

The Netherlands Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (NALACS) &
The Department of Urbanism of the Delft University of Technology

Cities & citizenship *in Latin America & the Caribbean*

Conference Proceedings

NALACS Conference 16-17 June 2016, TU Delft

edited by

Roberto Rocco & Sven da Silva

**NALACS - The Netherlands Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies in association with
TU Delft - Delft University of Technology
CEDLA - Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation**

CONFERENCE

Cities and Citizenship in Contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean

16 and 17 June 2016

Department of Urbanism, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft
Julianalaan 134, 2628BL, Delft, The Netherlands

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Summary of the conference

The Netherlands Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (NALACS), in cooperation with the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment of the Delft University of Technology, organised the joint conference, 'Cities and Citizenship in Contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean,' held on 16-17 June 2016 in Delft, the Netherlands.

The 2-day conference embraced a wide range of topics related to urban development and citizenship in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Premises of the conference

In their pioneering collection of essays 'Cities and Citizenship', Holston and Appadurai (1999) as well as other prominent scholars, stressed the importance of cities in the making of modern citizens. At the end of the twentieth century, they demonstrated that urban environments are salient sites for examining the renegotiations of citizenship, democracy, and national belonging. This is arguably particularly the case in contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean, where cities seem to embody the aspirations of citizens and to showcase the best and the worse of their respective societies. It is here that we can observe major opportunities and threats to development, security and human rights, as well as major struggles for rights, inclusion and democracy

This conference was organised in 4 tracks:

Track 1. Cities and Violence: Cities as salient sites where violence and conflict develop and affect the lives of citizens.

Track 2. Cities and sustainable development: Cities as salient sites where (spatial) planning and (sustainable) development ideas are applied, and where grassroots and governments alternately clash or collaborate in order to simultaneously build cities and structures of citizenship. Track leader: Roberto Rocco (TU Delft)

Track 3. Cities and identity: Cities as salient sites where citizen's identities and resistances are expressed and repressed.

Track 4. Open for suggestions: Cities as salient sites for other themes related to urban life and urban development.

NALACS board 2014-2016



The Netherlands Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (NALACS)

NALACS is an association for everyone in the Netherlands who is interested in Latin America and the Caribbean.

NALACS is a membership organisation formed in 1996 by a group of Dutch-based academics with different disciplinary backgrounds doing research on Latin America and the Caribbean. Originally, NALACS was an association by and for academics, but it has broadened to include individuals working on the region within additional professional fields, such as journalism and development practice. Its members include senior researchers, PhD candidates and students, as well as journalists and NGO staff. NALACS also has a network function, connecting Latin Americanists and Caribbeanists in the Netherlands to each other and to colleagues in surrounding countries.

NALACS organizes lectures, seminars and conferences on social, political and cultural developments in Latin America and the Caribbean, often in cooperation with other Dutch institutions. These events focus on urgent or otherwise topical issues and offer a forum to experts based in the Netherlands and abroad.

By becoming a member, you will join an active community of researchers, professionals and citizens interested in Latin America and the Caribbean, will receive our monthly newsletter and get information about events we organise, as well as discounts for some paid activities and courses. By becoming a member, you help us in our mission to promote and discuss Latin American and the Caribbean in the Netherlands. For more information, please write to NALACS info@nalacs.nl

PANEL SESSIONS OVERVIEW

This report contains a number of full
papers presented

Panel session 1: Urban Space, Material Culture and Tangible Heritage, Chair: Emiel Martens (UvA)

Alejandra Espinosa: The Ice Cream, the Tuna and the Chair: Monuments in the Ecuadorian Urban Space and the Desire of Recognition and Economic Positioning

María Camila Escudero and Catalina Uribe: Cyclist Urban Movement: Collective Imaginary Turned into Material Expressions

Tracian Meikle: Sensing Togetherness – Aesthetics and the Political Imagination in Innercity Kingston

Erica de Abreu Gonçalves: The Importance of Social Museums and Social Museology in Brazil

Panel session 2: Selling Poverty and Violence: Inequality Tourism in Urban Latin America and the Caribbean

Chairs: Rivke Jaffe (UvA), Gareth Jones (LSE) and Eveline Dürr (Ludwig Maximilians Universität München)

Alana Osbourne: Walking up to No Man's Land: Violence and commodification in the Trench Town tourism product

Barbara Vodopivec: Made in Tepito: Touring Tepito's street market

Gareth Jones (Alessandro Angelini): Brokers of the Hill: The Politics of Community-based Favela Tourism in Rio de Janeiro

David Frohnepfel: Socially Engaged Art, Touristic Shame and the Spiral of Moral Accusation at the Ghetto Biennale in Port-au-Prince

Panel session 3: Urban Development and Citizenship Chair: Christien Klaufus (CEDLA)

Nicolás Valenzuela: A Skin rather than Walls: Using cable car projects and new constitutions in three South American cases

Mariana Zuleta Ferrari: Strengthening citizens' trust in legal institutions: a social capital approach in the city of Buenos Aires

Letty Reimerink: Parques sin Bares! Civic protests against privatization of parks in Buenos Aires

Martijn Koster: Assembling Incoherence: Brokers in urban development in Recife, Brazil

Panel session 4: Urban Geographies in Latin American and Caribbean Literature and Art

Chair: Saskia van Drunen (Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations) /Fransje Molenaar (Clingendael Institute)

Christian Esteban Ramírez Hincapié : IN MEDIA WE TRUST: Media Projects, children and the mist of the Colombian armed conflict

Nan Zheng: Wandering Phantoms and Fatherless Orphans in Santiago: Voices of the "Guachos" as Resistance in Mapocho (2012), a novel by Nona Fernández

Kristian Van Haesendonck: Reinventing Postcolonial Geographies: A Cross-Disciplinary Approach

Panel session 5: Learning for inclusive citizenship in Latin America's (un)safe urban spaces

Chair: Mieke Lopes Cardozo (UvA)

Carolina M. Frossard: Public Private Arrangements of Urban Security and Citizenship: Illustrations from Recife, North Eastern Brasil

Marco Gallo : Positive vs Negative Integration: A case study of the educational program for ex-combatants in Bogota, Colombia

Julienne Weegels: Changing attitudes? Prisoner reeducation and conflicting moral orders in the Nicaraguan Penitentiary System

Rosanne Tromp: Imagining the Mexican curriculum: the urban bias in global education reform

Panel session 6: Urban Planning, Housing and Community Development

Chair: Roberto Rocco (TU Delft)

Alessandra Benedicty-Kokken: 'Leaving' or 'Staying': Citizenship and Urban Planning in Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Friederike Fleischer: The Making of the Urban Middle Class: Social Capital Generation in Residential Housing Projects

Veronica Olivotto: Planned Resettlement and Citizen Vulnerability in Cali, Colombia

Laura Alejandra Garcia Velandia: Alternative Economies within a Neo-liberal Structure: The Case of the Chocó Region in Colombia

Panel session 7: Negotiating Identity, Belonging and Home in Latin American (Diasporic) Cities

Chair: Emiel Martens (UvA)

Nadine Chambers: Cities, Climate, Development funding and Human Rights in Jamaica

Andrea Damacena Martins: The Place-Making Practices and Identity of Catholic Brazilian Women in the City of The Hague

Donette Francis: Creole Miami: Blackness in the Magic City

Yke Eijkemans: Turning Children into Citizens in a Divided City: Citizenship Education, National Identification and Local Belonging in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Milton Fernando Gonzalez-Rodriguez: Linguistic Landscapes in Latin American Cities

Panel session 8: Urban planning methodology

Chair: Christien Klaufus (CEDLA)

Olivier Schütte: Popular School of Urbanism (PSU)

Simone Rots: The Squatted New Town: Modernism meets informality; Venezuelan cases

Laura Amézquita: Housing production, city financialisation and spatial ruptures in Latin America. The case of Bogota

Pedro Héndez, L. Amézquita & A. Silva: Transit Oriented Development (TOD) as a strategic planning tool to overcome spatial segregation in the Metropolitan Region of Bogotá

Panel session 9: Urbanisms of Inclusion in Latin American Cities

Chairs: Bruno de Meulder (KU Leuven) and Viviana D'Auria (KU Leuven)

Patricia Capanema Alvares Fernandes Breaking the Grid of Belo Horizonte: Pampulha's Evolution from Model Satellite to a Hybrid Site for Re-claiming Citizenship

Giulia Testori From Inclusive City-Making to Participation in the Name of Well-Being: Reflections from the Comité del Pueblo in Quito, Ecuador

Eliana Rosa de Queiroz Barbosa Minhocao: Activism as Participation?

Luis Angel Flores Reclaiming Inclusion in the Post-Political City: Citizen Movements in Guadalajara, Mexico

Jeroen Stevens Cidade Sem Teto (Roofless City): Occupation Movements in Central São Paulo and the Auto-Construction of Citizenship

Panel session 10: Neoliberal Cities and New Forms of Identity in Latin American Cinema

Chair: Carolina Rocha (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville)

Carolina Rocha: The Unhopistable City: São Paulo in Two Films by Walter Salles and Daniella Thomas

Sara Brandellero: Negotiating City Places: Citizenship in Contemporary Brazilian Cinema

Nadia Lie: Citizenship and Automobile Culture in Chile and Mexico

Sophie Dufays : In the Flow of the City: An Analysis of the Urban Trajectories of Young Characters in Three Recent Mexican Movies

Panel session 11: Designing for more sustainable cities (concrete design/planning approaches)

Chair: Christien Klaufus (CEDLA)

Aysegul Cil: A practical showcase: action planning for nature towards sustainable future

Cristian Silva Socio-environmental capital of urban sprawl: contributions of suburban rural spaces in Santiago de Chile's expansion

Monica Velasco: Unlocking La Paz

Olivier Schütte: The Vicious Circle of Social Segregation and Spatial Fragmentation in Costa Rica's Greater Metropolitan Area (GAM)

Antonio di Campli : Densifying Ecuadorian Middle Cities. Questions, Problems, Design Issues

Panel session 12: Urban security, policies and planning

Chair: Kees Koonings (UvA)

Marie-Louise Glebbeek: Policing Violent Cities in Central America

Sven da Silva Community leaders, hope and 'the part of no part': Using Žižek and political ethnography to theorize slum politics in Recife, Brazil

Fernando Campos-Medina: The Geographic Scale of Social Exclusion: Santiago de Chile

Catarina Mastellaro: Gang violence and the possibilities for participatory slum upgrading in Rio de Janeiro

Johannes Chinchilla Menjivar: Grassroots leadership and urban interventions for sustainable peace in Medellin



ARGENTINE COMICS EXHIBITION

Saskia van Drunen

NALACS board member
Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations

Argentina

Background

In recent years, comics have entered the field of human rights advocacy and empowerment activities. In development work, comics are used to reach out to vulnerable groups, particularly illiterate rural people and youth. In human rights advocacy, they are used as a means to raise awareness about human rights violations or for education on traumatic histories such as World War II. Examples of this type of comics are those produced by the Anne Frank Stichting (*De ontdekking*, and *De zoektocht*), for education on the World War II in the classroom, or the publication, alongside a full text version, of a comic-style version of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone to be distributed in rural areas, particularly aiming at illiterate and young people.

Simultaneously, there is a growing field of nonfiction comics dealing with human rights atrocities in complex and productive ways, autonomous artistic projects that aim to make a contribution to the debate on what is knowable about these atrocities, and how to represent it. Perhaps the first and most well-known example of these works is *Maus: A Survivor's Tale* (1989), by Art Spiegelman. The story of Art Spiegelman and his father Vladek, a Holocaust survivor, has been the subject of a huge number of articles and literary critique. But *Maus* has been followed by numerous other nonfiction works, whose authors explicitly recognise *Maus* as an important source of inspiration. The most well-known examples worldwide are *Persepolis* (2005), by Marjane Satrapi, an autobiographic account of the authors' childhood in Iran, in which she endured the Islamic Revolution and the Iran-Iraq war, but also the graphic human rights journalistic work of Joe Sacco (*Palestine and Safe Area Gorazde*, on the war in former Yugoslavia). These more serious artistic projects have received widespread recognition in leading newspapers and journals such as the *New York Times*, and have sparked the interest of literary critiques alike.

In Argentina, where there is a relatively small but interesting comics tradition, there have been recently several original contributions to the field of human rights comics. In this exhibition, we highlight two of them: the series '*Historietas por la Identidad*' (*Comics for Identity*), and the series '*Gatillo fácil. Historias de violencia policial e institucional*' (*Trigger happy. Stories on police and institutional violence*), which draws inspiration from *Historietas por la*

Identidad. Both are expressions of the two currents described above: comics with an awareness raising component, but of a quality that would easily make them fit into the second category of autonomous artistic projects.

