strict implementation and control of rules and engagement by the MNLM turned out to be very difficult for some of the inhabitants. In *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, over time the general active participation in the interests of the squat had decreased and had been reduced almost to the simple fact of still living there, fulfilling the needs of its inhabitants for housing. Further citizenship activities were only observable on rare occasions, and even then only a few people participated. Important meetings regarding the advancement of the negotiations with the government were furthermore often initialized by activists who were not living in the squat, and even then the participation of the inhabitants was low. It seemed as though the plans to make *Chiquinha* more than merely a residential building had changed, or were at least no longer the main focus of the inhabitants. Even though to a certain extent this may seem to be a

171 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 21.03.2011.

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normal development over time—since political activism is also subject to fluctuations depending on the situation and need for it—such a significant decrease could not be observed for the squat *Manoel Congo*.

There, unlike in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the responsible movement still had a strong influence and control over the squat. Regular participation in meetings and several other activities organized and promoted by the MNLM still formed part of daily life inside the squat. Especially the inhabitants who held a position in the movement's hierarchy made it quite clear that the aim of the squat was not only to provide housing for needy families, but also—and perhaps even more—to fulfil a political mission and act as an instrument to force the government to implement the existing legislation (see section 2.1.3.1). As a consequence, life in the squat had been organized around this political mission, and the obeying of rules and participation in political activities was strictly monitored, and even became a condition for the inhabitants to remain in the squat. The strict implementation of rules and activism had in fact led to political success, as the start of the renovation of the building in 2013 demonstrated. This also fits into the picture of research on social movements, which confirms that "movements are more likely to make a difference if they have the skilled leadership, formal organization as well as support networks necessary to monitor state bureaucracies."[172] However, this approach had not only found acceptance among the inhabitants but, as the interviews revealed, was also experienced as a big challenge, and in some cases even as a heavy strain on their everyday lives.

The reasons for the described internal differences between the two squats can also be found in the fact that they represented two different types or ideas of self-management, which in turn also had an important impact on the inhabitants' understanding of what it meant to live in a squat. While one squat was organized around a non-hierarchical self-government of the inhabitants (*Chiquinha Gonzaga*), the other was centered on the ideas of organization of a hierarchically organized social movement (*Manoel Congo*). Accordingly, this had led to different internal developments over time.

Hence, having now described the squats and their internal organization, in the following chapter I will focus on the inhabitants' life stories and personal motivations to participate in the occupation of empty buildings in Rio de Janeiro's city center. Together with the findings of this chapter, these accounts will then provide the necessary background for the analysis of how the

172 Hau, Matthias vom. 2015. "Advancing while Losing. Indigenous Land Claims and Development in Argentina" in Development in Crisis. Threats to Human Well-Being in the Global South and Global North, edited by R. L. Blumberg and S. Cohn. London: Routledge, p. 183.

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inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* understand and articulate citizenship and gender.

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4. Doing Citizenship and Gender from Below

In this chapter I will provide a detailed analysis of how the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* understand and articulate citizenship and gender. The analysis starts by introducing the actors themselves. I will first describe the inhabitants' life stories and personal backgrounds, before examining in more detail why these people had decided to participate in the occupation of an empty building, and what had changed for them since living in the squats.

These first impressions of the inhabitants will then be deepened, and I will explore and document their understandings and experiences of citizenship beyond dominant discourses—trying to investigate the construction of a citizenship "from below." I will therefore elaborate on the language used by the inhabitants to legitimize their participation, and illustrate how through their engagement in citizenship activities the inhabitants also participate in the urban imaginary.

In a third step, I want to highlight the gendered nature of mobilization around housing, and explore the impact of women's engagement in the squats. Hence, after analyzing the reasons for women's participation, I will elaborate on the prevailing gender roles, norms, and relations within the squats—elaborate, that is, on the construction of a gender "from below."

4.1 Getting to Know the Squatters

Talking with the inhabitants about the origins and circumstances of the occupation of the two buildings also meant learning more about their life stories and personal backgrounds. The inhabitants' former living conditions and activities formed an important part of their narratives, and made it possible to gain a better understanding of the personal motivations behind their decisions to participate in the occupation. Thus, learning about the personal motivations for

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participating in the squats also meant learning about possible reasons for engaging in citizenship activities. Citizenship has been previously defined as a dynamic concept, which is both a historically specific bundle of rights and obligations (formal status), and the constant processes by which this bundle is negotiated, and respectively the acts by which those rights are claimed (practice/process). Hence, participation in the occupation of empty buildings—in response to the lack of access to the constitutional right to housing in practice—can be understood as a way of exercising citizenship (see section 2.1.1). Thus, in order to ascertain to what extent the interviewees' participation in the squats—their active citizenship—had also influenced and shaped their understanding of citizenship and gender, in this chapter I will first describe the inhabitants' life stories and personal backgrounds before examining in more detail why these people had decided to participate, and what had changed for them since living in the squats.

4.1.1 "I am a survivor":[1] Life Stories and Life Backgrounds

> Depois que eu vim para cá eu posso dizer que a minha vida melhorou 90 %.[2]

During one of my regular visits to *Manoel Congo* I met Teresa, a 53-year-old woman. After first showing some mistrust and fear that the content of our conversation could be relayed to the coordinators of the squat,[3] she opened herself up and turned out to be one of the most honest and critical persons I spoke to. Teresa had a brief and poor childhood. She was one of 14 siblings, and her mother had been more concerned with feeding her children than with caring about their education. Teresa therefore never went to school and instead had to take care of herself and her siblings at a very early stage of her life. At only 12 years of age she became pregnant for the first time, and she had her second child only one year after giving birth to the first. In the interview she described the difficulties she had to face during her childhood:

Eu fui mãe com 12 anos de idade! Com 12 anos fui mãe do meu primeiro filho, com 13 para 14 eu tive o segundo filho. Então a hora que era para brincar de boneca, eu tava brincando com um bebê mesmo. Fui mãe muito cedo. Então foi uma época muito difícil

1 Own translation from: "*Eu sou um sobrevivente*" (Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011).

2 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

3 See section 3.2.2.

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para mim. Na época, quando eu fui criança, mas uma criança que não teve oportunidade para nada, nunca fui à escola, a minha mãe não se preocupou em botar em escola. Nós éramos 14 irmãos. Então a gente, os mais velhos tinham que correr atrás para alimentar os mais novos. Que todo ano nascia um! Então a minha vida foi muito difícil, muito difícil.[4]

Teresa herself then had five children altogether and had raised them with her husband in one of the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, doing day-to-day work to guarantee her family's survival. When I asked her about her job, she laughed, telling me that she did a lot of different jobs in her life: *"Sou cabeleireira, sou costureira, cozinheira de forno e fogão, sou cantora, sou cantora evangélica, mas sou cantora."* Living in the *favela*, she and her family had to cope on a daily basis with the lack of infrastructure, the presence of drug cartels, and violence. To her despair, her oldest son, at this time already the father of two children, had become addicted to drugs, and therefore had come into contact with the local drug dealers. She described—crying during the interview—her desperation and fear that her son would get into serious trouble, a fear that had finally become sad reality. In one of the confrontations between police and drug dealers, he had been confused with one of the drug dealers. As he was not willing to give the police information about the real dealer, he was murdered in cold blood by the police, shot in the head on the street in front of the eyes of everyone:

Ele era viciado. Então o que acontece: ele ia para o trabalho, ele não perdia um dia de trabalho! Quando ele voltava do trabalho, ele parava no meio dos meninos. Aí ele comprava a droga, e usava. (...) E aí foi me entristecendo aquilo ali, e eu pedindo a Deus que ele parasse com aquilo que eu via que uma hora ia acontecer alguma coisa ruim com ele. Ou ele podia se endividar, comprando, usando e não ter como pagar, e acabarem matando ele, conforme aconteceu: de eu ter que pagar conta dele. Ou mesmo acontecer da policia vir e matar ele. E foi exatamente o que aconteceu: ele no meio, usando a droga, veio aquela batida de policia no morro. Os meninos que estavam armados e com drogas, todo mundo correu. Ele estava sem droga, mas com a carteira assinada no bolso, então ele achou que não tinha que correr. Porque não tinha ameaça. Porque a droga que ele tinha tava na cabeça, não tava no bolso. E os policiais- não sei se estavam bêbados, ou drogados- eu sei que não levaram em consideração o que ele falou, começaram a gritar com ele, falaram para ele dizer para onde os meninos correram, e ele não ia falar porque ele foi nascido e criado no morro com todo mundo, todo mundo conhecia ele. Morro é assim. Todo mundo conhece todo mundo. Você passa, você cumprimenta, você fala. E aí ele pegou e falou: eu não vou falar. Ele correu, primeiro que morro a fora, e o nome de quem correu ele não falou. Aí começaram a gritar, a dizer que iam matar ele … que era

4 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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para ele falar. E falando, gritando, chegou a sua hora, chegou a sua hora! Ele gritando: moço, pelo amor de Deus, eu tenho filho para criar, tenho família. Ele falou: não, você é vagabundo também, você é bandido também. E aquela gritaria, já dando banda nele, pernada nele, e ele gritando: pelo amor de deus, não faz isso comigo. E eles gritando também: você vai morrer, você vai morrer, aquela coisa. Aí o cara foi, deu uma banda de joelho, de joelho é para morrer. E teve uma porção de gente que viu, né? Todo mundo correu apavorado com aquilo, aí a policia tomou uma arma e deu um tiro na cabeça dele! Deu um tiro na cabeça do meu filho. E deu mais dois, um pegou no peito, um pegou na cabeça. E meu filho caiu ali mesmo.[5]

After this experience, confronted with strong feelings of grief, anger, and impotence, Teresa did not feel able to stay where she had lived and decided to leave the place. Even though she expressed her growing discomfort with and the challenges involved in living and raising her children and grandchildren in a *favela*, there was no real alternative for her. Thus, they left their house and moved to another *favela,* where they had to change places every few months and had difficulty finding a permanent affordable place, until one of her friends told her about the organizational meetings for the squat *Manoel Congo*.

Teresa's story is a perfect example of the former living conditions and experiences of most of the inhabitants in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*. Listening to their stories and the difficulties they had experienced in their lives, it turned out that the similarities of the narratives in both squats were striking.

Commonalities

It turned out that most of the inhabitants originally came from the State of Rio de Janeiro (42%), followed by a big percentage originating from the Northeast of Brazil (30%) and from the State of Minas Gerais (18%) (see Figure 21). The interviewees who did not originate from the State of Rio de Janeiro had often left their natural states of belonging as children together with their parents, or had arrived later alone as young adults, hoping and searching for better living and working conditions in the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro.[6]

At the time of our interviews most of these inhabitants had already lived for at least ten years in Rio de Janeiro, and—just like those originally from the State

5 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

6 For studies on internal migration flows and their development in Brazil, see for example Baeninger 2011, Migrações Internas no Brasil Século 21 or Brito 2006, The Displacement of the Brazilian Population; and also section 2.1.3.1.

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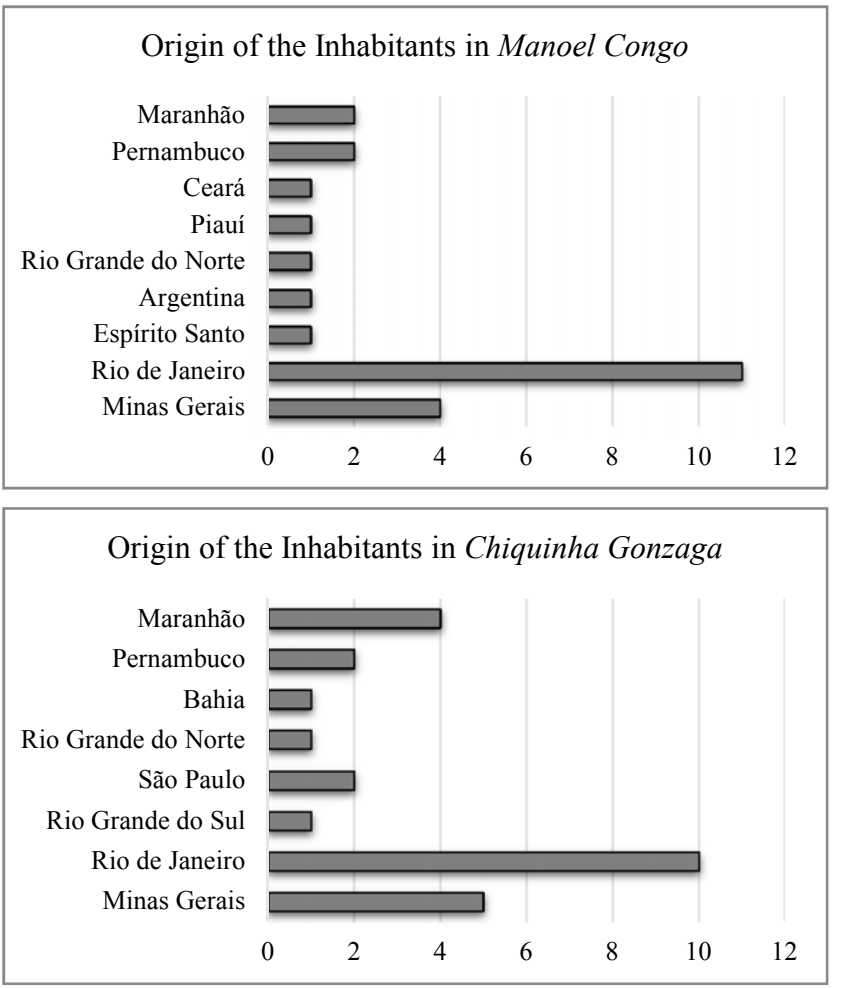
of Rio de Janeiro—had lived before taking part in the squats in low-income areas, like the suburbs of the Baixada Fluminense[7] and the *favelas* of the city.

Figure 21: Origin of the inhabitants in Chiquinha Gonzaga and Manoel Congo[8]



7 The Baixada Fluminense encompasses the municipalities of Duque de Caxias, Nova Iguaçu, São João de Meriti, Nilópolis, Belford Roxo, Queimados, and Mesquita. For more reading on the socio-economic situation in these areas see Perlman 1976, The Myth of Marginality.

8 Own data.

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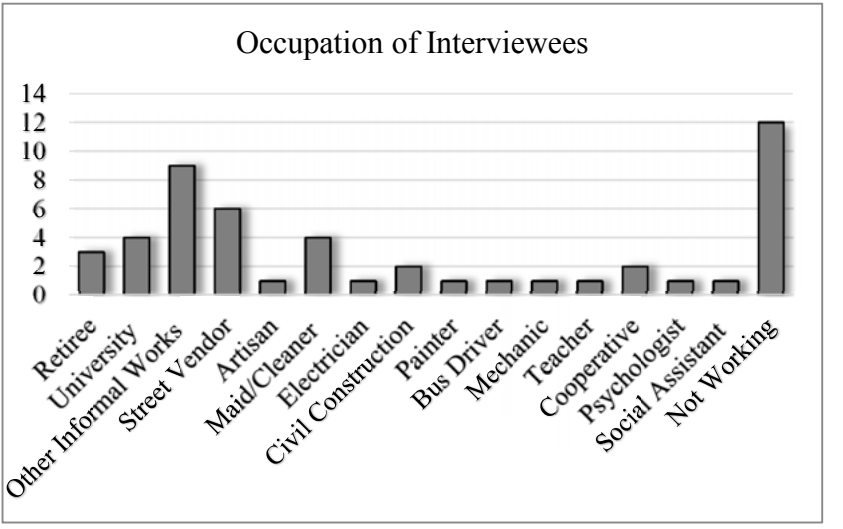
Thus, most inhabitants, especially before living in the squats, had been in a difficult economic situation and struggled to be able to cover their everyday living expenses. Especially the payment of rent had been experienced as a heavy burden. Many of the interviewees had had problems finding a job, and most of them had worked (and continued to work) in the informal sector, for example as street vendors, maids, or in the area of civil construction, as Figure 22 illustrates.

Figure 22: Occupation of the inhabitants interviewed in Manoel Congo and Chiquinha Gonzaga[9]



The interviewees in both squats had very often faced poverty and difficult living conditions from an early stage of their lives—often during their childhoods—and had to contribute very early to the subsistence of their families. Pedro, a 42-year-old inhabitant of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, for example, described to me his difficult childhood, which had been marked by early work experiences, abandonment, and contact with drugs and drug addiction.

Eu perdi o meu pai com seis anos de idade. Ou sete. As coisas foram ficando difíceis. A minha mãe ficou com meia dúzia de filho, ganhando um salário mínimo como pensionista do meu pai, minha mãe não sabe ler, não sabe escrever, veio do interior. Para cuidar de seis filhos o dinheiro não dava para comer nem a metade do mês! (...) Não tinha condução,

9 Own data.

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não tinha mercado, não tinha nada numa proximidade. Até para ganhar um dinheiro era difícil. Então eu comecei a trabalhar muito cedo vendendo verdura, com sete anos já vendia verdura, catava ferro velho. Com oito para nove fui vender jornal. Acordava às cinco horas para estar no ponto e pegar o jornal que era distribuído. E trabalhava e estudando. E todo esse processo fazendo os dois junto. Então a vida foi difícil demais. (…) por exemplo me envolvi com drogas muito cedo, comecei a trabalhar muito cedo. Então eu achei a minha independência muito fácil. Eu com onze anos de idade eu saía de lá, que eu estou te falando, para trabalhar aqui no Centro, na Central do Brasil. Eu saía de lá oito horas da noite e voltava às quatro e pouca da manhã. Quer dizer, eu passava a noite aqui no Centro da cidade. Eu era uma criança, já via o que era a prostituição, vendo drogas, vendo tudo aquilo.[10]

Other inhabitants of the squats also reported the difficult living conditions during their childhood, which they had often spent in poor neighborhoods affected by violence and drugs. Accordingly, the educational level inside the squats was quite low, as most of the inhabitants had only been to school for a few years and did not possess further formal education or any other qualification in a specific area. Interestingly, in *Manoel Congo* education turned out to be an important topic during the interviews, and after moving to the squat some inhabitants had started to go back to school. This decision was closely related to the fact that education formed an important part of the MNLM's agenda, and was therefore strongly promoted. The movement encouraged the inhabitants to go back to school, and even expected and controlled school attendance by the children in the squat (as outlined in section 3.2.1).[11]

To live in the *favelas* of the city and the Baixada Fluminense meant in their cases not only to be forced to deal on a daily basis with insufficient infrastructure, but also, as already mentioned, to be confronted with the unpleasant presence of drug-dealing, militia, and police, and to run the risk of becoming involved in, or being affected by, violence. In the inhabitants' narratives one could therefore find regularly references to the difficult and dangerous living conditions in their former neighborhoods:

Porque onde a gente morava, não era um bairro de classe média, era uma favela. Tinha a pista, mas tinha o morro. Era muita violência. Todo dia tinha uma confusão. Era Terceiro Comando com Comando Vermelho. Então era muita violência. Era tiro, pessoa morrendo, e você naquela comunidade via isso tudo. Porque você está na comunidade, mas você está

10 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

11 In *Chiquinha Gonzaga* this was not the case.

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no risco também. Você não sabe, a bala não tem alvo certo, né? Então você se arrisca muito.[12]

Accordingly, the interviewees frequently reported their need and wish to leave these areas. At the same time, their alternatives were limited, and often when they tried to improve their living conditions things even became worse, as for some even the rents in the other low-income areas were too high, and thus too difficult to afford.[13] Many of the interviewees did not have a space to live on their own, but had to live together with their relatives, a situation that had often resulted in problems and conflict. Other inhabitants had to live on the streets of the city center. Due to their difficult economic situation, these interviewees had not been able to afford any housing; nor did they have any relatives or friends with whom they could stay. In their stories, one can find also indications of the heavy psychological burden which they confronted when trying to survive on the streets.

Num período de 2002, 2003 eu passei um pouco de dificuldade na vida: falta de emprego, e não tinha condições de pagar aluguel. Acabei parando na rua do Rio de Janeiro. Morei um tempo na rua, eu tento me lembrar quanto tempo eu fiquei na rua, mas não consigo. Se foi um ano, se foram dois. Porque na rua apagou algumas coisas da memória porque eu não contava as semanas, não conseguia contar. Nem mês, nem nada, assim.[14]

Differences

In sum, the inhabitants of both squats experienced very difficult and often existence-threatening living conditions before participating in the occupation of the two buildings. But despite these commonalities among the inhabitants, it is also important to emphasize that of course there were also individual differences between them. Thinking along the lines of citizenship, one difference between the interviewees in particular regarding their former lives attracted my attention.

During the interviews and informal talks, it turned out that some of them had already been engaged in citizenship activities, such as social movements, occupations of land, and community work. These inhabitants—often

12 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

13 Even in the favela rents were high, and people had problems affording housing, as the inhabitants in *Manoel Congo* emphasized: "*Hoje o aluguel aqui no Brasil é super caro. Seja numa favela, seja numa comunidade, seja aqui no Centro. A especulação imobiliária está em todas*" (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011).

14 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 37-year-old man, 01.03.2011.

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women[15]—could already look back on long years of experience in political activism:

Quando eu conheci esse movimento, eu já estou no Movimento de Luta pela Moradia desde '94. Desde '94 que a gente faz trabalhos de assentar famílias. Mas assim: a minha especialidade é também assentar famílias de locais de terra né. Então em Anchieta tem um bairro que temos aqui no Rio, no município, que assentamos o que? Fizemos oito ocupações. E essas ocupações a gente fazia com famílias mesmo. Várias famílias, uma ocupação teve mil e poucas famílias, outra dois mil, outra 500 famílias, então nós temos lá em Anchieta uma ocupação que fazia parte do movimento.[16]

Thus, while for some the occupation had not been their first contact with political activism, for other inhabitants the occupation of the buildings had been their very first experience of getting involved in citizenship activities:

Foi na minha casa lá no Leme e falou para mim: Lígia, olha, é o seguinte: eu coloquei o teu nome no movimento aí, num negócio aí. E você tem que ir lá, na 3ª de tarde, às três horas. Leva os seus documentos e tal. E eu te encontro lá. Aí eu falei: O que é Solange? Não vai inventar moda? Não, vai lá, você vai gostar. Peguei fui, assisti à reunião, aliás duas reuniões que eu fui não teve. Que uma eu não fui. Aí da outra vez ela foi. Aí pegaram o número do meu documento, tudo né? Aí falavam para mim: olha, você vai ter que participar das reuniões e no Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia, para você poder conseguir uma casa própria. Mas só quem mora de aluguel que pode. Tá bom. Eu falei: bom, morar de aluguel, eu posso. Quem ganha de zero a três salários mínimos. Bom, eu só ganho um salário, então tá tudo bom. Aí eu falei, vou fazer a pista, e vocês vão fazendo a reunião. E no dia de ocupar, eu aviso a vocês.[17]

This difference between the inhabitants is important, as one can act on the assumption that having been previously engaged in citizenship activities also means that a person already possesses a certain level of understanding, knowledge, and experience in rights-claiming processes and their organization. It is therefore likely that this fact also influenced the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship, and this will therefore be taken into account again in section 4.2, when analyzing the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship.

15 For women's citizenship see section 4.3.

16 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

17 Ibid.

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In summary, the interviews revealed that the inhabitants of both squats had very similar life stories and backgrounds. They had very often faced poverty and difficult living conditions from an early stage of their lives, and had continually struggled to be able to survive and to cover their everyday living expenses. They did so mostly through informal work, since their educational levels had also suffered from their poor living conditions and circumstances. During the interviews it became clear that besides all these commonalities, there also existed a significant difference regarding their former experiences and engagement in citizenship activities. As we will see in the following section, these former living conditions and activities of the inhabitants were closely related to their personal reasons for participating in the occupation of the two buildings.

4.1.2 Personal Motivation and Real Changes in Everyday Life

> Toda ocupação é feita por necessidade, ninguém ocupa um prédio público se não tiver necessidade a uma moradia.[18]

In order to learn more about the inhabitants, I was also interested in the reasons behind their decision to move into the squats, and in what had changed in their lives since living there. It turned out that the previously described former living conditions and activities of the inhabitants had greatly influenced their personal decisions to participate in the occupation of the buildings. Hence, two main reasons emerged out of their talks: the interviewees' personal necessity, and a political motivation.

Personal Necessity and Improvement of Living Conditions

The main reason behind the inhabitants' decision to participate in the squats was personal necessity. Taking into account their former living conditions, the interviewees had considered the squats to offer a real chance to improve their lives and the lives of their families. In fact, almost all interviewees agreed that there had been an actual improvement in their everyday lives because of living in the squats. The changes they mentioned that had occurred since moving to the squats were mainly related to the centrality of their new places of residence—in the city center of Rio de Janeiro—and the economic improvement of their households.

18 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 62-year-old man, 24.03.2011.

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The interviews demonstrated that the burden of having to raise money every month for living expenses and rent was extremely high.[19] The opportunity to be liberated from at least one of these expenses therefore was a great relief and personal achievement for the inhabitants. Most of them had emphasized their former financial problems, and thus moving to the squats had also offered the potential to—at least partly—get rid of a big psychological burden: the daily pressure felt by many inhabitants to make sure to be able to provide for their families. As a result of not having to pay rent, the inhabitants then often had more money available for other living expenses, or even extra expenditures which had not been possible for most of them before, such as better electrical devices and sports activities.

Porque a questão financeira também foi apertando, apertando. E aqui que teve aquele auge de necessidade. Acho que ninguém está, ou não deveria estar, se não estivesse passando uma certa necessidade.[20]

Foi bom porque eu não paguei mais aluguel. Ótimo. Porque eu já não sabia: ou eu pagava o aluguel ou a gente comia! Então foi muito bom.[21]

A motivação foi que a minha mãe me mandou sair fora. Aí eu tive que procurar um lugar para morar, aí eu vim parar aqui e envelheci muito. Aqui não é o paraíso que dizem. Só é melhor que uma prisão. Uma cadeia, mas é ruim, muito ruim. Eu moro porque não tenho para onde ir.[22]

Even though the inhabitants had needed to find an affordable place to live and had therefore moved to the squats, the interviews also show that this fact did not automatically imply that they all liked to live there, or that they wished to stay there forever. Even though grateful for the opportunity to have a place to live and to be relieved of a financial burden, the interviewees also (or even at the same time) expressed, especially in informal talks, their wish to be able to leave the squats in the long term (see also section 4.2.2.2). This was mainly due to the challenges described in section 3.1.2 and 3.2.3, and problems the inhabitants (still) faced in the squats and struggled with on a daily basis.

19 Housing costs make up a big percentage of the daily expenses of low-income households, see Hainard et al. 2001, Filling the Urban Policy Breach, p. 36.

20 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 19-year-old woman, 30.03.2011.

21 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 53-year-old woman, 16.03.2011.

22 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

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Regarding the centrality of the squats' location in the city center, the inhabitants stressed especially the fact of being now closer to work and therefore also being able to save money that they used to have to spend on expensive and poor transportation from the suburbs where they had lived before. They reported the difficulties they had formerly encountered while trying to survive in the periphery—due to the lack of sufficient infrastructure and the presence of violence in these areas. To find a job in the periphery had often turned out to be almost impossible, and as a result they had depended on insufficient and, for them, expensive public transportation to the city center. In practice, this had been a significant daily challenge for themselves and their families, because it had often involved hours of travelling to and from work. In the interviews, they described their experiences:

O local onde eu morava, a dificuldade de arranjar trabalho era muito grande. Até você sair para outro lugar para trabalhar, a condução é difícil, é ônibus cheio. Aqui eu to envolvido com trabalho. Eu to no meio do trabalho. Por isso que eu tenho essa oportunidade. Se eu morasse lá em cima, eu gastaria quatro ou cinco horas de viagem ou até mais, dependendo do engarrafamento, de acidente. De repente até mais, até seis horas de viagem. Da casa da minha mãe até aqui o Centro. Se eu morasse lá seriam seis horas de viagem, cinco horas de viagem, andando bem quatro horas e meia. Entendeu? Com velocidade mesmo, com transito livre, faz umas quatro horas e meia. Daí para a frente. Umas cinco, seis, às vezes até mais dependendo se tiver um acidente na estrada.[23]

Porque de onde eu morava para chegar até aqui, leva duas horas e meia! E o que você gasta com condução, não compensa você trabalhar aqui em baixo. E lá não tem mercado de trabalho, na Baixada. Não tem. Então você gasta mais ou menos uns 15 reais. Então patrão nenhum quer dar esse valor para o funcionário. Patrão nenhum quer dar esse valor de passagem. Porque ele sabe que é prejuízo para ele. Então você acaba perdendo o emprego por morar longe.[24]

For the inhabitants, the possibility of living in the city center meant not only being closer to better job opportunities, but also being able to escape from their often dangerous and violent neighborhoods. Their moving to the squats came therefore along with a feeling of greater security, not only for themselves but, especially, for their children and grandchildren. Interestingly, it was mostly the

23 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

24 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

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women in the squats who referred to the safety of their children and described the difficulties they had faced to raise them in a violent environment.[25]

E aqui eu também acho mais tranquilo por ser apartamento. Onde eu morava era uma casa, era tudo aberto. Tinha problema com o tráfico. Aqui tem o morro, mas eles não entram aqui. Então se a gente sai e deixa um filho em casa a gente fica um pouco mais tranquilo do que em determinados lugares em que você às vezes não pode nem sair direito de casa.[26]

E você queira ou não queira, você é obrigado a criar os seus filhos no meio de tudo aquilo. Se amanhã o seu filho vai dar alguma coisa boa, você não sabe. Da mesma maneira que se vai ser um bandido que porta uma arma lá, você também não sabe. Então é uma vida que você está com o pé sobre um arame. Você tá sobre um arame. (...) Você está passando e vendo o seu filho ali, talvez até matando alguém, batendo em alguém. Poxa, é muito triste. Eu vou te dizer uma coisa: nenhuma mãe que mora em comunidade quer isso para o seu filho. Mas infelizmente a gente não sai da comunidade porque não tem para onde ir. (...) Porque se pudesse ninguém moraria no morro e todo mundo moraria na ocupação.[27]

Besides living in a safer environment[28] and being closer to work, easier access to the city center also meant that the inhabitants were embedded in a better infrastructure and—again, as emphasized especially by the female inhabitants—also meant having much better access to healthcare. Before moving to the squats, some of the inhabitants had had traumatic experiences because of their lack of access to sufficient healthcare in the peripheries. One of the interviewees in *Manoel Congo*, for example, reported how she had lost her daughter during a desperate attempt to get transportation to a hospital in the periphery. Before being able to reach medical care, her daughter had died in the arms of her husband, due to the lack of a car or any alternative (public) transportation during the night. So for her, as for many of the other women in the squats, the better access to healthcare living there offered was an important and reassuring improvement:

25 I will go more into detail on especially women's motivation for occupying in section 4.3.1.

26 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

27 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

28 Even though the area around the squats was safer than their former living areas, especially in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* the inhabitants still faced serious problems and conflicts with the drug dealers. See chapter 3.

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Mas eu acho que aqui é mais fácil. Médico lá eu tinha que ir, pegava um ônibus para ir para o médico, por exemplo. Aqui eu saio aqui na portaria, dou a volta e estou no médico! Lá, para marcar um médico você tinha que sair cedo! Cinco, quatro horas, quatro e meia, seis horas da manhã, apanhar um ônibus, para marcar um médico lá na Cidade de Deus por exemplo. Era o mais perto. Os outros eram na Barra, enfim … tudo longe. Aqui não! Saio de casa às nove horas, vou ali na Cruz Vermelha, marco médico. Se não tiver dinheiro para eu ir, pegar um ônibus, eu vou a pé. Em 15 minutos eu estou lá.[29]

Tudo é mais fácil. Médico aqui é mais fácil. Porque lá, a minha irmã, eu fiquei horrorizada: oito meses que eles marcaram uma consulta para a minha sobrinha! Oito meses antecedente. Se você vier aqui, na 13 de Maio, você pega o número no mesmo dia e se consulta. Então as pessoas na Baixada tudo quer vir. Porque tem essa facilidade. Mas como pode chegar aqui cedo? Não tem como chegar cedo. Primeiro porque é difícil sair com uma criança de madrugada. E outra que é hora do pico. Sabe o que é pico, né? (Rir) Então é a hora do pico. Então é difícil.[30]

But, even though the inhabitants felt an improvement in terms of their access to healthcare in comparison to their former living areas, with their low or nonexistent income they still faced serious challenges in receiving adequate healthcare. They talked about the poor quality of the public health centers (*Postos de Saúde*) in general, and about problems with being attended to in emergency situations. One of the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, for instance, reported being frustrated and angry about her experiences with the Brazilian healthcare system. After suffering a heart attack in the squat, she was sent back and forth from one hospital to another for hours before finally receiving a diagnosis and being attended by a doctor.