Historietas por la Identidad

Historietas por la Identidad was developed by *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo* (*Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo*) to assist them in their search for their disappeared grandchildren. During the last military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983) more than 500 children were abducted together with their parents or born in captivity. These children, who are now in their late thirties, beginning forties, were appropriated by couples affiliated with the military regime, and grew up unaware of their origins and true identity. Their parents were in almost all cases killed and their bodies 'disappeared'. Their relatives, together with the organisation *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*, have relentlessly searched them since the very first day of their disappearance. Through careful investigation, and the use of modern identification techniques such as DNA matching, the *Abuelas* have managed to identify over a hundred of these disappeared youngsters. Over the years, they have also developed awareness raising campaigns to directly address this particular generation, explicitly inviting those who have doubts about their identity to approach them. They have received widespread support from Argentine actors, sportsmen and women, television producers, musicians and dancers, who have organised campaigns under the title '*Music for Identity*', '*Theatre for Identity*', or '*Sports for Identity*'.

One of these initiatives has been the project '*Historietas por la Identidad*', which counts with the voluntary collaboration of a wide range of illustrators, script writers and comics artists. Each story is told from the perspective of the brother or sister looking for his or her relative. The comics are almost all in black and white to make printing and distribution easier. They always include photographs of the brothers and sisters, so that persons who doubt their background may recognize a resemblance and come forward. The project started in 2006, and over 40 comics have now been made. Some of the first comics were published in *Fierro*, one of the leading Argentine comics journals, and a few others were published in two newspapers in the province of Tucumán, in northern Argentina. Exhibitions were also organised both inside and outside Argentina. In 2015 all of the

comics were gathered in a single publication, *Historietas por la Identidad*, a collaboration between the Abuelas and the Archivo de Historieta y Humor Gráfico Argentinos, Biblioteca Nacional Mariano Moreno. The publication can also be read online: See: <https://www.abuelas.org.ar/archivos/publicacion/HistorietasIdentidad.pdf>

Gatillo fácil. Historias de violencia policial e institucional

The second series, entitled ‘Trigger Happy. Stories on police and institutional violence’, builds on its predecessor, ‘Historietas por la Identidad’, using a similar format to tell the story of individual cases of police and institutional violence. Almost all of the comics artists who contributed to the series on the disappeared youngsters also participated in this new project, again on a voluntary basis. The series is currently in development and will include at least 10 stories of no more than 4 pages each.

Each comic tells the story of an individual victim of police and institutional violence. The families of the victims were involved in the project from the beginning. Most of the cases focus on the stories of young men from the marginalized neighbourhoods of Buenos Aires and other cities, and shed light on a pervasive but highly invisible problem affecting principally the Argentine youth living in the slums of Buenos Aires and other major cities of the country. A report of the Coordinadora Contra la Represión Policial e Institucional (CORREPI – Coordinator against Police and Institutional Violence), has documented more than 4.000 cases of death caused by police and institutional violence since the end of the military dictatorship in 1983. These cases include shootings, disappearances, and deaths caused by ill-treatment and torture of persons in detention (see: correpi.lahaine.org). But police and institutional violence also finds expression in practices such as arbitrary controls, raids, tortures, illegal detentions and harassment.

In some territories, security forces combine a daily controlling presence with violent operations and the participation of police forces in criminal networks. These practices are particularly directed at the most vulnerable sectors of the population, mainly the young people in poor areas.

The aim of the series is to draw attention to the problem and to denounce the trade-off that is

made between security and human rights in mainstream discourse pleading for harsher security measures to deal with criminality. Furthermore, the series aims to highlight the structural dimension of institutional violence. Police and institutional violence is often analysed in a fragmented way. The facts are interpreted as excesses and abuses of individuals within the police and security forces, and this perspective is sustained by a narrative that victimises the victimiser and criminalises the victim. This all takes place in a context of impunity in which witnesses and complainants are frequently harassed and threatened. In this series, the selection of stories has been made in such a way that, taken together, the cases show how institutional violence is sustained by a wide range of factors, including the widespread corruption of the police and the judiciary, and the generalized criminalization of the victims in the media and through public opinion.

Besides raising awareness amongst the public about police and institutional violence, the series also aims to inform potential victims of institutional violence about their rights when confronted with this type of situation. Once finalized, the comics will be shared with the various institutions working on this issue. They are also available online. See: <http://historietas-violenciapolicial.blogspot.com>

Social and cultural relevance of the exhibition

We think that the exhibition is interesting for a number of reasons:

- The comics series reflect an interesting cultural practice in Argentina that stands at the crossroads between human rights activism and (popular) culture
- They are examples of a particular sub-culture in Argentina, the world of comics, which is not well-known outside Argentina but can draw on a rich comics tradition in the country itself
- They highlight two specific human rights issues that are rooted in the same history of authoritarianism but find different expressions
- While internationally the disappearance of thousands of adults during the last military dictatorship in Argentine is well known legacy of this authoritarian past, the case of the disappeared children raised under a false identity is less known outside the country
- The stories of police violence and institutional violence are even to a lesser extent known, both in



DARTO CARRIED A DEFECTIVE GUN WITH HIM.



CHAMPONOS USED A SHOTGUN AND A 9 MILLIMETER.



A WEAPON WAS PLANTED AT THE FEET OF MARDANO.



RUBÉN EMIR CHAMPÓNOS

IMPLICATED IN A HOMICIDE WHILE WORKING IN A DEATH SQUAD FROM THE NORTHERN PART OF THE CITY.

IMPLICATED IN THE SHOOTING OF A YOUNG MAN WHILE WORKING IN A CORRAL PATROL UNIT IN SAN FERNANDO.



VERDICTS FROM THE ORAL CRIMINAL COURT NO.3 OF SAN ISIDRO:

JUSTINO LUNA: A FOUL SHOT FOR THROWING STONES AT A SERGEANT'S PATROL CAR.

The sergeant was acquitted.

VICTOR VITAL: A YOUTH SHOT BY A POLICE OFFICER WHILE RIDING UNDER A TABLE.

The police officer was acquitted.

JUAN CARLOS BASTIEN: SHOT FOR INTERFERING WITH A POLICE OFFICER IN RESPONSE TO THE OFFICER REQUESTING AT A GROUP CELEBRATING A BIRTHDAY PARTY.

The police officer was sentenced to three and a half years in prison.

WE HAVE TO STOP THE DELINQUENTS.

THE POLICE PERFORMED ADEQUATELY.

MARDANO WITZ WAS KILLED BY THE ASSAILANTS.

THERE WAS NO POLICE ERROR.



SE HAN ABATIDO DOS DELINCUENTES



Lin Est Dec '16

HE WAS SHOT IN THE BACK FROM LESS THAN A METER'S DISTANCE. DARTO WAS SURRENDERING, MARDANO WAS SITTING IN THE BACK SEAT OF THE CAR.

and outside Argentina

- Finally, an exhibition with the stories produced in the context of these two projects is of particular value for the two initiatives themselves for two reasons:

- i. It provides recognition to the work and efforts of the comics artists involved in the series, who have done this on a voluntary basis. Being part of an exhibition outside Argentina gives merited attention and welcome publicity to their work as artists.

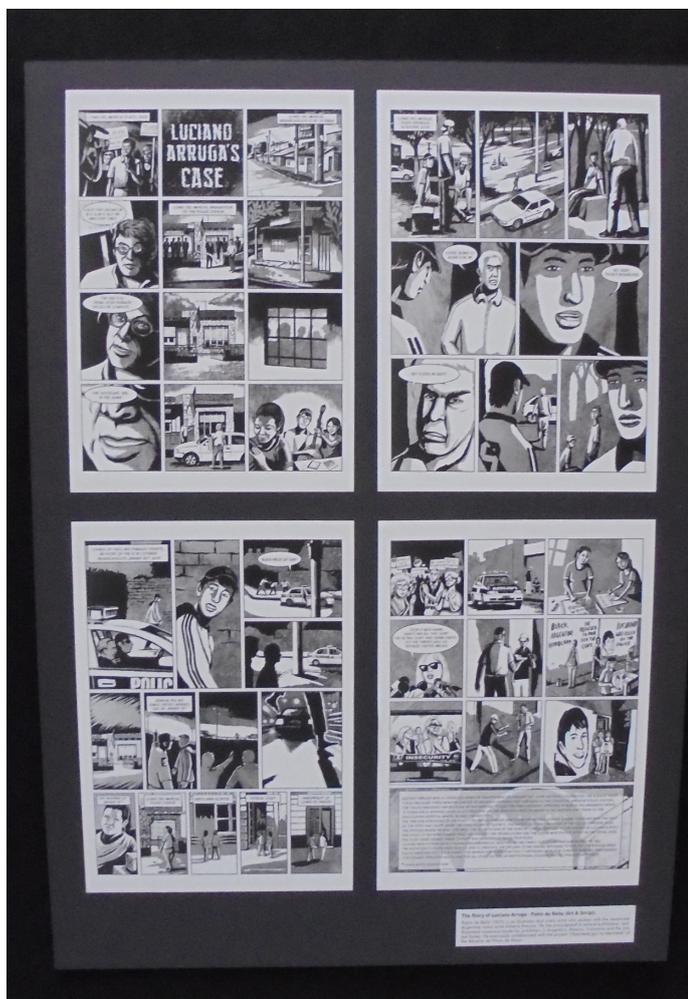
- ii. An exhibition outside Argentina gives recognition to these two projects inside Argentina as well, potentially broadening their possibilities to raise awareness in Argentina.

The team and credits

Within NALACS, the exhibition was organised by Saskia van Drunen. She worked in association with Ronald van der Heide, comics authors and member of Utrecht collective of Comics artists the Inktpot. From Argentina, they counted with the support of Daniela Drucaroff, one of the initiators of the two series in Argentina.

Daniela Drucaroff has been working for more than ten years with the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, as a staff member of the Archivo Biográfico Familiar (Biographic Family Archive) a department of the Abuelas which focuses on the reconstruction of the life stories of the persons who have been abducted, disappeared or assassinated during the last military dictatorship, and whose children were robbed and appropriated by the military regime. The Archivo Biográfico Familiar recollects stories, photographs and documents, and keeps them archived so that they can be given to the children of these couples. In this way, they get to know their origins and their history. As a member of the Archivo Biográfico Familiar Daniela was part of the team that coordinated the production of the series Historietas por la Identidad. She was also the driving force behind the series Gáttilo fácil. Historias de violencia policial e institucional.

Saskia van Drunen has written her PhD thesis on the human rights movement and their struggle for 'Truth, Justice and Memory' in post-dictatorship Argentina (Struggling with the Past. The Human Rights Movement and the Politics of Memory in Post-Dictatorship Argentina (1983-2006) (Amsterdam, Rosenberg Publishers: 2010)). For her research, she has done extensive fieldwork in Argentina interviewing more than hundred human rights activists,



Mariano y Darío

MARIANO AND DARIO,
SCRIPT: DANIELA DRUGAROFF
ART: PABLO LIZALDE

MARIANO
JAVIER
WITIS.



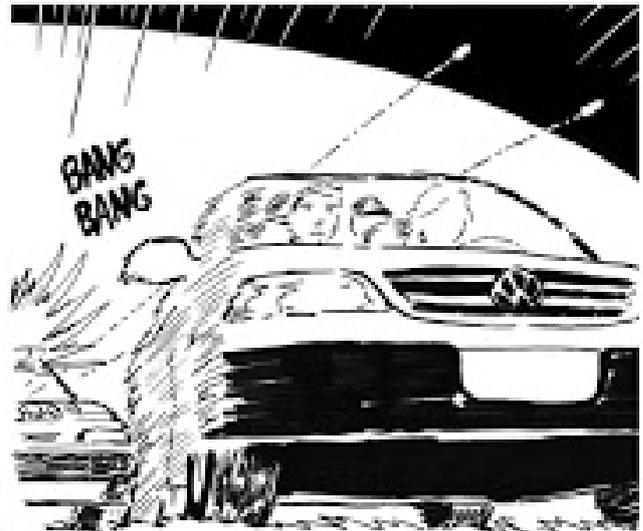
DARIO
ALEJANDRO
RIQUELME



BEGGAR, SEPTEMBER 25TH, 2000



MARIANO STOPPED TO CHAT WITH A FRIEND,
DARIO TOOK HIM AS A HOSTAGE AND THEY LEFT
IN THE CAR.



BANG
BANG

THERE WAS A CHASE.



THE OFFICER CHAMRONO'S
SHOT THEM IN THE BACK.

Itinerant exhibition and blog

After the NALACS conference, the exhibition was also mounted at the Centre for Studies and Documentation of Latin America (CEDLA) in Amsterdam, and at the University of Utrecht. Furthermore, the comics and additional information on the exhibition were uploaded on a blog. See: <http://drawing-violence.blogspot.nl/>

victims of the dictatorship and other relevant actors, combined with the review of publications, newspapers and other relevant documents and the participation in the numerous activities that were organised to commemorate the disappeared and victims of the dictatorship. She also has a passion for comics and as such as become interested in the two series that are the subject of this proposal. She is currently working as a senior researcher at the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO). She is also a board member of the Netherlands Association for Latin American Studies (NALACS).

Ronald van der Heide is a comic artist and an autodidact in the field. After studying and working as a landscape architect he made the shift to professional comic writing and illustration. In cooperation with a collective of comics artists from Utrecht, De Inktpot, he did research into the vivid Turkish comics scene. The research gave way to a weblog (turkatoon.blogspot.com), an exhibition and a catalogue. The exhibition travelled around the country and could be visited in public buildings and (comic) festivals in The Netherlands for one and half year. The exhibition focused on the history of the scene and showed a representative section of contemporary comic artists. Artists who work in a tense field, and who have to be particularly inventive when it comes to making use of their right to freedom of expression. Besides free work, Ronald also makes comics/infographics for research institutions, governments and civil society organisations.

As a team, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to the Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo for granting their permission to exhibit some of the comics of 'Historietas por la Identidad,' and to all of the artists and writers who accepted to share their work. Many thanks also to Lisa Juanola, Kate Wheeler and Julienne Weegels (editor) for the translation of the comics from Spanish to English. Finally, this exhibition was made possible with the support of the Governance and Inclusive Development (GID) research group of the University of Amsterdam (UvA) and the Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA).

KEY NOTES



Keynote speakers

Rivke Jaffe



Dr. Rivke Jaffe is Professor of Cities, Politics and Culture at the Department of Human Geography, Planning and International Development Studies and the Centre for Urban Studies. Prior to joining the UvA, she held teaching and research positions at Leiden University, the University of the West Indies, and the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV).

Her anthropological research focuses primarily on intersections of the urban and the political, and specifically on the spatialization of power, difference and inequality within cities. She is interested in how urban problems such as poverty, crime and environmental degradation are linked to social differentiation along lines of ethnicity, class and gender. How are these inequalities constructed, reproduced and transformed through urban policy, market forces and social movements? How does the (colonial) past shape the cities of today? What is the role of popular culture – music, video clips, murals, graffiti – in the ways we experience and communicate urban exclusion and solidarity? Rivke's engagement with these concerns is motivated by the conviction that anthropology and urban studies can provide important insights into what divides and what unites us, into the social problems we face and the solutions that are possible.

Rivke is a member of De Jonge Akademie (the Young Academy of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences). She is web editor and editorial board member of the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, co-editor of the *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* and editorial board member of *American Anthropologist*.

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CITIES AND THE POLITICAL IMAGINATION

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ABSTRACT

How can we recognize the political in the city? How might urban scholars engage with forms of urban politics outside of established sites of research such as those associated with representative democracy or collective mobilizations? This article suggests that new perspectives on urban politics might be enabled through reinvigorated connections between the social sciences and humanities, and by combining long-term urban ethnography and cultural analysis. Reading forms of creative expression in relation to power struggles in and over urban space can direct our attention towards negotiations of authority and political belonging that are often overlooked within urban studies. The article explores the possibilities of such an approach by focusing on the idea of the political imagination as socially and materially embedded in urban landscapes. Expressive culture generates both analytical and normative frames, guiding everyday understandings of how urban power works, where and in whose hands it is concentrated, and whether we see this as just or unjust. Such frames can legitimize or delegitimize specific distributions of urban resources and risks, and can normalize or denaturalize specific structures of decision-making. Through a discussion of popular music and visual culture, the article considers how everyday practices both feed into, and are informed by, imaginations of urban rule and political belonging.

Keywords: cultural studies, ethnography, Jamaica, popular music, urban space, urban studies, visual culture

Introduction

How can urban studies understand rule and belonging in the city? Where is urban politics located and how do we recognize it? An established place to look might be local government – the city hall, the mayor, the rivalling political parties. Or the national government and politicians, whose policies often explicitly target urban problems and the urban electorate. Another image that might spring to mind immediately is people protesting in the streets, to signal their discontent with those politicians and policies, and to express their commitment to various issues, from women's rights to climate change. In urban studies, these have been the sites that receive most attention from social scientists – from sociologists and anthropologists to political scientists and geographers.

How might urban studies engage with forms of politics outside of established sites of research such as those associated with representative democracy or collective mobilizations? In this article, I suggest the need for an alternative, complementary approach to this dominant focus. I propose an approach to urban politics that connects insights and methods from the social sciences and the humanities, by combining long-term urban ethnography

and cultural analysis. While much of my engagement with interdisciplinary urban studies is informed by my own background in anthropology, the approach I elaborate here can also be seen as revisiting the connections between sociology and cultural studies that have been loosened over the past few decades.¹

The type of urban enquiry that I want to outline attends to the intersections between cities, politics and culture. This approach involves a twin, interrelated focus: on politics in everyday urban life and on the political imagination. This interest in the political imagination connects to my interest in taking seriously the role of popular culture in urban life. I was trained as a 'traditional' social scientist: our role was to study what people did and why, primarily by talking to them, while music, visual art and so on were the domain of the humanities. This disciplinary segregation has increasingly struck me as counterproductive. Jeroen de Kloet (2014, pp. 16–17), a colleague in media studies, recently commented that field research is too important to be left to social scientists. I would like to make the converse argument: cultural analysis is too important to be left to the humanities. Reading forms of creative expression in relation to power struggles in and over urban space can direct our attention towards negotiations of authority and political belonging that are often overlooked within

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urban studies. However, it is important to think through the conceptual and methodological links between everyday urban life and the imagination, between social practices and popular culture.

In this article, I explore the possibilities of such an approach by focusing on the idea of the political imagination as located in expressive culture, and by examining how everyday practices both feed into, and are informed by, imaginations of urban rule and political belonging. The empirical context on which I draw in elaborating this approach is the Jamaican capital of Kingston, and through this I also want to suggest that focusing on a Caribbean city like Kingston can help us think differently about urban politics in European or North American cities.

Cities, politics and culture

So, how can one research these concepts? First, let me clarify my use of the term 'politics'. I use the term here refer to the broader realm of power struggles, including prominently power to distribute resources and risks in specific ways. In cities, we see this not only in the uneven distribution of resources such as welfare, housing and education, but also in the distribution of access to environmental goods and exposure to environmental hazards, or to crime. Other realms of political struggle relate to power over territories and who gets to use urban space in what ways, and power over other people, for instance to harness their labour power. But also, importantly, urban politics includes struggles to control meaning-making – how we understand the value of resources, the extent of risk, the meaning of urban spaces, or the hierarchies between different groups of people.

Politics in everyday urban life

The first way I seek to understand politics in the city – drawing from political anthropology (e.g. Das & Poole, 2004; Hansen & Stepputat, 2001), but also from sociologists such as Asef Bayat (2013) and interdisciplinary scholars such as Partha Chatterjee (2004) – is through a focus on everyday urban life. This involves looking beyond the state, and beyond traditional party politics and social movements, to recognize multiple systems of governance, multiple forms of political community, and the less formal, everyday interactions and enactments through which governance and political belonging take shape.

This means, first of all, taking seriously other types of powerholders than elected politicians and state officials. My own ethnographic research has looked, for instance, at the role that criminal leaders known as 'dons' have in governing Kingston's inner-city neighbourhoods (Jaffe, 2013).

But I have also studied the influence of environmental NGOs, or major corporations such as Shell, on urban development (Jaffe, 2016). Urban rule often involves a range of other important non-state actors, including religious organizations, business elites, philanthropists and trade unions.

Studying politics in everyday urban life also involves doing research in other spaces of power than just, say, the Parliament or the City Hall, the formally sanctioned arenas for engaging in political debate and governance. It means expanding the focus to study what happens on the street, in backrooms or by the water cooler, at the bar, but also in church (e.g. Oosterbaan, 2009, 2014) or on the sports field (e.g. Carrington, 2010).

Analysing urban politics in everyday life does not mean ignoring formal representative politics. It also requires developing new ways of looking at these processes. For instance, by doing electoral ethnography (see e.g. Banerjee, 2007). In Jamaica, this helped me understand how – in so-called 'garrison neighbourhoods' controlled by politically connected dons – residents understand voting not as a legal right but as a moral duty. Voting here becomes a mandatory expression of allegiance to their neighbourhood, and to the gang and the political party that have shaped that urban territory (Jaffe, 2015).

The political imagination

A second way of researching politics is to focus on the role of the imagination. We can recognize instances of the political imagination in art, in literature, in popular culture – in aesthetic practices and forms of creative expression. These forms of creative expression may, first of all, offer alternative imaginings of existing political realities, reframing the status quo. This reimagining of 'the now' is an especially crucial function in those situations where actual political change appears impossible, and the imagination enables endurance rather than improvement (see e.g. Feldman, 2015). In addition, however, the work of the imagination is to actively envision new horizons and future realities, to envision the world otherwise, to assert that another world is possible.

I use the term 'political imagination' here not only to emphasize that the imagination is political, as a reference to what we could call the politics of imagination. More specifically, I see this concept as referring to a particular realm of the imagination: to imaginings of political order, of how power works and how it should work. I use the word imagination here, rather than social imaginary, as the latter refers to broadly shared, collective forms of imagination and I want to concentrate here primarily on the ways that politics is imagined in creative expressions, from popular

music to visual culture.

These forms of political imagination that I am interested in work as analytical, normative and affective frames. Analytically, they guide us in our understandings of how power works, and where and in whose hands it is concentrated – our attention is drawn to specific locations of power and responsibility, and not others. Normatively, the political imagination shapes our perceptions of the workings of power as just or unjust, and affectively, it imbues our responses to these workings with anger or pride, with sadness or excitement. Beyond delineating the sites and mechanisms of power, the political imagination is central in how we come to see ourselves in relation to others: with whom do we feel affinity or community, what forms of authority and hierarchy do we find acceptable?

We can also understand the political imagination as frameworks that suggest specific attributions of causality and blame, and delineate the conditions of citizenship and other forms of political community. For instance, they connect to specific understandings of the causes of urban poverty and violence – whose fault is it if a city or a neighbourhood suffers from high levels of conflict and deprivation, and who might be able to remedy this? Who should and can protect vulnerable citizens – the state, or other power-holders? To what established or yet to be realized political community does one belong? What normative sense of rights and responsibilities accompanies this belonging, and what emotions does it elicit?

These analytical, normative and affective frames can legitimize or delegitimize specific distributions of resources and risks, such as the concentration of wealth, or the socio-spatial distribution of violence and environmental hazards. They can normalize or denaturalize specific structures of decision-making, shifting our sense of how political decisions should be taken, implemented and enforced, from a preference for top-down, violent authoritarianism, towards a preference for electoral democracy, or horizontal collective action, or vice versa.

I think it is important to note here that many studies of popular culture, focusing on creative expressions of marginalized groups, tend to approach the political imagination as progressive or emancipatory. As I want to show in my empirical examples, this is not necessarily the case at all; there are many types of imagination that connect to violent or exclusionary types of political practice and actors, and it is urgent that we attend to ‘the more dystopian potentials of imaginative engagement’ (Sneath, Holbraad, & Pedersen, 2009, p. 10). Indeed, as Stuart Hall (1981/2016) has stressed, popular culture is neither a straightforward form of resistance, nor a simple tool of oppression and control, but rather the site where such struggles play out.

Connecting the everyday and the imagination in urban politics

In any city, multiple forms of political imagination, located in various types of expressive culture, will compete and coincide, before more coherent, broadly shared social imaginaries may eventually emerge. How do instances of the political imagination, for instance in popular music or street art, relate to everyday encounters? How are they mobilized, and which imaginations become dominant? How do they inform or impede political action? In short, how can we connect our analysis of everyday political practices, spaces and actors to that of political imagination? How does the imagination feed on everyday life, and how is everyday politics enabled through the work of the imagination?

It should be stressed first of all that these relations are not causal in any unidirectional sense, and that the imagination is not so much a concrete causative object or subject, but rather an ongoing process. Audre Lorde (1984, p. 36) describes this succinctly in her analysis of poetry in relation to women’s struggles. Poetry – and for this we can read art and expressive culture more broadly – is, on the one hand, ‘the revelation or distillation of experience’, it is rooted in but also departs from lived reality. On the other hand, poetry is necessary in order to act on this reality. ‘For women, then’, Lorde continues:

[P]oetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action. Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought. The farthest external horizons of our hopes and fears are cobbled by our poems, carved from the rock experiences of our daily lives.