Eu saí enfartada daqui quase morta! Sozinha daqui. A vizinha entrou aqui por um acaso, viu eu passando mal. Eu falei: "Estou passando mal, muito mal." Ela chamou, foi um sacrifício para vir o bombeiro, que não queria vir. Quando eles vieram aí teve a maior ... botou aqui e viu que a pressão estava alta- porque eu sou hipertensa- aí veio aqui, mandaram para UPA [Unidade de Pronto Atendimento] da Tijuca, não me aceitaram, mandaram para outra UPA não me aceitaram. A conclusão: depois de ter emendado, já eram quase dez e tanta da noite, me trouxeram pro [hospital] Souza Aguiar. O Souza Aguiar lotado, aí a minha família ligou, a minha comadre estava comigo na ambulância, aí falei: "Não, mas eu to na ambulância e nós estamos procurando um hospital". E a minha família falou: "Nós vamos para aí, traz ela para Niterói, traz ela para Niterói!" Porque não

29 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

30 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

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tinha. Eu fiquei quase até meia-noite no Souza Aguiar para ser atendida. Para constatar que eu estava enfartando. Não tinha nem cadeira para eu sentar. (...) Mas quando acontecia qualquer coisa, eu tinha que ir para Niterói, a minha família ia pagar! Porque já fui para a Cruz Vermelha e não fui atendida. Fiquei o dia inteirinho com essa que é a [Berta], ficamos o dia inteirinho, não teve vaga e fomos embora para casa. Conclusão: tive que ir para Niterói, fui socorrida em Niterói.[31]

The described challenges faced by the inhabitants in the periphery on a daily basis had negatively influenced their quality of life, and also held limited promise of future improvement. Access to good education was as limited, as was access to healthcare, and schools in the periphery often lacked sufficient and adequate-quality resources.[32] One of the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* described his experience with the schools in the periphery, pointing to their poor quality and to the frequent changing of teachers:

Então a escola brasileira foi para o caralho. Quer dizer, e nos grandes centros melhora um pouquinho. Agora nas periferias ... porque por exemplo: se você for professora, vai sair daqui do Centro para dar aula lá no Cesarão, uma distância de uma hora e tal de ônibus, chega lá ainda tem milícia. (...) Aí você mora aqui e vai dar aula lá. Está começando e vai lá dar umas aulas. No primeiro momento em que você encontrar uma brecha para vir pra cá perto da sua casa, você vai largar e vai vir embora. Então os professores não querem dar aula num lugar desses. Corre risco de vida. Só se o cara tiver muita ideologia, for um cara muito ideológico para ficar num lugar desses. E lá quase ninguém se forma. E se as pessoas se formassem em matemática por exemplo e morassem lá iam dar aula lá mesmo. Só que lá não tem oportunidade nenhuma. Não consegue se formar, não consegue nada. Quer dizer que cada dia que passa a escola lá é pior. O cara estuda história um mês, dois meses, três meses. No terceiro mês troca o professor. Quer dizer que o cara pega tudo de novo.[33]

Thus, moving to the city center also offered new opportunities for the inhabitants regarding their and their families' education. Especially in *Manoel Congo* the inhabitants also used the opportunity to go back to school themselves and to gain

31 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

32 For further reading on educational inequalities in Rio de Janeiro see for example Koslinski Campelo, Mariane, Fátima Alves, and Wolfram J. Lange. 2013. "Desigualdades Educacionais em Contextos Urbanos. Um Estudo da Geografia de Oportunidades Educacionais na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro", *Educ. Soc. Campinas*, 34 (125): 1175–1202.

33 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

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a better education in order to improve their chances on the job market, as well as to develop on a personal level.

Voltei a estudar de novo. Por mim mesmo, voltei porque tem que estudar e peguei firme. Eu acho que mudou muito. Porque eu penso de alcançar para a frente. Que é o futuro melhor para mim e para a minha família. Eu penso assim.[34]

Porque até para a gente conseguir um emprego aqui, se você não tem estudo, fica difícil de arrumar um emprego. Ou você tem que ter estudo ou você tem que ter um conchavo. Se você não tem nenhum dos dois, então ... fica difícil. Aí eu estou estudando porque eu quero fazer alguma coisa de melhor. Quero sair de casa ... às vezes eu acho que a minha vida é muito parada. Fico dentro de casa, faço as coisas, aí não saio muito para fora, não conheço muita gente, né? Porque fico muito presa aqui dentro, né? Aí por isso que resolvi voltar a estudar. Para ver se no futuro eu tenho ... um futuro melhor. (…) Muita coisa mudou no pensamento. Essa vontade de estudar, eu não tinha. Acho que através do movimento e também vai chegando a idade, a gente tem que botar alguma coisa na cabeça. Se quiser melhorar de vida tem que pensar alguma coisa positiva. Senão não tem como.[35]

On the one hand the centrality of their new location of residence facilitated this access to education. Because they lived close to their places of work, the inhabitants had more time available and were not obliged to pay expensive additional transportation to school. On the other hand—as outlined in section 3.2.1—the MNLM and its coordinators in the squat spurred the resumption of education by its inhabitants. In contrast, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, there was no such education-promoting force present or active in the squat. As a result the inhabitants did not refer explicitly to education as a change or improvement in their lives to the same extent as did those in *Manoel Congo*. If there was any reference to education in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, it was mainly related to the fact of being closer to better schools for their children.[36]

Another personal improvement mentioned by some of the inhabitants was the opportunity to finally have access to the cultural offerings of the city. Their statements show that due to their socio-economic situation, they not only suffered from exclusion from adequate housing, transportation, healthcare, and

34 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

35 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

36 Only one women I interviewed, who had already begun studying before moving to the squat, talked about the new advantages of being closer to her university.

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education, but were *de facto* also excluded from the public and cultural life in the city.

Então aí eu vim já tinha 22 dias de ocupação quando eu cheguei aqui e para mim melhorou bastante. Porque aqui eu to muito próxima da faculdade onde eu estudo que é dez minutos de ônibus. O que é uma diferença muito grande que antes eram duas horas. Fiquei mais próxima ao mercado de trabalho também: tanto o formal quanto o informal, onde eu morava não tinha como sobreviver nem na informalidade. Porque as pessoas não têm dinheiro, se você for vender alguma coisa é mais difícil. Aqui já é mais fácil para isso. Então para mim modificou muita coisa. Meus filhos foram para uma escola melhor também, a gente aqui tem acesso a mais cultura, né, os teatros ... quando eu vim para cá os meus filhos foram pro teatro pela primeira vez! Depois que eu vim morar aqui.[37]

[Q]ue você tem a possibilidade por estar no Centro, você está perto das coisas, você está perto da Biblioteca Nacional, você está perto da Academia Brasileira de Letras. Você está perto do Museu de Arte Moderna, perto do Teatro Municipal. Tem uma gama de possibilidades que te abre a outros horizontes.[38]

The experiences described by the inhabitants—their exclusion from access to and the benefits of the urban space, such as adequate housing, transportation, jobs, healthcare, education, and culture—had generated their felt need to improve their lives, and had encouraged them to participate in the squats. Thus, the emphasis on this need as their reason to occupy also demonstrates the persistence of a historically rooted differentiated access of the inhabitants to their city (as described in section 2.1.3.1) and that the low-income population is still in practice excluded from constitutional social rights. As we can see for the inhabitants, this exclusion then forms the basis for the claims and practices of an insurgent citizenship, challenging their differentiated access to the city by occupying empty buildings.

Political Motivation and the Development of a New Consciousness

Talking about changes that had occurred in their lives after moving to the squats, the inhabitants often not only referred to the above described improvements regarding their daily routines, but also to the personal development they had gone through since, and because of, living in the squats. This personal development was on the one hand related to the new collective living situation

37 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

38 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 23-year-old man, 21.05.2011.

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with its special rules and organization, and on the other to the development of a (new) political consciousness among some of the inhabitants.

For many inhabitants in both squats one major personal change and new experience had been that of adapting to live in a squat together ("*conviver*") with the other inhabitants—to live in a *coletivo*—where they were exposed to new rules and living conditions. This new situation often also came along with significant personal development and change, in terms of learning about and tolerating the needs of others, or ignoring the opinions and prejudices of people not living in the squats:

Mudou a minha cabeça. (...) mas quando eu passei a viver a realidade que o outro vivia, foi pesado. (...) e eu não estava acostumada a morar em ocupação! Não estava acostumada com polícia, com divergência de ... e vindo para cá mudou porque eu fui aceitando e vendo as coisas de outra forma até ter a cabeça que tenho hoje.[39]

O que mudou foi conhecer pessoas, ter pessoas que a gente aprende a amar. Outras a gente aprende a odiar. O sentimento nosso fica assim: altos e baixos. Mas a gente vai ponderando isso e aprendendo a cada dia mais a se policiar a si próprio. Então eu aprendi a conviver com todo tipo de pessoas. Isso mudou muito na minha vida.[40]

Even though changes concerning the daily routines and the new collective form of cohabitation were similar and therefore mentioned in both squats, it was only in *Manoel Congo* that some of the inhabitants pointed to the creation or further development of a (new) political consciousness since living there. One of these inhabitants was Susanna, who had left her house in a *favela* and moved to the squat due to the growing drug conflict in her former neighborhood. She emphasized that it had not been a place where she had wanted to raise her children.[41] Due to the presence of the drug trade selling the house in the *favela* then became difficult, and when her aunt told her that some urban land occupations had taken place in another area, she decided to participate and leave, even against the will of her husband—a quite common practice on the part of the women in the squats, as we will see in section 4.3.1.

É assim: eu morava aqui no Centro mesmo, no Estácio, só que no morro, na parte baixa do morro, que era a melhor parte de moradia daquela época. Justamente nessa época começou a guerra do tráfico. No caso os comandos. E eu estava com os meus filhos pequenos na

39 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 19-year-old woman, 30.03.2011.

40 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

41 For women's responsibility for the domestic sphere see section 4.3.2.

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época e decidi que precisava me mudar para um local melhor para criar meus filhos. (...) Aí eu fui visitar uma tia minha e ela me falou que estava acontecendo umas ocupações nos morros lá (...) e estava até difícil para vender a casa ali onde eu morava porque já estava pesado mesmo o tráfico. Aí o que aconteceu? A gente saiu, eu saí dali, tomei a frente, o meu marido na época ... era o primeiro marido, do primeiro casamento. Não queria sair e largar o bem, e vender a casa que ganhou com tanto sacrifício. Mas eu bati o pé, falei (Rir): eu vou, porque não quero os meus filhos aqui. Eu vou criar num lugar que tenha mais segurança, que seja mais calmo, que eles não estejam nessa coisa de ah: drogas. Aí foi o que eu fiz. Saí, larguei tudo. E fui embora. Fui para um barraco. Na época não tinha nem o barraco. Foi construído na hora. A minha casa tinha 10 cômodos, era uma casa enorme, tinha móveis. Era uma situação boa! Aí larguei para lá, fui pro barraco. Era barraco, assentamento. Então alguns eram barracos, outros eram de plástico mesmo, feito de plástico. E fui morar lá. Lá eu criei os meus filhos.[42]

Susanna started to live in a shack and became involved in community work, and organized child care and a library project in the new settlement. When she met another woman who was participating in the preparatory meetings of *Manoel Congo*, the settlement had already been established, and she became interested in the MNLM's work and decided to participate in it. Susanna emphasized that she had participated for political reasons (see below) but also admitted recognizing in doing so a certain necessity for her and her children to move to the city center, and participating held the possibility of facilitating such a move. Talking about changes in her life since living in the squat, she stressed the further personal development she had gone through, gaining even more social and political consciousness:

Mas eu acho que com a ocupação o meu crescimento foi muito grande. Me abriu muito o horizonte, a visão de muitas coisas. A consciência. (...) É uma transformação, eu digo o movimento nacional, ele vem como transformação de dentro para fora. As pessoas vão se transformando por dentro. E vão saindo, detectando, melhorando, construindo, crescendo. (...) Muita coisa mudou na minha vida. Mudou. Eu hoje sou outra pessoa. Consciência mudou. A minha consciência. O meu modo de ver as coisas, né? Mudou muito porque conscientizei muito das coisas. Passei a aprender. Aprendi muito. Já tinha ... já era satisfeita com certo tipo de coisa que acontecia. Mas através do movimento clareou mais as minhas ideias na questão política, na questão social. Entendeu? Então melhorou muito, melhorou muito. A visão de buscar melhorias e crescer como pessoa. Melhorar como pessoa. Então tudo isso veio mudar na minha vida, entendeu?[43]

42 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.

43 Ibid.

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Susanna underlined in her statement the importance of the MNLM in the process of the creation of a political consciousness. The strong influence of the movement in *Manoel Congo* apparently had an effect on the inhabitants and their way of thinking over time. Even some of the inhabitants in *Manoel Congo* who had not been involved in other citizenship activities before expressed a certain change and development in terms of their political understanding. One women in *Manoel Congo* told me after the interview that it was in the squat that she had learned for the first time about her rights and the possibility of claiming them publicly. She had come out of necessity, and admitted her initial ignorance concerning the political aspects of the occupation: "*Eu achava que era simplesmente pessoas que moravam. Eu não tinha noção que era um movimento social que reivindicava um direito das pessoas (...). Então pra mim foi bom, mas muito surpreendedor.*"[44] Being confronted every day with the strong presence of a social movement and being obliged to take part in it, to participate in its citizenship activities and aims—such as meetings, demonstrations, and education—apparently had the potential to be a transformative force and to make a difference in terms of the development of a political consciousness.[45]

Susanna's case also demonstrated that besides necessity, some of the inhabitants also pointed to a political motivation to participate in the squats. These were especially the interviewees who had already been engaged in citizenship activities before taking part in *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*.[46] Some of them had started their engagement at a very young age and had continued to exercise it since then, as the example of Mauro demonstrated. As a young man he came in contact with liberation theology,[47] and from then on, had continued to participate in various social movements.

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44 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 25-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

45 I will pick up this topic again in section 4.2.1.

46 A political motivation to participate emerged in both squats, but accounts mentioning this differed in their quantity. While in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* only four of the interviewed inhabitants referred to political reasons, in *Manoel Congo* at least twelve inhabitants did so (almost half of the interviewed persons).

47 A Catholic movement with the aim of liberating people from oppressive structures. For a further reading on liberation theology, see for example Pottenger, John R. 1989, *The Political Theory of Liberation Theology. Toward a Reconvergence of Social Values and Social Science,* Albany: State University of New York Press; Turner, J. D. 1994, *An Introduction to Liberation Theology,* Lanham: University Press of America; Berryman, Phillip. 1987, *Liberation Theology. Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

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Eu sou do Movimento Sem Teto atualmente, mas eu fiz militância política no movimento de esquerda desde os 22 ou 23 anos. Antes eu era da igreja católica, eu era do grupo de jovens da igreja católica só que eu era da direção do grupo de jovens. E dentro da igreja eu conheci alguns colegas discutindo a política, discutindo religião, que é praticamente a mesma coisa né? E política no sentido de situação social, principalmente do país. A situação do negro, da mulher, do analfabeta, do nordestino, do gay, da prostituta, que são pessoas bastante preconizadas nessa sociedade. E a partir daí, da discussão política dentro do grupo de jovens a gente vai saindo para outras discussões (...). Aí com isso eu começo a me envolver com o movimento popular. Que eu venho participando desde aquela época até agora. Primeiro na igreja, depois no movimento sindical, que eu trabalhava numa empresa metalúrgica e tal. Depois no Movimento da Associação de Moradores, não sei se você conhece. E por fim do Movimento Sem Teto. Do movimento estudantil também um pouco, que eu era estudante. Mas movimento estudantil eu militei pouco. E por fim no Movimento Sem Teto.[48]

But inhabitants like Mauro, who mentioned a political motivation and had been engaged in citizenship activities before, had also come to their activism through their need and wish to improve their living conditions. As the previous section has shown, all inhabitants had suffered from the same poor living conditions. Thus, the squat was for them not only a political initiative, but also—as it was for the other inhabitants—the accomplishment of a basic need:

Eu estava quase na rua, não tinha mesmo como pagar aluguel, não tinha condições de pagar. Eu acho que nem quem está na militância tem condições de morar no Centro do Rio de Janeiro, e hoje muito menos. Com a forma que a especulação imobiliária trabalha. Eu acho que não vai poder. Aí eu cheguei aqui na ocupação e foram abertas as portas para mim. Estou morando aqui até hoje.[49]

In summary, the interviews demonstrated that the previous living conditions and activities of the inhabitants of both squats—as described in section 4.1.1—had greatly influenced their decision to move to the squats. The inhabitants' need to improve their and their families' living conditions—their exclusion from access to and the benefits of the city—was the main reason and stimulus for becoming engaged in the occupation of the buildings; that is, for becoming engaged in citizenship activities. Additionally, the inhabitants who had formerly engaged in citizenship activities, particularly in *Manoel Congo*, highlighted a political motivation for their participation.

48 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

49 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 23-year-old man, 21.05.2011.

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When talking about changes that had occurred in their lives after moving to the squats, all interviewees stressed the improvements that came along with the central location and with saving for the cost of housing. Somewhat in contrast to what I had first expected, the answers the inhabitants offered were not related to the daily routines in their private family lives, such as changes in daily tasks or responsibilities. However, it seemed as if especially the women also emphasized the improvements they felt for their children or even grandchildren. Thus, talking about their former living conditions and reasons for participation also led to the first indication that there existed a gender-specific difference in people's motivation to participate in the squats. This aspect will therefore be further analyzed in section 4.3.

The interviews also revealed that some inhabitants referred to a personal development they had gone through since, and because of, living in the squats. This personal development was on the one hand related to the new collective living situation inside the squats (as described in section 3), and on the other hand to the emergence of a (new) political consciousness. That such references to the creation or further development of a (new) political consciousness were only made by residents in *Manoel Congo* suggests that this development was also related to the internal differences between the squats. With the strong guidance of a social movement within *Manoel Congo*, apparently there seemed to be a greater potential for the inhabitants to (further) develop a political consciousness. The question to what degree this was really the case will be dealt with in more detail in section 4.2, when talking about the inhabitants' understandings and articulations of citizenship.

4.1.3 Preliminary Summary

The interviews demonstrated that the inhabitants had come to their engagement in the squats mainly through personal necessity. The improvements they described after having moved to *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga* also reflected these needs, which were caused by a *de facto* exclusion from constitutional social rights in their daily lives in the city, such as the right to education, work, healthcare, and housing (see section 2.1.3.1). The case of the two squats has thus demonstrated and confirmed the ongoing unequal access of certain parts of the Brazilian population to rights and privileges, and provides a vivid example of how the extension of formal rights in the Brazilian Constitution has not led to their consistent recognition and application in practice. Thus, the testimonies of the inhabitants of the squats demonstrate the ongoing daily

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experience of a differentiated citizenship in Brazil, as described in section 2.1.2.1.

The inhabitants' emphasis of their needs as the main reason for their engagement in the squats also indicates that citizenship is something that can develop from an everyday practice and is not bound to a former political education or consciousness *per se*. The interviews have revealed that not all inhabitants had been engaged in citizenship activities before moving to the squats, and sometimes had even barely known what to expect from the occupation. Thus, when analyzing citizenship processes such as the occupation of an empty building, we also cannot take for granted any previous political consciousness of the actors involved, or see this as a precondition for engagement in citizenship activities. The interviews further suggest that such a political consciousness is also not necessarily something that develops afterwards. But comparing the accounts given by the inhabitants regarding the changes that had occurred in their lives after moving to the squats in *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, it seemed that if embedded in and promoted by certain structures—such as a social movement—it is more likely that an engagement in citizenship is accompanied by a (further) development of a political consciousness.

These first assumptions regarding citizenship will be picked up and further analyzed in the following chapter, where I will go into greater detail regarding the inhabitants' concrete understandings and articulations of citizenship.

4.2 UNDERSTANDING (OF) CITIZENSHIP

> Little is yet known of how rights and citizenship are understood by poor people themselves, how they are realised in practice across different conditions and contexts, and with what impact.[50]

Since the 1990s academic literature and social movements have adopted the notion of citizenship and increasingly included it in their scientific and political vocabularies (as outlined further in section 2.1). Scholars emphasize that it is the broadness of the concept that helps to encompass a wide range of social and

50 Gaventa 2002, Introduction, p. 4; Jones, Emma and John Gaventa. 2002. "Concepts of Citizenship. A Review", *IDS Development Bibliography* (19): 28.

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political issues and universal as well as particular claims.[51] Even though the concept of citizenship on an academic and political level has in many cases turned out to be useful for the description, denunciation, and analysis of processes of inclusion and exclusion, it has also been criticized for hitherto offering little insight into how affected people themselves understand citizenship.[52] It has therefore been argued that "[m]ost scholarship on citizenship focuses on institutional and structural analyses and extrapolates these to individual citizens' experiences. This renders citizenship a static and uniform concept that is divorced from individuals' understandings."[53]

In fact, to date there have been only a few studies that have focused on the understanding of citizenship among the participants of housing movements, and even then they often take the relevance and validity of the concept for the participants for granted, thereby ignoring alternative argumentations and running the risk of missing relevant details.[54] Hence, in order to explore and document how the affected people themselves understand and experience citizenship and what it actually means to them—to explore the construction of a citizenship "from below" in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*—in the following chapter I will first elaborate on the language used by the inhabitants to legitimize their participation. I will then sketch out additional ways in which the inhabitants expressed their views on their struggles in the city; that is, through their dreams, hopes, and wishes for the future—creating and participating thus in urban imaginaries.

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51 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 163; Hearn, Jeff, Elżbieta H. Oleksy, and Dorota Golańska. 2011. "Introduction. The Limits of Gendered Citizenship" in *The Limits of Gendered Citizenship. Contexts and Complexities,* edited by E. H. Oleksy, J. Hearn, and D. Golańska. New York: Routledge, pp. 4.

52 Gaventa 2002, Introduction; Kabeer 2005, Introduction.

53 Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2006. "Everyday Understandings of Citizenship in Germany", *Citizenship Studies*, 10 (5): 541–570.

54 None of the small number of studies, which also focus on the understanding of citizenship of the participants of housing movements (Earle 2009, Occupying the Illegal City; Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?; Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville) really question the meaning and importance of the concept of citizenship for the participants. While the studies by Macedo Filho and Carle-Marsan focus on women's citizenship, Earle focuses on how understandings of citizenship shape the interrelationship between the social movements—in her case of the UMM in São Paulo—and the state.

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4.2.1 The Legitimacy of Action: Articulation of Rights and Needs

> Nessa ocupação nós vamos aprender coisas que a gente nunca imaginava que nós tínhamos o direito.[55]

Citizenship has been defined as a formal status and a practice. Hence, from an academic viewpoint, people's participation in the occupation of empty buildings in Rio de Janeiro—in response to the lack of access in practice to the constitutional right to housing—can be understood as exercising citizenship. As highlighted in section 2.1.1, to integrate the formal status and the social processes of its negotiation into one definition of citizenship allows us to also explore the performative dimension of membership and thus to incorporate the views and voices of social actors often excluded from the dominant discourses, such as the inhabitants of the squats.

Hence, seeking to capture the inhabitants' own understandings and construction of citizenship, I myself avoided using or introducing the term *citizenship* (*cidadanía*) during my interviews.[56] In this way, I tried to avoid pre-shaping their answers with my theoretical framing of their struggles. Indeed, it turned out that the interviewees barely used the term *citizenship* explicitly of their own accord to describe and justify their engagement in the squats. Instead, the inhabitants used their own language during the interviews. Even though they often mixed several arguments to make their point, I detected two—as we will see, closely related—approaches which the inhabitants used to legitimate their participation in the occupation of the buildings: a rights-based, and a needs-based approach. The interviewees developed a language of rights—consisting of the reference to "text-based rights" and the reference to "contributor

55 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

56 As mentioned before, other scholars have not really questioned the meaning and importance of the concept of citizenship for the participants of housing movements. They have even often explicitly included the notion of citizenship when talking with the interviewees (for example Earle 2009, Occupying the Illegal City, p. 300 or Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, pp. 216f) and thus, in my opinion, have risked pre-shaping the answers and reducing the space for the interviewees' own interpretations.

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rights"[57]—and a language of needs—consisting of a reference to their basic needs—which in I will elaborate on and discuss in detail below.

4.2.1.1 Text-based Rights and Contributor Rights

> [L]ittle is known about how rights languages are actually used in situated struggles, by different individuals or groups, and to what effect.[58]

In approaching the inhabitants' understandings of citizenship, I was interested in the kinds of justifications they used to legitimate their actions. It turned out that they used a language of rights, which meant on the one hand referring directly or indirectly to "text-based rights"—that is, "to the constitution and the legal codes"[59]—and on the other hand referring to "contributor rights"—that is, to the payment of taxes.

Text-based Rights

In *Chiquinha Gonzaga* squat there were only a small number of inhabitants—eight out of the 26 interviewees—who referred on their own initiative to the Brazilian Constitution to justify their occupation of the building. Most of them had been engaged in citizenship activities before participating in the squat. The ones who had not—three out of the eight—were nonetheless playing an active role in the squat during my stay and were more engaged in its activities than the other inhabitants, who did not mention the Constitution unless explicitly asked about it. The interviewees justified the occupation, for example, in the following way:

[N]a própria Constituição. Não sei se é na Constituição Brasileira, mas é num livro de leis aí, um livro de legislação aí, tem o seguinte: moradia é um direito do cidadão e um dever do estado. (…) Então é o seguinte: a gente simplesmente faz valer o nosso direito. Só isso.[60]

57 These two terms owe their inspiration to James Holston, who also describes the justifications used by the residents in the peripheries of São Paulo to legitimate demands (Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, pp. 260, 246).

58 Jones et al. 2002, Concepts of Citizenship, p. 28.

59 Holston 2011, Contesting Privilege with Right, p. 28.

60 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

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Até porque esta na nossa Constituição. No artigo cinco da nossa Constituição, que todo cidadão tem direito a moradia digna. É todo prédio, todo imóvel tem que ter uma função social. Qual é a maior função social de um imóvel do governo? Se vira moradia.[61]

Nós ocupamos o espaço público que o governo larga. Ainda, mas agora que a nova lei implica até que se por ventura for mesmo de um particular, mesmo da iniciativa privada, o Estatuto das Cidades prevê um dispositivo chamado "A função social da propriedade". Que quebra um pouco aquilo que eu te falei no início que a Constituição preserva muito o patrimônio, a propriedade privada. Com essa emenda complementar, que chama Estatuto das Cidades, então essa lei que permitiu que nós também pudessem entrar (...).[62]

In *Manoel Congo* the number of inhabitants—19 out of 24—who referred of their own volition to the Constitution to justify the occupation of the building, was much higher than that in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. Also, here the majority of them had been previously engaged in citizenship activities, and those who had not—eight out of 19—were actively taking part in the squat. Of course, active engagement by the inhabitants in *Manoel Congo* was also more likely as active participation was required and strongly controlled by the leading MNLM movement.[63]

Eu acho justo para a gente ter uma moradia digna, que o pobre não tem que morar afastado do centro urbano, em termos de emprego. E que a cidade hoje tem prédios que podem ser ocupados, que podem ser utilizados e que está na Constituição de que todo mundo tem direito a moradia.[64]

A leitura que a gente tem é assim: o déficit habitacional no país existe, no estado, existe. E tem prédios público que devem ser direcionados para a habitação de interesse social. Para moradia. Tem que ser! O que justifica o uso social desse prédio é morar.[65]

Não está cumprindo a sua função social! Então é uma forma de reivindicação e de denúncia. Tá errado. Não tem que construir mais casa para mim. Tem um salário de zero a três? Vamos construir um prédio para vocês morarem, uma casa … não, a gente tem espaço ocioso que você pode construir política para preencher esses espaços. (...) E a

61 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 24.03.2011.

62 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 45-year-old man, 21.03.2011.

63 For the differences in the internal organization of the squats see chapter 3.

64 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 51-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

65 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

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justiça seja feita. Então isso é uma forma de denúncia! E reivindicar o nosso direito que está na Constituição. Nada mais, nada menos. A gente não está fazendo nada de errado! A gente ocupa para reivindicar e se fazer valer o nosso direito.[66]

As the quoted examples from both squats show, the level of knowledge about the law and its configurations varied between the interviewees. While most referred to the right to housing in the Constitution, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* two out of eight, and in *Manoel Congo* eight out of 19 interviewees also elaborated on the legal conditions in more detail by mentioning the social function of property, thereby referring to a passage of the City Statute (see section 2.1.3.1). In doing so, these inhabitants not only demonstrated a detailed knowledge of their formal rights, but also expressed a collective approach to housing.

The social function of property implies the promotion of a collective interest and the well-being of society over individual interest and enrichment. Referring to the social function of property in order to justify the occupation of vacant buildings then also means framing the occupation beyond the individual's need for housing, as a collective action aiming to contribute to a better society. This argumentation—the emphasis of the collective interest—could also be found in the line of reasoning of one of the national coordinators of the MNLM, who was living in *Manoel Congo*:

Os imóveis do Centro. E a outra é que estão vazios. Eles não cumprem a função social. Isso é uma garantia legal! A propriedade tem que cumprir a sua função social. E a função social é aquilo que faz bem à sociedade. Não é aquilo que faz bem ao indivíduo. Isso ta na Constituição![67]

As described in section 3.2, in *Manoel Congo* especially, the inhabitants who held a position in the movement's hierarchy had made it quite clear that the aim of the squat was not only to provide housing for needy families, but was also—and perhaps even more so—a political undertaking and an instrument to achieve a more equitable society:

Então que lógica de cidade é essa? Agora mudar essa lógica não se muda com um ato. Não se muda com um decreto. É um processo de luta, de formulação, reflexão, mobilização, enfrentamento, negociação ... num consenso! E que o movimento nacional está comprometido com ele, porque a lição do Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia,

66 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

67 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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quando a gente organiza uma ocupação, a gente não ta convidando as pessoas a terem uma casa. Estamos convidando eles a participar de uma luta por uma outra cidade.[68]

This kind of argumentation forms an integral part of the discourses and struggles promoted by social movements fighting for housing. As described in section 2.1.3.1, these movements had struggled for the implementation of legal instruments, especially for the social function of housing, to justify pressure on the authorities in their demands for decent living conditions. The reference to text-based rights thus forms an important part of their discourses in order to legitimate their actions and claim their demands. As a consequence, these discourses had also been passed to the participants of these movements—that is, to the inhabitants of the squats. The interviews, especially with the inhabitants formerly engaged in citizenship activities, revealed that in *Manoel Congo* active measures had been taken to inform the participants about the legal context of their actions and the collective aim of the movement:

E você falou de formação política: o que quer dizer formação política para você? Na verdade a gente está tentando fazer uma comissão. Porque a gente percebe a necessidade, que a gente passou muito tempo da questão da necessidade cotidiana, né? Daquela coisa do despejo daqui, lá também ... da necessidade de se conquistar o espaço, de ficar muito ... e a gente acaba meio que necessitando de uma formação para entender: por que que há tantos bloqueios? Por que é tão difícil acessar as coisas? Que sociedade é essa que limita o nosso direito fundamental, entendeu? Ta na Constituição do país. Por que que eu não posso ter acesso a uma moradia? E para você tentar fazer esse tipo de reflexão e juntar, o que me une por exemplo ... o que me leva a falar que aqui eu não estou só por causa do meu espaço, mas eu to também com a vontade, o direito, de outras comunidades de ter essa sua moradia. Então para isso você tem que ter uma certa leitura, você tem que ter um certo suporte. Então a gente ta meio que tentando organizar essa comissão.[69]

E vamos ocupar um espaço aí, já está no projeto destinado, e eu acompanho essas famílias. Uma vez por mês a gente faz reuniões com essas famílias. Conscientizamos elas dos direitos da moradia, do direito do cidadão, constituinte, moradia não é mercadoria ... dever do estado de estar fornecendo de graça essas moradias. Então o trabalho eu trabalho com essas pessoas todas. Porque as pessoas infelizmente não sabem os seus direitos né. Se a gente não falar para eles vai ficar naquela inércia lá.[70]

68 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

69 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

70 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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Hoje eu e [Glória] sentamos e falamos: olha, nós estamos acertando no caminho, porque estão surgindo novas pessoas. Então a gente entra num processo assim: de tentar se afastar para que eles possam mostrar, mas nem sempre por perto. Porque a gente não sabe até que ponto eles estão acertando. Então a gente sempre está num processo de acompanhamento.[71]

These quotes from interviews with some of the coordinators of the MNLM also indicate that not all the inhabitants in the squat were conscious of the political dimension of the squat or their legal rights. In fact, the coordinators emphasized the necessity of raising consciousness among the inhabitants about their formal rights—that is is, following my definition, ultimately about citizenship.

As we see in section 4.1.2 some inhabitants in fact reported the emergence or further development of a political consciousness and the importance the MNLM played in it. Some stated that they had learned about their rights and ways of claiming them for the first time in their life in the squat:

Com o passar dos dias, semanas, meses, anos, é que você vai conhecer com quem você está vivendo. Então é muito difícil. Mas a experiência valeu a pena. Valeu a pena. Aprendi muito. Aprendi várias coisas de leis, a respeito de direitos, dos nossos direitos. Porque nós temos direitos que o governo nos tira, né? Aprendi a reivindicar, né? A lutar por aquilo que a gente deseja. A abrir a boca no meio da rua e falar mesmo. Para o governo saber que você está ali, reivindicando por aquela causa. E foi muito bom.[72]

Bom, na verdade, Bea, eu não tenho muita experiência nisso. De dizer para você: como é uma ocupação, como não é. Porque eu nunca havia conhecido o que é uma ocupação. Eu vim conhecer através dessa que estou fazendo parte.[73]

Inclusive depois que veio uma moça do aeroporto, uma moça até simpática, bem vestida. Depois eu fui saber que ela faz, assim, entrevista com as pessoas, que ela é do aeroporto mesmo. Então ela chegou perto da [Marta], da minha filha, e começou a fazer um monte de pergunta. E gravando. Aí ... enquanto ela soube responder, ela tava respondendo. Quando ficou complicado ela chamou a [Glória]. Aí a [Glória] veio, explicou, falou. Porque tem muita coisa que eu mesma não entendo. Mesmo você me explicando tá difícil de eu entender. Porque é complicado o negócio. E a minha filha já entende mais do que

71 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

72 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

73 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

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eu. Porque ela participou mais, ela frequentou mais, ela andou mais. E tudo mais do que eu.[74]

These observations, together with the abovementioned fact that in *Manoel Congo*—where the MNLM still had a strong influence—the number of inhabitants who referred on their own initiative to the Constitution or even the social function of housing to justify the occupation of the building was much higher than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga,* where the social movement had lost its influence over time—indicate the importance and influence of political actors such as social movements in the implementation of a citizenship-related knowledge and vocabulary among its participants. This citizenship vocabulary does not make significant use of the term *citizenship* itself, but is mainly a knowledge of the existence of formal rights in the Constitution. Using a language of rights to justify the occupation of empty buildings is then an important instrument or even a strategy of the social movements, but not something that is usually developed automatically by the participants simply because of their living in the squats, as the comparison with *Chiquinha Gonzaga* especially revealed.

The insights from the fieldwork not only indicate that the language of rights is mainly implemented by social movements, but also that the intensity and consistency of the implementation of this language played an important role in its adaption, reproduction, and, as is shown below, understanding over time. This assumption was further confirmed through another justification some of the interviewees used (additionally) to legitimate their actions. Inhabitants in both squats emphasized the difference between "to occupy" (*ocupar*) and "to invade" (*invadir*) and thereby differentiated a legitimate from an illegal or even criminal act. Some scholars doing research on housing movements[75] have also observed the importance for these movements of differentiating between the two terms in order to legitimate and also valorize the occupation of land or buildings. While the term *invasão* refers to a negative public discourse trying to denounce the movement's actions, the term *ocupação* refers to a legitimate act authorized by the law—the Constitution. The geographer Regina Bega dos Santos notes:

74 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

75 Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos; Tramontani Ramos 2012, As Barricadas do Hiperprecariado Urbano, pp. 207–209; Gonzalez, Emilio. 2005. "Memórias que Narram a Cidade. Experiências Sociais na Constituição Urbana de Foz do Iguaçu" Dissertação de Mestrado, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, São Paulo, p. 154; Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, pp. 38–42.

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Antes de mais nada é importante enfatizar a questão da nomenclatura: há um termo muito empregado pela grande imprensa e pelo poder público: "invasão". Os participantes dos movimentos populares se autodenominam ocupantes e não invasores. A diferença não é simplesmente semântica. No uso do termo invasão estão implícitas a ilegalidade e a violência de ação: invadir a privacidade ou a propriedade de outrem. Trata-se de uma ação ilegítima. O termo ocupação relaciona-se à conquista de um direito: ocupa-se o que é de direito.[76]

This kind of reasoning is thus also ultimately based on the written law, and therefore—even though at first glance less explicitly—a reference to text-based rights.

Reference to both terms was not only made by the interviewees when asked directly about their justification for the occupation, but also popped up as a justification when describing the squat or talking about relationships with others. The differentiation of the terms thereby also highlighted the existence of prejudices the inhabitants had to face regularly due to their living in the squats. While some inhabitants reported a loss of their former social contacts, such as friends or sometimes even family members, due to their living in the squats, others described difficulties in gaining access to daily essential services, for example opening bank accounts when they revealed their current address.

The differentiation between the terms *invasão* and *ocupação* is therefore an important discourse for social movements in order to avoid the stigma of illegality, and also forms part of their internal political instruction.[77] Just as the abovementioned directly references to the Constitution, it is also not a self-made differentiation by the inhabitants, but forms part of a knowledge and vocabulary used and implemented by the respective social movements. That this process of implementation existed, and also needed time and continual supervision by the movement responsible, was confirmed during the interview with one of the national coordinators of the MNLM, while explaining to me the difference between *invasão* and *ocupação:*

As pessoas, quando eles falam ocupação, na verdade o que está no imaginário deles, não é a ocupação, é invasão. Até você quebrar com essa categoria invasão. A gente não invade, a gente ocupa o que está ocioso, e valoriza aquilo que foi produto do trabalhador. Isso aqui foi construído por trabalhadores. E quer dizer ... tudo que foi investido aqui é do governo federal. Então isso aqui tem que ser devolvido para quem construiu esse país. O

76 Santos 2004, Movimentos Sociais Urbanos, p. 132.

77 This has also been observed by Tramontani Ramos 2012, As Barricadas do Hiperprecariado Urbano, p. 207.

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trabalhador que está aqui, ele não está de graça. Então até essa palavra "ocupação" para os moradores é um processo longo, didático, até eles entenderem que ocupar é um processo de resistência e para denunciar a especulação imobiliária desse país. Tanto em terras públicas, terras de prédios públicos e terras privadas também. Então é só a prática que vai demonstrar o que é a ocupação. E a ocupação ela não é simplesmente ocupar um prédio. Ela é todo um processo que engendra a forma de como se garantir esse resultado político. De ocupar. É você constituir famílias, você construir laços, é você ter normas e comportamentos totalmente diferentes, e também é uma ação política de qualidade. Porque você está mostrando para a sociedade o que é ocupar. Aqui a gente- eu e [Glória] a gente fala assim de vez em quando: Olha [Glória], porque as pessoas não percebem isso, mas quem tem a leitura, percebe. Assim como nós ocupamos o espaço, dois meses depois nós orientamos todo mundo para estudar.[78]

The national coordinator's statement indicates the difficulties the MNLM faced in communicating an understanding of a certain language and its political implications, and therefore the need for a long-term strategy—in this case the promotion of school education[79]—in order to do so. The MNLM not only promoted school education, but was also—as seen in section 3.2—imparting knowledge about the movement, its aims, and strategies during the numerous—and often for the participants obligatory—meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations.

Figure 23: Meeting room in Manoel Congo with educational material about the history of the MNLM[80]

78 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

79 For the importance of education in *Manoel Congo*, see section 3.2.1.

80 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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Yet despite these measures, difficulties in instigating an understanding of a certain language and its political implications, as described above by the national coordinator, were also confirmed during the interviews with inhabitants who had not previously been engaged in citizenship activities. These interviews not only confirmed the implementation of certain discourses from the movements (see quotes below, for example: "*Eles dizem que (...)*", "*Então eu aprendi aqui que (...)*"), but furthermore demonstrated that the adaptation of these discourses by the inhabitants did not necessarily go hand in hand with an understanding of their content:

Tem diferença entre invasão e ocupação? Eu não sei. Eles dizem que tem. Mas para mim não. Para mim é a mesma coisa. Invasão e ocupação. É, para mim é. Porque eu acho que a partir do momento em que a gente ocupa, a gente ocupa para morar. A partir do momento que a gente está ocupando uma coisa que não é da gente, a gente está invadindo de qualquer maneira. Porque até a sua privacidade, se eu tiver aqui, eu estou invadindo. Então eu acho que a partir do momento que a gente está ocupando, igual eles falam, é a mesma coisa de invadir. Em qualquer outro lugar tem o mesmo significado. Aqui que para eles não. Quando a gente fala uma invasão, é uma ofensa. Mas eu entendo como a mesma coisa.[81]

Olha só! Eu para mim essa experiência é nova porque eu nunca tive, nunca tinha nem ouvido falar nisso. Eu não sabia desse tipo de movimento assim de ... porque eu sempre morei na Baixada. Inclusive a gente falava: ah, invadiram. Então eu aprendi aqui que não é invadiu, é ocupou! Que aqui não pode existir essa palavra "invadir". Então assim: eu não tinha experiência, eu nunca tinha ouvido falar em ocupação desse tipo assim. Que tem o movimento, né? Não só aqui. Em vários lugares. Até em outro estado tem também. Porque o pessoal daqui, até tem pessoas que participam. Mas para mim isso aqui foi novo, porque eu não sabia que existia isso. Inclusive eu não ocupei. Eu vim depois. Eu vim depois de já estarem aqui há um ano.[82]

While the first interviewee explicitly stated that for her, there was no difference between the two terms *invasão* and *ocupação*, the second, at the end of her statement, pointed out that she "did not occupy" the property, and thus revealed that in fact she had not understood the meaning sanctioned by the movement—as she was obviously taking part in the occupation of the building. In *Chiquinha Gonzaga* especially, there were even some inhabitants who still used the term

81 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

82 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

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invadir instead of *ocupar* to describe their act of entering and taking over the building, and others who offered no justification at all for their participation:[83]

E a gente invadiu o prédio, que a gente foi levando os grupos de pessoas, orientando, tudo. E para a gente já estar na ocupação, já tinha uma vivência aqui. Só que no primeiro dia, as mulheres esquentando a minha cabeça, só mulheres barraqueiras, só mulheres faveladas, só gente suja, não sei o que. Aí eu já me estressando, já querendo bater nos outros, eu falei: mãe não consigo, não é vida para mim! Eu não volto para lá não.[84]

This lack, or in some cases even total absence, of a socially desirable understanding of the terms and their reproduction—even as apparently empty key terms in certain contexts—could be observed much more easily in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where the movements FLP and CMP had failed to exert a continuing influence. Due to this fact, over time, there had been fewer measures taken in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* to "educate" and ideologically sustain the inhabitants. Interestingly, and at a first glance surprisingly, there were numerically more inhabitants (15) who mentioned the difference between the terms *invasão* and *ocupação* than there were in *Manoel Congo* (eight). But a closer look revealed that the understanding of the meaning of these terms and the ability to explain it differed significantly between the squats.

In *Chiquinha Gonzaga* nine out of the 15 interviewees who referred to the difference between the terms *invasão* and *ocupação* were also individuals who had mentioned the Constitution on their own initiative[85] (see above) and/or who had been politically active before living in the squat.[86] Most of these interviewees were thus not only reproducing the terms, but also demonstrated an ability to elaborate to a greater or lesser extent on them and to emphasize the legality of their actions:

Você invade uma coisa que não é sua, a que você não tem direito. E quando você ocupa, você ta ocupando um espaço que está vazio, que é do estado, e que o próprio estado diz que todo mundo tem direito a ter uma moradia. Então a partir do momento em que você

83 Some inhabitants even had difficulty in understanding the related interview questions. Two of the interviewees in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* even thought it was wrong to live in a squat.

84 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 47-year-old woman, 28.03.2011.

85 Six inhabitants.

86 The ones who referred to the Constitution (see above) plus two other interviewees. One interviewee had not been active before, but was 19 years of age at the time of the interviews, and had grown up inside the squat.

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ocupa um espaço que é do estado, ou seja, que é seu, que te pertence, então você não ta invadindo nada. Você ta ocupando.[87]

Aqui no Brasil, eu acho que não tem mais ocupação por isso mesmo. Eu acho que é falta de informação mesmo porque as pessoas acham que um prédio abandonado, durante 22 anos como esse que estava, acham que é um crime você chegar e ocupar esse espaço. Eles falam que é invasão. Mas aí tem uma diferença entre invasão e ocupação. A invasão, se tivesse alguém no local morando, isso seria uma invasão. Mas no local não tinha ninguém.[88]

The other six inhabitants—who had also not been engaged in citizenship activities before moving to the squat—mentioned the two terms, or indicated that *invasão* especially was a negative term used mainly by external actors to condemn the squats, but could not elaborate further on the meaning or link it to the Constitution. These interviewees mainly seemed only to reproduce a vocabulary they had learned while the FLP and CMP had still influenced the interests of the squat. Thus, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga,* out of 15 interviewees only nine really seemed to understand and to be able to elaborate on the vocabulary of rights they used. These interviewees, just as observed regarding the reference to the Constitution before (see above), were mostly those who had been engaged in citizenship activities already before moving to the squat. This fact further confirmed that time and some kind of continual supervision by political actors—for instance, social movements—were necessary for people not only to adapt, but also to internalize a citizenship vocabulary, such as a language of rights. Because, as stated before, having been previously engaged in citizenship activities also meant having spent more time than others being confronted with certain movement discourses, and thus already possessing a certain understanding, knowledge, and experience in rights-claiming processes, which then were eventually further deepened and cultivated in the squats. Thus, as indicated in section 4.1, the differences between the inhabitants with regard to their previous engagement indeed influenced the understanding and adaptation of a citizenship vocabulary.

In contrast, in *Manoel Congo*—where the movement continued to "educate" its participants—the interviewees who alluded to the terms *invasão* and *ocupação* tended to elaborate with much greater detail on their different meanings, and particularly included the legal aspect of the occupation. Seven out

87 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

88 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with 37-year-old man, 01.03.2011.

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of these eight inhabitants[89] were also individuals who had mentioned the Constitution on their own initiative (see above) and most of them had also been politically active before living in the squat.[90] Overall they disclosed a quite profound knowledge of the law:

Invasão seria quando um espaço está ocupado por outra pessoa e um segundo elemento entra a força. Nós ocupamos áreas abertas, abandonadas, que estão lá sem cumprir. Aí a gente vai para a lei, porque a gente tem que … estamos ali dentro da Constituição! A Constituição diz que a terra tem que ser, que a função da terra é o que? Ela tem que ser produtiva, né? Até cumprir o papel dela, que é ser de produção e moradia![91]

In summary, I argue that the explicit or implicit reference to text-based rights, through reference to the Constitution or to the differentiation of the two terms *invasão* and *ocupação* in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* is a language of rights used and implemented by social movements to legitimate their actions and to operate effectively in the public sphere. It is thus not something that develops automatically among its participants. It also seemed as if an adoption of this language—despite the educational measures employed by the movements—does not always imply an understanding of it, especially not if ongoing supervision by, for example, a social movement was lacking over time, as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. The mere reproduction of key terms, then, cannot always be taken as an indication of a political consciousness or even of a politicization of the actors, but rather demonstrates the need to look behind dominant discourses and to engage in a deeper analysis of the understanding of the actors involved. [92]

89 Only one of the interviewees who referred to the differentiation of the terms was not really able to elaborate on its content (see quote above).

90 Four out of the eight had been involved in citizenship activities before. But, as already mentioned above, due to the internal structure of the squat, by the time of the interview the others were also actively involved.

91 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

92 Marianne Carle-Marsan, in her study on *Manoel Congo*, for example, does not question the meaning and importance of citizenship for the inhabitants, and therefore does not focus on the participants who do not use a language of citizenship or do not develop a political understanding regarding the squat. She states generally for the women of the squat: "*De plus, ces femmes ont pris conscience de leurs droits et ont lutté pour les obtenir, de là émerge le potentiel d'une citoyenneté locale*" (Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville, p. 135), or: "*Depuis que les femmes participent au mouvement, notre recherche montre qu'elles ont pris*

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The inhabitants of both squats used not just one, but often several arguments to justify their participation in the occupation of *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. Apart from the reference to text-based rights, another common justification some of the inhabitants used to legitimate their action (eight interviewees in both squats) was to emphasize their payment of taxes. They stated, for example:

Eu acho justo porque eu vejo aquele prédio ali, aquele prédio foi construído com o nosso dinheiro, dinheiro de imposto que a gente paga, imposto caro. E eu acho que você tem o direito à educação, saúde, moradia, lazer, cultura. E um mês de ocupar um prédio, se é o meu direito, eu quero. Se é meu, se é construído com o meu dinheiro, eu vou morar ali, entendeu? Então eu acho que é isso. Eu acho que a gente tem que ... se a gente ficar esperando o direito nosso vir, ninguém vai dar. Então eu acho que a gente tem que correr atrás do direito, entendeu? Porque com o salário que a gente ganha, a gente não consegue comprar uma casa, não consegue construir uma casa nunca.[93]

Tem muitas pessoas ainda que acham que: ai, é fora da lei, que não sei o que ... que é irregular. Não! Você não está ocupando um espaço de alguém que pagou ou está pagando. Você está ocupando um espaço que é direito nosso. São espaços que são nossos rendimentos de todos os impostos que nós pagamos. Está lá. Tem prédios que estão ociosos há 20 anos, fechados. Poderíamos estar usando.[94]

E ocupar o espaço público é mais que o nosso dever. Não vejo nenhuma complicação de dizer que ocupar um espaço público que é dinheiro, construído pelo próprio trabalhador, essa cidade que está aqui, foi construída pelos trabalhadores. O que gera de renda, de acumulação de capital em torno disso aqui, foram frutos nossos. Então a gente tem que usufruir desse fruto. Que para usufruir desse fruto é morar perto dele. Não é jogar esse povo fora dessa relação dos bens de serviço da cidade. Então o que o estado faz é pegar

conscience de leurs droits" (Carle-Marsan, Marianne. 2011, *En Mouvement pour le Droit au Logement. L'Expérience des Femmes de l'Occupation Manoel Congo, Rio de Janeiro, Brésil.* 8° Colloque de la Relève VRM, 26-27 Mai 2011, Montréal. http://www.vrm.ca/colloque-de-la-releve-8e-edition-saisir-lire-et-interpreter-la-ville/ (01 Jun 2015), p. 4). This observation, as my analysis so far has shown, cannot be confirmed in such a general manner.

93 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

94 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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você, que trabalha no Centro, mas não te dá o direito de usufruir dos bens culturais, dos equipamentos da cidade.[95]

As these quotes demonstrate, in the interviewees' understanding their right to occupy derived from their personal contribution, from their "stake to the city,"[96] in the form of their individual tax payments. But, to what kind of taxes did they refer?

As demonstrated in section 4.1.1, apart from the few inhabitants who were working as *registered* wage-earners with the so-called *carteira assinada*, most of the interviewees in both squats worked in the informal sector, and were thus most likely not paying personal income taxes. Therefore, as the interviews revealed, they were primarily referring to less visible taxes, which are indirect taxes such as taxes on consumption:

Eles não entendiam nada! Aí: invasora, você invadiu! Você entrou no prédio dos outros sem morar! Passei decepção, luta até na minha igreja. Que eu sou evangélica, né? Aí passei luta lá na minha igreja, fui disciplinada, porque não poderia ter feito isso. Quer dizer que eles não entendem que quando você compra você já está pagando imposto, através de tudo o que você compra. E esse dinheiro vai para o governo! Então esse dinheiro dá direito à moradia. Mas as pessoas não entendem isso. E aí acabam achando que eu estava errada.[97]

A invasão, se tivesse alguém no local morando, isso seria uma invasão. Mas no local não tinha ninguém. E era um prédio do governo, praticamente nosso, que a gente paga os nossos impostos. A partir do momento em que a gente compra um palito de fósforo no mercado eu acho que a gente já está pagando o imposto. Então é isso.[98]

Tax payment in Brazil is a constitutional requirement in order to finance public policies, which in turn should guarantee social rights, such as housing, education, and health.[99] Hence, to emphasize the payment of taxes as a

95 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

96 Holston 2011, Contesting Privilege with Right, p. 18.

97 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

98 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 37-year-old man, 01.03.2011.

99 Barcarollo, Felipe. 2013. "O Dever Fundamental de Pagar Impostos como Condição de Possibilidade para a Implementação de Políticas Públicas", *Revista de Finanças Públicas, Tributação e Desenvolvimento – RFPTD*, 1 (1): 2; the importance of tax

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contribution from which social rights, such as the right to housing, can be derived means to emphasize the duties and obligations[100] of citizens within the nation-state. The inhabitants thus justified the occupation with their own obedience as citizens, since obligations and their fulfillment form an integral part of citizenship (see definition section 2.1.1).

That social rights should be guaranteed through the payment of taxes was expressed by the inhabitants through reference to the non-fulfillment of the original purpose of the buildings, namely to provide housing. In this reasoning, this non-fulfillment legitimated the occupation and implied the accusation of a misuse of the inhabitants' taxes by the state. The interviewees expressed the sentiment of not having received what they were entitled to in exchange for what they (or sometimes even their forebears)[101] had paid in the past, and thereby also articulated, both explicitly and implicitly, that they had been betrayed by the state. This entitlement was additionally emphasized through a claim of ownership many of the interviewees expressed by using the word "our" ("*nosso*"), when talking about the buildings.[102] Hence, the dominant discourse was then reversed, and in this reading the occupation became merely a logical necessary step—a legitimate act—in order to contribute to the well-being of society, a well-being not realized and ensured by the state. Through the occupation of the buildings the inhabitants thus took this well-being into their own hands and confronted the state with its—according to this understanding—criminal and illegal activities (the misuse of taxes):[103]

Sendo público, é parte de nossos impostos, parte do nosso próprio trabalho que mantém essas instituições públicas que estão abandonadas. Então seria uma troca para ocupar, trabalhadores terem um espaço onde morar, que já pagaram essa cota. Porque já pagaram a cota. Com os impostos, já estão pagando. Como estão também pagando a saúde e

payment, especially for the enabling of social rights, has also been emphasized by T.H. Marshall. Marshall 2009, Citizenship and Social Class, p. 153.

100 Other citizens' obligations are for example military service and voting. Of course tax payment is not only limited to citizens, but also affects Brazilian residents.

101 One of the inhabitants stressed for example that the building had been paid for by the taxes paid by her father and grandfather (Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 14.03.2011).

102 It is then not surprising that two interviewees even considered the act of occupation as a "*dever*," a duty.

103 That housing movements are denouncing the state's behavior as criminal has also been observed by Earle, Lucy. 2011. "Citizenship, the 'Right to the City' and State Fragility", *Crisis States Working Papers Series No.2* (87): 5.

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educação que não tem. Se fosse a moradia, a moradia teria que ser mais um bem que a gente teria que ter por direito. Mas não temos por direito (…).[104]

E outro motivo também: o prédio público é feito com o dinheiro do povo. No Brasil, rico não paga imposto. Isso é mentira, dizer que rico paga imposto. É mentira. O rico tem a função de repassar o imposto que o pobre paga. E ele nem repassa. Ele fica, e além de não repassar ele ainda pega, dá um jeito do dinheiro ficar para ele. Além de não pagar ainda rouba o imposto para o bolso dele. Assim é no Brasil. (...) Dessa elite, do patrão, dessa elite canalha que eu te falei no início da conversa. Então você fala que o indivíduo não tem uma leitura política da realidade. Ele é alienado como o estado quer que ele seja alienado. De não ter direito à moradia. Está na Constituição ... o prédio foi construído com o nosso dinheiro! Do povo, do trabalhador. Trabalhadora. Mantido com o dinheiro do povo! Mantido. Então você tem vários motivos. Você tem a legitimidade, tem a legalidade, tem razão, tem tudo. Para você estar ocupando.[105]

To deduce the right to occupy an empty building from the accomplishment of citizenship obligations, such as the payment of taxes, is then also a way to stress one's own agency and active contribution to society. In his study on insurgent citizenship in the peripheries of São Paulo, James Holston likewise observed the legitimation of right claims through the payment of taxes among the residents of the peripheries. For him, the reference to tax payment is not only a legitimation, but also "gives residents the sense that they are citizens of the city, for many a first substantive understanding of their citizenship and its agency."[106]

This "substantive understanding of citizenship" certainly, as we have seen before, had the potential to develop inside the squats. But, did it, in the case of the reference to contributor rights, also emerge as a consequence of the implementation of a certain knowledge by political actors, such as the housing movements, or did it develop automatically among the interviewees through their participation?

There is evidence that the references to tax payment, like the references to text-based rights, also form part of a discourse introduced by the social movements in the squats. To refer to their own accomplishment of obligations, and thus to reverse the dominant, often discriminating, discourses of illegality, is also a common way in which social movements tend to justify their actions. The conviction of being active agents, who are contributing through their actions to the improvement of society as a whole, can especially be found in their

104 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 49-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

105 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

106 Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 262.

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discourses (as described above). The reference to tax payment is thus also—even though more implicitly than the direct reference to the Constitution—a way of evoking social rights. Which is, as noticed with reference to text-based rights, an important reference used and implemented by social movements to legitimate their actions and to operate effectively in the public sphere.

The assumption that the reference to tax payment also forms part of a discourse introduced by the social movements was further confirmed by the fact that in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the inhabitants who mentioned contributor rights to justify the occupation had all—with but one exception—been engaged in citizenship activities before. As mentioned above, this meant having spent more time than others being confronted with certain movement discourses, and thus already possessing a certain understanding, knowledge and experience in rights-claiming processes. It thus made the adoption of a language of rights much more likely. In *Manoel Congo*, as seen in section 4.1, the strong and constant presence of the MNLM meant that the inhabitants who had not previously been engaged were more likely to adapt and be influenced by certain movement discourses than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where the influence of the FLP and CMP had only been strong at the beginning. Indeed, in *Manoel Congo* the situation was different, and five of the eight inhabitants who justified the occupation in terms of the payment of taxes had not been engaged in citizenship activities before.

In summary, the inhabitants justified the occupation in terms of their own obedience as citizens, referring to their obligatory tax payment through everyday consumption. They thereby emphasized not only their active contribution to the city, but also the failure of the state to guarantee their well-being. The reference to tax payment is then also a way to call attention to existing rights by emphasizing the obligations from which they should derive. It is likely that this language of rights is—just as for the reference to text-based rights—also used and implemented by social movements to legitimate their actions, and not something that automatically developed among its participants.

Having examined the existence of a language of rights within the squats, the following subchapter will take a closer look at another language used among the inhabitants of the squats to legitimize their participation: the language of needs.

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4.2.1.2 Perceiving Rights through Needs

E eu não sabia o que significava ocupar.[107]

The interviews have revealed that inside the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Conogo* squats some inhabitants used a language of rights in the form of references to text-based and contributor rights. I have argued earlier that this language of rights is in fact an important instrument for social movements to legitimate their actions and to operate effectively in the public sphere in order to claim housing from the state. In fact, as Bernd Reiter for example states, being able to talk the "right" language is central for marginalized groups in order to achieve inclusion:

> People who do not look or talk "right"—that is, people unable to reproduce elaborate language codes (…)—are kept outside. Exclusion and transformation of citizenship into a set of entitlements—accessible only to those with money, power or access to other sort of symbolic capital—have alienated the common people from democracy in Brazil and elsewhere.[108]

As the language of rights used inside the squats implies the reference to a historically specific bundle of rights and obligations (formal status) and is a practice of negotiating and claiming it (practice/process), it can also be called a language of citizenship. Hence, this language, as the interviews have shown, was deliberately implemented by the movements within the squats through educational measures—albeit with different intensities—and did not develop automatically among its participants. These educational efforts—especially observable in *Manoel Congo*—were realized through the promotion of school education, meetings, assemblies, and demonstrations—and indicate that a certain knowledge and language, such as for example a language of citizenship, must be learned, and is only accessible through education.

The fact that citizenship is something that has to be learned through formal or informal education has also been emphasized in different contexts by other scholars.[109] It demonstrates that citizenship knowledge cannot be taken for

107 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

108 Reiter, Bernd. 2013, The Dialectics of Citizenship. Exploring Privilege, Exclusion, and Racialization, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, pp. 130f.

109 For example Lister, Ruth. 2008. "Inclusive Citizenship, Gender and Poverty. Some Implications for Education for Citizenship", *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 4 (1): 3–19; Kabeer, Naila. 2002. "Citizenship and the Boundaries of the

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granted and that it is therefore necessary to focus on the individual's understanding and acquisition:

> In any case, formal education is not the only means by which definitions of self and others are challenged and transformed. The various ways in which people acquire knowledge and information about their status and rights, about the capacity to reflect on their situation, to question it and to act on it are all ways of "learning" citizenship (…). How people view themselves, how they view the issue of citizenship, the processes by which they acquire these views and what account for changes in their views which promote their agency as citizens are some of the questions that research might address.[110]

As we have seen in section 4.1.1, most of the squats' inhabitants lacked education, or had only attended school for a few years, and therefore had not really benefited from formal education. In this reading, the MNLM then also took over the state's responsibility to educate its citizens about their rights and further opportunities in society.

However, the interviews in the squats also revealed that despite these educational efforts, not only did not all of the inhabitants use a language of citizenship, but even when this language was to some extent adopted by the inhabitants this did not necessarily go hand in hand with an understanding of its content. It turned out that it apparently needed time and some kind of continual supervision to not only adopt, but also internalize a citizenship vocabulary, such as a language of rights.[111] For some of the inhabitants a language of citizenship

Acknowledged Community. Identity, Affiliation and Exclusion", *IDS Working Paper* (171): 32.

110 Kabeer 2002, Citizenship and the Boundaries, p. 32.

111 Interestingly the fact that not all participants possess citizenship knowledge is not much emphasized by most scholars and often only mentioned as an aside. James Holston for example admits for his case study only in a small footnote: "That it is generally only the most active members of neighborhood organizations who exhibit the competence of law talk is beside the point for my arguments about new citizenship. Although the rank and file typically do not understand the complex legal reasoning involved and are unable to produce it, they refer problems to those who do—namely, their community leaders and attorneys—rather than express their frustrations violently. Neighborhood leaders and archives constitute a collective resource that residents as a group construct and utilize individually and collectively when necessary. Thus, law talk among them is publicized, generalized, and becomes public knowledge" (Holston 2008, Insurgent Citizenship, p. 348). I do not agree with Holston on this point and find it highly problematic to relativize this fact.

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was apparently not their "natural" way of talking about their participation in the squats, and could not explain their feelings of being entitled to occupy empty buildings. Hence, if we want to take the heterogeneity of the actors involved into account and not only focus on the dominant discourses—especially when analyzing a citizenship "from below"—we must also include the voices of the inhabitants who did not, or did not exclusively,[112] use a language of rights; but what other language, then, did the interviewees use to explain their participation in the squats?

Talking with the inhabitants about text-based rights revealed a central attribute regarding the perception and importance of citizenship in their everyday lives. Their way of talking about the Constitution reflected the lived experiences of a differentiated citizenship, and demonstrated the scant impact and relevance that formal rights in Brazil still have with regard to the daily lives of people affected by poverty. When the interviewees were asked directly about the constitutional right to housing and its meaning, it turned out that there existed a clear awareness and knowledge among the inhabitants about the discrepancy between the written law and its implementation in practice. They expressed this knowledge for example in the following ways:

Isso aí é num papel, ne. Eles colocam uma coisa assim num papel que tudo mundo tem direito a moradia mas se você for olhar quantas pessoas (…) ou seja quem tem direito a moradia [é] quem tem mais dinheiro. Então se você tem mais dinheiro, se você já veio de uma família já mais estruturada, já [há] mais tempo (…) você tem o direito a uma moradia digna. Como você não veio, como sua família [é] pobre, é difícil você ir construindo, você vai caminhando mas não é tudo de uma vez. Assim o direito fica meio isolado ne, só pra uns e não pra outros.[113]

Eu acho que eu não tenho direito à Constituição, direito a moradia eu não tenho, porque nunca tinha moradia. Eu vivo aqui porque não tenho pra onde ir.[114]

Doing so means in my opinion to ignore the understanding of a big part of the participants and to focus again only on leadership discourses, which ultimately gives an inaccurate, or at least one-sided impression of how citizenship is experienced in everyday life.

112 As mentioned before, the inhabitants often mixed arguments.

113 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 29-year-old man, 11.03.2011.

114 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 29-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

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E existe uma lei no Brasil que você, todo cidadão brasileiro, tem direito a moradia, ne, à educação e saúde e trabalho. É que a gente vê, na nossa volta aqui assim. Que isso é só por escrito mas na real mesmo é mentirosa.[115]

O governo tem que dar moradia, educação, saúde. E segurança! Agora o presidente da República criou ainda mais uma: alimentação. Não cumpriu nenhuma até hoje ... para a gente não cumprir, se não for brigando, botando o povo na rua, brigando por esse direito. Para já estar na Constituinte isso. Não precisa brigar para fazer cumprir.[116]

Eu achava que era simplesmente pessoas que … moravam. Eu não tinha noção que era um movimento social que reivindicava um direito das pessoas. Tem direito (...) porque uma coisa que no papel tem, mas na prática não acontece. Então, se você não for pra rua, se você não denunciar (...) parece que não acontece.[117]

Even though the nature and extent of the interviewees' understanding regarding the Constitution varied (see previous section), all inhabitants shared the experience and awareness of being excluded from access to basic needs, such as housing, work, and healthcare, and therefore felt that the law had little or no impact upon or validity in their everyday lives.[118] Thus, the lack of access to basic needs became a central point of reference during the interviews and was repeated on numerous occasions. When talking about how the inhabitants had come to engage in the squats, it turned out that it had been mainly due to personal necessity—which was caused by a *de facto* exclusion from constitutional social rights in their daily lives in the city, and also that the improvements they experienced after moving to *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga* had reflected their longing to have their basic needs met (see section 4.1.2).

Hence, to legitimate their participation in the occupation of the buildings, most of the interviewees—regardless of whether they had been formerly engaged in citizenship activities or not—consistently used a language of needs to explain why they felt entitled to do so. In this reasoning the squats then became less a political project, and more a practical opportunity for its inhabitants to have a better life and access to their city:

115 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 37-year-old man, 01.03.2011.

116 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

117 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 25-year-old woman, 16.05.2011

118 This was stated independently of having been formerly engaged in citizenship activities or not.

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Porque a necessidade me obrigou. Eu ia morar aonde, na rua? Ia ficar na rua? Entendeu. Eu não tinha outra opção. Pagar aluguel eu não podia. O companheiro no hospital. Os filhos não trabalhavam. Se fosse hoje eu não precisaria. Porque os meus filhos já estão grandes, trabalham, podem pagar um aluguel. Eu vou abandonar? Depois de sete anos de luta?[119]

Eu acho justo … o que eu entendo, né? Eu acho justo porque é melhor do que a gente estar debaixo de uma marquise, não é? Você chega aí na rua, você vê tanta gente aí debaixo das marquises aí. Dormindo aí no relento ... sem ter um teto, sem ter um canto para viver.[120]

Para quem não conhece uma ocupação, e diz que não deveria existir, tem que entender um pouco o processo de concentração de riquezas desse país, e de concentração de ver quais são os valores para você morar nesse país. Ninguém aqui tem condições para morar aqui perto. Tem que pagar dois mil reais! 2.500. Que o aluguel está assim, exorbitante. Então recebendo 505 do estado, como salário mínimo (…). A gente estuda, a gente trabalha, a gente transforma, gente como todo mundo, trabalhador do dia a dia, precisou morar num lugar fixo que tivesse mais possibilidades como no Centro. Então a moradia é direito de todos. E se ela é direito de todos, ela não pode estar só limitada a alguns morarem há três horas do Centro e outros morarem a dez minutos do Centro. Por isso que a nossa luta não pára. Porque a gente mora no Centro. (...) a gente está aqui perto de tudo. Só (...) tem um monte de gente que está longe de tudo (Rir). Por isso que a gente ainda continua na luta, trabalhando, e dizendo que colocar as famílias dando casa, lá para, sei lá ... longe. Não vai mudar a vida das pessoas. Elas lá não têm emprego, essas pessoas lá não tem escola, não têm saúde, não têm as possibilidades básicas do Centro. (…) E a ocupação Manoel Congo, e outras ocupações que tem no Centro, são ocupações de trabalhadores que precisam mesmo, que são organizados e construíram a ocupação. E estão coordenando ela até hoje.[121]

For the inhabitants, their needs thus constituted a major factor influencing their engagement in citizenship activities, as well as for their legitimation. They perceived their right to occupy in terms of meeting their individual basic needs[122] and thus also used a language of needs to express themselves. This language was not learned or merely reproduced—as was the language of citizenship—but

119 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

120 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 47-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

121 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 23-year-old man, 21.05.2011.