In an urban context, researching the relations between daily lives and the imagination means attending, first, to how the imagination is made material in an embodied fashion in the context of the social and built environment of concrete streets and neighbourhoods. Here I draw on anthropological work on politics, aesthetics and everyday practices of sensory perception. In their work on sensory citizenship, for instance, Susanna Trnka, Christine Dureau and Julie Park (2013) highlight the significance of the embodied sensing of the world in the formation of political subjects and communities. They suggest that sensory differentiation is central in the processes of inclusion and exclusion that structure the boundaries of citizenship: our experience of social sameness and difference works through emotionally loaded senses of vision, hearing, smell and so on. In her work on religion and the aesthetics of persuasion, Birgit Meyer (2009) argues similarly for a sensorial turn in our understanding of the imagination. Her

work focuses more explicitly on the role of materiality, emphasizing that for the imagination to be experienced as real in an embodied fashion it must be made material, through religious artefacts and places.

I have drawn on these approaches in researching the popular culture associated with donmanship, exploring how the formation of political communities around criminal dons and their neighbourhood territories is intimately connected to the affective and normative work that a range of popular culture texts, images, sounds and performative practices do within specific urban spaces (Jaffe, 2012). As I will go on to discuss through a number of examples, such a combination of popular culture analysis and neighbourhood-level ethnography can show how aesthetic forms render an imagination of dons' authority both real and powerful in and through the built environment. The walls on which murals are painted, and the streets in which dance parties are held in celebration of dons, allow people to physically experience their shared location within a specific system of rule and belonging.

Such approaches can help us understand the aesthetic, sensory processes through which forms of political imagination come to resonate more broadly within everyday urban life, as they literally move people in a certain direction, or immobilize them. In addition, it is also important to understand how specific urban environments – and their material and social forms – enable or constrain new forms of political imagination. In their work on 'technologies of the imagination', David Sneath, Martin Holbraad and Morten Axel Pedersen (2009) direct our attention to the generative capacity of specific technological implements and artefacts, from software to electricity infrastructure, to enable specific forms of imagination. Drawing on insights from science and technology studies, urban studies might similarly attend to affordances that are both social and material.

Affordances are those specific artefacts or conditions that enable or constrain (but do not determine) specific outcomes (see e.g. Hutchby, 2001). The introduction of specific objects and forms of social organization – from particular styles of architecture, to guns, or ballot boxes – can be connected to the generation of specific forms of the imagination. In a longer exploration of these processes in Kingston, for instance, we might trace the imaginative affordances of socio-material objects such as the public housing projects associated with both urban modernity and partisan politics, the introduction of guns and drugs in the context of Cold War politics, or the Westminster parliamentary system and its privileging of the secret ballot.²

Violence, protection and authority in Kingston

In the context of this article, I have space only for a brief empirical illustration of the connections between the political imagination and everyday practices, and I will focus here on negotiations of violence, protection and authority in Kingston, Jamaica. These examples connect my previous research on dons and their entanglement with electoral politics to my current work on security assemblages, which looks at the practices and imaginations of security provision beyond the state and beyond the human. Through a discussion of visual culture and reggae and dancehall music, and drawing on my long-term ethnographic work in Kingston, I consider how these forms of the imagination enable or impede the emergence and consolidation of new political subjectivities and action.

Visualizing authority

Starting with a discussion of street art, before moving on in the next section to consider three recent reggae and dancehall songs, I want to explore how policing and protection are imagined in the context of realities of poverty and violence in Kingston. I analyse how the images and music work as analytical, normative and affective frameworks that propose different relations to a range of governance actors, bolstering or undermining their legitimacy and efficacy.

I want to start by discussing the memorial murals commemorating dons. Such murals visualize an imagination in which dons are legitimate rulers, and central figures in delineating the boundaries of political community.³ By juxtaposing dons with beloved figures in music, sports and politics, such murals enable an imagination in which dons are treasured as local 'legends'.

In Figure 1, for instance, the deceased don Willie Haggart, of Trench Town's Black Roses Crew, is commemorated on a Wall of Fame together with reggae superstar Bob Marley and with Michael Manley and P. J. Patterson, two former Jamaican prime ministers affiliated to the same political party as Haggart. A comparable mural depicts Jamaican sprint champion Usain Bolt and former US president Barack Obama, under the slogan 'Zeeks fi [for] life', a reference to the don of this West Kingston neighbourhood, now in prison (Figure 2).

The mural makes perceptible Zeeks's equivalence with these other two heroes. In addition, it proposes different geographies of political affinity and belonging to those who pass it every day. Where Zeeks represents the space of the neighbourhood, Bolt's image, against the background of the Jamaican flag, invokes the island nation. The images of President Obama and the American flag not only reference the transnational linkages fostered by



Figure 1. Mural honouring Willy Haggart and the Black Roses Crew. Photograph by Rivke Jaffe.

inner-city residents, but also point to transnational blackness as a source of collective identification. Through this mural, a don-related form of political belonging is made visually compatible with national and ethno-racial allegiances – donmanship is imagined as an order of rule and belonging that contrasts with (but does not negate) that of the Jamaican nation-state.

The power of this form of political imagination in framing authority in inner-city neighbourhoods is confirmed by the Jamaican state's responses to the murals. The 2010 extradition of Kingston's most powerful don, Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, disrupted established relations between dons, politicians and the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF). Following Dudus's extradition, the police have embarked on a campaign of painting over memorial murals of deceased dons, often in their trademark colour of 'constabulary blue', citing the images' morally harmful effects (see Meikle & Jaffe, 2015).

These visual processes take place in specific spatial contexts, with the geographical locations of such murals often marking the boundaries of the political community. Images such as the Zeeks mural frame the relationship between a leader, the territory of his neighbourhood and its people. By erasing Zeeks's name from the mural (Figure 3), and the image of his predecessor, Early Bird, on a nearby wall, the police seek to erase neighbourhood-level political authority and community, visually reimagining these as located only in the Jamaican state. These state interventions into public regimes of vision are an explicit attempt to develop alternative forms of political imagination, mobilizing the space of the streets to re-attune the senses of residents.

Singing security

This battle over political imagination evident in the anti-mural campaign is also fought over the soundwaves. There are ongoing attempts to introduce anti-gang legislation that criminalizes song lyrics 'glorifying' criminals. These attempts also demonstrate the Jamaican state's explicit recognition of the force of the imagination to intervene in power struggles over urban spaces and populations.

I want to focus here on three songs, and their different imaginings of policing, in direct relation to recent shifts in Kingston's geographies of protection, following the Dudus affair. This was a moment of rupture in previously established security arrangements, in which dons, police and private security companies were in charge of protecting different parts of the city and its residents. Who is going to be in charge now?

I start with the hit song *Unfair Officer* (2010) by reggae artist Wasp, which reimagines the relations between the JCF and residents of inner-city neighbourhoods in Downtown Kingston. The song and the accompanying video clip depict a specific type of engagement between the police and inner-city residents: negotiations over street dances. The role of the JCF in enforcing the Noise Abatement Act by 'locking off' such dances at a given hour is sometimes interpreted as part of broader state or elite strategies to curtail the livelihoods and cultural expressions of the (Black) urban poor. Songs such as *Unfair Officer* present the police's intervention in street dances as part of a larger historical logic: 'Me know for a fact / Say them a fight ghetto youths before me born'. This historical contextualization echoes the move by geographers Pat Noxolo

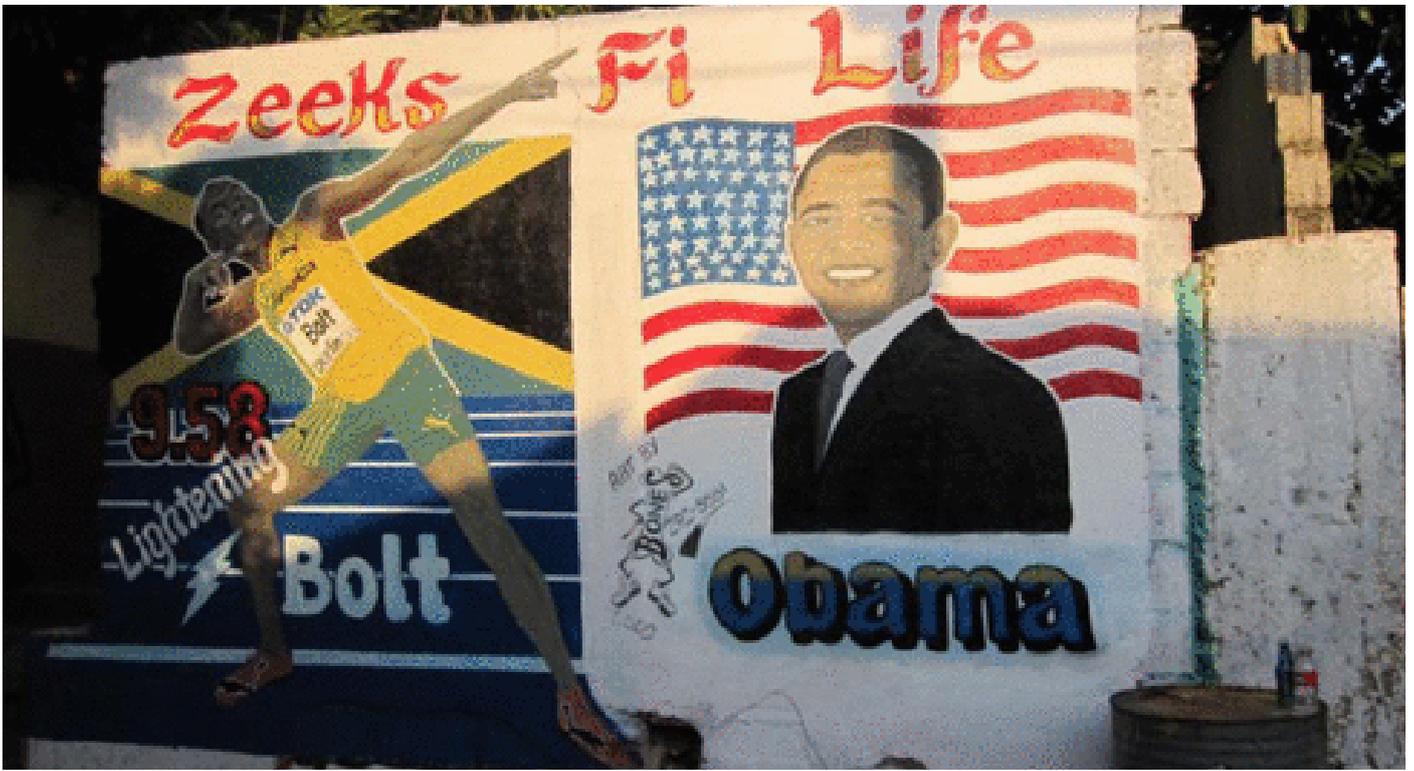


Figure 2. Mural of Usain Bolt, Barack Obama and Zeeks. Photograph by Rivke Jaffe.

and Dave Featherstone (2014) to understand security in light of longer trajectories of colonial endangerment that inform the contemporary economic and physical precarity of residents of Jamaica's low-income urban areas.

Yet Wasp narrates the lock-off not just as a confrontation, but as a space for negotiation, and this narrative reimagination of what is often experienced as a colonial form of policing is supported sonically and visually through the music and the accompanying video. He hints at the possibility of paying off the police – 'it seem like them no care, worse me no have nothing fi spare' – but also appeals to the officers for empathy, suggesting that dancehall parties offer an important form of non-violent sociality. He entreats them to understand street dances not just as noise and nuisance but as the 'ghetto youth's' own attempts at peace and conflict resolution: 'Officer me beg you please / Come make the ghetto youth them want to hold up the peace / Man from West and East / Me rather see dance than see funeral keep'. The imagination of a less confrontational relationship with the JCF is bolstered by the slow melodic roots reggae style of the music (which contrasts with the faster, more electronic and bass-heavy sounds of the dancehall music that dominates most street parties) and the somewhat dreamlike, soft-focus quality of the video and its depiction of a JCF officer, dancers, DJs and residents. The song also includes a sonic transition that accompanies these visuals, moving from faster beats implying tension and confrontation towards a slower, more harmonious sound of conciliation.

Despite this move to imagine citizen-police rela-

tions 'otherwise', the JCF are rarely imagined as an effective, legitimate source of protection or authority. Reggae artists are more likely to imagine protection as located in the divine, making a statement about the role of God (or the Rastafari Jah) in providing both physical and spiritual security. In his song *Most I*, for instance, Chronixx praises Jah, asserting that 'You are the reason me no inna the morgue yet / A you give me peace inna me heart / All when me get rich with three body guard / And some big bad dog inna me yard'. Even if Chronixx achieves wealth that needs to be guarded by private security and 'bad dogs', this song maintains that true peace and security require a spiritual protector.⁴

Other artists make a different comparison, contrasting God/Jah with dons. In his song *God A Mi Don* [God is My Don], dancehall artist Konshens makes a similar metaphorical connection between different sources of protection, likening God/Jah to the don as an extra-legal security protector. Here, an omniscient Jah provides an invisible but most effective kind of surveillance and protection. He alone can distinguish between threat and non-threat, and is a powerful 'link' or social connection:

You see God / A my don that / ... / Boy a fight, haffi fight and drop, them full of links but a God a the right contact / You see Jah, a my linky / And me nah go step lef' the link with me / All when you no see no man beside me / Me have the greater one beside me / I tell them Jah know it all: who a pray for me down fall / ... / Jah show me my enemies, Jah show me my friends.