122 These were, for example, their need of affordable housing, healthcare and education for them and their children, work opportunities, security and transportation, as described in section 4.1.2 in detail.

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rather emerged spontaneously out of the everyday life and experiences of the inhabitants, and had its concrete origins in the exclusion of the low-income population from access to basic necessities in the city (see also section 2.1.3.1).

Hence, to summarize, there existed two languages which the inhabitants fell back on when justifying participation in the occupation of the buildings: a language of rights, and a language of needs. These two languages, I argue, were not contradictory but closely related, as one had the potential to emerge out of the other. Other scholars—for example Nancy Fraser in her chapter "Struggle over Needs: Outline of a Socialist-Feminist Critical Theory of Late Capitalist Political Culture"—have also advocated a synthesis of needs and rights, instead of understanding them as a dichotomy.[123] She argues:

> [N]eed talk functions as a medium for the making and contesting of political claims: it is an idiom in which political conflict is played out and through which inequalities are symbolically elaborated and challenged. (…) in welfare state societies needs talk has been institutionalized as a major vocabulary of political discourse. It coexists, albeit often uneasily, with talk about rights and interests at the very center of political life.[124]

In her approach to the topic, Fraser identifies three interrelated axes of what she calls a "politics of needs": First, the struggle to "deny or establish the political status of a given need," second, "the struggle to validate the need as a matter of legitimate political concern," and third, "the struggle over the satisfaction of the need, to secure or withhold provision."[125] In her opinion social movements play a central role in this struggle for needs, as they are the agents that politicize previously depoliticized needs "from below."[126]

Transferring this logic to our case, we have observed the long, but ultimately successful struggle of the housing movements for the inclusion of the right to housing in the Brazilian Constitution (see section 2.1.3.1), thus succeeding in establishing the political status of a given need and also validating the need as a matter of legitimate political concern. However, that justified need claims are

123 Petchesky, Rosalind P. 2000. "Rights and Needs. Rethinking the Connections in Debates over Reproductive and Sexual Rights", *Health and Human Rights*, 4 (2): 19; Fraser, Nancy. 1989, *Unruly Practices. Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 161-187.

124 Fraser 1989, Unruly Practices, pp. 161f.

125 Ibid., p. 164.

126 Ibid., pp. 171, 175.

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translated into social rights[127] does not imply that those needs are therefore satisfied. There are still struggles over the satisfaction and provision of needs, for example in the form of the occupation of empty buildings, such as *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, in order to pressure the government to accomplish the formal right to housing in practice. Hence, needs and rights are closely related, and the squats are a good example of how a language of needs and a language of rights—just as Fraser has emphasized—coexist:

On the one hand, the case of the squats has demonstrated that the movements—especially the MNLM in *Manoel Congo*—have taken measures to educate the inhabitants about their aims and the political context of the occupations, and have thereby implemented a language of rights, which showed up in the form of a reference to text-based and contributor rights. The reference to existing legislation is much more powerful than a mere reference to the need for housing, and is an effective tool for social movements to address the government and remind it of its legal obligation to provide housing. A language of rights permits a positive self-positioning of the actors, since "the discourse of rights implies a certain inevitability of government action: in the context of a right-based claim, certain actions by government are considered illegitimate."[128] To denounce the state's behavior as illegitimate or even illegal has been a common way to legitimate action, as section 4.2.1.1 shows. Hence, I would argue that when movements struggle for the provision of needs which have been successfully translated into formal social rights, the use of a language of citizenship among participants becomes more likely. It enables a more effective negotiation with the state, as it implies a more political vocabulary of rights and obligations. A language of needs then transforms into a language of rights.

On the other hand, this transformation, as the case of the squats has also revealed, does not necessarily occur among all participants and in the absence of continual guidance and instruction by actors already speaking a language of rights—a language of citizenship. The fact that the inhabitants of the squats continued to speak in a language of needs also revealed the still limited impact and relevance of formal rights on their everyday lives (see above). Even though formalized as a constitutional right, people in the squats suffered on a daily basis from a lack of fulfillment of basic needs, and therefore expressed themselves in a corresponding language. In contrast to the language of rights, a language of needs emerges out of the daily lives and experiences of the inhabitants and does not have to be learned, as it reflects and forms part of their concrete reality.

127 Fraser 1989, Unruly Practices, p. 183.

128 Johnson, Rebecca. 2002, Taxing Choices. The Intersection of Class, Gender, Parenthood, and the Law, Vancouver: UBC Press, p. 160.

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Thus, I argue that even though a language of rights becomes more likely after needs have converted into rights, a language of needs persists, especially when these rights are not accomplished and satisfied in practice and thus remain contested needs.

Having captured the languages the inhabitants used to frame their struggles, the following chapter will take a closer look at other ways in which the inhabitants expressed their views on their struggles for general access to basic needs in the city; that is, through their dreams, hopes, and wishes for the future—thus creating urban imaginaries.

4.2.2 "I hope for the best": Urban Imaginaries

> The city can be judged and understood only in relation to what I, you, we and, lest we forget, 'they' desire. If the city does not accord with those desires, then it must be changed.[129]

The occupation of empty buildings in Rio de Janeiro's city center is also an expression of how the participants imagined the urban space they live in. Their everyday experiences and narratives thus also form part of the so-called urban imaginaries which shape the patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the city, and which challenge hegemonic ideas of who belongs and who does not. These ideas—as section 2.1.3.1 has demonstrated—have also found their explicit expression in the urban structure itself, which in Rio de Janeiro was from early on marked by social segregation.

Scholars suggest that these urban imaginaries encompass not only materiality, but also the subjective perspectives of the actors themselves, their dreams, emotions, fears, memories, and wishes as part of the urban collective and individual experience.[130] As Andreas Huyssen puts it:

129 Harvey 2006, The Right to the City, p. 83.

130 Soto Villagrán 2013, Zum Geschlecht (in) der Stadtforschung, p. 195; see also Huyssen, Andreas. 2008. "Introduction. World Cultures, World Cities" in *Other Cities, other Worlds. Urban Imaginaries in a Globalizing Age,* edited by A. Huyssen. Durham: Duke University Press, p. 3; Cinar, Alev and Thomas Bender. 2007. "Introduction. The City: Experience, Imagination, and Place" in *Urban Imaginaries. Locating the Modern City,* edited by A. Cinar and T. Bender. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. xi–xvii.

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An urban imaginary marks first and foremost the way city dwellers imagine their own city as the place of everyday life, the site of inspiring traditions and continuities as well as the scene of histories of destruction, crime, and conflicts of all kinds. Urban space is always and inevitably social space involving subjectivities and identities differentiated by class and race, gender and age, education and religion. An urban imaginary is the cognitive and somatic image which we carry within us of the place where we live, work and play. It is an embodied material fact. Urban imaginaries are thus part of any city's reality, rather than being only figments of the imagination. What we think about a city and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it.[131]

Thus, exercising citizenship—by, for example, participating in the occupation of empty buildings in Rio de Janeiro's city center as a response to the lack of housing in Brazil—also shapes and forms part of the urban imaginary, and *vice versa*. As defined earlier, citizenship is both a formal status and a social practice, and thus we are able to focus not only on the dominant state discourses, but also on the "performative dimension of membership which define the meanings and practices of belonging in society"[132]—that is, also on the meanings and practices in the city, which—as discussed in section 2.1.3—is one of the many arenas from which the nation-state is shaped and *vice versa*. Focusing on the performative dimension of membership thus means incorporating the views and also voices of excluded social actors (see section 2.1.1). These actors express their views on the struggles for general access to basic needs in the city in different ways, such as for instance through their dreams, hopes, and wishes for the future, and also construct by this means a vision of a city they want to live and build their futures in. Through their engagement in citizenship, they thus participate in the urban imaginary. Hence, in order to learn more about these urban imaginaries, we will next take a closer look at the inhabitants' perspectives—their dreams, hopes, and wishes—regarding future politics and their future private lives.

4.2.2.1 Imagining Future Politics

The interviews were conducted at a point in time when Dilma Rouseff, from the Worker's Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT), had just become president of Brazil.[133] When the inhabitants were asked about their expectations of this new government, they expressed their views basically in three ways: first, they referred to their wishes for the provision and fulfillment of basic needs; second,

131 Huyssen 2008, Introduction, p. 3

132 Holston et al. 1999, Cities and Citizenship, p. 200.

133 She was president of Brazil from the 1 January 2011.

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they expressed their general hopes that the new government would "do better"—that is, their hope for better governance in general—and third, they articulated their skepticism and distrust regarding a possible change in their living conditions through politics.

As we know from previous chapters, the interviewees suffered from limited access to basic necessities in the city. As a consequence, during the interviews they frequently expressed their wishes and expectations that the new government would care more about the provision and fulfillment of these basic needs. They brought up their longing for more healthcare, education, work, decent salaries, and housing. Additionally, especially for the women in the squats, the lack of access to good education for their children constituted a major concern.

O que eu esperava dela? Esperava que melhorasse muita coisa. Nas escolas, na saúde. Na moradia digna. Moradia então ... acho que para mim esses são os três pontos que eu acho que falta melhorar muito aqui, sabe? Educação, saúde e moradia. (...) Mas assim, se a gente conseguisse ter uma saúde decente, uma moradia decente, uma escola para a gente e os nossos filhos, para a gente estudar, sabe?[134]

Um Brasil melhor. Que ela cuide mais da escola, da educação, saúde, que os nossos hospitais estão um caos, né? Nossas escolas também. Esperamos mais emprego para o povo né? Uma cidade melhor, né? (...) A saúde no Brasil é terrível. Você não tem condições de pagar um plano de saúde. O plano de saúde é caríssimo. Se você for colocar só você não dá, você tem que botar a sua família! Porque toda a sua família precisa. Então sai muito caro. Então a gente precisa de uns hospitais dignos, coisa boa, onde você pode entrar, ser bem atendida.[135]

However, not all of the interviewees identified concrete needs, and many of them also expressed their expectations in a less specific manner. They articulated these expectations mainly in the form of a general hope that the new government would "do better"—a hope for better governance that would finally address and change their living conditions:

A gente espera muita coisa dela. Que ela dê uma continuidade, que faça melhor. A gente espera que ela faça melhor. Vamos ver como é que vai ficar porque a gente já está no cinco mês do ano e eu não estou vendo nada acontecendo aí não. Inclusive tenho ouvido falar muito mal dela. Em várias questões aí.[136]

134 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

135 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

136 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.

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Ah, eu espero melhorias, né? Vamos ver o que ela tem aí a fazer pelo povo.[137]

Eu espero que faça um governo bom. Espero que ela saiba liderar, né? Eu espero que seja um governo bom. Ela tem jeito de ter o pulso firme, então...[138]

O melhor. Que ela saiba realmente governar esse país.[139]

Que o Brasil melhora 100%.[140]

Their hope that the new government would "do better" demonstrated a clear dissatisfaction among the inhabitants with the exisiting politics and its impact on their everyday living situation. Even though most of them referred in a positive way to the former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula), they agreed that his efforts to address the problems of the low-income population had not been sufficient. But despite their disappointment and dissatisfaction regarding former politics, the articulation of a certain hope also demonstrated that they had not completely lost their trust and belief in politics and its ability to finally bring about a real change in their living conditions.

However, this trust and optimism was not observed among all of the inhabitants, and in many other cases confidence in politics had faded. Many interviewees also expressed their skepticism and distrust regarding the ability and will of the government to bring about real changes for the low-income population. Interestingly, these statements were mainly recorded among those inhabitants who had already been active in citizenship activities for a long time. They explained their lack of belief in change in much greater detail than the other inhabitants did when describing their hopes, and often elaborated on their previous personal experiences with politics. In their opinion, it was corruption, the strong influence of the interests of the upper class and foreign investors, or just other political priorities that prevented the government from initiating fundamental changes in politics directed towards the low-income population:

Eu não espero muito desse governo não. Eu sei que ela é uma mulher que vai trabalhar, eu espero que ela realmente faça esses projetos dos que ela ta falando, aí com a questão da desigualdade, da desigualdade social do Brasil. A questão da juventude que ela fala muito nessa questão dos jovens. A questão dos micro-créditos para desenvolvimento de geração

137 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

138 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

139 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

140 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

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de renda mais popular. Para as classes mais baixas. Mas eu não espero grandes coisas do governo dela não (...). É um desafio para Dilma. Mas não tenho a ilusão de ela fazer um grande governo não. Com a turma que ta aí, com essa questão partidária que ta aí, com a quantidade de empresários, de políticos sujos que estão lá no Planalto, na câmera de deputados e do senado. Aqui do lado.[141]

E o que você espera da política dela? Alguma esperança especial? Não tenho não. A única coisa que eu espero é que nós tenhamos força para lutar contra ela nas besteiras que ela já vem fazendo. Sempre a gente tem a esperança da pessoa voltar atrás, né? (…) Mas eu tenho a Dilma como uma tecnocrata, fria, desenvolvimentista, sabe? Que acha que nós realmente vamos para o primeiro mundo, sem parar para pensar que a minoria do Brasil vai para o primeiro mundo e a maioria vai ficar aqui passando fome do mesmo jeito. E ela gosta muito de política compensatória, gosta muito de esmola, não tem comprometimento para mudanças estruturais, porque isso é outra visão de estado que não é o estado mais democrático, o trabalho em função da emancipação do povo, ela já faz as coisas, já fazia antes quando estava na Casa Civil, já fazia as coisas contra a organização do povo. (…) em nenhum momento ela abriu alguma discussão aqui para os movimentos sociais mesmo sabendo que tinha movimentos nacionais aqui que faziam parte do sistema de desenvolvimento urbano junto com o Ministério das Cidades. Ela passou por cima de tudo. Assim foi em vários outros estados, ela fez as alianças: Eduardo Paes e Sérgio Cabral, ela e Lula, fizeram as alianças em detrimento de todas as angústias que os movimentos passam, no estado, no capital. (…) Ah, ela é ex-militante de esquerda, durante a ditadura militar. Isso para mim também... eu acho que é muito importante para museu, para passar o momento histórico, mas nós não vivemos só de história. Basta ter sido um dia quando era jovenzinha, gostava de adrenalina. Depois pode rever os conceitos, e ela reviu os conceitos.[142]

Certainly, their trust in the government had faded as a result of their own ongoing and daily experience of exclusion from basic necessities, and their personal disappointment with this situation. Additionally, their active engagement in a social movement had probably made them more sensitive to and aware of the dimensions of social injustice around them and—especially in the case of some of the coordinators—also of the difficulties involved in achieving real changes and the implementation of policies when negotiating with the government.

141 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 45-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

142 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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However, their disappointment and their distrust in politics had not prevented them from getting involved in the squats—to negotiate their citizenship—and had perhaps even fostered their participation. In fact, as section 4.1.2 shows, particularly the interviewees who had already been engaged in citizenship activities before *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga* had in addition to issues of necessity, also indicated a political motivation for their participation. The conviction that the government would not improve their situation may also have motivated them to "take their fates into their own hands" and to adopt more radical measures in order to escape being at the government's mercy. This conviction could also be read in the statements of some of the longstanding politically engaged inhabitants:

Não espero muita coisa não. O que nós aqui no Rio de Janeiro, a gente quer mais é luta, né. A gente tem que mostrar que tem que arrancar algumas decisões na luta. Para o nosso entendimento é continuísmo do governo Lula. Nada mudou na estrutura, a nível nacional. Nada mudou.[143]

Eu acho que a Dilma não vai fazer nada pela gente (Rir). Eu acho que também nem gente tem que esperar que político faça alguma coisa pra gente. A gente tem que lutar (...).[144]

In summary then, the inhabitants expressed their wishes and expectations that the new government would care more about the provision and fulfillment of basic needs. Their views on future offered by politics thus again clearly reflected the unequal access of the low-income population to the benefits of the urban space. While some inhabitants continued to at least hope for changes through the government, others had lost confidence and no longer believed in the future politics. Hence, the fact that existing legislation and thus also politics had so far had no impact upon or validity in their everyday lives was also reflected in their discussions of future politics.

But the inhabitants' imaginations of an urban space in which its benefits would be equally accessible for all of its inhabitants also carried the potential for change, as it could foster the conviction to take action—to engage in citizenship—and thus to challenge dominant excluding practices and produce counter-imaginaries of the city, attempting to overcome its social segregation.

143 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

144 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

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4.2.2.2 Imagining Future Life

The inhabitants not only articulated their hopes and wishes regarding future politics, but also talked about their personal dreams for the future. All interviewees continued to dream about a better life for themselves and their families. The dreams they talked about were mostly related to the issues of housing, work, and education—that is, again, to basic needs. Often they articulated not just one, but a combination of these three wishes, as the fulfillment of one of them was very much related to the others. Without housing, for example, access to healthcare, education, and work, becomes much more difficult or even impossible, and *vice versa* (see also section 2.1.3).

Housing was still an important topic in the life of the inhabitants. This was due to their fear of being evicted, and the continuing insecurity they therefore felt from not knowing if they would be able to stay permanently in the squats. Thus, some interviewees expressed their wish to be able to stay there in the future, and that the related—and at the time of the interviews, still unresolved—problems regarding the squats, such as the beginning of construction work, would finally be resolved. Besides their desire for security, the wishes of the inhabitants that the renovation of the run-down buildings would begin also reflected their hope to be able to improve their living conditions in the squats, which—as we have learned in chapter 3—were still challenging and precarious.

[Q]ue a gente tenha o nosso espaço para a gente não ter que ficar levando louça para lá, trazendo louça para cá, indo para o banheiro para lá. E geralmente o banheiro está ocupado. Então agora é a obra que está também, sabe?[145]

Ah, sobre a ocupação, eu queria muito que esse dinheiro saísse e reformasse, que a gente vivesse com segurança. Como já te falei. Porque eu tenho muito medo, do negócio, mais pelos meus filhos. Esse negócio da gente não ter nem uma segurança, então se fizer a reforma, que nem eles falam que vão fazer, a gente vai ter uma segurança. Porque não vai ficar desse jeito, que vai ser inspecionando esse prédio. Só vai morar se ficar segurando.[146]

The challenges the inhabitants faced inside the squats were also reflected by the wishes of some of the interviewees to be able to leave the squat in the long term, and to be able to have a house on their own ("*ter uma casa própia*"). When telling me this dream, they sometimes laughed at themselves, painfully aware that it would probably never come true.

145 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

146 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

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Eu ter uma casa (Rir). Meu sonho é ter uma casa! Ter uma casa! Que eu possa abrira eu, meus filhos, meus netos. Minha! Isso aqui não é meu. Na verdade isso aqui não é meu. Não tenho nenhum documento que prove que é meu. Que eu possa bater no peito: é meu. Eu comprei, eu ganhei. É meu, está no meu nome aqui. Não posso. Nunca falo que isso é meu. Isso aqui é emprestado. (Rir) Eu moro emprestado.[147]

O que eu queria mesmo hoje era uma casa maior. Assim, tudo bem, apartamento para criança é ruim porque não tem onde brincar, mas assim: porque aqui a gente não tem privacidade. Nem eu, nem as crianças. De ter um quarto. Porque por mais que você não tenha um lugar para brincar, mas se a criança tem um quarto, vai para o quarto dele. Então as crianças não tem. Aí hoje o que eu mais queria, hoje, era ter um canto maior para viver com os meus filhos. Mas não longe do Centro.[148]

The inhabitants also wished for more financial stability and work. We have seen in section 4.1.1 that most of the inhabitants were working in the informal sector, and therefore also in the lowest-paying sectors of employment. Their wishes to get a job or a better salary were thus always related to the desire to be able to improve their living conditions in general, to being able to afford a better life.

Ter uma casa própria, um trabalho digno, salário decente, que nem o estudo, que é o principal, eu não tenho, né? Mas eu espero uma vida melhor.[149]

Meu sonho ... eu quero montar meu negocio, comprar um local pra sair daqui com a minha filha, entendeu?[150]

Women and men in the squats almost always referred, when talking about their dreams for the future, to the dreams they had for the futures of their children or grandchildren, which essentially involved the latter being able to have a better future and life than they had themselves. Hence, their wish for better housing and work was often related to the desire to be able to offer their children a better life and especially a better education. The interviewees often emphasized that they had not had the opportunity for a good education for themselves, but hoped to make it possible for their children. This wish was not only expressed in *Manoel Congo*, where, as we know from section 3.2.1, the inhabitants had been sensitized to the importance of education, but also in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. The

147 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 59-year-old woman, 03.03.2011.

148 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

149 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 47-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

150 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

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knowledge that education could make a difference to the future of their children was expressed in their statements:

Ah, para mim eu quero ter um lugar sossegado. Para morar. Quero ter um lugar sossegado. Dar estudo para os meus netos. Eles terem um futuro melhor né. Um futuro que eu não tive. Quero que eles tenham um futuro melhor. Que tenham estudo bom. E cheguem aos 18 anos, terminem a faculdade, com 19, 20. E ter um emprego bom deles. Eu quero é isso.[151]

Ah eu acho que para mim não tem muita coisa, né. Para mim é continuar vivendo do jeito que eu to vivendo. Mas pelo menos ver os meus filhos ingressando numa universidade, entendeu? Tendo ... ah, um dos objetivos de eu ter vindo para cá é por uma questão de necessidade é sim. Só que também lá em cima onde eu morava os colégios são péssimos. E um dos motivos de estar vindo para cá é estar dando a oportunidade para meus filhos de estudar num colégio melhor. De amanhã terem condições de passar minimamente nivelados numa universidade, e seguirem a vida deles não sofrendo tanto igual a mim. Eu já sofri muito![152]

Eu não sonho muito alto. Agora com os meus netos que estão começando agora a vida, seria uma educação legal.[153]

Talking about dreams and wishes for the future usually did not involve talking much about self-realization. As the quotes have demonstrated, the inhabitants' primary goal was to achieve a decent life for themselves and their families. When it came to the topic of education, only a very small number of the inhabitants expressed a desire to go back to school or university themselves. These were mostly interviewees in *Manoel Congo*, and were those who had already been active in social movements for a long time, or who were even active in coordinator positions. It is therefore very likely that they had also already been in contact with certain "education-promoting structures"[154] which had encouraged this self-realization.

151 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 47-year-old woman, 28.03.2011.

152 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

153 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 51-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

154 For the importance of education, see also section 4.2.1 and 4.3.4.

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Eu tenho um sonho pessoal. Meu sonho agora, no momento, é passar na prova da Ordem dos Advogados, estou estudando para isso. E poder fazer um mestrado e depois um doutorado.[155]

Pessoal, assim ... eu tenho vontade de fazer história, fazer uma faculdade de história, trabalhar em pesquisa. Até porque eu gosto muito de história, a própria história da minha família, pela própria história do mundo, no caso do Brasil, dos movimentos sociais da minha origem, que é africana. Então a minha realização pessoal seria essa. Uma dela né.[156]

Assim, o meu sonho ... você tem os sonhos pessoais e os sonhos para (Rir) todos. O meu sonho pessoal, eu tenho muita vontade de terminar a minha faculdade e fazer o meu mestrado. Eu gosto muito de literatura, então eu queria fazer mestrado em literatura. Esse é o meu sonho pessoal.[157]

However, perhaps their former engagement was not the only reason for these dreams of self-realization. In the course of the interviews I began to wonder whether their participation in the squats—their engagement in citizenship—had somehow affected their dreams and wishes for the future. Approximately half of the interviewees told me that this was not the case—that their dreams had always been and remained the same—whereas the other half admitted some changes, for example due to the fact of having a place to live now, or feeling they were being more realistic about their futures. The most interesting change some of the interviewees—both women and men—mentioned was the emergence of a new self-confidence they had gained due to their participation and experience of success in occupying the buildings. They reported feeling much stronger, more confident, capable, and hopeful about achieving things and making changes in their future lives.

Eu acho me deu mais força ainda de lutar cada vez mais que eu tenho a oportunidade de sonhar mais alto ainda. A ocupação me deu a oportunidade de sonhar mais alto.[158]

Eu acho que fiquei uma pessoa um pouco mais dura, forte. Sinto mais coragem.[159]

Tive mais garra para tentar conquistar, para sonhar mais (...).[160]

155 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 45-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.
156 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.
157 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.
158 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 31-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.
159 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 14.03.2011.

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Não, ganhou mais força ainda … a ocupação me deu mais um … na dimensão da minha vida me deu uma outra segurança. Que é a segurança de um teto. O que eu não tinha! Tinha um teto para construir a minha família, então me deu essa segurança de hoje estar tentado para a família que estou construindo.[161]

Mudou. Mudou para melhor. Porque é tanta coisa que a gente quer, para a vida da gente. E na ocupação você consegue.[162]

Hence, even though citizenship had not changed their dreams fundamentally, at least in some cases it had influenced their self-perceptions and had encouraged the inhabitants to continue dreaming of a better future.

In summary then, the interviews have demonstrated that the inhabitants' dreams for the future were also dominated by needs. They imagined a life in the city in which their basic needs would be met in order to improve their living conditions, and thus be able to live decent lives and be able to guarantee their children a better future. Hence, they dreamt of reliable shelter, work, and education, not only for themselves but for their families. Their dreams involved little self-realization or political activism. Only when it came to education did inhabitants who had been active for a long time express some self-interest. Most notably, in some cases their engagement in citizenship seemed to have led to a greater self-confidence and sense of security with respect to facing and resolving difficulties in the future.

4.2.3 Preliminary Summary

The interviews with the inhabitants have demonstrated that when talking about citizenship it is important to consider the individual experiences and understandings of the people involved. Even though from an academic point of view it seems adequate to frame the struggles for housing within the concept of citizenship, we cannot assume that in practice it has the same importance for the affected people.

On an analytical level, the concept of citizenship, when defined as a formal status and practice, is able to detect the "blind spots" and uncover the concrete patterns of inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state. By looking not only at rights in theory, but also at people's ability to exercise these rights in practice,

160 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 25-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

161 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

162 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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the gap between formal and substantive citizenship becomes obvious, and one can observe exactly how rights are configured and in what ways people try to shape and negotiate their inclusion (see section 2.1). Citizenship then allows us not only to focus on dominant discourses, but also to examine the "performative dimensions of membership which define the meanings and practices of belonging in society"[163] and thus to directly incorporate the views and voices of excluded social actors, which are important agents in the creation of a citizenship "from below." As a consequence, an analysis of citizenship should then also seek to include the understandings and construction of citizenship of precisely these actors. By this means we are able to learn more about mechanisms of exclusion within the nation-state and how to integrate the concerns of marginalized actors into politics to a greater extend. Jones et al. correspondingly assume "that a more nuanced understanding of how poor and excluded groups interact with the state has much to offer policy makers and development practitioners interested in questions of state building and governance, especially in the context of a fragile peace."[164]

On the concrete level of interaction—at which the practices of citizenship are lived and experienced on a daily basis—the actors develop their own language to describe their struggles. The case of the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* squats has shown that the inhabitants used both a language of rights and a language of needs to describe and legitimate their engagement in citizenship activities in Rio de Janeiro's city center. It turned out that the language of rights was used and implemented by the housing movements as an important instrument to legitimate their actions and to effectively operate in the public sphere—to effectively address the government and enforce their interests on a political level. Even though the inhabitants did not explicitly refer to the concept of citizenship, they argued in its margins, as the language of rights used in the squats implied reference to a formal status, and constituted a practice of negotiating and claiming this status (practice/process). Thus, a language of rights can, from a theoretical point of view, also be called a language of citizenship.

However, as the interviews have also revealed, this language of citizenship did not develop automatically among the inhabitants of the squats, but did so due to the active educational measures undertaken by the housing movements. These movements assume the responsibility of state institutions to educate citizens

163 Holston et al. 1999, Cities and Citizenship, p. 200.

164 Jones, Nicola, Binod Bhatta, Gill Gerard, Sara Pantuliano, Hukum Bahadur Singh, Deepak Timsina, Shizu Uppadhaya, and David Walker. 2009. "Governance and Citizenship from Below. Views of Poor and Excluded Groups and their Vision for a New Nepal", *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper* (301): vii.

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about their rights and further opportunities in society. They thereby also create a vision of how citizenship should be understood and practiced. However, the adoption of this language by the inhabitants did not always go hand in hand with an understanding of it, especially not if continual supervision was lacking over time, as in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. Thus, an engagement in citizenship activities may, but does not necessarily, lead to a stronger sense of rights or a political understanding of them. Apparently, for the inhabitants of the squats a language of citizenship was thus not their "natural" way of talking about their participation, and could not fully explain their feelings of being entitled to occupy empty buildings.

Instead, the inhabitants perceived their right to occupy often through their individual basic needs, and correspondingly also used a language of needs to express themselves. This language was not learned or merely reproduced—as the language of rights was—but emerged automatically out of the everyday lives of the inhabitants, which were characterized by the experience of exclusion from access to basic necessities, such as housing, education, and healthcare, in the city (see also section 2.1.3.1). It turned out that the inhabitants of the squats were painfully aware of the discrepancy between formal and substantive citizenship. They expressed the limited nature of their citizenship through their awareness of being excluded from access to basic necessities, and the feeling and knowledge that the written law had little or no impact upon and validity in their everyday lives. The case of the inhabitants is thus also a concrete illustration of how those in Brazil who possess formal state membership can nevertheless be excluded from social, civil, and political rights, and instead experience the results of a historically rooted differentiated citizenship (see section 2.1.2).

Hence, languages of rights and needs coexisted inside the squats. They did not contradict each other, but were closely related, since one—the language of rights—had the potential to emerge out of the other—the language of needs; and both contained the demand for change. But, as rights were not accomplished and satisfied in practice, they remained contested needs and were also expressed as such. For many inhabitants, then, the squats became less a political project and more a practical opportunity to have a better life and improved access to the city. Thus, the participants' occupation of empty buildings in Rio de Janeiro's city center—that is, their engagement in citizenship activities—is also an expression of how they imagine the urban space in which they live and want to construct their futures. Their everyday experiences and narratives form 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. Urban imaginaries encompass the subjective perspectives of the actors themselves, such

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as their dreams, hopes, and wishes for the future. Talking with the inhabitants about future politics and life revealed that their dreams and wishes were again dominated by needs. They imagined an urban space in which its benefits would be equally accessible for all of its inhabitants, and in which they would be able to live a decent life and guarantee their children a better future. Some inhabitants had lost confidence in politics and its ability to bring about real changes for the low-income population, due to their ongoing everyday experience of a historically rooted differentiated citizenship (see section 2.1.2). But in some cases their engagement in the squats had also led to more self-confidence and personal security in being able to face and resolve difficulties in the future on their own. Thus, dominant excluding practices also produce counter-imaginaries of the city, which may lead to concrete intentions to overcome social segregation and inequality, and can lead to an insurgent citizenship, contesting the historically deep-rooted formulations of citizenship (see section 2.1.3).

Having analyzed the inhabitants' understanding of citizenship, the following chapter will focus on women's engagement in the squats and its effect on the inhabitants' understanding and articulation of gender relations.

4.3 APPROACHING WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP

Quando nós ocupamos, 80 % eram mulheres.[165]

During my visits in the squats *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, it became impossible to ignore the strong presence and activism of women. Just as in other popular urban movements, women constituted an essential part of the squats, being strongly involved in their initial organization and maintenance over time (see section 2.3.2). The high number of women engaged in mobilization around housing—as well as the need for further specific research on this fact—has been noted by several scholars,[166] but to date only few case studies have focused on the topic.[167]

165 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

166 For example Earle 2009, Occupying the Illegal City, p. 48; Gohn 2010, Movimentos Sociais e Redes de Mobilizações, p. 51; Holston 2009, Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries, p. 257.

167 These are the PhD thesis of Renato Maceo Filho (Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?) and related articles and talks, for example Macedo Filho, Renato and Fabiane Alves Regino. 2008, *Caminhos da Cidadania. Visibilizando a Participação*

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A participação das mulheres no Movimento Sem Teto está presente a cada dia na luta pela moradia nas diversas ocupações na cidade de Salvador e em outras tantas cidades disseminadas pelo Brasil afora, são vozes que precisam ser escutadas e sujeitos sociais e políticos que precisam ser visibilizados.[168]

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das Mulheres no Movimento Sem Teto – Salvador /BA. Fazendo Gênero 8 – Corpo, Violência e Poder, Florianópolis, de 25 a 28 de agosto de 2008. http://www.fazendogenero.ufsc.br/8/sts/ST28/Filho-Regino_28.pdf (04 Sep 2015); Macedo Filho, Renato and Fabiane Alves Regino. 2010, *Mulheres, Mães e Movimento Sem Teto. O Discurso Maternalista e a Construção da Cidadania.* Fazendo Gênero 9 – Diásporas, Diversidades, Deslocamentos, 23 a 26 de agosto de 2010, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis. http://www.fazendogenero.ufsc.br/9/resources/anais/1277867340_ARQUIVO_ArtigoRenatoMacedoeFabianeRegino.pdf (04 Sep 2015); Macedo Filho, Renato, Fabiane Alves Regino, and Raquel de Aragão Uchôa Fernandes. 2009, *A Casa como Conquista da Cidadania. A Luta de Mulheres por Habitação.* XX Congresso Brasileiro de Economia Doméstica / VIII Encontro Latino-Americano de Economia Doméstica / I Encontro Intercontinental de Economia Doméstica, 14 a 19 de setembro 2009, Fortaleza. http://www.xxcbed.ufc.br/arqs/gt7/gt7_01.pdf (04 Sep 2015); master's thesis by Marianne Carle-Marsan (Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville) and related articles and talks, for example Levy, Charmain, Anne Latendresse, and Marianne Carle-Marsan. 2013. "Movimento Popular Urbano e Mulheres no Brasil. Uma Experiência de Feminização das Políticas Públicas de Habitação", *Cadernos Gestão Pública e Cidadania*, 18 (63): 310–334; Carle-Marsan 2011, En Mouvement pour le Droit au Logement; and also Oliveira, Nathalia C. 2012. "As Mulheres e os Movimentos dos Sem-Teto no Brasil. Análise das Relações Sociais de Classes e Sexos", *Lutas Sociais* (29): 144–159, Souza, Helaine P. de. 2011. "Mães da Resistência. Histórias de Vida de Jovens Mães do Movimento dos Sem-teto da Bahia." Tese de Mestrado, Universidade Católica de Salvador, Salvador and Moreira, Marianna F. 2011. "'Um Palacete Assobradado'. Da Reconstrução do Lar (Materialmente) à Reconstrução da Ideia de 'Lar' em uma Ocupação de Sem-Teto no Rio de Janeio." Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro.

While so far there are no studies on gender for the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* squat, only the smaller master's thesis by Marianne Carle-Marsan (and related articles and talks) is dedicated to the topic of gender in *Manoel Congo*, and therefore analyzes the topic in much less detail and based on a smaller number of interviews (18), which in contrast to this study were exclusively obtained from women: Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville.

168 Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, p. 139.

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Thus, in response and in order to approach and document women's citizenship in the case of the squats in Rio de Janeiro, this chapter will explore the question of the reasons for their participation and also look at their daily lives and the broader impacts of their mobilization.

Hence, this study also aims to contribute to addressing the main question raised in the academic literature on women's engagement in citizenship activities (see section 2.3.2)—that is, whether 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 entry into and engagement in the public sphere has a significant potential for change and can therefore lead to a rupture of the—hitherto prevailing—traditional patterns of gender roles.[169] 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 or even triple shift.[170] To find out to what extent similar impacts can be observed for the cases of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, this chapter will, after analyzing the reasons for women's engagement, elaborate on the prevailing gender roles, norms, and relations within the squats—on the construction of a gender "from below."

4.3.1 Women's Participation

> E as mulheres elas são fundamentais. Isso aqui é uma ocupação que foi feita com mulheres. Na época os homens não vieram. Vieram elas.[171]

During the assemblies held by the inhabitants, as well as demonstrations[172] and other activities related to the squats, one could frequently observe the presence of more women than men. It was they who mainly promoted the citizenship

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

170 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.

171 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

172 During my stay, in contrast to *Manoel Congo*, the inhabitants of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* did not participate as members of the squat at any demonstration.

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activities in the squats. For example, during two of my visits to *Manoel Congo,* the preparatory meetings for the new squat *Mariana Crioula* took place (see also section 3.2.2). In order to facilitate the participation of everyone, these meetings were scheduled at night, after work time. Nevertheless, it was mainly women who came from their often distant neighborhoods to the city center in order to participate and to secure a place for themselves and their families in the new squat. Counting the participants on both occasions, at the first meeting only two out of 14 participants were men, and at the second meeting they made up only three out of 27 participants. These meetings were also organized and led by women. I was not the only one who noticed the fact that the majority of the participants were women during these meetings; at one point, the woman who had organized the meeting started to laugh, observing the participants, and called the group a *mulherada* (bunch of women).[173]

My observations inside the squats, along with the narratives of the inhabitants, thus made it impossible to ignore the strong participation and presence of women.[174] I therefore started to include gender-related questions into my interviews in order to illuminate how the inhabitants approached the topic of women's citizenship.[175] The majority of the inhabitants confirmed my observations and told me that there were in fact more women than men present in the squats, and that from the very beginning they had also participated more actively:

Eu acho que as mulheres são mais participativas do que os homens. Eu acho que isso é bem visível. As mulheres são mais participativas. Os homens têm uma tendência a recuar, ou a, sei lá, desconfiar, não sei o que se passa na cabeça deles. Mas a participação feminina com certeza é maior. (...) É, a gente fica se perguntando. Tanto que quando se deu a ocupação, em sua grande maioria eram mulheres. Os maridos, poucos homens

173 Preparatory meeting of the squat *Mariana Crioula*, inside the squat *Manoel Congo,* 31.05.2011.

174 The strong presence of women in *Manoel Congo* has also been noted for example by Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia, pp. 35f, 42; Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville; Rodrigues da Silva 2010, Ocupação Manuel Congo, p. 150; Queiroz e Mello 2013, Ramifications of the Social Housing Movements, p. 19; Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, pp. 2f.

175 As emphasized earlier (see for example in chapter 3.2.2), no only gender, but also other social categorizations played a role in the squats. For example, many inhabitants were of Afro-Brazilian origin. But, as ethnicity did not turn out to be an important topic for the inhabitants themselves during the interviews, it is not included into the framework of this study.

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vieram. Os maridos vieram depois. O meu mesmo veio depois. O da [Renata] veio depois. O da [Renata] ainda custou muito para vir. Para entender. E é uma pessoa totalmente esclarecida, formada e tal. (...) A gente tem que trabalhar muito a cabeça dos homens. Entendeu? Então pelo menos aqui existe uma resistência dos homens, as mulheres são sempre mais participativas do que os homens. Sempre foram.[176]

Talking with me during the interviews about their own experiences and motives for participating in the occupation of the buildings, the female inhabitants also often referred to the participation and support (or lack thereof) of their partners, especially at the beginning of the squats. Not only single mothers, but very often married women too had come alone and had participated in the occupation even against the wills of their husbands, who for their part had often refused to engage.

Interestingly, it was mainly in *Manoel Congo* that women talked about this kind of personal challenge at the beginning of their participation. One of these women was Zilda. She, like many other women, revealed during our interview the conflict she had faced with her husband during and after making the decision to occupy the building.

Ele também participou da ocupação? Não. Porque ele diz que não gosta dessas coisas. Ele falava que não gostava dessas coisas não. Eu não gosto dessas coisas, eu gosto de comprar com o meu dinheiro. Eu digo: ah, mas a gente não tem. Então fica aí que eu vou embora. E fui embora. Larguei ele para trás com os meus dois filhos, meus dois filhos mais novos, né? E a minha filha na época estava separada, também estava em casa. Foi essa que veio comigo. Quando eu vim, viemos eu e ela. Aí eu deixei ele com os meus dois filhos mais novos, e ela tinha uma filha de cinco anos, aí ela foi e deixou o marido também para trás com a filha e viemos embora nós duas. Para tentar uma vida melhor, né? Com uma casinha, direitinha ... já que a minha amiga tinha me falado que era para dar um apartamento, nós viemos! (...) Aí ele disse que não vinha, não vinha, não vinha ... não queria nem me ver porque eu tinha abandonado ele com os filhos. E eu digo não, não abandonei você! Mas você está me largando! Não estou largando, nem abandonando, só estou tentando uma vida melhor para a gente. Já que ele não tinha coragem! Aí depois eu vou. Seja o que Deus quiser da minha vida. Só peço que não aconteça nada comigo. Aí vim. Deixei eles para trás e vim. Depois de seis meses, não lembro direito, sei que foi com o tempo. Aí ele veio para cá. Aí veio me visitar. Veio me visitar, aí dessa visita tá aí até hoje.[177]

176 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.

177 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 47-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

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Even though her husband had refused support, she had nevertheless decided to leave him and some of her children in order to occupy the building and, as she explained, to take advantage of the opportunity for her family to "have a better life" ("*Para tentar uma vida melhor*"). The need felt by Zilda to improve her family's living conditions was apparently so urgent that she was willing to take certain personal risks and even to sacrifice her marriage. Other women reported similar stories and pointed to initial problems and struggles with their male partners, and emphasized the important role women had played in the construction process of the squats.

Apparently women often felt more responsible and motivated to take action in order to change their families' living conditions than their male partners did. Those women in *Manoel Congo* who had already been active and gathered experience in social movements before moving to the squat indicated that this was a common and, for them, well-known behavior of women. Leila, for instance, herself a long-term activist, reported on her experiences with women's activism in contrast to men's and confirmed that women—at least initially—always used to participate much more.

> Eu tenho 20 anos de luta, em movimentos sociais e ocupações. No perímetro de áreas abertas, onde a gente faz barraquinho, faz barracas, e é um esforço tremendo. Quem carregava as madeiras eram as mulheres, furar buraco para botar as vigas do barraco eram as mulheres, e quem tava na luta, no confronto, era o confronto que se dava, com violência… eram as mulheres. Os homens ficavam com medo. Eu tenho vários homens que eu convenci. (...) Falei assim: olha, a sua mulher tá certa. Você pode pagar um aluguel? (...) Aí ele se convenceu, foi, mas ele falou assim: aí, depois de tempos ele falou assim: eu tinha medo. Primeiro que na minha cabeça isso era errado. E segundo que eu tinha medo. Quando via a polícia, tinha medo.[178]

Hence, taking these observations and narratives into account, the question emerged as to why women were apparently more willing to engage in citizenship activities than men. How can we explain the strong presence and participation of women in the two squats? During our interviews and informal talks, the inhabitants revealed not only their thoughts about the reasons for women's participation, but, as we shall see, also offered interesting insights into their understanding of gender.

In order to explain the strong presence and participation of women inside the squats, the inhabitants in some way or other referred to a gendered division of

178 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

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labor, which allocated the task of the provision for the family and the defense and organization of living conditions to women. Hence, women's traditional responsibility in the private sphere—which also implied finding a solution to the lack of adequate housing for their families—led, as will be demonstrated below, many of the female inhabitants to engage in the occupation of and activities coordinated by the squats.

One way in which the inhabitants referred during the interviews to the existence of such a gendered division of labor was to talk about women as *chefes de familia*. To be a woman *chefe de familia*, as the interviews revealed, meant to them to be confronted with the difficult task of performing domestic and income-generating work at the same time—to be forced to perform a double or triple shift—often without any male support.[179]

A mulher hoje virou chefe de família, né? É a mãe solteira, mulher que casa e se separa, e aí tem que trabalhar e cuidar de filhos, e eu acho que a mulher agora está tomando mais ... você vê hoje na Chiquinha, a maioria das famílias lá- tem homem solteiro- mas a maioria são as mulheres solteiras com filhos.[180]

A família mudou. Nas décadas passadas, a família era formada por o marido, a mulher e os filhos. Hoje a família está diferente. A maioria das famílias, o chefe da família é a mulher.[181]

Talking about women's intense workloads and responsibilities in the domestic sphere also led some of the inhabitants to characterize women as both "mother and father." This description provided an interesting insight into their understanding of the gender roles within the family, as such a characterization implied that there existed two separate and clearly gendered spheres of responsibilities inside one family, which now had to be fulfilled by only one person—the woman.

A maioria hoje que é chefes de família são as mulheres. São mães solteiras, separadas, que assumem a responsabilidade dos filhos, porque nós homens, (...) não temos esta responsabilidade. (...) A mulher que sustenta a família, sustenta aos filhos, crie os filhos e proveem todo necessário para uma família. (…) É mãe e pai. Justamente muita das vezes ela não tem aquele tempo de educar, de conversar, dar carinho ao filho porque ela tem que

179 For a detailed discussion of the term *chefe de familia* see section 3.2.2.

180 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

181 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

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prover também. A alimentação, o lazer, o vestuário da criança (…). A falta da responsabilidade do homem, do macho, que deveria estar (...).[182]

The inhabitants clearly associated one of these spheres of responsibility with being female—specifically, with being a mother—and it included *inter alia* the responsibility to "educate," to "talk," and to "care." The inhabitants associated the other sphere with being male—especially with being a father—and it included mainly the responsibility to "sustain their family," that is, to provide financially. Thus, even though in their everyday lives women often had to perform both roles, the idea of a male breadwinner was present in their accounts, and the traditional spheres of responsibility were therefore mostly not questioned.

The inhabitants frequently characterized women as mothers[183] when explaining women's strong participation in the squats. In doing so, they were drawing, on their own initiative, a strong connection between women and the task and responsibility of undertaking childcare. Thus, they were associating women mainly with the domestic sphere and were again referring to a gendered division of labor in society:

Então vamos fazer o seguinte: a mulher precisa mais por conta de ter os filhos e ela vai ter trabalho dobrado. Então elas ficam aqui. Eu acho que tem um pouco disso.[184]

É que as mulheres tem muitos filhos. Os homens dão um jeito de viver e saem de casa, largam as mulheres cheio de filhos, mas eles não querem ficar com os filhos na rua, então (...).[185]

E as mulheres elas são fundamentais. Isso aqui é uma ocupação que foi feita com mulheres. Na época os homens não vieram. Vieram elas. Porque a mulher brasileira ela tem muita sensibilidade. Se ela tem filho então, ela não ta pensando nela, ela ta pensando no filho, na comunidade, nos filhos das amigas, então. A vinda para cá foi um pouco isso. Essa experiência das mulheres brasileiras de quererem uma vida melhor para os seus filhos. Para os seus familiares, para os seus amigos. (...) Porque geralmente as mães são preocupadas com os seus filhos, creche, (...) o homem no Brasil, por causa da nossa sociedade machista, ele tem privilégios. Então um homem sair daqui e ir trabalhar em São Paulo e deixar a mulher aqui, é normal. Não é normal uma mulher deixar o filho com o

182 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 24.03.2011.

183 I will go into detail more on the topic of motherhood in section 4.3.3.

184 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 19-year-old woman, 30.03.2011.

185 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 38-year-old woman, 21.03.2011.

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homem e ir trabalhar fora, né? Então essa forma das mulheres se organizarem também é uma forma de sustentar a sua vida. Elas acreditam mais. Quando você tem filho, você ta preocupado com o futuro. Elas tiveram essa preocupação. Pensar no filho, pensar na casa. Hoje uma família que não tem casa ta na rua! E na rua brasileira mora o perigo, mora muita gente.[186]

As part of their fulfillment of their responsibility as mothers, it was they who had to find an affordable place to live for their families. Due to their often difficult former living conditions and their lack of access to the benefits of the city—as described in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2—the squats for women especially turned out to be a good opportunity to escape from distress and to offer their children a better life by providing for their basic needs in this way, such as ensuring a better education, healthcare, and housing (see section 4.1.2). Women's main responsibility for housing, and its connection to motherhood, has also been noted in the academic literature.[187] For example, in his study on community mobilization in Brazil, Kevin Neuhouser argues that women's collective mobilization resulted from their problems in obtaining the necessary resources to fulfill their role as mothers, and even goes as far to state that "women were far more willing to pay the costs of invasion because they needed houses to be mothers."[188]

As the quotes from the interviews also demonstrate, the inhabitants often described women's difficult situations and need to take over responsibility as a consequence of the irresponsibility of, and their abandonment by, men. Characterizing women, for instance, as being responsible and men as being irresponsible, meant acting on the assumption of the existence of inherent and different masculine and feminine attributes and characteristics. In their statements, the female inhabitants mostly tried to explain their participation in the squats and their main responsibility for the domestic sphere as something positive that formed part of their nature as women. One of these female characteristics, which according to the inhabitants increased the probability of women's participation in contrast to men's, was the description of women as warriors (*guerreiras*). The interviewees thereby characterized women as strong and powerful, willing to fight for their own good:

186 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

187 Moser 1989, Gender Planning in the Third World, p. 1805; Neuhouser 1998, "If I Had Abandoned my Child", p. 355.

188 Neuhouser 1998, "If I Had Abandoned my Child", p. 335.

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Porque, olha, eu não sei lá na Alemanha como é que é. Eu só digo uma coisa: o brasileiro, ele é muito acomodado. Eu tiro o homem brasileiro muito preguiçoso. As mulheres brasileiras elas são guerreiras, você vê que elas é que sustentam a casa. A renda maior que tem é da mulher. Porque falam: a mulher ganha menos, a mulher é mais sacrificada no campo. Ela é, ela é explorada? Ela é. Mas é ela que traz o sustento para a sua casa. Ela que vai catar papelão na rua, é ela que vai catar lixo na rua, para seu marido comer, seus filhos comerem. São elas. Entendeu? E aqui acontece muito disso: as mulheres são guerreiras: elas vão trabalhar, elas vão trabalhar na casa de Madame, elas que vão lá para fora para trazer sustento para dentro de casa. Infelizmente eu acho que é quase mundialmente também que as mulheres são muito sacrificadas. Muito, muito.[189]

Porque as mulheres são guerreiras. Os homens ficam mais escondidos atrás das mulheres. Porque elas que dão a cara, as mulheres que falam. As mulheres são determinadas. (...) As mulheres que estão à frente do negócio aqui. Quando nós ocupamos, 80 % eram mulheres. (...) Porque os homens não têm a coragem que as mulheres têm. Os homens não têm essa coragem.[190]

While the inhabitants described women in a positive way, ascribing to them qualities such as "fighter," "determined," "forward," "courageous," and so on, men were characterized more negatively, for instance with words such as "lazy" and "coward."[191] To characterize women in such positive terms allowed the interviewees to convert women's strong participation into something positive and powerful, and not allow it to be regarded merely as an expression of their gender subordination. It offered the potential for them to portray themselves as independent and active agents who were able to take their fates into their own hands, despite the obstacles existing in their everyday lives. In this sense, for them being able to bear up and to cope with a double or triple shift was also something that could be turned into an expression of their strength, their will, and their independence from men, as well as their victimhood.

For a few of the interviewees in the *Manoel Congo* squat,[192] another explanation for the fact that it was mainly women who were visible and participating in the squat was simply that the men were working outside the squat during the day, and were therefore not as present there as women. They pointed out that due to their work, men had much less time to participate—in contrast to their female partners, who normally stayed at home during the day.

189 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

190 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

191 I will go into more detail on the topic of gender stereotyping in section 4.3.3.

192 In total, six of the interviewed inhabitants.

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Eu acho que as condições de tempo, de estar trabalhando num movimento social a mulher tem mais facilidade. Por não trabalhar fora. Quem não trabalha fora, o trabalho de casa te dá a oportunidade de se organizar e sair. Sai por duas ou três horas e volta e está tudo tranquilo. Agora quando trabalha fora fica difícil de se envolver direto.[193]

Mas em algumas atividades, em sua maioria são mulheres. Mais por questões de trabalho dos homens. Aí vai estar cansado, pede para a mulher, para a esposa, a companheira ir. Porque tem que ter um membro da família. Não precisa estar todo o corpo familiar numa atividade. A condição do movimento aqui é que tenha pelo menos um.[194]

On the one hand, these statements reinforced the assumption of a gendered division of labor within the families in the squats—the existence of a traditional women's sphere (housework and childcare) and men's sphere (paid work)—which fostered women's participation out of their sense of domestic responsibility. On the other hand, the interviews also demonstrated that women's work and activities in the private sphere, such as for example childcare, were valued much less, or even not valued at all, compared with activities and work in the public sphere—something that has been frequently criticized by the feminist movement (see section 2.3.1). To emphasize that women apparently had more time to participate because they were at home during the day risks failing to recognize that childcare and housework during the day are just as intense and time-consuming as men's paid work outside their homes. Interestingly, this argument was made not only by men inside the squat, but also by women:

Mas o homem está, por exemplo, dentro daqui, eles estão trabalhando. A mulher vai para a manifestação. E ele vai para o trabalho. Alguém tem que trabalhar. Há quem não trabalhe e vai para a manifestação porque não tem trabalho. Mas a maioria que trabalha não acompanha. Mas acompanha as assembléias, igualmente são mais mulheres que homens. São. São mais mulheres.[195]

Even though it may be true that due to a gendered division of labor women in the squats were more present there during the day, this fact is not enough to explain women's significant participation in the squats. The men were not working outside the squat at weekends or at night, and were therefore able to participate as much at those times as their female partners. Their engagement, or lack thereof, therefore did not depend on a physical presence, but was related to a

193 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old man, 04.04.2011.

194 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

195 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 49-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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gendered division of labor which allocated the responsibility for the care of housing, and therefore also for the maintenance of the squat, to women. This assumption was confirmed during one of my talks with Elena:

Aí por exemplo: Se tiver um encontro como teve ontem. Ele não pode ir. Quem foi, foi a mulher dele. E nós mulheres que estamos mais em casa. Eu por exemplo trabalho dois dias na semana e tenho o resto dos dias. Se tiver alguma coisa, por exemplo na segunda, quarta, ou quinta, eu posso ir. Já o meu marido não pode. Entendeu? (...) Se tiver, por exemplo, só no domingo que ele pode. Como teve ontem, ele foi. Então eu acho que é por conta dos horários de trabalho. Que trabalham direto! Tem mulher que não trabalha, que nem um dia na semana! Então a qualquer dia está disponível. Para ir atrás de qualquer coisa. (...) E a noite ... também realmente tem mais mulher nas reuniões. (Rir) eu acho que é porque os homens não gostam muito desse ... dessa coisinha de ... vamos falar sobre coisas domésticas. Que é o que mais sai ali. Confusãozinha que foi doméstica. Foi de casa, foi do lado do vizinho. Então eles não participam muito. O meu por exemplo, além dele não gostar por conta do tumulto que o pessoal faz, ele trabalha com cozinha, ele é cozinheiro, ele chega em casa a noite estourado. Aí quando ele toma banho, janta, morreu. Ele vai dormir, ou ... como ele tá um pouquinho acima do peso, né? (Rir) Ele chega em casa com as pernas cheias de dor. Aí toma banho e vai deitar.[196]

When Elena started to talk about the regular meetings in *Manoel Congo* which took place late at night to facilitate everyone's participation, she had to admit that even then there were more women than men participating. The same could be observed for activities at the weekend, when men did not work outside but still participated in much smaller numbers. After admitting this fact, Elena tried to find an explanation, and ultimately justified the absence of men with reference to a gendered division of labor inside the squat. She asserted that the topics discussed during the meetings would mainly concern domestic issues, and therefore that the meetings were not interesting to men. By this means, she classified the daily issues and organization of the squat—which were discussed during these meetings—as a sort of domestic work, and therefore something that was not relevant to men, thereby implying clearly demarcated spheres. She thus presented engagement with issues in the squat as a women's task, and thereby indirectly confirmed that housing was considered mainly the responsibility of women.

196 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

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Figure 24: Inhabitants of the squat Manoel Congo participating at demonstration on May Day 2011[197]

In summary, my conversations with the inhabitants and my observations inside the squats revealed that there was a difference in the intensity of participation and presence between women and men. The inhabitants confirmed and emphasized women's stronger involvement and presence in the squats, and to explain it, they pointed to a gendered division of labor in which women were mainly responsible for the domestic sphere. They did so, for example, by explaining that women were *chefes de familia* and mothers, or by referring to their nature as women, or to the fact that men had much less time to participate. The women in the squats, as we have learned, were willing to assume this responsibility even against the wills of their husbands or partners, who very often refused to contribute their own participation and support. Thus, one can establish that the reasons for women's participation in both squats were the same as identified by many other scholars for women's involvement in popular urban movements (outlined in section 2.3.2): their engagement in citizenship activities

197 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

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was 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 for the defense and organization of living conditions, to women.[198]

In the following chapter, we will take a closer look at the inhabitants' daily lives and daily routines in order to find out more about the actual gender relations in the squats. This will also bring us closer to answering whether traditional patterns of gender roles, which had played a role in motivating their participation, actually prevailed, or whether their engagement in citizenship activities—their participation in the squats—had affected gender relations.

198 My analysis thus cannot confirm the findings of Renato Macedo Filho for the case of the Movimento Sem Teto in Salvador, who states: "*cabe ressaltar que a inserção na luta pela moradia para as mulheres que participam do Movimento Sem Teto, não pode ser entendida somente como "necessidade" de ter uma casa, mas também como uma possibilidade de empoderamento para essas mulheres, inseridas na luta para suprir essa necessidade. Isso porque o Movimento quando percebido como um espaço de ação coletiva e de luta política pode possibilitar às mulheres inseridas nesse espaço como protagonistas, na medida em que transitam da sua condição inicial de "desconhecimento" político, para lideranças em ocupações ou do Movimento*" (Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, pp. 118f). This section and section 4.1 have revealed the needs of the participants as the main reasons for their participation. The notion of a "*possibilidade de empoderamento*" was not evident from the interviews as a motivation to participate. Only a few interviewees were also motivated by political reasons, and these were only those inhabitants who had already been politically engaged before (see also section 4.1.2). As we will see in section 4.3.4, women can of course engage in leadership positions and develop on a personal level (as also outlined in section 4.1.2), but this was not the case for all women, and happened after their engagement (if they had not already been active before living in the squat). Thus, the initial decision to participate in the case of the *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga* squats, overall, had been their need.

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Figure 25: Demonstration and camping at the Defensoria Pública do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 11-12.05.2015[199]

4.3.2 Daily Routines in the Squats: Organization and Division of Labor

> E a mulher ainda participa mais ainda que o homem. Porque além de você ter as tuas tarefas para fazer, ainda tem o trabalho dentro de casa, né? Ainda tem o seu trabalho dentro de casa. Você tem que arrumar a casa, tem que cozinhar.[200]

The previous chapter has shown that practical gender interests prevailed as the main reason for the engagement of women in the squats. But to learn more about

199 Photograph: Bea Wittger, 2011.

200 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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the inhabitants' understandings of citizenship and gender, it is not enough to look purely at the reasons for women's citizenship. In order to identify whether and how citizenship activities affected gender relations, we must take a closer look at the inhabitants' daily lives and routines, at the division of labor both within and outside the family in the squats. Only then will we be able to bring the impact of women's engagement in the squats to light, and determine whether traditional gender roles have changed, persisted, or were even reinforced after the occupation.

4.3.2.1 Family Life: Domestic Division of Labor

> Então assim, o meu dia a dia na ocupação é: acordo, lavo, passo, cozinho, limpo e cuido de neto.[201]

During my regular visits and talks in *Manoel Congo* and *Chiquinha Gonzaga* I tried to learn more about the everyday making of the private, domestic sphere of the inhabitants. In both squats, I observed that women, more than men, assumed responsibility for childcare and other daily tasks such as cleaning, cooking, and laundry. Walking around inside during my visits to the squats, I almost never observed men at the sinks cleaning dishes, doing laundry, or carrying purchases. Moreover, as already mentioned in the previous section, men were less visible inside the squats during the day than women, and to obtain interviews with the men I often had to come back at night—after their work hours—or at weekends, because they mostly worked outside the squats. Apparently, there was a women's sphere which included housework and childcare, and a men's sphere, which included paid work. The impression that I gained during my visits that there existed a gendered division of labor within the households, was then, as we will see, also confirmed during the interviews.

Private Life in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*

It turned out that in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* 11 out of the 17 women interviewed were living in the squat without a male partner. At the time of the interviews, 15 of all interviewed women had, or had had in the past,[202] children living with

201 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

202 In one case the child had died some years ago due to cancer. Before this had happened, the child had lived only with his mother. In two other cases the children had lived with their mothers during their childhood but were now grown up and living with their own families.

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them at home—most of them (12 women) had at least two or more. Nine of these women were living without a male partner at the time of our interviews. Most of the female interviewees (13 out of 17) were working in the informal sector,[203] generating income—as, for instance, cleaners and street vendors—on a regular or occasional basis (see Figure 26). Thus, most of the women in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* I talked to were or had been at some point in their lives *chefes de família* (see section 2.2.2). As single mothers they often had to deal with a triple shift—taking care of their children and being the main person responsible for both the household and the economic maintenance of their family. After their separation from the fathers of their children, most of these women were left alone with all the responsibility and work.

In the case of the men in the squat, the situation was different. To my knowledge, there was only one man in either squat who was a single father performing a triple shift comparable to these women. His name was Elias[204]; he was 40 years old, had two daughters—14 and 15 years old—and at the time of the interview had already been taking care of one of the girls for three years. Following his separation, his two daughters had first stayed with their mother, but after both girls had experienced abuse by their new stepfather, one of his daughters had expressed her wish to live with her father in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. He had fought for five years for custody of his daughter before finally being able to fetch her away. When I observed at the end of our interview that he was the first man in the squats I had met who took care of his minor child alone, he confirmed my observation and told me that it was because "normally" the children stayed with their mothers and not their fathers.[205] Childcare was thus, also in the opinion of the interviewees, a task much more related to women than to men.

203 Among the remaining four were two women studying at university, and one retiree.

204 Elias was an evangelical Christian. I will expand a bit more in section 4.3.3 and 4.3.4 on religion and how it related to gender and citizenship in the squat.

205 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 40-year-old man, 16.03.2011.

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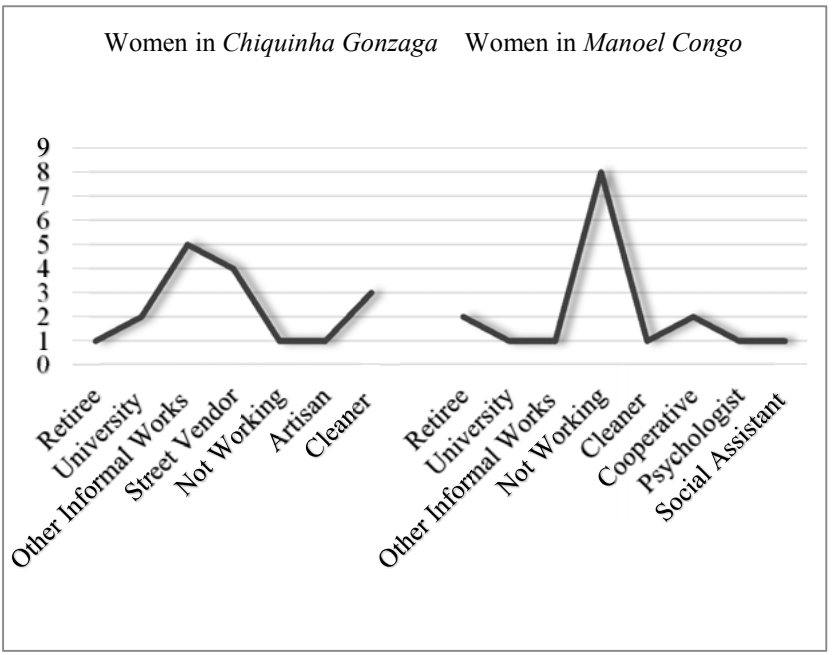
Figure 26: Occupations of the women interviewed in the two squats[206]



The other eight men interviewed in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* were also, like Elias, mostly living without a female partner. Only two of them lived with their partner or ex-partner. At the time of the interviews, five of these men had children, and in four cases (one of them was Elias) they lived with them in the squat. But two of these four cases were men living with a female (ex-) partner, who (also) took care of the children. Besides Elias, then, only one other man was living alone with his son. In contrast to Elias' case, however, the son had already come of age (he was 22 years old), was earning his own money, and had only recently come to live with his father in the squat out of necessity. The rest of his children—six altogether—had lived or still lived with their mother.[207]

Regarding their jobs, almost all of the men interviewed in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* were, like the women, working in the informal sector. They gained

206 Own data.

207 He had six children, aged 41, 40, 38, 36, 28, and 22, and already had 14 grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.

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income working as, for example, construction workers and street vendors (see Figure 27).[208]

Private Life in *Manoel Congo*

In *Manoel Congo*, far fewer of the women interviewed—only six out of 17—were living without a male partner in the squat.[209] At the time of the interviews, 13 of all interviewed women had, or had had in the past [210] children at home—most of them (11 women) at least two or more. Three of these women were living without a male partner. Among the women living with a male partner at the time of the interview, at least four had experienced being a single mother at previous stages in their lives, and therefore had also experienced what it meant to perform a triple shift. There were also fewer women among the interviewees who were working in remunerated jobs (only six out of 17).[211] These women worked in the informal as well as in the formal sector on a regular or occasional basis (see Figure 26). The other eight women, who had reported not working in remunerated jobs, were in part searching for a job or had worked in the past in the informal sector. All except one were living with a male partner who was contributing to the income of the family.

Just like the women interviewed, most of the men interviewed in *Manoel Congo* were also living with a female partner (five out of seven). Only two of them were living alone in the squat. At the time of the interviews, five of these men had children, and in all cases they did not live with them, but somewhere else, with their mothers. In two of the cases in which the men had children, these men were living in the squat together with their new partners' children; meanwhile, their own children were living with their mothers—the men's ex-partners. As in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, it seemed common that after a separation the children stayed with their mothers, who then had to take over the responsibility mostly on their own. Men's abandonment had also been mentioned by many women, when talking about the reasons for their participation in the squats (see section 4.3.1).

Depois da separação? Não. Aí já muda. Porque aqui os maridos, eles acham que largam as mulheres e largam os filhos também. Eles largam e vão dando os filhos. Então é complicado isso. Vão se distanciando. Tem muitos anos que eles não vêm o pai.

208 Only one of them was working in the formal sector, as a bus driver.

209 One of them had a steady boyfriend living outside the squat.

210 In three cases the children had lived with their mothers during their childhood but were now grown-up and living with their own families.