While analogies such as those drawn by Konshens are perhaps primarily intended as testimonies of faith (and indeed might also be read as a challenge to dons' claims to authority), asserting that God is one's don simultaneously serves to associate criminal leaders with a quasi-divine status. Imagining dons as endowed with more-than-human powers is a way of reframing the status quo of their rule in terms of benevolent protection rather than oppression; in so doing, this reimagining of the now also acts as an important form of legitimating the authority of these extra-legal rulers.

These three songs engage actively with on-the-ground renegotiations of security arrangements in Jamaica's post-Dudus moment. What they show compellingly is that the state does not feature as the natural locus of protection or authority. As Wasp's song shows, the state-based 'rule of law' is easily imagined as unfair, or at the least negotiable. Can the JCF, by incorporating the principles of community policing, replace the don as an effective and largely legitimate protector in inner-city neighbourhoods? Through reference to which moral and spiritual frameworks can different protectors make claims to authority?

In the context of persistent conditions of violence and insecurity, these songs indicate a search for leadership that is not state-based but not necessarily don-based either – the music involves an exploration of emergent futures and possible political orders that move beyond the state and even beyond the human. Such songs show the constant movement in imaginations of political order. As with any form of cultural text, including the images discussed above,

these songs contain a large measure of ambivalence. They propose normative statements about the legitimacy and efficacy of different security actors that can be read in multiple, contradictory ways, that also depend on who is listening or dancing to them, and when and where they do so. Popular music sometimes represents the Jamaican police as a brutal, inhuman force, but at other times humanizes the figure of the JCF officer, imagining him (never her) as a figure who is disposed to negotiation rather than merely confrontation. There are songs that celebrate the policing role of dons and emphasize their tendency towards using violence as a crime prevention strategy; yet even as the dons' supposedly effective violence is lauded, they are also imagined as peacemakers who can overcome longstanding party-political divides between different 'garrison' neighbourhoods.

Within specific neighbourhood contexts, the sounds and lyrics of these songs disrupt established regimes of perception, reshaping the parameters of what is thinkable, whether by outlining a God-based order or conceiving of a police that does not operate as an occupying force. To return to Audre Lorde's quote, these songs – like the murals – are not only based on everyday urban experiences, but they are also essential in making it possible to survive or change those experiences. Directly informed by the socio-material reality of Kingston, these forms of popular culture open up new spaces for hopes, fears and dreams to be translated into, first, sensation and thought and then, action.



Figure 3. Mural with Zeeks's name painted out by police. Photograph by Tracian Meikle.

Conclusion

To conclude: I have proposed here the development of an analysis of expressive culture and politics writ large, that is situated directly within the social and built environment of cities. In any urban context, multiple forms of the political imagination are formulated and reformulated in an ongoing process, with a broad range of sites of creative expression providing a space for thinking the city's struggles otherwise, for dreaming that another urban order is possible. I suggest there is much analytical gain to be found in understanding the political imagination as socially and materially embedded in urban landscapes. The visual and narrative forms of this imagination are made material within concrete urban environments: people are moved together by the soundwaves that travel through their neighbourhood, they sway to the bass at memorial dances or political rallies, surrounded by powerful images that shape their 'lines of sight' (Crary, 2001; cf. Henriques, 2010). They also intervene directly in these environments, making it possible to rethink and act on existing socio-material arrangements.

Analysing the political imagination in direct relation to everyday socio-spatial practices and a range of urban 'things', from walls and amplifiers to guns and dogs, can enrich our understanding of the scope and dynamics of contemporary urban struggles. Engaging seriously with expressive culture directs the attention of social scientists towards the emergence of alternative conceptions of authority and political belonging, and can help us recognize the tentative envisioning of new grounds for contestation, before they may consolidate in the form of more broadly shared imaginaries. At the same time, cultural analysis benefits from being grounded, through social scientific traditions, in the sociality and materiality through which the imagination begins to interpellate, or produce, a public.

My brief illustration of Kingston as a site of political action and meaning-making is only one example of an approach that takes the political imagination seriously. In closing, and connecting to ongoing debates on global urbanisms (Robinson & Roy, 2016), I want to stress that while this example is specific to Jamaica, we might use the insights such methods generate to develop new approaches to urban politics in European and North American cities, and to reverse the established geographies of urban theorization (e.g. van Gent & Jaffe, 2017). My studies of citizenship and security in Jamaica can help us understand what is at stake in cities such as Manchester or Amsterdam differently, raising new and important questions about informal or irregular governance actors, about the role of spirituality in legitimizing authority, and the varied ways in which party affiliation shapes urban space through both everyday life and the work of the imagination.

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Notes

1. Ben Carrington's (2017) recent British Sociological Association keynote address makes a similar call for sociology to revisit cultural politics through the work of Stuart Hall. Despite a strong 'cultural turn' in sociology, in recent decades many (urban) sociologists have moved away from a direct engagement with cultural products, while scholarship within cultural studies has increasingly de-emphasized 'social scientific' methods involving ethnographic or statistical data. (For a discussion of the relationship between 'post-Birmingham school' cultural studies and sociology, see Inglis, 2016; Marsh, 2005; Webster, 2004).

2. On the secret ballot as a key socio-political technology, see Bertrand, Briquet, and Pels (2007).

3. This analysis draws directly from a research project on popular culture that I am leading with Martijn Oosterbaan, and specifically on Tracian Meikle's PhD research on Kingston's visual culture.

4. Such songs have also pointed me towards the importance of thinking protection beyond-the-human through security dogs, a focus I am currently developing in Jamaica.

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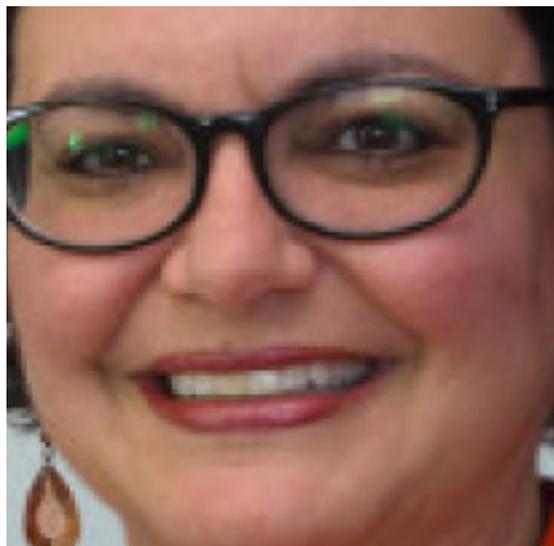



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WHAT DO WE
MEAN BY
“TRANSBORDERING
LATIN
AMERICAS”?*

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ABSTRACT

This book examines transbordering Latin American sociocultural and spatial conditions across the globe and at different scales, from gendered and racialized individuals to national and transnational organizations. Gathering scholars from the “spatial sciences —architecture, urban design, urban planning, and geography— as well as sociology, anthropology, history, and economics, the volume explores these transbordering practices of place making and community building across cultural and nation-state borders, examining different agents (individuals, ethnic and cultural groups, NGOs, government agencies) that are engaged in transnational/transborder living and city-making practices, reconceiving notions of state, identity, and citizenship and showing how subjected populations resist, adapt, or coproduce transnational/transborder projects and, in the process, help shape and are shaped as transborder subjects.

Keywords: transnationalism, Latin America, transbordering practices.

Introduction

This book, *Transbordering Latin Americas: Liminal Places, Cultures, and Powers (T)Here*, explores transbordering/ transnational Latin American sociocultural and spatial conditions across the globe and across scales—from the gendered and racialized body to the national and transnational arena. What do we mean by “transbordering Latin Americas”? When we use the plural Latin Americas, we purposefully implode the notion of a unified, cohesive, and static Latin America and a corresponding singular identity—a way of being or being perceived as Latin American. The phrase “transbordering Latin Americas” thus comprises instances of that which can be defined as “Latin American” (which is, in turn, open to debate and transformation), which occurs through plurilocal societal relations—existing within, between, and above the traditional container spaces of national and continental societies without clear or stable “motherlands” (Pries 2004; Irazábal, 2012). *Latin Americas* in plural aims to push further the problematization of “methodological nationalism,” or the tendency to liken society to the nation-state. Indeed, despite its continuous undeniable importance in framing social dynamics, the nation-state has been debunked as the “natural” unit of the modern world and particularly as a useful one for the study of migration and diasporic phenomena (Duany 2011; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). This book suggests the need to go beyond not only “methodological nationalism” but also “methodological continentalism” to effectively deconstruct and reconstruct the notion of multiple and fluxing Latin Americas.

When we refer to “liminal places, cultures, and powers” we wrestle with the transitional and unstable phases and conditions of sensory and mental thresholds,

bare perceptibility, and the in-betweenness of the varied places, cultures, and powers that we investigate. We also denote the imbricated and fluxing nature of places, cultures, and powers and set out to explore their processes of mutual constituency. The ambiguous term (T)Here reflects the new chronotopes or arrangements of time-space that are neither fully here nor there but also are both here *and* there. The term also alludes to the increasing difficulty of distinguishing between time and space—what some theorists have named the time-space compression nature of the condition of postmodernity (Harvey 1990) and geographies of temporality or “TimeSpace” (May and Thrift 2001). While acknowledging this condition and incorporating it to our analyses, the notion of (T)Here simultaneously aims to highlight the *spatial* dimension of the places that transbordering subjects move through and inhabit, suggesting both that such places are new assemblages of “heres” and “theres” spanning plurilocally, and places that have fragments of “theres” embedded in their actual “heres.”

So What Does Transbordering Mean?

The term *transbordering*, which I propose, both captures the nuances of the concept *transnationalism* and supersedes its limitations, as I explain in this section. A multidisciplinary notion, the term *transnational* has captured those scholars’ imaginaries that have found concepts such as *international*, *globalization*, or *cosmopolitanism* too rigid to capture the fluxing and complex nuances of today’s world. *Trans* is a prefix that means above, beyond, across, or exceeding. In our interrelated world, the lives and practices of many individuals and communities often transcend the boundaries of particular cultures and localities within

* Article reprinted here from Irazábal, C. (ed.) 2014. “*Transbordering Latin Americas Liminal Places, Cultures, and Powers (T)Here*”, Routledge. The keynote by Professor Irazábal was an account of this chapter and the ideas that guided the edition of this book. This chapter is reproduced here with special permission from Professor Irazábal.

nation-states, destabilizing previous geographic and power arrangements.

Transnationalism has come to signify the cross-border networks developed by localized communities routinely traveling or connecting to people abroad and the ways in which the resulting networks link geographically distinct places into single social fields (Trotz 2006). The notions of inter-, supra-, re-, and postnationalization as well as globalization, glocalization, diaspora building, and transnationalization have contributed to a more complex understanding of the emergence and dynamics of these dense and vibrant societal spaces (Pries 2005), but they have also felt short in some respects. Transnational social practices have been found unique in that they include multiple spaces of localization *and* articulation (Smith 2001), spaces of places *and* spaces of flows (Castells 2004) transcending a single nation-state. At the same time, transnationalism is not exclusively about movement—movement, at least of people, is not a prerequisite for engaging in transnational practices (Levitt 2001).

The term transnationalism is used to refer to “the cultural specificities of global processes” (Ong 1999, 4) and the multisided dimensions of the practices of place making that transcend nation-states. The concept was first used in economics literature referring to the movement of capital, commodity chains, and the impact of transnational corporations. It was then extended to international migration flows and their role in increasingly cross-border linkages through return visits and remittances (for the term’s genealogy, see Duany 2011). Not only does transnationalism reshape local realities but local factors also mediate transnational practices, although the latter have been the focus of far less research (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Torres and Momsen 2005), a condition that this book aims to redress.

Michael Peter Smith’s (2001, 5) seminal work on the subject of transnational urbanism defines it as “a cultural rather than strictly geographic metaphor.” Smith also articulates a conceptual distinction existing between globalization and transnationalism. Discourses on globalization and transnationalism differ in the assumptions they make about the role of the state in the production and negotiation of power, knowledge, subjectivity, and space, which in turn shape meanings, identities, and social relations (Irazábal, 2009). Transnationalism, as different from globalization, captures the horizontal and relational nature of contemporary economic, social, and cultural processes that stream across spaces (Smith 2001, 5). It also expresses these processes’ embeddedness in differently configured and reconfigured scales and regimes of power (Irazábal, 2005, Ong, 1999).

In architectural and urban discourse, transborderism/transnationalism provides a framework with which to address a societal and professional shift in the construction of place, whereby traditional geographic understandings

are problematized and reworked so as to play new roles in the development of socially constructed space. Smith (2001, 4) expounds:

Nation-state and transnational practices need not be mutually exclusive—In the process nation and state would need to be vigilantly de-linked, making room for notions of de-territorialized nationalisms, loosed from their moorings in the bounded unit of the territorial state, and coalescing at both local and translocal levels.

Theorists of transnationalism treat the nation-state and transnational practices as interlocked, enmeshed, mutually constitutive social formations where identity formations are produced and reproduced. Appadurai (1996, 192) recognizes the special “translocalities” that these processes produce, “in which ties of marriage, work, business, and leisure weave together various circulating populations with kinds of locales.”

Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer’s (2004, 1) understanding of spaces of transnationality includes

not just the material geographies of labour migration or the trading in transnational goods and services but also the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world. Transnational space is, we argue, complex, multidimensional and multiply inhabited (cf. Crang et al. 2003). People from various backgrounds enter its spaces with a whole range of investments and from various positionalities. They may occupy its spaces momentarily (during the consumption of a meal, for example) or for a lifetime (as members of ethnically defined transnational communities). They may have residual affinities to the transnational identities of earlier migrant generations or emergent identities as a result of their own current transnational experiences. Focusing on the spaces of transnationality, rather than just identifiable transnational communities distinguished from other (and often still normative) national communities, opens up ways of exploring this multiplicity of transnational experiences and relations. (Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer, 2004, 1; cited in Torres and Momsen 2005, 319)

Despite the expansive ways in which they have been theorized, the terms *transnational*—with its reference to a political entity, the nation-state—and *translocal*—with its anchoring on a place-based society—nonetheless do not

fully capture the many borders migrants and other people cross. As Stephen (2007, 6) put it referring to Mexican migrants, “The borders they cross are ethnic, class, cultural, colonial, and state borders within Mexico as well as at the US-Mexico border and in different regions of the United States. . . . While crossing national borders is one kind of crossing . . . there are many others as well.” Thus, although impactful in many ways on the lives of societies across national boundaries, transnational experiences are best conceived “as a subset of a more holistic approach to transborder experiences” (Bada 2010, 243). In its verb tense expression, *transbordering*, instead of *transnationalism*, better alludes to the ongoing transversal, transactional, translational, and at times transgressive aspects of contemporary behaviors and imaginaries that are incited, enabled, and regulated by the changing logics of states, societies, and capitalism/anticapitalism tensions at different scales at, below, and above the nation-state (Irazábal 2005). If borders are predicated upon politics of inclusion and exclusion not only policed at physical frontiers but also in public spaces, the workplace, the home, and the body (Bauder 2013), transbordering practices allude to the agency of both individuals and groups that negotiate and disrupt hegemonic power relations to improve their life chances. Many of these disruptions may not have political transcendence but some can become reformist or even revolutionary (Irazábal, 2008).

Thus, although the term *transnational* has its epistemological root in the nation-state and the term *translocal* in locale, both supersede those origins; the notion of transbordering both acknowledges and departs from the practices of bordering. Furthermore, as bordering formations are always mobilized in social fields, aiming to identify transbordering dynamics in particular places helps us recognize the restructuring of boundaries, restrictions, margins, edges, verges, controls, and regulations and their subsequent destabilizing and restabilizing of subjectivities and life opportunities.

Ever more, the global and local are blending in glocal contexts of sustained and evolving social practices (Jones 1992; Rodríguez 1995) that compose new chronotopes or logics of time/space. The resulting networks, or “social fields,” bridge localities, nation-states, and even continents and create hybrid and fluxing social and cultural spaces (Featherstone 1990; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Landolt, Autler, and Baires 1999). Within them, migrants reconstruct their regional, national, continental, racial, ethnic, sociocultural, and political identities as an adaptation to their fluid multibordered and multinational existence. Transbordering migrants and peoples assume multiple identities as they negotiate their positions between and within cultures, nation-states, and other bordered/bordering contexts (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999; Kearney 1991; Torres and Momsen 2005, 319).

Transbordering politics depict social relations as anchored in, but also transcending, particular cultures, nation-states, and other bordered/bordering contexts, such as those of race, ethnicity, gender, age, physical abilities (ableism), sexual orientation, political ideology, language, religion, etc. They emphasize the continuing yet reworked significance of borders/bordering, state policies (local, regional, national, international), and individual, societal, and regional/national/continental identities, recognizing that media networks and social practices often transgress them.

The diverse mobilities of actors, capital, information, cultural traits, goods, and their intersections have played a key role in constructing both Latin American countries and the Latin American continent as ever-shifting and dynamic transbordering spaces. In the words of Arturo Escobar (2006, 13), “it is crucial to recognize that Latin America is today a global reality—Latin America is literally the world over.” As a result, a continuous process of (re)construction of multiple places and identities around the world manifests different degrees of liminality, hybridization, and syncretism that include but also surpass what are generally recognized as distinct Latin American traits. Similarly, the identities of Latin American individuals, collectives, and places, while maintaining to different degrees a generally recognizable Latin American core, often become more flexible, performative, permeable, and transbordering.

This book explores the production and transformation of new and conventional Latin American types of spaces, sociocultural and political identities, and engagements through a transbordering frame in a transnational arena. We aim to understand the different subfields of transbordering living and acting that subjects engage in and to assess their individual, collective, institutional, and sociospatial effectiveness and implications. We pay close attention to the way in which subjected populations resist, adapt, or coproduce transbordering transnational dynamics and projects deployed upon themselves and/or their communities and, in the process, transbordering subjects—occupying different positionalities here and there and composing other (t)heres—are reshaped. We want to probe the effects on conditions of knowledge, power, subjectivity, and/or space that these dynamics have (Irazábal 2009) and reflect on their actual and/or potential contributions to furthering oppression or emancipation.

Latin Americanists from across the globe are examining these rich phenomena in a myriad of different contexts and scales, but their insights and findings had yet to be collectively considered. This book brings into creative dialogue scholarship from the “spatial sciences”—architecture, preservation, urban design, urban planning, and geography—and other complementary fields—anthropology, history, economics, and sociology. Through case studies, contributors explore different agents engaged in city-making practices. The book explores Latin Americanness the world over and integrates into Latin American studies the-

oretical and methodological perspectives drawn from the interaction between spatial sciences and other fields. This book thus contributes to the cutting-edge area of transbordering studies. However, the intent is not only to offer revealing case studies and advance theory and transdisciplinary inquiry but also to assist creative and progressive thinking in the areas of policy, research, and pedagogy.

Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer (2004, 1) note that often transnational studies have “under-played the transformation of space.” We want to reverse this condition. The contributors to this book put forth an expansive notion of transbordering space—where transforming social practices evoke new spatialities and vice versa—to further our understanding of Latin Americanness. Bearing this notion of transbordering spaces in mind, our examination of the social constructions of Latin America under these dynamics is both a theoretical and political project that seeks to contribute to a deeper elucidation of its impacts on policy-making, placemaking, research, and teaching.

The Book’s Content

The book is composed of four parts. Part I, “Gender and Image Making,” discusses the tensions between hegemonic and antihegemonic constructions of gender—as well as its intersectional national, class, ethnoracial, and age identity traits—in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Postville (United States), and Caracas (Venezuela). Some of these practices subvert socioeconomic and institutional orders, including those of the mainstream media, the drug trade’s economy of violence, and immigration policy regimes to open up unforeseen opportunities for self-representation and emancipation of subjected individuals and populations. The authors reveal how capitalist and neoliberal discourses and practices are embedded in these dynamics and often (enthusiastically) adopted (and maybe subverted) by the subaltern. The result is a complex and fluxing mixture of further alienation and disenfranchisement with varied outcomes of resistance and liberation.

In Chapter 1, Stephan Lanz discusses the transformation of the global image of Rio de Janeiro through some of its global subcultures, from the era of the “marvelous city” of the 1960s and 1970s to that of the favela as a symbol of a divided metropolis ridden by violence. He analyzes the favelas’ subcultural practices of *baile funk* party culture and social movement to uncover how, although appearing at first sight to be confined to operating locally, they are actually rooted in the reception and integration of global cultural trends. *Baile funk*, for instance, is a product of the incorporation of African American musical styles that reached the favelas through the reception of the Black Power Movement and US media channels into Brazilian musical traditions. In recent years, the favelas have been sending their funk music to North America and Europe,

where it has become hip in the clubs of western metropolises and can be heard on the soundtracks of internationally successful movies. With *baile funk*, favela youth have created not only a defiant representation of their everyday life but also an independent economic niche that offers possibilities of generating income and thus represents an alternative to the drug trade’s economy of violence. Their recent international success has also begun to garner for some of these youths, for the first time, respect for their cultural production. Other subcultural actors from the favelas, like the hip-hop network Cufa or the Grupo Cultural Afro Reggae (CGAR), are active in social education as well. Lanz illustrates the extent to which these actors operate from a global base by their use of neoliberal discourses circulating worldwide that call on their subjects to adapt to the demands of capitalist markets by regarding themselves as “entrepreneurs of the self.” A new transnational quality becomes apparent in recent projects in which CGAR has carried its social education program into marginalized immigrant neighborhoods in East London with the goal of socially integrating local youth involved in crime. This exporting of a sociopedagogic approach from the favelas of Rio into London’s poor neighborhoods illustrates that transbordering south-north movements are beginning to expand beyond cultural practices, people, or goods to include government and NGO approaches to dealing with poverty, exclusion, and violence. Lanz’s chapter analyzes the various ways in which the local and the global are interlocked in the favela subcultures and how these subcultures are fertile terrains for transbordering; it also explores these subcultures’ respective sociopolitical implications.

In Chapter 2, Gerardo Sandoval and Luz Hernández trace the evolution of a group called *Las Mujeres con Grilletes Electrónicos* (Women with Electronic Shackles), the icon of one of the largest immigration raids in US history, to discuss gender, transnationalism, and empowerment in Postville, Iowa. Sandoval and Hernández uncover a compelling paradox—how *Las Mujeres*’ captivity in the United States empowered them by increasing their political, social, and economic agency through their role as mothers to take on the state and pursue legal remedies available to them. These women challenged their migratory status, even as they were forced to endure arrest monitored by a global positioning system. Following Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo’s concept of “transnational motherhood,” Sandoval and Hernández look at how the role of motherhood changed for *Las Mujeres con Grilletes* in a transbordering regulatory setting. In a multisited research project, they examined gender roles in the women’s home countries and how those roles changed in Postville, Iowa, before and after the raid. Sandoval and Hernández argue that although the state still shapes transnational gender roles to some extent, *Las Mujeres con Grilletes* demonstrate how active agents, in this case in the role of transnational mothers, found the agency to use the state’s structure (including its rules and

procedures) to challenge and change their immigration status as they responded to their dehumanizing treatment and criminalization. Sandoval and Hernández's work, however, also exposes the gruesome price these women had to pay to be able to access these openings for the acquisition of greater agency in their lives. The authors' account reveals the complicity of familial and nation-state institutions and practices (including these women's own internalized identities) in both their native countries and the United States that have kept these women in submissive and disempowering conditions. Thus grave questions remain: How can some of the empowerment acquired by these women through the process of responding to Iowa's immigration raids be available to them without requiring the catalysts of such dramatic events and their ensuing losses? How could the allied agents and institutions that mobilized in the women's and their families' favor after the raids act in proactive rather than reactive manner? What policymaking and planning reforms can be offered to support nontraumatic immigration integration in this and other contexts?

Last, Yves Pedrazzini offers us the masculine human body as the site for the struggle between individual and global identity formations. In Chapter 3, Pedrazzini explains how the *barrio*, as an urban and Latin American trope, entered the worldwide media sphere, generally perceived as an asphalt jungle full of barbarians. The particular Latinity of the *barrio* is replicated at the global level often for the worst: in common representations, dark streets abandoned to drug dealers and armed teenagers replace inventive and diverse popular neighborhoods. None of these images are hegemonic, but today's nightmarish vision often overrides yesterday's picturesque one. The globalization of an aesthetics of violence founded on the rhetoric of the "ugly poor" and the "dangerous *barrio*," lock people up in a worldwide imaginary of Latin Americans restricted to two extreme figures, the criminal and the party animal—an essentialization with dramatic consequences. The society of the spectacle reproduces these images in a continuous "storytelling" of the Latin American city, presenting it as a disorderly place that frightens but seduces and excites. Pedrazzini examines how the fabrication of the "myth of the violent *barrio*" and the demonization of the gangster (the *malandro* in Venezuelan slang) attribute the responsibility of negative urban phenomena to the young, poor Latin male and his popular culture. This allocation of responsibility allows the dismissal of societal responsibilities in the structural conditions that create and reproduce the pauperization of the working classes. In consequence, a negative liminality is created around each "Latin space" (neighborhood, street, bar), which hinders the possibilities of affirmative Latin Americanisms to foster social links within and beyond the Latin diaspora. Pedrazzini criticizes the paradoxes and hypocrisies of this construction of the Latin male in the so-called Global North.