211 Among the remaining 11 was one woman studying at university, and two retirees.

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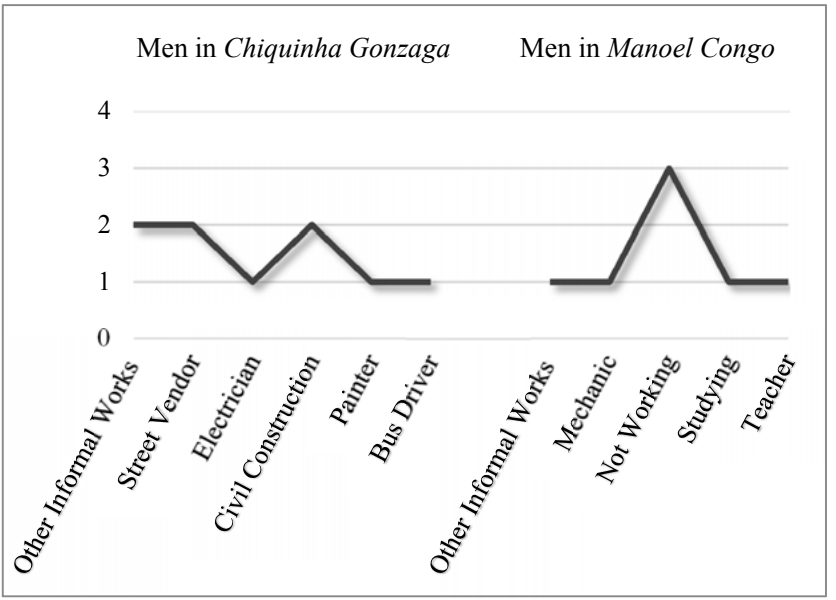
Entendeu? Porque eles arrumam outra família, então é raro os casos (...). Muito difícil. Eles se separam da mulher e se separam dos filhos também, entendeu? Ela fica sozinha para levar isso.[212]

Figure 27: Occupations of the men interviewed in the two squats[213]



One thing that caught my attention in relation to men in both squats whose children were living with their mothers was how they always emphasized their financial support when talking about taking care of their children. It sounded like a justification, as if they wanted to show that they also fulfilled "their part," which for them was mainly to take financial care of their families.

Eu pago pensão. Não mora comigo, mora com a mãe, então … eu tenho que contribuir com a questão financeira, que é a pensão.[214]

Não, não. A minha filha, a primeira ou segunda? A de 18 não mora comigo. Ela tem uma casa, de aluguel. A mãe dela até já casou de novo. (...) Mas sempre ela liga para mim, eu

212 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 46-year-old woman, 06.05.2011.

213 Own data.

214 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 32-year-old man, 24.05.2011.

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ligo para ela, a gente conversa. *Então você cuida dela também.* Também. Sempre mando dinheiro para ela.[215]

Regarding their jobs, three out of seven of the men interviewed in *Manoel Congo* were working in the informal or formal sector. Another three were without a job, and one was studying to enter public service (see Figure 27).

Division of Everyday Domestic Labor

Listening to and watching women's daily routines in both squats showed that it was still they who assumed the main responsibility for childcare and domestic labor, such as cleaning, cooking and laundry, irrespective of whether they were living with a male partner or not. More than half of the female interviewees (19 out of 34) were also working in remunerated jobs and thus performing double or even triple shifts. They were—like many women in low-income urban households—working in the informal sector, and thus were particularly represented in the lowest-paying sectors of employment (see section 2.2.2). In order to be able to organize their daily lives, often they (had)[216] had access to an assistance network and were supported by other women, such as sisters, mothers, mothers-in-law, older female children, or even female neighbors.

Fui eu que criei sozinha! O pai não. Porque eu me separei logo e fiquei com ele. O pai nunca, nunca, nunca. Sempre fui eu. (...) A minha madrasta que sempre esteve do meu lado com ele. Que ela adora ele. Isso aí, nós duas não nos colamos muito, mas ele apoia.[217]

The women in the squats were in many cases grandmothers and mothers, who helped their children with taking care of their grandchildren whenever necessary. Sometimes, they even raised them together or treated them like their own children. Generally, these women had become mothers at a young age—on some occasions they had still been children themselves—and often their own children in turn had also become parents very early. It was therefore common to talk to women in their 30s who were already grandmothers, and the number of young parents inside the squats caught my attention.

Então o meu dia a dia: antes eu acordava, trabalhava, que eu sou técnica de enfermagem. E aí tirava plantões de até 36 horas e depois retornava para cá, era assim. Aí depois veio o

215 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

216 In some cases their children were already grown up and were living on their own.

217 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

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neto, que aí eu tive que optar por sair do serviço para estar com o neto. Então assim, o meu dia a dia na ocupação é: acordo, lavo, passo, cozinho, limpo e cuido de neto.[218]

Aquele é meu. Aquele que ela ganhou com 16 anos, que ela engravidou com 16, então ela era mãe solteira, adolescente, então ficava dentro de casa comigo, fui eu que cuidei. Ele é muito meu.[219]

Cuido. Cuido toda vez que ela precisa. Para ir para o mercado, para ir para a escola, ou ela tem um cabelo para fazer, alguma coisa. Aí eu fico com eles. Eu assumo.[220]

Isso que eu entrei sozinha com o meu neto de colo. Esse neto. Ele tinha um ano, porque eu fiquei cuidando dele. A minha filha quando teve ela estava solteira. Morava comigo. Quando eu vendi a casa, essa coisa toda, ela pegou, casou, foi morar com a sogra. E eu não deixei ela levar o garoto. Aí eu fiquei com ele. Quando eu entrei para a ocupação. Ele estava com um aninho mais ou menos.[221]

In contrast to the female inhabitants of the squats, the male inhabitants never mentioned taking (such intensive) care of their children or grandchildren.

Regarding assistance in carrying out tasks inside their homes, two other aspects caught my attention during our conversations. First, if the family had children, it seemed that the daughters were much more supportive of their mothers in the homes, and performed more domestic tasks than their male siblings. Even though the inhabitants also sometimes referred to their sons' domestic tasks, it seemed to be much more common and accepted that they did not always accomplish them, or were only "helping" their sisters. Thus, at an early age already a gendered division of labor was coming into effect and—through the parents' placing of more responsibility for domestic tasks on their daughters—was transmitted and reproduced by the parents in the squats.

Eu gosto de limpar. Então eu faço isso no trabalho e faço em casa. E não me sinto cansada. Eu vejo o meu marido chegando do trabalho, tá morrendo de cansado. Eu acho que é coisa de homem! Não tem aquela coisa de chegar em casa, e por exemplo: se ele chegar em casa, primeiro do que eu, ele vai olhar. Se não tiver nada pronto na geladeira,

218 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

219 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

220 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

221 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2011.

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nem no fogão, ele faz a comida. A comida ele faz, tranquilo. Então ele já me dá uma força, uma mãozinha em relação à alimentação. Mas para arrumar a casa ... eu chego. Agora que a minha filha também faz, né. Arruma, arruma as camas. Varre a casa. Mas se tiver que fazer lá e aqui eu faço. (...) O meu filho ele vê mais o escorão. Mas ele tem a tarefa dele.[222]

Geralmente, quem cozinhava era a minha filha. Mas o meu filho também às vezes fazia alguma coisa para ajudar ela. Ele fazia uma outra atividade para que ela cozinhasse. (...) Ah, eu acho que numa família todo mundo tem que ajudar um pouquinho. Não dá pra ficar uma pessoa só fazendo tudo. Então assim: eu acho que até era mal dividido (Rir) porque o meu filho ele não gosta muito de fazer as coisas. Então ele fazia uma coisinha assim e aí saía, demorava a voltar ... então acabava alguma outra pessoa fazendo a outra parte que tinha que fazer. (...) Ela fazia mais coisa do que ele. Entendeu?[223]

Second, that the interviews revealed a persistence of a gendered division of domestic labor within the households in the squats did not mean that the male inhabitants never spent time during the day doing housework or childcare. According to the interviews, men did also pick their children up from school, prepare meals, and wash dishes. But in comparison to their female partners, they spent much less time on domestic tasks during the day, and very rarely contributed substantially to housework. Often when asked about the participation of their male partners in domestic tasks the women interviewed assured me that their partners were "helping" them at home. But, "to help someone" with certain tasks also implies not being mainly responsible for those tasks. And conversely, none of the men used the word "helping" when talking about women's engagement in their homes.

Hence, it became clear that it was the women in the squats who were continuing to assume the main responsibility for childcare and domestic labor.[224] An example of the daily routine of one of the female inhabitants in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* also illustrates this nicely:

Levantamos às cinco e meia, arrumamos as crianças para ir para a escola, para a creche, os pequenos. A [Tatiana] vai trabalhar, (...) aí ela chega mais ou menos às duas horas, três, nem descansa nem nada, toma um banho e vai par a explicadora, que ela agora tá fazendo explicadora de duas às seis, e de lá mesmo ela vai para a escola à noite. Aí o [Anderson] pega às sete horas, no trabalho dele, e sai às cinco. Durante esse dia, se eu vou pegar o

222 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42-year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

223 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 39-year-old woman, 23.02.2011.

224 My observations thus matched the evidence outlined in section 2.2.2 that women in Brazil still cover most domestic work.

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[Caué], eu largo onze e meia e vou buscar, volto para casa, faço as coisas que tenho que fazer, ou então se tenho que fazer alguma coisa na rua já faço. Às vezes eu descanso, arrumo um pouco, mas tá difícil porque tem muita coisa para fazer: lavar, passar. Aí quando são às quatro e meia eu vou buscar as crianças de novo na escola, aí volto e vou adiantando a janta. (Rir) Isso o dia vai correndo. Aí quando eles chegam tem que ficar naquela correria, né? Fazendo a janta ou alguma coisa para eles comerem. Que eles chegam com fome. Às vezes eu fico esperando o [Anderson] para me ajudar a fazer alguma coisa, uma carne quando estou com as crianças. Aí quando são oito, nove horas eu estou dormindo. Porque no outro dia é a mesma coisa. (…) Ah, eu também tenho o [João], que está doente (...). Que ele usou, aí ele ficou muito ruim, muito doente mesmo. (…) E eu tenho que ficar ali, no controle dele tomar o remédio de manhã e de noite. Porque senão ele não toma.[225]

Interestingly, women inside the squat did not complain much about the gendered division of labor within their homes, and the great majority told me they were satisfied with it. There was only one woman among the interviewees who—when asked about the daily division of tasks—explicitly mentioned feeling discontent that she had to do all the housework by herself. In some cases, the women interviewed even used the word "normal" to describe their everyday lives, and thereby also showed how accustomed they were to a traditional distribution of responsibilities:

E aqui dentro da sua casa mesmo, você também tem tarefas? Uma vida normal. *E você está satisfeita com isso?* Tô. Feliz. De poder alcançar o meu objetivo. De ter a minha casa. De ter o meu cantinho. Eu sei que não preciso me preocupar em pagar o aluguel.[226]

Vivo uma vida normal. De rotina mesmo. Eu cuido dos meus filhos e da casa, só. E o meu marido trabalha de camelô. Ele é ambulante. Trabalha na rua.[227]

Assim. Sou dona de casa. Não trabalho fora. Eu dependo da renda do meu marido. Então é assim: tem que ficar em casa. Fazer as coisas do dia a dia: lavar a roupa, varrer a casa, passar pano ... normal.[228]

Research has shown that women are more likely to be satisfied with a domestic division of labor if their partners also participate to some extent in traditional

225 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 42-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

226 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 37-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

227 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

228 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

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female tasks, such as cooking regular meals, doing grocery shopping, picking up children from school.[229] Therefore, "the key issue is having 'help' with some specific activities rather than an equal division of time on housework."[230] Women's expressed satisfaction with the division of labor in the squats can thus be explained by the fact that—as described above—most men in the squats were "helping" them at home. But it is also important to emphasize that these women's willingness to accommodate such an inequitable division shows how far away an equal division of labor seemed to them.[231] This is also why it is not contradictory that during our conversation about their daily routines the women in the squats did not really question the gendered division of labor in their homes, but in other situations showed awareness of and dissatisfaction with their situation. Their dissatisfaction came to light especially when speaking with them explicitly about their self-perception—as section 4.3.3 will demonstrate.

In summary, the interviews revealed that a gendered division of domestic labor persisted inside both squats. It was still women who assumed the main responsibility for childcare and domestic labor, such as cleaning, cooking and laundry. Many women were or had been single mothers, as they were often left alone with their children and all the attendant responsibility after separations. Very often, they were also working in remunerated jobs and thus performing triple shifts—taking care of their children, the household, and also being chiefly responsible for the economic maintenance of their family. They had jobs mainly in the informal sector, the lowest-paying sectors of employment. Hence, the squats are also an example of what has been confirmed by most studies on female-headed households: women's participation in the labor market has not led to significant changes in the domestic division of labor, or to an alleviation of their domestic responsibilities, but on the contrary, has led to an intensification of women's general workload (as described in section 2.2.2).

Having learned more about the gender relations within the family, in the following subsection, we will take a closer look at tasks and responsibilities of the inhabitants with respect to the internal organization of the squats.

229 Benin Holland, Mary and Joan Agostinelli. 1988. "Husbands' and Wives' Satisfaction with the Division of Labor", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 50 (2): 349–361; Baxter, Janeen and Mark Western. 1977. "Women's Satisfaction with the Domestic Division of Labour", *Family Matters* (47): 16–20.

230 Baxter et al. 1977, Women's Satisfaction with the Domestic, p. 20.

231 Ibid.

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4.3.2.2 Tasks and Responsibilities inside the Squats

> Tem a diferença sim. Por exemplo: quando é serviço de homem fazer, os homens fazem. Quando é serviço de mulher fazer, elas que fazem.[232]

The detailed description of the *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo* squats in chapter 3 has revealed important information about their internal processes and organization, their development over time, and the everyday lives of the inhabitants. While in *Manoel Congo* certain tasks—such as for example cleaning the building and performing the *portaria*—were still maintained, and one of the basic conditions for being able to live in the squat was that one invested a certain number of hours per week in tasks dedicated to the collective, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* such obligatory rules no longer existed. Thus, chapter 3 has illustrated that even though both squats formed part of the same citizenship process and therefore shared common characteristics, they nevertheless differed considerably from each other internally, for example in the intensity of the inhabitants' participation in and fulfillment of tasks dedicated to the collective of the squats. In order to learn more about the gender relations beyond the individual households of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, it is important to examine these collective daily routines from a gender perspective as well. To find out if there existed a gendered division of labor in the collective daily routines of the inhabitants, we have to take a look at how men and women participated in the squats, and whether they performed the same or different tasks and activities.

Talking with the inhabitants in both squats about their regular involvement and participation, it turned out that certain tasks were performed mainly by women, and others mainly by men.

Women's Tasks and Responsibilities

One of the tasks mainly performed by women was the cleaning of the buildings. As described in section 3.2, at the time of the interviews in 2011, cleaning was an official and obligatory task only in *Manoel Congo* and was regulated through a cleaning plan, which allocated a day of responsibility for every family during the week. As the inhabitants of each floor shared one bathroom and one sink between them, the necessity of keeping these facilities clean in order to avoid conflict was much higher than in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where every room had its

232 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

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own sink and bathroom. Due to an absence of organization and the lack of enforcement of the requirement to clean the building in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, the inhabitants referred to this task much less than in *Manoel Congo*, where every family still had to do the cleaning of the floor they lived on once a week.

Nonetheless, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* too, many of the female interviewees complained about the dirtiness and lack sense of responsibility of their neighbors regarding the cleanliness of the squat. Even though only a few inhabitants mentioned it as a regular task they undertook in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, all those who mentioned doing it were women. Hence, in *Manoel Congo*, one of the most common answers given by women to the question regarding their responsibilities in the squat was the responsibility of cleaning. Although every apartment unit had to perform this obligatory task once a week, in almost all of the cases it was the women of the family who took care of it. As the interview with Elena and the other women (in both squats) demonstrated, to perform and be responsible for this task was not something they questioned or felt uncomfortable with. On the contrary, women felt much more qualified for it than their male partners:

Por exemplo, o meu dia de limpar o corredor. E o banheiro. São as quartas-feiras. Então de manhã eu levanto, levo o meu filho na escola, volto, vou limpar o corredor, a obrigação da gente de limpar esse corredor todinho, e o banheiro e a escada. Esse é o meu dever, nas quartas-feiras. (...) *E o seu marido também tem tarefa especial?* Tem a portaria. Na limpeza eles botaram mais as mulheres. Tipo: casal, a mulher faz o seu dia. O homem só a portaria. (…) Todos nós temos os nossos compromissos, as nossas responsabilidades, do mesmo jeito. A única coisa que tem menos homem, é na limpeza do corredor. Até por conta dos dias que tá todo mundo trabalhando. Então eles botaram mais assim: a não ser que seja solteiro. Por exemplo o [David] o [Paulo]. Que são solteiros, então eles têm que fazer. Não tem quem faça por eles. São eles mesmos. O [Paulo] eu acho que nem faz. Eu falo para ele que ele não faz porque ele é coordenador nacional (Rir), mas o [David] faz. *E porque será que tem mais mulheres na limpeza?* Porque tem mais casal. Aí preenche a semana. Entendeu? Quer dizer: eu respondo por mim. O meu marido: eu estou aqui. Ele vai trabalhar. Aí não era justo a coordenação botar ele para fazer uma coisa que eu posso fazer, que estou em casa. Entendeu? Eu acho que seja isso. (…) Então. Eu acho que é mais por ... em tudo que eles [homens] podem participar, eles participam sim. Tem algumas coisas, por exemplo na limpeza, os homens não fazem aquela limpeza que nós mulheres fazemos. É lógico. (...) Porque homem não tem aquele jeito que nós mulheres temos. É difícil. Tem homem que tem sim. Teve outro que morava aqui, ele morava sozinho, o espaço dele brilhava. Mas nem todo homem tem esse jogo de cintura para a limpeza como nós mulheres temos. Eu acho que já ficou isso de geração... já é de nós mulheres. Mas

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tudo o que eles podem fazer, eles fazem, sim. *E o que você acha disso?* (...) Tá bom! Normal. O que os homens não fazem, nós vamos lá e fazemos.[233]

In this conversation with Elena about the cleaning task, she offered an interesting insight into her understanding of gender roles. She identified cleaning as a typically female task, as something that women do better ("*Mas nem todo homem tem esse jogo de cintura para a limpeza como nós mulheres temos*") and which therefore "logically" had to be performed mainly by them. The fact that men were often working outside the squat and thus less present during the day also, from her point of view, made women much more suited for the task of cleaning the building. To Elena it even seemed not to be "fair" to put her husband in charge of cleaning, as she was more present at home during the day and he was not ("*Aí não era justo a coordenação botar ele para fazer uma coisa que eu posso fazer*"). With this kind of argument she clearly separated remunerated work outside the squat from non-remunerated work inside the household, giving both of them different values. She thereby shared and reproduced the—criticized by the feminist movement—characterization of women's work and activities in the private sphere, such as childcare, as less valuable than activities and work in the public sphere (as discussed in sections 2.3.1 and 4.3.1). Interestingly, Elena was also working outside the squat twice a week as a maid, and thus performing a double shift. But still, in our conversation she was reproducing a traditional understanding of gender roles, indirectly ascribing more value to her husband's work than to her own.

Hence, in her discussion the existence of a gendered division of labor became apparent. Some responsibilities, such as cleaning, she clearly assigned to women in such a way that these tasks almost seemed to form part of their—assumed by her to be unchanging—"female nature" ("*já é de nós mulheres*"). However, in explaining such fixed gendered roles, Elena interestingly referred to them indirectly as something that was socially constructed in the past, a result of "doing gender"—of education and socialization performed for generations—and thus manifested in everyday life ("*Eu acho que já ficou isso de geração ... já é de nós mulheres*"). Even though she did not reflect on this at a theoretical level, and was unable to elaborate further on it explicitly, she spoke from her daily experience and expressed her understanding and awareness of the fact that gender relations had been influenced and developed over time.

Other tasks that in *Manoel Congo* were clearly performed mostly by women included their involvement in the child-care center *Espaço Criarte Mariana*

233 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 42 -year-old woman, 02.05.2011.

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Crioula (see section 3.2.1). There were no men from the squat involved,[234] and childcare—at the community level as well—was apparently a female responsibility. Because such a collective organization of childcare did not exist in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* (it was planned but never realized), childcare only became a relevant topic within the family and not at a collective level.

In *Manoel Congo*, furthermore, more women than men seemed to be concerned with collective income generation. While in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* this topic was not touched upon at all, the idea of working as a cooperative to generate income and labor for the inhabitants in order to be able to pay for the maintenance and fixed costs of the building over the long-term had resulted in a weekly cooperative course sponsored by *Petrobras* (see section 3.2.1) being run in *Manoel Congo*. There the inhabitants learned how to work as part of a cooperative. Even though I was not able to participate in these meetings, many more women than men mentioned their involvement in this project when talking about their responsibilities in the squat. They seemed to be more concerned with the future of the building, and therefore were trying to generate the necessary conditions to be able to stay.

Está vendo esse curso aí: esse curso é para preparação para o grupo de geração de renda. Porque? Nós ganhamos o concurso da Petrobras, a Petrobras achou que esse projeto é bom, e o que acontece? Agora quem é que está nesse grupo, quem está fomentando isso? A mulher. O grande projeto de geração de renda será o restaurante e a casa de samba que é um espaço cultural. Quer dizer: a proposta é o que? Que esse espaço funcione de dia e de noite. É a mulher que está fomentando isso. (…) Eu acho bom. Eu acho que ainda tem que … com esse passo que nós estamos dando, com a questão da geração de renda, que vai se efetivar porque nós vamos ter que trabalhar mesmo para poder pagar isso aqui, a mulher ainda vai ter que ter mais força ainda, concepção disso aí. Porque dos compromissos que se está assumindo.[235]

The greater engagement of women in the income generation project can also be interpreted as a strategy to achieve a greater compatibility of paid and domestic work. The organization of a cooperative and the potential to do home-based work facilitated the organization and coordination of domestic issues and remunerated labor. This was also emphasized and acknowledged by one of the women in *Manoel Congo* when discussing the cooperative:

234 Only the group of students who supported the child-care center, but whose middle-class members were not living in the squat, was composed of both male and female members.

235 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

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Essa força de trabalho, cooperativismo, com o cooperativismo veio essa ideia das mulheres se organizarem para fazerem grupos de trabalho. Não agora, então a mulher não pode trabalhar fora ou não tem emprego, então ela tem renda, ela se junta com outras mulheres, faz uma costura, faz um bordado, faz um chinelo. Então isso é um segmento de mulheres.[236]

Men's Tasks and Responsibilities

While women were mainly responsible for the cleaning of the buildings, and the organization of childcare and collective income generation, men were mainly responsible for the general maintenance of the building, taking care of the electricity, the hydraulic system (water pump) and other necessary construction work. In *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, for example, the few inhabitants who possessed a key to access the water pump—and were therefore able to turn it on again in case of its failure—were exclusively male.

Mas o serviço é mais homem que faz. Concerta bomba. Mas são os homens. É um serviço que é feito mais é pelos homens. Eles concertarem uma luz, concertar uma ... (...). Porque os homens que entendem dessas coisas de bomba, principalmente os homens entendem. De bomba de água, de luz. A única coisa que eu faço às vezes é limpar o corredor que eu moro. Isso leva uns 20 minutos (Rir).[237]

Claro que não vou trocar bomba porque não sei aquele, não vou mexer na eletricidade quando tem um fio. Aí já são tarefas de homem que sabem, que entendem disso.[238]

Few women had been involved in these kinds of tasks in either squat. In *Manoel Congo* only one woman reported her involvement in the *brigada*, the group formerly responsible for the internal and external security of the building, as well as its maintenance at the beginning of the occupation.

Fui da brigada, porque eles me acham assim muito avoada, aí me botaram na brigada. Brigada é coisa para homem (Rir), mas eu tava na brigada. Porque na brigada é para carregar a madeira, para fazer conserto, pega martelo, pega serrote. Então eu era da brigada. Depois saí da brigada, e houve várias comissões para trabalhar.[239]

236 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2014.

237 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 11.03.2011.

238 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 35-year-old woman, 23.2.2011.

239 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

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As the inhabitants did not question why some tasks had to be performed by the female members of the squat, they also did not question why other tasks, such as construction work, had to be performed by the male members of the squat; one reason given for this was because they (men) "know about these things" ("*Porque os homens que entendem dessas coisas de bomba, principalmente os homens entendem*"). Thus, when Teresa talked about her participation in the brigade, it made her laugh. She emphasized that "the brigade is something for men" ("*Brigada é coisa para homem*") and therefore felt the need to justify her involvement as a woman in what was in her understanding usually a male task. She then justified this by referring to herself as imprudent and scatterbrained (*avoada*), traits which she seemed to associate clearly with men. Possessing such a trait, from her point of view, had apparently then qualified her to perform a "male" task. Teresa, as with many others in the squats, thus identified clear traits and behaviors she associated with men and women.

In summary, one can say that the tasks and responsibilities dedicated to the collectives in both squats were similar to the responsibilities within the family—clearly gendered. While cleaning, childcare, and income generation were mostly undertaken by women, maintenance work was performed mainly by men. The division of tasks also demonstrated that in comparison to women, men had altogether fewer responsibilities within the squats. Interestingly, the existence and classification of some responsibilities and tasks as "men's" and others as "women's" was not questioned or criticized by the inhabitants during the interviews. Quite the contrary: this distribution of tasks was often taken as "normal," and how it was supposed to be:

Tem a diferença sim. Por exemplo: quando é serviço de homem fazer, os homens fazem. Quando é serviço de mulher fazer, elas que fazem. (...) Serviço bruto, subir numa marquise para tirar o lixo, isso uma mulher não pode fazer. Serviço mais bruto. Como limpar calha que tem que limpar lá em baixo. Serviço já diferente. Agora varrer, passar um pano, fazer uma limpeza, isso já é mais parte da mulher fazer. Essas coisas assim. (...) É assim.[240]

Thus, a gendered division of labor had not only been the reason for women's stronger engagement, but also persisted in both squats, in the private households as well as on a collective level. As many of the interview excerpts have shown, to explain their tasks and responsibilities, the inhabitants frequently referred to "typical" male and "typical" female traits. Therefore, in the following chapter,

240 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

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we will take a closer look at the underlying assumptions that acted as a basis upon which the traditional gender roles were acted out in the squats.

4.3.3 "Men are parasites":[241] Self-Perception and Gender Stereotyping

Ser mãe (...) é sofrer no paraíso.[242]

It turned out that in both squats women were mainly responsible for the private sphere. They assumed responsibility for most of the domestic work, played the roles of mothers and caregivers, were often *chefes de família*, and many cases performed double or even triple shifts. Thus, neither their participation in the paid labor market nor their engagement in citizenship activities had so far led to significant changes in the domestic division of labor. The differential participation of the sexes in the everyday life of the squats had revealed a persistence of traditional gender roles. As such roles, "the activities or behaviours typically associated with women and men" furnish the basis for gender stereotypes, "the beliefs associated with characteristics and personalities appropriate to men and women,"[243] it is important to also examine the images of masculinity and femininity the inhabitants reproduced during the interviews. During our talks, women and men in the squats alluded frequently to traits and behaviors they associated with men and women, and employed dominant gender norms, for instance, of women as mothers and caregivers. In order to learn more about the inhabitants' beliefs about gender differences—about the dominant female and male gender stereotypes inside the squats—I also talked with them individually about their self-perceptions as "women" and as "men."

Negative Stereotyping of Men

During the interviews the inhabitants of both squats described what it meant to them to be a "man" or a "woman" in Brazilian society. They expressed their views and beliefs by applying different traits they associated with being male and female. Table 3 shows the established gender stereotypes of the inhabitants,

241 Own translation from: "*O homem é um parasíto*" (Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 52-year-old woman, 14.03.2011).

242 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 47-year-old woman, 28.03.2011.

243 Brannon, Linda. 2002, *Gender. Psychological Perspectives,* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, p. 183.

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which normally included "not only personality traits but also physical traits, abilities, roles, occupation, or general orientations."[244]

The conceptualizations of femininity and masculinity by the inhabitants of both squats in the interviews and during my visits did not differ significantly. Very often they named masculine traits in contrast to female traits, portraying women, for instance, as "sensitive," "responsible," "caring," and "physically weak," while men were portrayed as "hard," "irresponsible," "violent," and "physically strong." The inhabitants of both squats especially emphasized women's social and emotional skills as well as their domestic character, while men were described as more rational, unemotional, and work-oriented.

Porque eu acho que a mulher, ela … não estou discriminando o homem, não. Mas eu acho que a mulher é mais amável, mais compreensiva, ela entende melhor as coisas. Ela pensa mais antes de fazer, sabe? A mulher não é aquela coisa assim … o homem que é assim: Vamos fazer … a mulher já pensa mais, sabe? Já pensa mais, medita mais para poder fazer a coisa certa.[245]

Aqui também tem muito isso: as mulheres são mais ... quando botam o pensamento conseguem ir à frente. Agora homem. Homem quer saber de trabalhar, de ganhar dinheiro, de dar sustentação à sua família. Para eles já está sendo um papel importante.[246]

Para mim o homem tem que ser responsável, ele tem que saber o certo e errado, ele tem que ter a cabeça. Porque eu penso assim: se ele não for a base da sua casa, não for a pilaste, o seu lar se destrói todo. Porque não pode ficar só... tem coisas que a mulher não resolve. Tem coisas que o homem resolve. (...) Assim por exemplo: uma violência: se um vizinho estiver com um problema, aí o homem vai lá conversar, dizer: não faz isso, não é certo. Já a mulher não vai poder fazer isso. *Porque?* Porque a mulher já é mais fraca.[247]

As Table 3, row A illustrates, there was also negative stereotyping, regarding both sexes, but particularly of men. It was especially women who showed negative stereotyping of men, describing them for instance as "egotistic," "irresponsible," "violent," "lazy," "clumsy," "false," "coward[ly]," "corrupt," and so on.

244 Guimond, Serge, Delphine Martinot, and Armand Chatard. 2006. "Social Comparison, Self-Stereotyping, and Gender Differences in Self-Construals", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90 (2): 221.

245 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

246 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

247 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 40-year-old man, 07.04.2011.

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Table 3: Traits stereotypically associated with women and men in both squats[248]

		(Be a) Woman	(Be a) Man
Gender Stereotypes	**A**	sensitive* / delicate / more feeling/ affective / comprehensive / friendly / caring / educating / dedicated/ intuition/ solution-oriented / less aggressive/ weaker (physically)*/ organized / neat / responsible* / ethical*/ less corrupt / think first before they act/ think much more than men / understand things better / more interested / more compromised / participatory / communicative*/ know how to talk* / sense for details / collective / communal / gullible* / gossip* / silly / unconscious / *machista** / disunited	cold / hard / egotistic / resolve conflicts with violence / violent / kill / beat / criminal / exposed to risk of violence* / protect / rational / blind in decisions / physically strong* / strength* / radical / easier / corrupt / act without thinking / act / more engaged* / irresponsible*/ want to decide / lazy / clumsy / coward / false / only cause trouble / weak (character) / depend on women / parasitic / *machista*
	B	be a mother* / having children* / have to care for the children* / earn less / companion/ family / domestic / *chefe de familia* means suffering/ is a challenge / is hard / is complicated / is difficult / is bad / be underestimated / be overloaded* / be devaluated / be exploited / be victim of *machismo**/	sustain their family (provide financially)* / the "pillar of the household"* / educate / want to work and earn money / work* / earn more / have manual / technical skills / leave home / concerned about his own necessities means to have character* / be responsible / he has to know what is right and wrong* / have privileges* / respect*
	C	warrior / fighter / strong / courageous / able / advancing / active	

* Traits (also) mentioned by men.

248 Own data.

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While men often seemed self-critical, by admitting for example their privileges in a *machist* society,[249] women had more negative and skeptical attitudes towards men, sometimes even talking disparagingly, and frequently attributing negative characteristics to them. The reasons for this are manifold. One factor contributing to the different intensity of negative stereotyping between the sexes could be that women—due to an assumed commonality and complicity based on gender—opened up much more to me during the interviews than men did. It is likely that when men were talking with a woman (me) face-to-face about their beliefs and views about women in general, they were not completely honest and were trying to conceal or to improve some of their opinions in order to avoid offending me. This kind of interview situation is then a good example of how—in the interactions with our research partners—we cannot avoid "doing gender," and of how it possibly influences our data during the interview process (see section 1.2.2).

Another factor contributing to the different intensity of negative stereotyping between the sexes was that most of my interview partners were female and had had negative experiences with men in the past, with men who had turned out not to be reliable, or to be violent. These experiences of course also fostered a negative stereotyping of men. Other research on gender stereotyping has also shown that women were typically rated more positively than men by both sexes.[250] Glick et al., for example, summarizing their findings regarding gender stereotyping, state: "*Men are bad but bold and women are wonderful but weaker*. Men and women are conceived as mirror images, with complementary strengths and weaknesses."[251] These findings also match with and confirm the observations I made in the squats. Ironically, as Glick et al. also show, the positive evaluation of women does not lead to greater gender equality, and may even serve to perpetuate their lower status:

Although men may be evaluated less positively than women (by men and women alike), these attitudes hold little promise for greater equality so long as the basis for hostility toward men is the belief that they will inevitably and naturally retain greater status and

249 This can of course also be interpreted as benevolent sexism.

250 Brannon 2002, Gender, p. 167; Glick, Peter, Susan T. Fiske, Robin Wells, Thomas Eckes, Maria Lameiras, and Barbara Masser. 2004. "Bad but Bold. Ambivalent Attitudes toward Men Predict Gender", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86 (5): 713–728; Eagly, Alice H. 1989. "Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Women and Men", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15 (4): 543–558.

251 Glick et al. 2004, Bad but Bold, p. 714.

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power and the basis for benevolence toward women is paternalistic solicitude toward the supposedly weaker sex.[252]

Hence, even though women were rated more positively than men in the squats, they were still—as the previous findings have shown—performing traditional gender roles. Apparently their positive (self-)perception had also not led to significant changes regarding gender equality. The characterizations and (self-)perceptions of women and men used by the inhabitants—as illustrated in rows A and B of Table 3—rather revealed the existence of traditional stereotypical beliefs in both squats. These beliefs corresponded to the gendered division of labor described earlier, in which women were mainly responsible for the private sphere.

Though women's awareness of their multiple roles and responsibilities often led them to negative stereotyping of men, they did not produce negative or pessimistic self-perceptions. On the contrary, as already briefly mentioned in section 4.3.1, these women portrayed themselves mainly as "warriors," "strong," "active," "courageous," and "able" (see Table 3, row C). While many studies on gender stereotyping revealed that women were often (*inter alia*) labeled "submissive" and "passive," this labeling or self-perception could not be observed in the case of the women inside the squats.[253] Women there were far from submissive in their conversation (as also described in section 4.3.1). They were self-confident, and both perceived and presented themselves as active agents who were able to make a change for themselves and their families.

In order to explain the gender inequality the inhabitants perceived in their everyday lives, they also fell back on a negative stereotyping of men, labeling them as *machista*. The inhabitants thus recognized the patriarchal structures in which they were embedded in their everyday lives, and also their negative effects, especially on women. But, as already indicated in section 4.3.2.1, women also reproduced these structures, for example, by placing more responsibility for domestic tasks on their daughters. Gender-stereotypic beliefs play an important role in this process, as research on gender stereotypes assumes a "biasing effect of mothers' gender role stereotypic beliefs on their perceptions of their own children's abilities."[254]

252 Glick et al. 2004, Bad but Bold, p. 727.

253 Brannon 2002, Gender; Eagly 1989, Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Women.

254 Jacobs, Janice E. and Jacquelynne S. Eccles. 1992. "The Impact of Mothers' Gender-Role Stereotypic Beliefs on Mothers' and Children's Ability Perceptions", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 63 (6): 940.

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As Table 3, row A shows, there were also a few men and women in the squat who labeled women as *machista*, pointing thereby to the reproduction of prevailing traditional gender roles by women:

A questão é que eu avalio que a mulher é até um pouco mais machista do que o homem! É. (...) Porque todo garoto que é machista é formado pela mãe dele que é uma mulher. Ela que ficou muito mais tempo com ele do que o pai. Não está correto?[255]

Aí a gente se enfrenta com essa realidade que a cabeça da mulher é tão machista como a do homem, (...) Aí tem que ter mais cintura e tem que ter mais paciência para acomodar politicamente a mulher. Porque a mulher aqui também tem isso. Muitas delas não têm estudo. São analfabetas, então já vinham reproduzindo esse modelo machista.[256]

Ou nós mulheres temos que ficar caladas ... porque não basta ser mulher! As mulheres reproduzem as relações machistas muitas vezes quando estão no poder.[257]

That women in the squats reproduced traditional gender roles, I argue, is less evidence of their responsibility for the persistence of women-oppressing structures than it is an illustration of how deeply rooted these structures are in society, and thus how difficult they are to overcome.

Another aspect, that had—at least in *Manoel Congo*—the potential to additionally reinforce traditional gender roles, and which should therefore be mentioned here at least briefly, was the presence of many *evangélicos* there (see also section 3.2.2). Several authors have pointed to the promotion of traditional gender roles inside the patriarchal Pentecostal church, in which women's role and responsibility as mothers is stressed, and in which they are perceived as naturally inferior to and subject to men.[258] Women's position in the Pentecostal church was also brought up during one of my interviews. Lia, not herself a

255 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 50-year-old man, 14.03.2011.

256 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 49-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

257 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

258 See for example Adams, Anna. 2002. "Perception Matters. Pentecostal Latinas in Allentown, Pennsylvania" in *A Reader in Latina Feminist Theology. Religion and Justice,* edited by M. P. Aquino, D. L. Machado, and J. Rodriguez. Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 99; Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 2; Flora, Cornelia B. 1976, *Pentecostalism in Colombia. Baptism by Fire and Spirit,* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, pp. 191, 198.

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Pentecostal, but a social activist for a long time, harshly denounced the control the Pentecostal church exercised over women. In her opinion they encouraged women to concentrate mainly on the domestic sphere and the activities related to their church, instead of concentrating on the movement's activities and aims:

E outras pessoas hoje no Brasil, esse movimento carismático pentecostal numa hora ele traz as pessoas dos vícios, dessas coisas, mas também controla a vida das pessoas. E infelizmente a religião é para oprimir as mulheres. Ah, aqui tem muitas pastoras, aqui tem muitas .... mas ... sabe, está muito longe dessa coisa de ... elas falam para os outros, mas elas têm a sua pressão no cotidiano. Elas não falam, mas a gente vê, né? Eu acompanho e eu vejo. (...) Ah, eles vão na igreja toda semana (…). Então isso dificulta. (...) Controlador. Lá na igreja ela segue mais o pastor do que o movimento. Mas elas querem a casa. Querem orar, querem viver. Então a gente tem problemas aqui muito sérios. Quando eu cheguei aqui, capoeira era do demônio, do diabo. Tudo o que é da sua cultura, colocavam como um demônio. Mas a gente que vem de outro entendimento, nós nunca aceitamos uma leitura fundamentalista, sabe?[259]

Despite the emphasis on traditional gender roles, some authors have also pointed to certain advantages and opportunities for the improvement of women's status through Pentecostal rules, because "while they [women] do not attempt to expand their roles, Pentecostal women seek to improve their position within the domestic sphere."[260] These Pentecostal rules include, for example, the prohibition of alcohol, drugs, gambling, and adultery,[261] and thereby provide for women especially the possibility of regaining their own space within their conjugal relationships, or of escaping domestic violence—as for example the statement of Zilda, a Pentecostal woman, shows:

Porque eu não podia falar muito assim com ele que ele era agressivo. Aqui ele tá melhor. Aqui ele já ... dá os gritos dele, eu também dou os meus. E um baixa a voz ... um tem que ceder, né? (Rir) Mudou, a minha vida mudou. E hoje também, graças a Deus, ele não está

259 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

260 Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 7; see also Brusco, Elizabeth E. 1995, *The Reformation of Machismo. Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia,* Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 136.

261 Mariz, Cecília L. 1998. "Deliverance and Ethics. An Analysis of the Discourse of Pentecostals who have Recovered from Alcoholism" in *More than Opium. An Anthropological Approach to Latin American and Caribbean Pentecostal Praxis,* edited by B. Boudewijnse, A. F. Droogers, and F. Kamsteeg. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, pp. 203–223; Höllinger et al. 2007, Religiöse Kultur in Brasilien, p. 125.

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mais bebendo da forma em que ele bebia. (...) E eu não podia falar nada, né? Quando ia falar era motivo de agressão. E aqui não. Aqui já falo, falei: tá, vou dormir. Pronto. Agora que ele está indo para a igreja, é muito difícil, porque ele ainda está bebendo. Difícil porque ele não está nem bebendo mais. Mas já está me acompanhando para ir para a igreja, que isso aí para mim é muito importante. Porque eu vim a ter uma vida mesmo para mim é assim: eu tive vida até a hora que a minha mãe morreu. Para mim a minha vida acabou ali.[262]

Scholars even argue that women use conversion to Pentecostalism as a strategy. They apparently convert deliberately with the clear hope and intention to convert their husbands, too, in order to regain more control over the latters' addictions, and thereby also the domestic sphere—in order to "turn them into more reliable spouses."[263] Apart from serious psychological and physical consequences, especially for women with low incomes, a drug-addicted husband very often also means a substantial financial loss, as their husbands are not able to work, and/or spend their money on alcohol or drugs.[264] Hence, for some scholars, a conversion to Pentecostalism is also a possible means by which to achieve a "male domestication,"[265] because thanks to its rules and its focus on the family, Pentecostal husbands are more likely to provide emotional and material stability for their families.[266] Lois Ann Lorentzen demonstrates, for the case of Pentecostalism among new migrants in the San Francisco Bay Area, that even though the Pentecostal church does not dismantle gender roles, it "provides opportunities for them to be rearranged" and that "[m]embers seem more willing

262 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 47-year-old woman, 16.05.2011.

263 Burdick, John. 1992. "Rethinking the Study of Social Movements. The Case of Christian Base Communities in Urban Brazil" in *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America. Identity, Strategy, and Democracy,* edited by A. Escobar and S. E. Alvarez. Boulder: Westview Press, p. 178; see also Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 8; Lorentzen, Lois A. and Rosalina Mira. 2005. "El Milagro está en Casa. Gender and Private/Public Empowerment in a Migrant Pentecostal Church", *Latin American Perspectives*, 32 (1): 64; Motley Hallum 2003, Taking Stock and Building Bridges, pp. 178f.

264 Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 10; Burdick 1992, Rethinking the Study of Social Movements, p. 178; Chesnut 1997, Born again in Brazil, p. 16.

265 Lorentzen et al. 2005, El Milagro está en Casa, p. 64.

266 Brusco, Elizabeth E. 1986. "The Household Basis of Evangelical Religion and the Reformation of Machismo in Colombia" Dissertation, City University of New York, New York cited in: Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 8.

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to cross gender lines, at least in terms of task assignment."[267] Drogus therefore assumes that even though in Pentecostalism women's traditional roles remain strongly represented and hardly change, women do manage to change men's roles, and thereby regain more space and power in their own homes:

Pentecostalism promotes little expansion of women's traditional roles. What is more interesting, however, is that pentecostal women do reconceptualize men's roles. Pentecostalism expands men's roles to include more substantial participation and responsibility in the private sphere (Mariz 1989: 196). The practical impact of harmonizing men's and women's expectations and objectives within the family may be greater consultation and equality between husband and wife (Brusco 1986: 198). Thus, although apparently the conceptualization of appropriate women's roles is not expanded, pentecostal women may gain greater power and stature in the home and in the religious community.[268]

But, as this section has shown, no significant reconceptualizing of men's roles could be observed inside the squats, and women often felt overloaded with responsibilities, and criticized the lack of support they received from the men in their everyday lives. Instead the analysis has revealed the persistence of a gendered division of labor within the squat—a division of labor also promoted by the Pentecostal church. To what extent this fact had influenced gender roles cannot be ultimately determined here, but would be an interesting research topic for the future. However, we can assume that Pentecostalism has certainly not fostered the breaking up of traditional gender roles.

Self-Confident Motherhood

Talking about being a woman in most cases also implied talking about being a mother, and sometimes went even so far as to equate womanhood with motherhood.

Ser mulher no Brasil ... ah, não sei responder direito ... só sei que ... para mim é um papel importante que eu me sinto muito feliz é de ser mãe.[269]

Então a mulher, olha. Ela é nota 10. Ela é mãe, ela é dona de casa, ela é mulher.[270]

267 Lorentzen et al. 2005, El Milagro está en Casa, pp. 64f.

268 Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 9.

269 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

270 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 67-year-old woman, 10.03.2011.

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A mãe brasileira somos nós, brasileiras. Mãe, mulher.[271]

As outlined in section 2.3.2, women claiming their rights as mothers and wives was a crucial characteristic of the women's movement in Latin America. While in Western Europe and the United States women rejected differences between men and women and sought a more gender-neutral participation of women in the public sphere, in Latin America, in contrast, women deployed a language of difference, emphasizing gender differences and especially their traditional role as mothers.[272] This can also be observed for the women in the squats. They emphasized their identity as mothers, for instance, when explaining the reasons for women's participation in the squats (as demonstrated in section 4.3.1).

Even though women in both squats identified and described themselves as mothers, the interviews revealed at the same time their very ambivalent feelings about the subject. On the one hand, they referred to motherhood as a positive identity, and they did not seem to question their responsibility for childcare and the domestic sphere. This was also indicated in section 4.3.2.1 by the fact that women did not complain much about the gendered division of labor in their homes, and that the great majority had claimed to be satisfied with this situation. Women described their feelings towards motherhood as a central and also indispensable part of their lives, as many of the interviews demonstrated:

Poxa, ser mãe. Eu acho que é uma coisa extraordinária. Muito importante, sabe. (…) Eu, po, ser mãe é tão gostoso, é tão bom você saber que tem uma pessoa para ficar contigo para sempre. Que você nunca deixa de ser mãe. Você é mãe para sempre. Eu acho que o filho para a mãe nunca cresce.[273]

Ah, pra mim é tudo (Rir)! (...) acho que ser mãe também é muito bom pra mulher também. Eu acho que pra mim isso é muito importante, ser mulher, ser mãe, ne. Então pra mim é isso, é tudo.[274]

Ser mãe para mim ... nem consigo ter pensamento ruim. Ser mãe para mim é tudo. (Rir) O meu maior orgulho de tudo que eu tenho assim na minha vida são os meus filhos. (...) Eu acho que ser mãe para mim é tudo. (Rir) Eu não conseguiria mais viver sem eles (Rir). Acho que preferia morrer. Acho não, tenho certeza! Preferia morrer do que saber que não

271 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 53-year-old woman, 16.03.2011.

272 Safa 1990, Women's Social Movements, p. 355; Miller 1991, Latin American Women, p. 74.

273 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 55-year-old woman, 27.04.2011.

274 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 31-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

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vou poder mais ficar com eles. A minha vida é isso. Tudo o que eu faço, tudo o que eu desejo fazer, é para melhorar a vida deles.[275]

On the other hand, almost all the women clearly named disadvantages they confronted in being women and mothers. They expressed these negative feelings through their descriptions of what it meant to them to be a woman, using words such as "suffering," "challenging," "difficult," "exploited," "overloaded," and others (see Table 3, row B). In this manner these women expressed their negative feelings about the multiple roles and responsibilities they had to negotiate in order to guarantee the survival of their families. They were conscious that their entry into the labor market, or participation in other areas of the public sphere—such as for example in the squats—did not imply a relief of their domestic obligations, or break traditional partriarchal gender relations, but rather intensified (doubled or even tripled) their responsibilities. Thus, even though these women did not question their responsibility for the private sphere and especially for childcare in general, they did criticize the lack of engagement and support on the part of the men:

É uma luta né. Eu acho que a mulher na sociedade brasileira é uma situação de muita vulnerabilidade. De exposição. Eu acho que a gente acaba tendo aos poucos, na marra, ganhando outros espaços. E isso, claro, tem consequências, em relação à questão da família, todo esse papel que a gente sempre teve em relação à família, né? Essa divisão aí entre esses espaços entre o privado e o público, eu acho que a mulher quando caminha para esse espaço público, pro mercado de trabalho, essa coisa toda, ela não desgarra das tarefas dela, domésticas, tudo mais. Então ela acaba acumulando tarefas, sabe? Ela meio que caminhou para o mercado de trabalho, para ações políticas e coisas externas, mas ela continua acumulando tarefas do lar e tudo mais. Então eu acho que é meio isso que acontece.[276]

Ser mulher no Brasil é uma tarefa complicada né! (...) Uma pessoa tem que meio que se multiplicar: tem que dar conta de casa, de fora, às vezes, quando tem filho, tem que dar conta de filho. Então tem que se triplicar nesse caso. É bem complicado. Eu acho que ser homem é mais fácil. Não só no Brasil.[277]

Um desafio. A mulher no Brasil é super sobrecarregada. A mulher é mãe, é tia, é avó, é professora, é dona de casa ... é empregada, é esposa. É um desafio. Por isso que as

275 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 28-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

276 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

277 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 19-year-old woman, 30.03.2011.

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mulheres estão todas morrendo de coração. Enfarte, rápido. Morrendo mais. Porque a mulher é muito sobrecarregada no Brasil. Todo mundo fica em cima da mulher. Os homens perderam a função, o papel deles. *E qual é o papel deles?* O papel que a sociedade impõe, é um papel de provedor. Só que os homens hoje não provêm! Quem provê são as mulheres. A maioria das mulheres. Aí eles ficam perdendo o papel porque? Porque a maioria das mulheres sabe hoje viver sem homem. Não precisam tanto de homem. Homem é só pra reproduzir ou para transar. É o que tem sido reduzido o papel do homem, entendeu? De um símbolo de macho só para satisfazer os desejos sexuais da mulher! Não tem uma função.[278]

Women also complained about other disadvantages they suffered because of their gender, for instance earning less money than men, or being exposed to male violence. During our conversations it became clear that many of them were painfully aware of existing hierarchies and gradations of discrimination in society. Many of the male and female inhabitants in the squats felt discriminated against by society for being "*pobre*" (poor) and therefore limited in what they could achieve in life. Their difficult economic situation, as described in section 4.1, had also prompted most of them to become engaged in the squats. Some of the inhabitants, especially those who had already been politically active for a long time, pointed explicitly to how limited economic circumstances further increased discrimination against women in society. For them to be both a woman and poor clearly entailed a different experience from that which a woman who was not poor would have. To them, a woman with a middle-class background, for instance, would have completely different needs, struggles, and priorities in everyday life.

Thus, drawing from their everyday experiences, the inhabitants referred to the interdependencies of social categorizations such as class and gender that shape women's position in society (see section 2.3.2). Their making of such statements also demonstrated the need to consider the diversity and heterogeneity of women—as already emphasized in section 2.2.1—because being of the same sex as others is not enough to assume common interests or a common identity.[279]

Mas num país subdesenvolvido, a condição da mulher ainda é complicada. A mulher feminista no Brasil de classe média, ela realmente chega até você. Mas a mulher da classe

278 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 45-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

279 See Butler and her critique of the use of the category "women" as a common identity in section 2.2.1.

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desfavorecida, ela é escrava mesmo, sabe? Mais escrava que o homem de classe desfavorecida.[280]

As mulheres de classe média e as mulheres pobres passam a ser iguais. Formalmente. Só que na realidade são completamente diferentes. Elas têm uma vagina igual, tem útero igual, mas até o cuidado médico com as suas vaginas e seus úteros já demonstra a diferenciação. E quando se junta como mulher, se junta como gênero, acaba misturando isso. Fica mais difícil. (…) Porque as mulheres pobres, elas lutam é pela sobrevivência, e da família. Não tem muita discussão, muito seminário para descobrir prioridade de luta. A prioridade de luta dela é do dia- a- dia. É de continuar viva. Ela e seus filhos.[281]

A mulher é mais forte do que o homem. A mulher suporta mais revezes da vida. A mulher … sem se desesperar! A mulher é capaz de se organizar. Em meio ao caos ela tem uma força que ela é capaz … se ela for estimulada, ela vai longe! Se a mulher for estimulada a desenvolver esse potencial que ela tem, principalmente essa mulher! Que está aqui na base da pirâmide, que é a mulher pobre, a negra, as mulheres que já são idosas.[282]

To summarize, one can observe that the inhabitants of the squats alluded frequently during our conversations to traits and behaviors they typically associated with men and women, and employed traditional stereotypical gender beliefs. While they especially emphasized women's social and emotional skills, as well as their domestic character, men were described as more rational, unemotional, and work-oriented. Research has pointed out that gender roles form the basis of gender stereotypes, as the latter are beliefs which stem from the observation of men and women in different social roles.[283] Thus, a gendered division of labor in the squats, as revealed in the previous chapters, went hand in hand with traditional stereotypical beliefs held by the female and male inhabitants.

Consistent with this is the observation that the most dominant description and reference to female identity in both squats was that of motherhood. To portray women as mothers, and to make motherhood central to womanhood, also implies assigning women explicitly to the private sphere. However, even though the women did not question their role as mothers in general, and referred to it as

280 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 46-year-old man, 18.03.2011.

281 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

282 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2011.

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

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a positive identity, they were aware of the existing patriarchal structures in which they were living and 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 for being woman.

The women in the squats often felt overloaded with responsibilities, and criticized the lack of support from men in their everyday lives. Nonetheless, their self-perception was mostly positive, and women expressed self-confidence and a belief that they would be able to handle whatever situation they faced in life nearly as often as they expressed an identification with motherhood. It was in my opinion ultimately this combination of responsibility for the private sphere and a strong self-confidence—a "self-confident motherhood" as I will call it—which created the precondition for these women's engagement in citizenship activities. The women's conviction that they were able to make a change had certainly promoted their engagement, and the squats' success had strengthened their positive self-perception even further. Thus, even though there had not been significant changes regarding gender equality within the squats, there was still significant potential for promoting further personal development and change, as the following section will show.

4.3.4 "I am an activist, I am a mother":[284] Female Leadership

> Então eu tinha que tomar conta dos meus filhos e tomar conta do mundo.[285]

The interviews and observations have revealed the different intensities of women's and men's participation in the squats. Women basically "kept the squats running." They were important actors, and much more present and involved in the squats' needs, interests and activities. As traditional patterns of gender relations prevailed, they were also mainly responsible for the private sphere, stressing their role as mothers, and often performing double or even triple shifts. In order to capture the dynamics and complexities of the gender relations inside the squats, it is then also important to look at the prevailing power relations among both the women and the men. These found their most

284 Own translation from: "*Eu sou militante, eu sou mãe*" (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011).

285 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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explicit and visible expression in the distribution of leadership positions[286] in the squats.

As described earlier, the internal organization of the two squats differed considerably. While in *Manoel Congo* the responsible movement still had a strong influence and control over the squat, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* this was no longer the case at the time of the interviews.[287] These differences also found their expression in the form of the internal leadership organization. While in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* the topic of leadership hardly emerged during our conversations, in *Manoel Congo*, women's leadership in particular could not be ignored.[288] Therefore, after a short overview of leadership in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, this section will focus mainly on (female) leadership in the squat *Manoel Congo*.

(Female) Leadership in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*

In *Chiquinha Gonzaga*—as we have learned in section 3.1.1—there had been struggles for leadership and control over the squat, especially at its inception, and mainly between the members of the two leading social movements initially involved: CMP and FLP. But over the long term, neither of the movements was able to continue to exert a decisive influence on the internal agenda and organization of the squat. As a consequence, over time the internal organization in the form of the coletivo had nearly ceased to exist, and the political activities of the squat had almost come to a standstill. Thus, when the topic of actual internal leadership came up during the interviews, it was not an important issue for most of the inhabitants. When asked about it, they usually proudly stressed their collective organization—even though it was no longer really evident—and the fact of not having a leadership inside the squat. This perception not only confirmed the absence of a leading and agenda-defining movement, but also reflected the initial idea (especially of the FLP) to establish a new form of organization, which had the coletivo as its center of reference, rather than the banner of a certain social movement. This form and idea of organization of

286 Leadership positions in this instance are defined as positions within the squat's hierarchy that imply decision-making power as well as the power to represent the squat at different levels of the movement's organization.

287 For a detailed description of the organization and internal processes of *Chiquinha Gonzaga* and *Manoel Congo*, see chapter 3.

288 So far there exists no detailed analysis of women's leadership in *Manoel Congo* or *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. The study by Carle-Marsanne, for example, only dedicates one page to the topic. See Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville, pp. 127f.

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course also had an influence on the question of leadership within the squat, as it was supposed to exist only in a collective form, not in a hierarchical and overtly power-concentrating manner. What was left of the initial leadership and organizational struggles in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* had, by the time of the interviews, mostly been reduced to personal disputes, mistrust, and complaints, which were far from relevant or influential, and were an expression of the internal defragmentation of the squat. The inhabitants (both male and female) who had been part of the squat from the very beginning and also been engaged in citizenship activities prior to the occupation, were trying—at least rhetorically—to influence the concerns of the squat, but without any great impact other than precipitating more internal mistrust and rumors.

The only place where leadership was supposed to play a role—at least formally—was the association AHPOCG. As described earlier in section 3.1.1, in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, for formal reasons of negotiation with the political authorities, it became necessary to set up an official association. This consisted of various coordinators, among them a president, a representative, and a treasurer, who were (re-)elected every two years by the inhabitants. According to the interviewees, this association was in fact not working very well at the time of the interviews. As formal leadership was not really an issue in the squat, the positions within the association did not imply much decision-making power. This was further confirmed through the fact that some of the interviewees could not even name the actual persons formally in charge, or they said that they themselves had not participated in the association's elections. One of the women who had held the position of the president of the association—at a time when the *coletivo* was still working much better—told me that even she sometimes did not participate in the assemblies because they were more a collective process, and she did not want to interfere in the collective decisions of the inhabitants:

Então assim: quando eu fui presidente da associação, foi a época em que a associação foi mais democrática. Porque tudo eu levava para o coletivo, e não queria me meter, porque se você é presidente, porque tem que ter uma entidade. Mas quem manda ali é o coletivo. Então tudo e quanto é discussão é coletiva. Tinha aqui uma comissão que chamava o coletivo. Tinha vez que eu nem ia! Eu como presidenta (…) Eu nem ia! (...) Bom, quem responde aqui é o coletivo, eu não vou à tutelar. É o coletivo, a gente vai tirar uma reunião do coletivo e tirar uma comissão para vir aqui. Se eu tiver na comissão eu vou vir enquanto comissão da ocupação. Se não tiver, eu não venho aqui como presidente. Porque lá dentro quem manda é o coletivo, não é presidente, não é porcaria nenhuma. É o coletivo da ocupação.[289]

289 Interview in *Chiquinha Gonzaga* with a 36-year-old woman, 17.03.2011.

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The interviews revealed that since its inception, the positions within the association had been occupied by both women and men. Thus, women were not only much more engaged and present during the (few) assemblies—where they were not too shy to speak or defend their opinion and interests—but had also occupied positions (at least formally), such as that of the president of the association, or the treasurer in *Chiquinha Gonzaga*. Thus, in terms of leadership positions within the association, gender (conflict) did not seem to be an issue or topic of discussion in the squat. However, I argue that this was less due to prevailing gender equality inside the squat—which, as the previous chapters have shown, did not exist—than due to the fact that the formal internal organization of the squat did not assign real decision-making power to individuals which could then spill over or influence gender roles and relations.

(Female) Leadership in *Manoel Congo*

In *Manoel Congo* the situation was completely different. The internal organization of the squat was characterized by a strong hierarchical order covering different levels of responsibility (local, squat, municipal, state, and national level) and implemented in *Manoel Congo* by the MNLM as in every other of its established squats throughout the country. Thus, in contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, in *Manoel Congo* there was a strict hierarchical order in which its inhabitants assumed different levels of responsibility and power. As explained in section 3.2.2, the influence and guidance of the MNLM was strong and binding from the very beginning of the squat's existence, and the inhabitants were constantly reminded that they were part of an organized movement, and prompted to play their part in it. Leadership thus formed an important and overall present part of the squats' organization.

During the interviews and periods of observation inside the squat it became clear that particularly female leadership in *Manoel Congo* could hardly be ignored. It turned out that women were not only involved in background tasks, such as preparing food for demonstrations or participating in greater numbers at the regular meetings, but also constituted the most visible public reference for the squat. Women in *Manoel Congo* were coordinators not only of the local, but of all levels of organization of the movement's hierarchy. Most notably, the person who decided and controlled all affairs both inside and outside the squat was female. Hence, it was also she, who had made my research in *Manoel Congo* possible in the first place. After an initial meeting at her apartment, where I presented myself, she introduced me to the inhabitants of the squat at the following assembly and made it quite clear that she expected people to collaborate with me and to be available for interviews. For me, this

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announcement was like a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it facilitated my access to the squat (in contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*, where I had to gain access in a much more time-consuming and individual way), but on the other hand, it took me more time to get to the critical statements and to be able to "look behind the scenes." It turned out that some inhabitants were even afraid that I would share transcripts and recordings of the interviews with this person (due to rumors that this had happened before), potentially revealing any criticisms they may have and thereby exposing them to serious consequences (as outlined in section 3.2.2).

Through informal discussions, I then gradually became aware not only of the internal conflicts in the squat, but also of the power and influence of this female leader. Due to her strict regime and tireless engagement, people mainly adhered to the rules inside the squat, and they were also able to achieve success at a political level—such as for instance in securing the permanence and consolidation of the squat. Being the MNLM representative at the national level, she was also highly involved in political and decision-making processes, a member of several committees, and she often spoke at public demonstrations or events to promote the interest of the squat and the movement in general. As her role in the squat was so important, it is worth taking a closer look at her biography and using it as a reference for learning more about female leadership in *Manoel Congo* in general.

At the time of our interview, Glória was in her early 50s and already had a lengthy personal history and experience in political activism. As a child she had grown up in humble circumstances in the interior of Minas Gerais and, as she stated, was a "person who already was born landless."[290] After her family were evicted from land they had occupied, they moved from the countryside in search of work to Volta Redonda (in the State of Rio de Janeiro) where the National Steel Company (*Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional*) still has its main plant today. But even there the family had to face serious challenges, and struggled for survival. In order to explain her later activism, Glória described her early experiences with exclusion and injustice, as well as her political education through her father and the church—especially through liberation theology:

Aí o meu pai não tinha recursos, não tinha posses, não tinha terra, então o único jeito é vir para o trabalho precarizado, onde estava crescendo a indústria, que era em Volta Redonda.

290 Own translation from: "*Eu sou uma pessoa que já nasceu sem terra, né*" (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011).

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Aí em Volta Redonda a gente também não tinha terra para morar. (…) Então a minha vida toda foi de contato com essa exclusão. Porque: filha de trabalhador rural, depois filha de trabalhador operário precarizado na cidade, meu pai era operário na construção civil, então com isso eu sempre tive que tentar entender. Sempre fui muito curiosa, sempre quis tentar entender porque o sofrimento era tão grande, né. (…) Na medida que eu fui entendendo, eu fui entendendo dentro da igreja católica, que a igreja católica ela estava numa época em que se tentava implementar o que a gente chama de Teologia da Libertação. Então a Teologia das Libertação, ela discutia muito a fé e a vida. (…) E aí eu consegui entender dentro da Teologia da Libertação, que o mundo era tão melhor quanto mais a gente se organizasse e lutasse para fazer dele melhor. E aí comecei muito cedo! Com 13, 14 anos no grupo de adolescentes cristãos eu já comecei a lutar. E via o meu pai também, a luta que meu pai tinha, por onde ele passava, ele tentava se juntar com outros iguais a ele. Negou o chamado do Sindicato, que quando o Sindicato chamava o meu pai estava, então eu acabei tendo esse desenvolvimento na minha vida de querer sempre participar de luta para alterar a realidade que eu vivi. Entendeu? Não descobri a luta por acaso, ou porque eu li alguma coisa. Eu descobri a luta para a sobrevivência minha, da minha família e das pessoas que viviam iguais a mim no meu entorno.[291]

Thus, from early on she had undergone a process of shaping of her political ideas and consciousness by being in contact with and being influenced by institutions and people who were promoting social change. Apart from that, she—like the other inhabitants—also emphasized her own personal privation as an important factor contributing to her later involvement in activism. Since then, her activism had continued in different movements, parties and initiatives:

Eu participei da construção do Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia em 1990, mas antes de 1990 a gente já tinha feito uma luta pelas emendas constitucionais. Da Constituição de 1988. Já tinha feito uma luta por eleições diretas, a gente já tinha feito uma luta para fazer organizações nacionais de articulação nacional de reforma urbana. Tipo a central de movimentos populares, tipo a central de união de trabalhadores, a organização política partidária dos trabalhadores, tipo o PT que eu tinha participado da fundação.[292]

Even though not all of the women in leadership positions in *Manoel Congo* shared such a special and a lengthy history of activism, they had all already gained significant experience in political militancy before becoming engaged in

291 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

292 Ibid.

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the squat. Just as former political experience and engagement in citizenship activities had influenced the understanding and adaptation of a citizenship vocabulary (see section 4.2.1) it also seemed to make the assumption of leadership positions, at least in the squat *Manoel Congo*, more likely.

The women I interviewed in coordinator positions at the level of squat, municipality, state, and nation had already been politically active before their participation in *Manoel Congo*, for example in land occupations or in their former communities. Interestingly, as the interviews revealed, most of these women had by some means or other already known each other for years through their activism. One example was Leila, a 66-year-old woman, who had been very committed to community work in a land occupation before living in the squat. There she had met and worked with other women who later also became involved in the organization of *Manoel Congo*.

Então passou, morava em ocupação. Eu e a [Regina], [Renata], a gente se conhece, porque a [Renata] também sempre fez parte do movimento. Aí foi quando … fiquei 19 anos. Essa ocupação tem 19 anos. Agora que está entrando asfalto. Não tem água, a água é clandestina, não tinha asfalto, a luz é precária, não tem área de lazer. As escolas são poucas as escolas. Porque são quatro comunidades, quatro ocupações, uma de frente para a outra. Tem problema de territorialidade. Estão reivindicando uma creche agora porque? A pessoa tem uma creche da prefeitura, está numa das quatro comunidades. Só que quem está aqui, não pode ir para lá. Aquela coisa toda. Então eu e [Renata], que me ajudou. A [Regina] também, começamos um trabalho lá com as mulheres. Um trabalho com as mulheres e as crianças. E eu fui organizando uma creche, trabalhando com adolescente, idoso, fazendo trabalho social. Quando eu fui, na época que a [Glória] organizou a ocupação, a [Renata] falou para mim: olha, quero que você conheça uma pessoa que eu falei de você, e vamos fazer uma ocupação no Centro. E a gente está chamando umas pessoas que já tiveram essa experiência. Aí eu falei: tá bem.[293]

Apparently there existed a kind of network among female activists to which these women ultimately returned when necessary. In her study of grassroots leadership in Rio de Janeiro, Cecilia de Mello e Souza describes how female leaders, in contrast to male leaders, drew at an organizational level on their domestic resources, such as formal and informal networks.[294] Thus, regarding the large number of women in leadership positions in *Manoel Congo*, and

293 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2011.

294 Mello e Souza, Cecilia. 2008. "Grassroots Leadership in the Network of Healthy Communities in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. A Gender Perspective", *Gender and Development*, 16 (3): 492.