In Part II, "Tourism and Transnational Planning,"

the chapters help to characterize places impacted by tourism and transnationalism through the relationship between human subjectivity formations and embodied practices in space. The chapters engage places at different scales—a city (Cusco, Peru), a shopping mall (Plaza Mexico, United States), and a small rural town (Monteverde, Costa Rica). These act as models of touristed and multicultural landscapes (Cartier and Lew 2005; Irazábal 2006) that allow for a retheorization of the relationship between tourists and the toured, "travelers" and "locals," and the sociocultural, spatial, and policy contexts and implications of these processes and formations in an era of transbordering.

In Chapter 4, Miriam Chion presents Cusco as one of the most transbordering small cities in Latin America. It receives one of the highest numbers of tourists per resident on the continent. It also has diverse foreign investments and international organizations as well as an increasingly diverse population. From Inca times as the political center of a broad territory of indigenous communities to current times as a major tourist center in Latin America, Cusco illustrates both the strength and malleability of local culture in its interaction with a wide range of transnational economic and cultural influences. In the city, traditional music and crafts in some cases are detached from contemporary and commercial activities and in other cases, intertwined with them. These cultural practices illustrate the production of transbordering spaces and subjects, even in the most traditional domains of rural artisans, as well as the dissolution of fixed local/international, displaced/displacer, and traditional/modern divides. Given its rich history and contemporary tourism pressures, Cusco provides an intense developmental context in which these complexities are amplified. Sandercock's concept of "city of memory" and Nieto's *discurso andino moderno* ("modern Andean discourse") frame Chion's analysis of the production of these spaces through strong traditional knowledge and sense of identity, an engaging production process, and expanding learning flows.

In Chapter 5, Clara Irazábal and Macarena Gómez-Barris discuss new tourism dynamics and their implications for identity and community development in metropolitan Los Angeles' Plaza Mexico, a shopping mall. Conceived and owned by Korean investors, Plaza Mexico embodies a unique case of invention and commodification of traditions for locally bound immigrants and US citizens of Mexican/Latino descent. The plaza is an architectural collage of Mexican regional and national icons that make its patrons feel "as if you were in Mexico." In displacement from and migration to/within the United States, these patrons (and/or their ancestors) have undergone different processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of their identities, their living practices, and their imagined conceptions of homeland. Plaza Mexico taps into these imaginaries to produce a space of diasporic, bounded tourism, whereby venture capitalists opportunistically reinvent

tradition within a structural context of constrained immigrant mobility. Many visitors do not have the legal or economic resources to travel to Mexico—even if they wished to—and thus experience the plaza as its available surrogate. While most contemporary theories of tourism, travel, and place emphasize the erosion of national boundaries and the fluidity of territories, the case of Plaza Mexico brings us to appreciate these phenomena and their opposite as well—the strengthening of national borders and their impact on the (im)mobility of millions of individuals. This chapter identifies ways in which Plaza Mexico affects and intensifies these processes and also opens up new opportunities for community development in a transbordering arena.

In Chapter 6, Marisa Zapata analyzes the multicultural planning dynamics between Costa Rican peasants and American Quakers living in Monteverde, where quiet, decentralized, rural development has given way to a patchwork of haphazardly placed physical structures and stretched natural resources. The chapter examines how these two cultural groups, responsible for leading the development of a master plan in Monteverde, have conceptualized public participation. In Costa Rica, the planning profession has relied on the incorporation of the technical, physical tradition of planning in the United States and western Europe. Facing similar challenges to planning practice in the United States to ensure that plans meet democratic ideals, Costa Rican planning also promotes the incorporation of public input and participation. Comparing perceptions about participation between Costa Rican and US community members in Monteverde, Zapata provides important insight into how participation is contextualized. Together, the conceptions of public participation by these community leaders pointed to serious deficiencies in the planning process to address the normative and pragmatic goals of participatory planning. Zapata critically examines the importance of historically situated differences to demonstrate the relevance of social planning tools for a community with access only to physical planning guidelines. It highlights the limitations of zoning and land-use tools in addressing the needs of this transbordering community, where dissonance between social groups demands other planning tools. The chapter concludes with suggested tools and techniques, including scenario planning, that the community could integrate into its planning process to better utilize the benefits of regulatory planning while realizing their ambition of participation and justice within the process and final plan.

Part III, “Place-Making and Ideology,” explores the distinct condition of indigenous communities in Latin America, forming disputed nations within nations, and how these formations are often constructed, supported, and contested in transnational arenas. This part also focuses on Mexico, where both the cases of industrialized housing production in exurban areas and business megaprojects in central urban areas presented in the following two

chapters illustrate the contestations between top-down governmental and corporate-driven development and the bottom-up adaptation and subversion of targeted communities, with ensuing spatial transformations. The ideologies of modernity, progress, nationalism, and globalization underpin the particular versions of neoliberal urbanism that are both pushed and resisted in these interventions.

In Chapter 7, Marcela Tovar-Restrepo explains how, over the last three decades in Latin America, indigenous movements have played key roles in revisioning democratic processes from local to global arenas. These movements have sought to redefine their identity, constitutional rights and duties, and relations to nation-states. Bolivia, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Ecuador are some of the few examples where these sprouting transnational citizenship projects have emerged, contesting not only the foundational nation-state tropes but also conventional isomorphisms established between place, space, and culture. The term transnational in the context of this study refers both to relations among postcolonial nation-states and to indigenous communities within particular countries as constituting nations within nation-states. These ethnic rights initiatives have problematized nation-state boundaries, making evident the existence of ethnically different nations within the countries’ geopolitical and imaginary limits. As nations within nations, indigenous men and women have claimed special citizenship rights, deploying diverse strategies to maintain and produce new forms of cultural difference. Such strategies have required the flexible and transbordering networking of these communities between historically and hierarchically interconnected local, regional, and global spaces. Local communities, states, NGOs, and regional and international movements have been crucial sites where indigenous communities have negotiated issues of identity, established different alliances, and asserted new political, cultural, and gendered geographies. Tovar-Restrepo asserts that gender issues have become particularly complex within these processes, since in most cases indigenous women have not been fully recognized as claimants of rights. Indigenous women have faced further contradictions and identity tensions given that members of their communities often perceive their negotiations of gender vindications as threats to collective ethnic claims. Tovar-Restrepo explores strategies followed by indigenous communities to produce new forms of cultural difference within local/global shared and connected spaces. She analyzes national constitutions and international agreements as key loci that illustrate how transbordering imaginaries related to identity and citizenship have traveled from local to global spheres and back, making possible the interscalar recognition of indigenous rights. Tovar-Restrepo also discusses contributions made by articulation theory to understand processes of creation of ethnic sameness and difference that are at the core of these emergent transbordering citizenship projects pursued by indigenous movements.

The following two chapters explore the interactions between place making and ideology in two distinct Mexican contexts. First, in Chapter 8, Cristina Inclán-Valadez explores the expansion of large-scale affordable housing development over the past years. She specifically analyses the creation of contemporary middle-class housing towns in Mexico by examining the Casas Geo (GEO Houses, the largest private developer of affordable housing in Latin America) phenomena in the city of Cuernavaca. Mexico builds over 500,000 houses annually in remote peripheries of established cities. These houses, set in rows and organized in gated clusters of uniform street design, are targeted to lower- and middle-class households as developments with a specific iconography of middle-income groups. Inclán-Valadez demonstrates that, rather than simply being a “finished” and “planned” product, these housing schemes evolve through the participation of a wide range of actors, including visitors, furniture designers, real estate agents, building constructors, and current and potential residents. These schemes are purported to represent a formula for “good city” growth, a legitimized model for housing production and for creating “model” cities. They are touted as a means of laying down the conditions for the social betterment of millions of Mexican families. Inclán-Valadez explores how a global pattern of “created cities” is being interpreted and experienced locally by the residents of a particular complex—Geo-Bosques. The chapter identifies the generic characteristics that can be found in the production of the Geo Houses scheme and discusses how the model has been built, improved, organized, and invariably contested as a result of continuous local strategies employed by different actors (mostly residents). The aim of these actions is to achieve an “ideal” sociospatial arrangement that seeks to emulate idealized global notions of a middle-class lifestyle and increase the residents’ sense of security and social status. Inclán-Valadez illustrates how the experiencing of new housing schemes takes shape through the “vernacularization” of global referents and thus results in the creation of new transbordering landscapes in Mexico.

Then, in Chapter 9, María Moreno Carranco directs us to Mexico City to discuss the emergence of “urban megaprojects” as a dominant strategy in the construction of Mexican cities during the current neoliberal economic times and the opening of the Mexican economy. Mexico City is competing with cities such as Miami and São Paulo to become an increasingly important metropolitan node in the financial and productive networks of the global or at least regional economy. Moreno Carranco focuses on the megaproject of Santa Fe, the largest urban development in Latin America, widely decried as an insertion of transnational urbanism imposed by undemocratic means for the benefit of global capital and local elites. Santa Fe is not integrated to its local surroundings owing to the ambition to create a “global place” embodying the physical characteristics necessary to attract multinational companies and

improve Mexico City’s standing in the global arena. The study analyzes the new geographies and cultural dissonances that emerge in the effort to compete for better positioning within the global city arena. The disconnections between the megaproject’s promises and the actual realities of Santa Fe result in very particular urban conditions in which residents are subsidizing the government’s deficient servicing of the area. This situation is further promoting increased sociospatial segregation, spatial exclusion, gentrification, privatization of the city space, and alternative forms of governance. While transnational companies, AAA buildings, and high-end residences in Santa Fe face some urban conditions similar to those in squatter settlements in the city, the marketing discourses emphasize the very same elements lacking in the megaproject, selling an imaginary global place totally disconnected from its realities. Meanwhile, Moreno Carranco illustrates these paradoxes and also how local practices are a constitutive part of this imagined global place, transforming it with the continuous formation of new behaviors and appropriations of the city space.

Part IV, “Immigrant Ethnoscapes (T)here,” focuses on specific economic, cultural, and spatial processes by which diasporic groups of Latin Americans living abroad create for themselves spaces and sense of belonging in their homelands or host lands, in the process transforming the geographies and social fields of places here, there, and in-between (Irazábal 2011). As shown in these chapters, the economic, real estate, labor, musical, and spatial practices Colombian migrants in the United States and around the world, Latinos and West Africans in Bearstown (Illinois), Peruvian migrants in Japan, and Latin Americans in Madrid invest in transforming the institutions of public and semipublic space, housing, education, sports, and recreation in diverse rural, suburban, and urban areas of the world.

In Chapter 10, Milena Gómez Kopp analyzes the remittances sent home by Colombian immigrants across the globe—which have grown rapidly since the 1990s, reaching the record level of \$4.5 billion in 2007—and their internationalization effect on the Colombian housing market. Remittances to Colombia are now the third largest remittance flow into Latin America and the Caribbean region, after Mexico and Brazil. They also represent the second largest source of income for Colombia, after foreign investment. In 2004, immigrants began purchasing real estate in Colombia, motivated by “dreams” of returning to their country. Policies of the Colombian government and activities of the banking and other industries have encouraged and supported these efforts. Immigrants’ purchases of real estate have increased, and these investments have impacted the Colombian construction business, generating jobs, development, and income. By analyzing the use of remittances for housing investments, Gómez Kopp examines whether and how remittances can be channeled into productive

endeavors and identifies and makes recommendations for best practices to promote and harness the development potential of remittances to Colombia. She also exposes how remittances have forced the Colombian government to change its position vis-à-vis citizens abroad. While in previous periods the government neglected its expatriates almost completely, it is now pursuing new strategies to engage them. Immigrant outreach now stands at the top of Colombia's national agenda. The study contributes to the ongoing discussion regarding the use and importance of remittance flows by documenting the interest of Colombian immigrants in investing in real estate in the homeland and by evaluating the evolution of the government's policy agenda toward both the Colombian diaspora in the United States and the national construction industry. As these are emerging phenomena, questions remain regarding the geographic and typological distribution of these new buildings and complexes in Colombia and their effects on land prices, real estate speculation, urban design integration, sense of community (specially if the rate of absentee landlords is high), and socio-spatial inequalities.