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considering the fact that many had known one another from former activism, it seems that these women likewise used informal networks in order to organize their activism.[295]

Another network that existed at least in the squat *Manoel Congo*, and which apparently had the potential to foster some of the women's political participation, was that defined by membership in the Pentecostal church. I came across the narratives of some Pentecostal women who not only talked about challenges they faced inside the squat (see section 3.2.2), but also about difficulties they had to face in their Pentecostal community when explaining and justifying their participation in the occupation of an empty building. Their statements—such as for example that of Teresa—also reflect another characteristic of Pentecostalism, namely the importance of and respect for law-based authorities.[296]

Aí meu Deus. Eles não entendiam nada! Aí: invasora, você invadiu! Você entrou no prédio dos outros sem morar! Passei decepção, luta até na minha igreja. Que eu sou evangélica, né? Aí passei luta lá na minha igreja, fui disciplinada, porque não poderia ter feito isso. Quer dizer que eles não entendem que quando você compra você já está pagando imposto, através de tudo o que você compra. E esse dinheiro vai para o governo! Então esse dinheiro dá direito à moradia. Mas as pessoas não entendem isso. E aí acabam achando que eu estava errada. Aí todo mundo falava, todo mundo falava. Aí depois que eles foram vendo que estava certo, eu levando reportagem de jornal para eles lerem. Eu levava os papeis, eles viam batido assim, falando a respeito de ocupação, a respeito de direitos, de que você tem direito a isso, tem direito a aquilo. Aí levamos, falando na igreja, explicando. Aí eles começaram a entender.[297]

Even though Pentecostal ideology does not directly promote political participation,[298] Pentecostal women like Teresa become, involved in citizenship activities and enter into the public realm. According to most scholars, women's activities in the Pentecostal church provide them with skills and opportunities, such as public speaking, organizing, budgeting, and mobilizing, which may

295 Queiroz e Mello 2014, Trajetórias, Cotidianos e Utopias, pp. 83f and Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia, pp. 41f, have likewise observed a strong influence of personal social networks at the beginning of the squats in order to recruit participants.

296 Mariz 1992, Religion and Poverty in Brazil, p. 68.

297 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 53-year-old woman, 09.05.2011.

298 Mariz 1992, Religion and Poverty in Brazil, p. 68.

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facilitate their engagement in extra-domestic activities.[299] Cecilia Mariz suggests, in her study on CBEs and Pentecostal communities, that:

> Both movements foster a sense of self-esteem and superiority to others, provide support networks that are national in scope, develop leadership skills, promote literacy, and encourage a sober and ascetic style of life. In combination, these experiences, dispositions, and abilities can facilitate social mobility and can enable the members to promote or defend their interests in the political arena.[300]

Taking an active part in the Pentecostal church may therefore also have a certain potential to facilitate women's participation and engagement in citizenship activities, like the occupation of an empty building, as they could draw upon practices already known from their previous religious engagement.

As a national coordinator of the MNLM, Glória's everyday life differed from that of the other inhabitants and also held additional challenges. Her life was dominated by her activism, which included often time-consuming obligations, such as meetings, calls, and demonstrations. Her engagement was in the truest sense of the word a full-time job, with the difference that it was not remunerated: "*[E] nós, militantes do movimento popular, não somos remunerados! Por isso nós somos poucos. Para dar conta de um monte de coisa. A gente tem que sobreviver, trabalhar para sobreviver e ainda militar.*"[301] Even though she was one of the national coordinators of the MNLM and in this regard already involved in numerous tasks, she was also highly engaged in the squat's organization, and almost always available to everyone at any time of the day. When I asked her about the time she spent on activism, her answer was as follows: "*É sempre. (Rir) É sempre. O tempo todo eu to pensando nas coisas que não foram feitas, as coisas que já foram feitas. No que foi mal feito, o que tem que corrigir, com quem eu posso contar, quem que vai fazer isso, aquilo.*"[302] In fact, she was completely devoted to activism. People often also met at her apartment in order to ask for her advice or to organize political activism. She

299 Drogus 1994, Religious Change and Women's Status, p. 6; Motley Hallum 2003, Taking Stock and Building Bridges, p. 184; Chesnut 1997, Born again in Brazil, pp. 137, 140; Flora 1976, Pentecostalism in Colombia, p. 202.

300 Mariz 1992, Religion and Poverty in Brazil, p. 69.

301 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

302 Ibid.

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was conscious that activism permeated her private life, and reflected on her intense engagement, also taking aspects of gender into account in doing so:

A minha casa é uma casa coletiva desse prédio. A minha comida é coletiva a minha casa é coletiva, o meu café é coletivo. É tudo coletivo (…). Então ficou assim meio como uma coisa matriarcal muito esquisita, sabe? Era tudo lá em casa, até as reuniões às vezes. Reuniões extraordinárias aconteciam quando tinha um tema urgente, ia tudo lá para minha casa. Assim: vamos, vamos, vamos decidir isso! E iam comigo e iam me levando.[303]

Glória expressed feeling "*matriarchal*" (matriarchal) when she referred to her central and full-time role in the squat. She thereby brought the notion of motherhood to her political activism, adding a "caring" and thus domestic character to her engagement. In fact, some scholars have emphasized that female leaders' approaches to activism reflect their roles and responsibilities for the private sphere (see also below). Their activism in this perspective is then an extension of the domestic sphere and a combination of both spheres (public and private) and their permeability—as shown for the case of Glória—therefore nothing unusual. Similar devotion and time-consuming activism could be observed in the other women who held coordinator positions.

In contrast, according to the scholars, male leaders were clearer in defining their limits and separating spheres.[304] Indeed, the interview with Gerardo, the other national coordinator living inside the squat, showed a different way of dealing with activism and the associated responsibilities. Although he held the same position as Glória, he strictly separated his commitment as a national coordinator of the MNLM from his participation and presence in the squat:

É porque eu tenho mais a postura de dirigente. Eu não cuido muito das relações domésticas da ocupação. Quem cuida mais é a [Glória]. Então as pessoas me vêm como morador, mas aquele morador assim ... que é o coordenador do movimento ... e eu não tenho muita convivência com as pessoas. Eu converso com eles, me vêm, tanto é que eu nem sempre estou aqui. Mas vou para Caxias e volto.[305]

Besides her activism, Glória also had to organize her private life. She had raised her children mainly on her own, as *chefe de familia*, and had also taken care of

303 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

304 Mello e Souza 2008, Grassroots Leadership in the Network, pp. 489f.

305 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011.

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her grandson. In this regard, she was just one of many women in the squats who had to take over the main responsibility for childcare and financial provision for the family (see section 4.3.2.1):

A minha vida não é normal. Eu sou militante, eu sou mãe, eu sou avó, eu sou separada do meu marido desde ... meu neto tem 11 anos e o meu neto é o mais velho, eu me separei quando a minha filha estava grávida, deve ter uns 12 anos. Criei os meus filhos sozinha, criei os meus dois netos mais velhos sozinha. Tenho um filho com dependência química. Meus filhos não estudaram o que deveriam estudar porque eu não tinha na minha cabeça claro o valor da educação, como todo o povo. (…) Então o resultado: hoje eu tenho dois filhos cuja escolaridade é baixa, nenhum dos dois terminou o segundo grau, a minha filha com 30 anos tem quatro crianças, quatro filhos. Ela começou a engravidar a primeira vez com 16 anos. O meu filho é dependente químico. E eu lido sozinha. Eu sou uma mulher chefe de família. Além da militância da vida inteira eu tenho que dar conta, eu tenho que ser pai, ser mãe, ser avó... Ser conselheira, ser psicóloga. Lavar louça, fazer almoço. Tem que fazer tudo isso. Então o meu dia, eu to fazendo comida, eu to tentando organizar na minha cabeça a minha agenda militante do movimento social. (…) É tudo junto! Ao mesmo tempo o meu filho está lá na clínica, será que ele conseguiu arrumar um psiquiatra para ele, será que ... tem que fazer tudo junto. Aí isso é o meu dia a dia. [306]

According to her, her *militância* (militancy) had often caused problems and conflict in her private life. She reported having faced serious conflict in dealing with both adequately—her activism and her responsibilities as mother and wife. On the one hand, Glória described the struggles she had faced with her husband, who had not been able to understand or support her activism and had expected her to fulfill a traditional gender role as housewife and mother. In doing so, she reflected critically on the gendered division of labor inside the private sphere and its negative effects on women:

Porque esposo e esposa, não entende que a pessoa tem uma prioridade de militância social ao invés dos afazeres domésticos. E os esposos latino-americanos ainda acham que o lugar da mulher ainda é atrás do fogão, é lavando roupa, é fazendo comida. (…) Eu era super oprimida. Muito oprimida. O romper assim: de chegar um dia eu ter coragem de marcar uma reunião, não fazer a janta e deixar a janta sem fazer e ir na reunião. Mas isso foi... foram poucas vezes. A maioria das vezes eu tinha que fazer tudo correndo ou ter uma

306 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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pessoa, uma vizinha para vir ajudar. Para eu poder ir para a reunião para chegar e ter pronto.[307]

While over time her activism had played a part in her distancing herself from her husband and his expectations, motherhood on the other hand had caused her much more inner conflict, and was a responsibility she could not escape from. As the interview showed, she identified as both activist and mother ("*Eu sou militante, eu sou mãe*") and was torn between traditional gender role expectations, and her pursuit of self-fulfillment through activism in the public sphere. She admitted openly during the interviews that motherhood had been a challenge and had also influenced her personal development in a negative way:

Ai, eu não sei Bea, o que significa ser mãe. Eu não sei. Eu sei até o que deveria ser. Eu acho que ser mãe é ... não sei não. Porque na minha vida ser mãe foi deixar de ser eu. Então a minha vida acabou se dividindo entre o ser social que luta para transformar o mundo, e ser mãe. (…) Então eu tinha que tomar conta dos meus filhos e tomar conta do mundo. Mas nunca teve assim: A [Glória], mulher. A [Glória] esposa. Às vezes até cedia, um dia esposa, às vezes ... não tinha muita preocupação de fazer comida para o marido, lavar a roupa do marido, entendeu? Eu rompi com isso depois de uns oito anos de casada. Mas com os meus filhos eu não conseguia. Romper, assim, de dizer: ah, não fiz. Não é romper de deixar de fazer. Ah, hoje não deu para fazer e pronto. Eu vou para a minha reunião e não vou fazer a janta. Cheguei a ter coragem de fazer isso de vez em quando, mas os filhos sempre foi uma preocupação. Então se eu arrumasse um trabalho militando, e arrumando um trabalho ... eu passei cinco, quase seis anos recebendo um auxílio, uma ajuda de custo de Volta Redonda. Essa ajuda de custo era um salário mínimo e meio. Entendeu? Então nesses seis anos, eu militava 24 horas. Muitas vezes eu levava os meus filhos comigo, quando era uma coisa numa sexta- feira por exemplo, um seminário, eu levava os meus filhos comigo. Retornava com eles no domingo à noite, ou eles matavam aula na segunda-feira e eu voltava na segunda de manhã, entendeu? Que eu tinha muitos seminários, muitos encontros nacionais, regionais, estaduais.[308]

Even though their biographies differed from that of Glória, other female coordinators had shared similar experiences. From a certain level of engagement,[309] their daily lives was dominated by a time-consuming activism which sometimes did not end with the MNLM's activities. Some of these women

307 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

308 Ibid.

309 Normally above the level of task coordination (as *portaria*, etc.) inside the squat.

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were additionally engaged in activities in their former communities or active in other groups and organizations. For them, conflict over the accomplishment of traditional gender roles with their partners—as also described by Glória—were a particular issue.[310] It seemed as if partnership and activism only worked together if the male partners accepted their wives' engagement, or if they were activists themselves. For instance, one of the state coordinators of the squat described her prior domestic conflict, but also explained how these problems were later resolved through the involvement of her husband in activism: "*[U]ma das coisas que ele briga às vezes até comigo por conta do movimento porque eu me dedico muito ao movimento. E deixo às vezes ele, a família...*(…) *Tinha [problemas], mas ele também era militante. Eu acabei por conta da minha militância, envolvendo a família na militância.*" [311] In her case, it could even be interpreted as a strategy to involve her husband in activism in order to obtain his support and to avoid larger conflict. In other cases, where men generally refused to offer their acceptance, support, or participation—as described for the case of Glória—marriages did not last in the long term.[312]

Just as with the other inhabitants, women in leadership positions reproduced dominant gender norms of women as mothers and caregivers, and linked women's struggle for housing to practical gender needs. They also shared with the other inhabitants the same traditional stereotypical beliefs about women and men as described in section 4.3.3, such as women being more sensitive and responsible, and men being *machista* and cowardly. These assumed-inherent qualities of women were even perceived by some of the inhabitants as qualities

310 As described in section 4.3.1, many of the women in the squat had experienced problems with their partners in relation to their participation in the squats.

311 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 50-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

312 Men in leadership positions also seemed to face problems with their partners. As the national coordinator of the MNLM told me: "*Porque nem toda mulher aceita o meu comportamento do meu tipo assim. Um cara ocupado com a luta. Teve por exemplo uma questão mais pessoal, teve uma que falou assim para mim: vai cuidar do seu movimento e me deixa! Tchau. É, eu respeito. Agora essa não. Ela já foi dirigente sindical. Foi dirigente sindical dos professores. Então a única angústia dela é que ela me vê assim: poxa, você está duro, ta sem dinheiro e tal. Eu falo: um dia vai melhorar (Rir)*" (Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old man, 03.05.2011). These problems were mainly related to the (lack of) time they could dedicate to their partners due to their time-consuming activism, and in contrast to women in leadership positions, they did not face conflict with their partners regarding the accomplishment of traditional gender roles.

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which made women better prepared for leadership positions, as the following quote from one of the male inhabitants illustrated:

Estava vendo a coordenação municipal, são só mulheres! É muita mulher! Então isso é importante. E elas têm mais sensibilidade, parece que estão muito mais ... não é sensibilidade besta, é sensibilidade de ser sensata, saber agir, não tem dessa de apenas você estar errado e ela vai ficar ali ... elas sabem agir, eu acho que a gente é mais cego nas decisões, pelo que vêm dizendo à gente. Que tem que ser durão, tem que ser isso, tem que ser aquilo. Elas não. Elas têm uma outra forma de percepção e atuação.[313]

This perspective suggests the existence of a difference between female and male leadership styles, which is based on a traditional stereotyping of women and men. Such assumptions constitute an additional challenge to women, as they further deepen dominant gender norms and thereby reinforce the tendency for leadership—especially at higher levels—to remain in male hands, as women were supposed to be too sensitive and weak for decision-making.

Like most of the inhabitants, Glória reproduced traditional gender stereotypes. Talking with her about the participation of women in the squat, she offered an explanation which summarized and reflected precisely the dominant logics on gender in the squat as developed and described in the previous sections:

Então eu sinto que a mulher ela se sente muito responsável pela criação. Quando ela sente que a cria dela, a família dela vai sofrer uma consequência maior e ela percebe, consegue vislumbrar um caminho, uma solução, ela é até mais. Ela pega e vai até o fim. O homem é muito temporal. Ele vai, você chama ele para ir ali ocupar um prédio, ele pode até ir, mas ele não gosta nem do antes nem do depois. Ele vai e pronto. Vai, abre o cadeado e acabou. A mulher não. A mulher quer garantir que aquilo seja bom, que seja bem feito, que a família dela realmente tenha uma alteração naquilo que ela vê. Sabe? Eu acho que para mim é essa coisa. É o carinho, e é querer um mundo melhor para aquilo que eu pari. E eu pari o mundo. Não vou aceitar que eles acabem com esse mundo, que eles destruam esse mundo e não vou aceitar que os meus filhos e filhos das gerações todas que estão vindo, recebam um mundo merda com a minha cumplicidade. Isso elaborado. Mas no dia a dia é sentido, sabe? É como um gavião que está em cima do ninho, dos filhotes, e percebe que alguém vem pegar. Eu acho que mulher tem essa coisa. Isso é meu, saiu daqui, é parte de mim, então eu vou cuidar. Então eu vou cuidar protegendo do mundo, ou eu vou cuidar modificando o mundo. Quando eu percebo, quando eu começo a desenvolver um senso crítico, e me aponta um caminho coletivo, eu vou para aquilo. Para resolver o problema do

313 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 23-year-old man, 21.05.2011.

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meu filho, da minha família, sabe? Garantir o bem estar da minha família, do qual eu acho que eu que sou responsável. Os maridos somem, vão embora. E as mulheres dão conta dos filhos. Os maridos são presos, os maridos ficam na rua alcoolizados. Os maridos gastam dinheiro na boca de fumo com droga. As mulheres não compram disso. Às vezes a mulher também é dependente química, às vezes ela também é alcoólatra, às vezes ela também é desempregada, mas ela admite fazer uma faxina, ela admite catar uma latinha, catar um papelão, mas ela assume como parte integrante dela a resguardar o filho, a família, o espaço. Para mim é isso. Essa coisa que faz a gente ser melhores lutadoras do que os homens. Quando a gente é instigado, a gente vai e não gostamos de parar antes de conquistar, não. A gente quer chegar até o fim. (...) Porque com as mulheres nós podemos contar para a construção do processo. E com os homens, só para aparecer no processo. Só para ter uma visibilidade de autoridade, de segurança, sabe? Mas quem constrói o dia a dia são as mulheres. Quem guarda na cabeça se a obra vai começar, se não vai começar, porque e se teve a reunião do corretor, se não teve. Que a assembléia estava ruim porque não tinha assunto. Quem guarda isso são as mulheres. Os homens você chama lá: fulano, fala ali para representar o movimento em tal lugar, elas vão ter que ir quando a reunião acabar tomar uma cerveja. Essa alegria de ver uma criança que chegou aqui, sem estudar, sabe? Uma criança de onze anos que chegou aqui sem pisar numa escola, e que a partir daqui foi para a escola, sabe? E que agora sai feliz da vida todo dia de uniforme ... é das melhores. Quem contabiliza o desenvolvimento da vida são as mulheres. *E por que será, né?* Não sei. Acho que os homens foram criados culturalmente para não fazer isso. Não sei.[314]

Just like the other inhabitants, Glória portrayed women as mothers and emphasized motherhood as the central reason for their engagement, and also engaged in negative stereotyping of men. Interestingly, she referred to women's responsibility as mothers by linking woman to nature, using metaphors and references such as "*cria*," "*eu pari o mundo*," "*[é] como um gavião que está em cima do ninho, dos filhotes, e percebe que alguém vem pegar. Eu acho que mulher tem essa coisa*." In her account motherhood then became a central and biologically determined part and responsibility of womanhood. Alluding to biological differences between the two sexes in order to explain women's engagement, Glória followed a line of reasoning greatly criticized by feminists, since existing gender hierarchies, when assumed to be naturally given, can hardly be criticized and changed (as outlined in section 2.2.1). In contrast, at the end of her statement, she introduced a completely different reasoning, which was that gender is socially constructed. While she talked about motherhood in terms

314 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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of it being a biologically determined role, for her, fatherhood, or "the lack of it," was culturally influenced: "*Acho que os homens foram criados culturalmente para não fazer isso*." Glória thus introduced the notion of a cultural construction of gender in an explicit way. This level of reflection differentiated her from the other inhabitants, and ultimately represented her long preoccupation with the topic of exclusion and her contact with people and institutions of a different educational level. Education played an important role in all of these women's lives. They were all attending or had attended university, or were trying to continue their education by other means.[315]

Thus, women in *Manoel Congo* played an important role, including in leadership positions. But, as some of these female leaders stressed, especially in the upper levels of the movement hierarchy this was still an exception, and women often had to face sexist barriers. The majority of the movement's representatives were still men, as Inês, one of the municipal coordinators told me, not without bitterness:[316]

Mas eu acho que a gente meio que passa ... se envolve mais porque ... aquilo parece que nos toca mais. Sabe? Eu não sei. Mas é uma diferença também porque às vezes também a gente ta mais na base. Eu acho que a gente também tem a diferença da participação da mulher nesses espaços que a gente ta muito na base da organização das coisas. A gente ta em ato, a gente ta organizando as famílias, a gente ta reforçando aquela necessidade de que tem que ter onde os meus filhos morarem e tudo mais ... mas ao mesmo tempo a estrutura maior que é de coordenação e tudo mais sempre fica na mão de homens. Tem muito mais homem! Na coordenação nacional, é ... praticamente quase tudo homem. São poucas mulheres que se tem. Então como é que pode, né? A questão da liderança, de mostrar o poder, é o homem, né? E nessa coisa mais ... é como se fosse uma coisa mais doméstica né? É como se a mulher ficasse nessa coisa mais próxima, nesse cotidiano, essa coisa mais assim. E a coisa do público, fosse mais para o homem mesmo. É a diferença né? Dos papéis entre o público e o privado. Acho que pode ser um pouquinho isso também. (...). Nossa, tem estados em que praticamente toda a coordenação é de homens e a mulher que fala, os caras meio que ficam ... é uma coisa bem machista. Umas coisas

315 As we have learned in section 3.2.1 promoting education among the inhabitants was also an important topic on the movement's agenda inside *Manoel Congo*.

316 This fact has also been confirmed by Fornazin 2014, Luta pela Moradia, p. 106 and also for Salvador da Bahia by Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, pp. 81f, 95; only three states are represented by women in the MNLM: Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso do Sul e Pará (Levy et al. 2013, Movimento Popular Urbano e Mulheres, p. 316).

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bem machistas assim. Mesmo que a pessoa não fale, não seja declarado, mas os vínculos são meio ... de quem cabe o poder, entendeu?[317]

While the basic and daily organization of the squat was guaranteed mainly through women's engagement, dominant gender structures and male dominance in more public positions—which tend to go along with greater decision-making power—seemed to prevail, and still constituted a challenge for female activists.[318]

In her analysis, Inês interpreted women's significant engagement at the lower levels of the movement's hierarchy as part of their domestic responsibility. Such an interpretation of women's engagement in activism as an extension of women's domestic roles as mothers and caregivers in the private sphere is also what Sonia Alvarez had summarized under the term *politicization of motherhood* (as outlined in section 2.3.2).[319] Even though the interviews had shown that women's decisions to participate in the squat were mainly motivated by practical gender needs based on a gendered division of labor in society, which allocated the responsibility for provision for the family and the defense and organization of living conditions to women (see section 4.3.1), it could only partially explain women's further engagement in leadership positions in the squat. In order to secure housing and to ensure its permanence, women became engaged and also took over leadership positions. But, from a certain level of engagement, as we have learned, this was also associated with great personal costs and resulted in difficulties in fulfilling domestic roles and responsibilities that were expected of them. Thus, if research suggests that women mobilize because they lack the resources necessary to fulfill their role as mothers,[320] then their further engagement in roles such as that of municipal, state, or even national coordinator, which must automatically come at the expense of their maternal role, requires other, additional, explanations.

In research on women's participation in citizenship activities, their individual biographies should therefore not be overlooked, and neither should their need and urge to develop on a personal level. For them, engagement in leadership

317 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 27-year-old woman, 26.05.2011.

318 Renato Macedo Filho, for example, also reports for his case study, that in decisive moments of negotiation with the government, men used to take over, even if there were women in the same position (Macedo Filho 2010, Onde Mora a Cidadania?, p. 137).

319 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 51.

320 Neuhouser 1998, "If I Had Abandoned my Child", p. 333.

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positions can in particular be an opportunity to achieve personal gains and self-fulfillment beyond motherhood—as the interviews demonstrated:

Tudo partiu da questão de estar envolvida no movimento social, porque senão eu seria uma dona de casa comum nessa cidade. Como qualquer uma outra. Eu sempre falo isso nas minhas palestras: eu sou igual a qualquer uma. Eu seria uma dona de casa, mãe de três filhos que lavava, passava e cozinhava. Um dia eu tava trabalhando, eu sou costureira de profissão.[321]

Indeed, an important factor which could promote women's further engagement and could encourage them to take on more responsibilities in the public sphere (even though this would eventually challenge traditional gender roles in the private sphere), is apparently their becoming embedded in "engagement-promoting structures," such as social movements. These structures—as the case of *Manoel Congo* has shown, especially in contrast to *Chiquinha Gonzaga*—often provide orientation, networks, and role models, which can foster women's development on a personal level.

As demonstrated in sections 4.1.2 and 4.2.1, being confronted every day with the strong presence and educational efforts of a social movement, and being obliged to take part in it, had the potential to be a transformative force and made at least a difference in terms of the development of a political awareness and ability of the inhabitants to talk in a language of citizenship. In some cases their way of thinking had started to change over time, and many had, because of the movement, returned to school and education. The movement structure in *Manoel Congo* thus also helped to slowly introduce women to leadership positions. In a first step women were encouraged to get involved at the lower levels of the squat's organization, for example in the coordination of the *portaria,* and could then broaden their experience over time, ultimately also taking over leadership positions at a squat, municipal, state, or even national level. Some of the women thus stressed the importance of gaining an orientation through the movement for their personal development and engagement:

São mulheres que não tem instrução, muitas são analfabetas, conviveram a vida toda em baixo do machismo, onde o homem diz e desdiz tudo. Seja o pai, seja o irmão mais velho, depois o namorado, o marido, o companheiro, seja lá o que for. Sempre aquela coisa toda. Esse movimento, a mulher que se envolve nisso, ela se descobre. Ela descobre nela … foi o que eu descobri. Eu descobri a força e do que era capaz. Quando eu me vi liderando

321 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 45-year-old woman, 21.05.2011.

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ocupações, liderando ocupações e levando grupos para ocupar terras, e depois se preparar para enfrentar a polícia e aquilo, eu descobri.[322]

Agora para que serviria a organização, uma organização que conduzisse à emancipação delas, ao crescimento delas. Então para isso tem que ter um planejamento, tem que ter uma política de informação, continuada. Tem que ter pessoas que já tenham tido contato com esse nível de informação para poder partilhar, que tenham metodologia para poder provocar.[323]

But this section has also demonstrated that even though engagement-promoting structures might encourage them to take on more responsibilities in the public sphere, the large number of women in leadership positions in *Manoel Congo* was still an exception, and women faced sexist barriers in the public as well as the private sphere. The exceptional case of *Manoel Congo* was ultimately due to Glória, who as a charismatic female leader had become a role model for many women, and had actively supported and promoted women's participation as coordinators at different levels in the movement's hierarchy.

In summary, this section has highlighted once again the importance of taking gender into account when analyzing daily life in the squats. Women were not only fundamental for the daily organization of the squats, but in *Manoel Congo* particularly they had also ascended in the movement hierarchy and had gained access to decision-making power in leadership positions. All of the women in leadership positions had originally become engaged out of personal necessity, and had normally gained experience in movements or other organizations—in citizenship activities—before their participation in *Manoel Congo*.

The interviews revealed that women's engagement in leadership positions did not necessarily imply an overall challenge of their gender subordination or lead to reconfigurations of images and narratives of womanhood. They established the same gender stereotypes as the other inhabitants, and also stressed motherhood especially as an important part of womanhood. Their engagement in leadership positions had often come along with conflicts in their private lives. They had almost always confronted gender-related conflicts at home with their male partners, since from a certain level of engagement onwards, these women had to face the challenge of balancing their activism with traditional gender-role expectations as mothers and wives. Hence, women's

322 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with a 66-year-old woman, 29.04.2011.

323 Interview in *Manoel Congo* with the national coordinator of the MNLM, a 51-year-old woman, 06.04.2011.

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citizenship always co-habited with traditional ideals of gender in a relationship of tension, from which problems and conflict often stemmed in both spheres. Furthermore, even though women were highly represented in *Manoel Congo*, there was still a prevailing male dominance in leadership positions within the movement itself, which also often constituted a challenge for the female activists.

Hence, to explain why women took up leadership positions and were willing to face these challenges in the long run, it is not enough to argue that their engagement was just an extension of their traditional responsibility for the private sphere. Above a certain level of engagement, as we have learned, this was also associated with great personal costs, and resulted in difficulties in fulfilling expected domestic roles and responsibilities. Therefore, when talking about women in leadership positions 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. Thus, the engagement of women in needs-based struggles initially motivated by their responsibility for the private sphere can also lead—especially when framed in an engagement-promoting structure such as a social movement—to personal growth and further engagement in the public sphere.

4.3.5 Preliminary Summary

The interviews with the inhabitants and the observations made inside the squats have confirmed the prevailing assumption within the research literature that women's engagement in citizenship activities is mainly motivated by practical gender interests based on a gendered division of labor within their homes, which allocated the responsibility for providing for the family and for the defense and organization of living conditions to women.[324] A closer look at the inhabitants' daily lives and routines, then, has in fact revealed the existence, and enduring nature, of traditional gender roles, norms and relations within the squats. In particular, motherhood turned out to be central to women's gender identities, and was also frequently used to legitimate their participation in citizenship activities. This is what Sonia Alvarez ultimately called the *politicization of motherhood*.[325]

324 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".

325 Alvarez 1990, Engendering Democracy in Brazil, p. 51.

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Some scholars have interpreted this accentuation of women's traditionally ascribed roles as mothers and wives as a strategy these women use to facilitate and justify their entrance into the public sphere and to bring their concerns from the private to the public sphere. Those scholars further argue that avoiding overtly challenging the nature of women's gender subordination, and organizing around issues related to the private sphere, are ways of avoiding larger conflicts and resistance with men in both the private and public spheres due to their activism (see section 2.3.2).[326] But, I argue, this argumentation is only partly applicable as an explanation of women's citizenship in the squats, as it tends to oversimplify social relations within the private sphere. In a society in which women are still assuming most domestic responsibilities (see section 2.2.2), an accentuation of their traditionally ascribed role as mothers and wives can of course be useful for facilitating and justifying their entrance into the public sphere. However, it does not automatically imply that organizing around issues related to the private sphere also avoids larger conflict with men. The interviews have revealed that in order to participate in the squats, rather than avoiding conflicts with men, the women had consciously faced them.

They had, for example, risked their marriages at the beginning of the squats, and had also taken up leadership positions that openly challenged their traditional domestic responsibilities. They had often decided to do so with great self-confidence and a conviction that they were able to make a change for their families. Their (former) living conditions have revealed (see section 4.1) that fighting the nature of gender subordination was not a priority in their everyday lives, as these women were concerned with the basic needs of their families, and were struggling to survive. Thus, even though they were aware of the existence of gender inequalities and experienced them on a daily basis, they still had other priorities to fight for, for instance trying to improve their economic situation. But, as the example of *Manoel Congo* has illustrated in particular, the engagement of women in needs-based struggles initially motivated by their responsibility for the private sphere can also lead to personal growth and further engagement in the public sphere, when framed in an engagement-promoting structure, such as a social movement. The importance of such structures has also already been detected and emphasized for the adaptation of a citizenship language in section 4.2.1. This corresponds to the findings of other scholars who also highlight the potential for change regarding gender subordination, under the condition that "practical gender interests are collectivized and politicized."[327] Maxine Molyneux even argues: "One conclusion that could be drawn was that

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

327 Safa 1990, Women's Social Movements, p. 363.

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activism alone, in the absence of a transformative politics and supportive material circumstances, did not lead to 'empowerment'."[328]

Thus, the squats are 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. As particularly the analysis of their daily routines and the prevailing gender stereotypes has revealed, women's citizenship in the squats has until now not led to significant changes regarding the domestic division of labor, nor to an alleviation of these women's domestic responsibilities. I therefore cannot agree with studies that postulate a break with the traditional gender identities through participation in the squats.[329] I argue rather that their engagement in citizenship activities can facilitate their entry into structures that promote further engagement and personal development (as demonstrated in section 4.2), but are not enough on their own to precipitate profound changes in the gender identities of individuals who are struggling to survive on a daily basis.

328 Molyneux 2001, Women's Movements in International Perspective, p. 177.

329 Thus, my overall results differ from those of Marianne Carle-Marsanne regarding the impact of women's citizenship in *Manoel Congo,* which seem too general and optimistic to me, and in this sense do not capture the heterogeneity of the women in the squats. She indicates a break with the traditional identities through participation in the squats: "*Cette recherche montre aussi une éventuelle transformation des rapports sociaux de sexe, car au-delà de leur quête du Droit à la ville, au sein du foyer, on assiste à la conquête de leurs droits comme femme"* (Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville, p. 135), or: "*Nous observons ici l'amorce d'une déconstruction progressive des identités de genre rendue possible grâce à une démarche d'empowerment*" (Carle-Marsan 2013, Luttes de Brésiliennes pour le Droit à la ville, p. 123), or: "*C'est dans ce sens que les pratiques collectives nous parlent d'un empowerment individuel et collectif dans l'esprit où ces femmes se sont transformées et ont aussi transformée, par conséquent, leur société*" (Carle-Marsan 2011, En Mouvement pour le Droit au Logement, p. 4). That this study cannot confirm such a drastic transformation could be due to the fact that in Carle-Marsanne's study she abstains from making a comparison with a less politicized squat, and also makes no detailed analysis of the daily routines and gender stereotypes within the squat, both of which clearly demonstrate the persistence of traditional gender roles, even in the case of most female leaders.

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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".

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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.

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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.

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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

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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.

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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,"

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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.

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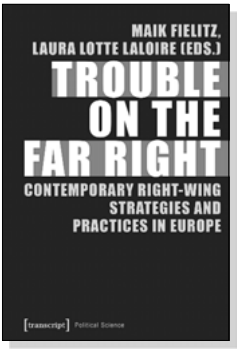

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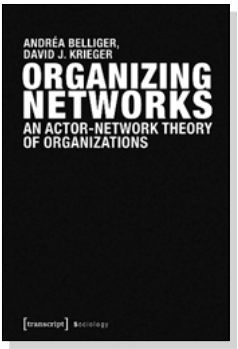

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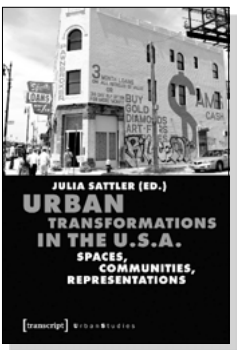

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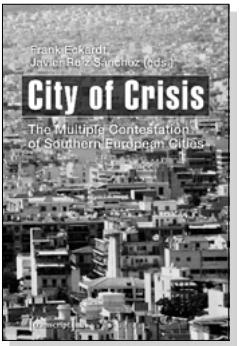

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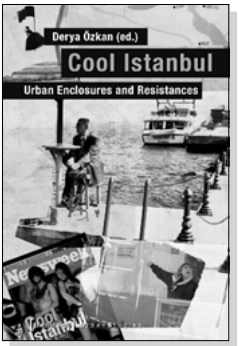

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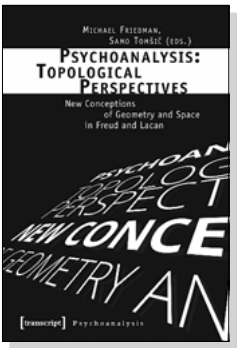

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