In Chapter 11, the multicultural, transbordering experiences of immigration in Bearstown, Illinois, is examined by Faranak Miraftab. Bearstown is an emerging multicultural community in the US heartland. A small midwestern town, it has had a rapid influx of both Latinos and West Africans owing to the labor recruitment practices of its meat-packing industry. While conventional immigration research tends to focus on a single immigrant group and its dynamics vis-à-vis the dominant native-born population, Miraftab's study productively examines the intimate and unequal relationships that connect revitalization of this packing town to development processes in immigrant workers' communities of origin in Togo and Mexico. To capture the agency of immigrants in negotiating their immigration experiences in a new and challenging setting, Miraftab highlights how immigrants' families, friends, and home institutions subsidize reproduction of people and place in immigrants' communities of destination—a "global restructuring of social reproduction." This study not only sheds new light on our understanding of emergent multicultural geographies and immigration-based local development in Mexico, Togo, and the United States but also makes visible the global interconnections in processes of dispossession and development and assists us in charting new courses of policy and community-based action that can support healthy demographic integration in rapidly changing places.

Erika Rossi, in Chapter 12, takes us the furthest away from the Latin American continent. As a result of the new immigration law of 1990, about 400,000 immigrants from Latin American countries have gone to live on Japanese soil. As in many other countries receiving Latino immigrants, in Japan the Latino presence has changed the urban landscape in those scattered areas where migrant en-

claves have been created. Given the scarcity of public spaces for gathering and the different ways in which these are used in Japan as compared with Latin American countries, the importance of semipublic spaces like bars, clubs, and restaurants as social spaces where cultural categories and power relations intersect becomes more prominent. Rossi analyzes Latino "music places"—clubs, bars, and restaurants where Latin music "takes place." Two parallel music scenes are presented as a way to map locations of Latin American music and Latinos in Japan. First, the chapter focuses on the clubs in two industrial areas with a dense migrant population in the prefectures of Kanagawa and Gunma. Second, it focuses on Tokyo's most famous leisure quarter—Roppongi—and its Latino music scene as a counterpoint for the analysis. Japanese nationals mostly populate the latter scene while Latin American immigrants mostly populate the former. These sites constitute what Bennett defines as "translocal music scenes," although the actors participating in them are very different and their practices have distinct outcomes in terms of the creation of social relations reflected in spatial terms. The study uses ethnographic fieldwork with salsa and cumbia peruana bands and participant observation in the places they usually perform. Through these case studies, Rossi reflects on the situation of Peruvian migrants in Japan, addressing both horizontal relations among migrant groups and also vertical power relations in Japanese society.

Last, in Chapter 13, Rosa Cervera takes us through the "archiculture" of immigration in Tetuán, Madrid. The phenomenon of immigration, relatively new in Spain, is producing an urban and architectural physical and cultural transformation of cities that is not yet sufficiently studied. Madrid, as the Spanish capital city and the most active economic center of the country, has received more than 500,000 immigrants of Latin American origin in the last twenty-five years, the majority of them in the last fifteen years. The specific case of the district of Tetuán-La Ventilla, located in northern Madrid, is one of the most interesting examples of implantation of the Latin American population in the city. Because of the growth of the city, the quarter is close to some of its most valuable and representative areas, including a new business district. However, the history of Tetuán-La Ventilla—a neighborhood outside the historic city walls with an endemic lack of planning and a complex and very rugged topography—allowed this place to remain, despite its strategic location and its urban potential, as a largely irrelevant urban area and thus suitable for the settlement of migrants. Cervera examines the impact of immigration on the transformation of the neighborhood and its architecture—a transformation that is being carried out, most of the time, in a spontaneous yet silent way. This mode of action outside the norm is mainly due to the lack of foresight by public administration officials and also to the lack of control of the whole process, given the rapid pace of immigrant settlement. Many architectural and

urban challenges are not addressed properly, owing to both the convenient blindness of administrative authorities and the secrecy and impenetrability of the immigrant society, which uses these traits as self-preservation strategies. Cervera's work is a pedagogical reflection. In the process of identifying and studying the characteristics of the area, she presents the methodology undertaken in the Master in Advanced Project of Architecture and City at Alcalá University and discusses how, within that framework, it was possible to give sensitive design responses to the changing social, environmental, and urban conditions in the neighborhood. She also reflects on the challenges and responsibilities of designing for transbordering communities.

Liminal Places, Cultures, and Power (T)here—Why Should We Care?

This book examines the interconnections among urbanization, inequalities, and migration in both causing and reflecting the global restructuring of processes of production and social reproduction around Latin American individuals and groups across the world. It builds on the conference “Transnational Latin Americanisms: Liminal Places, Cultures, and Powers (T)Here.” held at Columbia University on March 4–5, 2010. The contributors seek to help us understand the unfolding phenomena before us and also to excavate modes of interventions, policies, and actions that help us build capacity for progressive change. The work collected here additionally echoes and endorses the questions posed at another conference on the subject, “Cities and Inequalities in a Transnational World” (Mirafitab and Salo 2012), as the critical issues around which to propose a renewed agenda of planning education, research, placemaking, and policymaking:

- What are the new spatialities of cities in a world more than ever before transnational, transbordering, and unequal? What are these emerging spaces? How do they vary across urban areas and regions?
- What are the new or persistent forms of inequality that these processes produce, particularly with regard to gender, race, income, residential settings, security, violence, legal status etc.? How is transbordering implicated in the production of changing, and oftentimes ascendant inequalities?
- What are the ways in which inhabitants, vastly unequal in their conditions of life, negotiate their livelihoods, security, and dignity in these (urban, suburban, exurban, and rural) spaces? How do inhabitants of these emerging, growing, or transforming settlements claim and assert their right to their livelihood and dignity? How do these inhabitants practice their right to the cities and citizenship?
- What are the modes of intervention through formal

policies or informal practices by officials, activists, and inhabitants to address the emergent or persistent urban challenges?

Whether the focus of our work in teaching, research, placemaking or policymaking is domestic or international, we all need to come to terms with the expanding transbordering of our world and its political, economic, sociocultural, and spatial dynamics. We need to be mindful of these dynamics and account for them in our analyses and proposals. Torres and Momsen (2005, 332) warn us that “the tendrils of transnational forces are far-reaching and persistent, irresistibly stretching out to engulf even the most isolated corners of the world.” The expansive and unintended ramifications of this project—the ability to restructure seemingly remote, unattached areas and communities—provide a cautionary tale for all development initiatives. Inherent in our analyses in this book, then, is a critique of the current processes of global capitalist-driven development. Understanding Latin America as a transbordering space provides insights into “the power of global capitalism to expand geographically, to transform and commodify spaces, and to tighten its grip on all aspects of life” (Torres and Momsen 2005, 332). In doing so, globalization and capitalist development in Latin America have often “exacerbated existing inequalities and created new uneven geometries of power at multiple scales. These inequities involve not only power and economics, but are also evident in the subordination of local cultures, social structures, and environments” (Torres and Momsen 2005, 332).

The instances of transbordering Latin Americanisms discussed in this book illustrate the complex web of actors and social relations occurring at multiple scales that construct spaces that reproduce inequalities between people, communities, regions, and nations. However, they also point to windows of opportunity, however frugal and challenging to come by or sustain, that promote individual and collective empowerment, sustainability, and justice. By critically examining the role of transbordering forces in reshaping local realities in and about Latin America and pushing for progressive change, it may be possible to heed the World Social Forum's claim that “another world is possible,” characterized by more equitable and sustainable development and more spaces for solidarity, emancipatory knowledge, network power, and realized subjectivities (Irazábal 2009). If another world is possible, then other Latin Americas are also possible, including transbordering ones that incorporate us all.

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ACADEMIC
CONTRIBUTIONS

BREAKING THE GRID OF BELO HORIZONTE

Pampulha's evolution from model
satellite to a hybrid site for re-claiming
citizenship

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RESUMEN

Tras cuarenta años de la inauguración de Belo Horizonte, una ciudad enteramente planificada por estado, Pampulha, su primera ciudad satélite, emerge como una utopía moderna anti-urbana que rompe con la rigidez de la trama original, tanto en su morfología urbana como en sus prácticas sociales. Pampulha es, sin embargo, una continuación de los viejos hábitos de la fundación de la ciudad. Aunque intenta romper con el pasado, construye nuevas formas que no logran escapar de los patrones históricos de exclusión, dividiendo lo ‘civilizado’ de lo ‘barbárico’ a través de la segregación socio-espacial. El presente artículo presenta una revisión histórica de la fundación y evolución de Belo Horizonte a través de la construcción y el desarrollo de Pampulha, enfocándose en las formas en que ambas se impregnan en el territorio y en la memoria colectiva de sus ciudadanos; y en cómo han evolucionado desde modelos urbanos utópicos hacia lugares híbridos donde la ciudadanía y la inclusión social son reclamados. Estos temas serán discutidos bajo el marco de un mapeo interpretativo y una investigación empírica, apuntando hacia el entendimiento de un ‘urbanismo de enclaves’, y teniendo en consideración la ciudadanía, espacialidad y habitación en lugar de partir desde un tradicional análisis estadístico sobre la desigualdad.

Keywords – ciudadanía, civilización, modernismo, grilla, Belo Horizonte

1 Introduction

The foundation of Minas Gerais’ administrative capital at the turn of the 19th century aimed to separate the civilized from the barbarian (Bhabha, 1994). The emerging civilized Brazilian was to be fully represented and embodied in the construction of a new city from scratch, shortly after the inauguration of the New Republic in 1889. As Holston (2008) observed, the discourses of civility and civilization are very much present in Brazilian culture and have therefore marked their presence in the construction and further developments of state-built cities such as Belo Horizonte and later Brasília. The rigidity of the city’s symmetrical grid was in itself a gesture of rupture, breaking away from the colonial past embedded in the old capital Ouro Preto, where streets were built through chance rather than reason.

However, already forty years after its inauguration, Belo Horizonte seemed to have failed in fulfilling the expectations of civilization, modernity and ‘cleanliness’ that accompanied the discourses around its creation. In the 1930s, Belo Horizonte was a controversial mix of emptiness and congestion, having suffered an economic depression and a coffee crisis. While the state was unable to fully physically construct its project, the city presented an inverted growth, from outside to the inside, while informal forms of occupation predominated. Due to the segregated character of its plan, the northern bank of the Arrudas valley has always been incrementally occupied by the unprivileged, with the river and the railway functioning

as barriers to the planned city. On the other hand, the southern bank, provided with infrastructure, was reserved for the rich. This north-south polarization consolidated over the years and today characterizes Belo Horizonte and confirms its social-spatial segregation (Villaça, 2000).

In the counter direction of this established pattern, the satellite city of Pampulha emerged as the spearhead of enclaved settlement formation, 12 kilometers north from the center. The project for the “edification of a new and picturesque leisure neighborhood” (Ferreira, 2007) at this location follows the construction of a dam which served primarily the purpose of water management. Through the conquering of a new territory and the punctual implementation of monumental modern architecture, Pampulha inaugurated a new era in the expansion of Belo Horizonte as well as in Brazilian architecture and urbanism. It served as the preamble to Brasília, which later epitomized the endeavor to transform the physical environment as a manifestation of developmentalism ideas (Almandoz, 2016).

Today, Pampulha has transformed into an ambivalent space where exclusive niches around its artificial lake are in contrast with the everyday use of the waterfront by a variety of social groups, illustrating how a model of modernist intervention has been overcome by everyday use and appropriation.

The first section of this paper shortly introduces the construction of Minas Gerais’ new capital in the context of the inauguration of the Brazilian republic in order to provide an overview of the discourses around civilization and civility that have inspired its plan and

occupation. It also provides a spatialized account of how an apparent homogeneous grid inspired by equality was heterogeneously occupied over the basis of an unequal society with colonial inheritance. Then, it sets the picture of the city's imaginaries and factual physical conditions on the 1930's and 1940's, the moment in which Pampulha emerged.

In the following sections, this paper addresses the manner in which Pampulha was physically imprinted in the territory and mentally inscribed in the collective memory of its citizens. And later, the mutation of Pampulha's urban development scheme from a modern utopia to a hybrid space of claimed citizenship and social inclusion is discussed on the basis of critical mapping and empirical research. The paper concludes with a reflection on how – rather than starting from statistical inequality indexes analysis – this representative case could inform contemporary understandings of “enclaved urbanism”, taking into consideration citizenship, spatiality, and inhabitation over time.

2 Constructions of/in Belo Horizonte's Grid

The idea of constructing a new built environment – city, state or island – physically separated from the ‘contaminated old world’ that would be able to host – as well as set the basis for – an ideal society, free from vices and injustices, date from Thomas More's Utopia and even, much before him, in Plato's Republic. Helena Angotti Salgueiro, in her book ‘Cidades Capitais do Século XIX’ (2001) has carefully shown how the construction of Belo Horizonte and its design by the engineer Aarão Reis were deeply connected to French illuminist-positivist ideas in which ‘reason’ and ‘science’ are the main mottos for the transformation of nature by men.

The issue of the new capital, already a dream amongst the mineiros for a long time, started its path towards materialization with the new Constitution of the province of Minas Gerais, launched in 1893, two

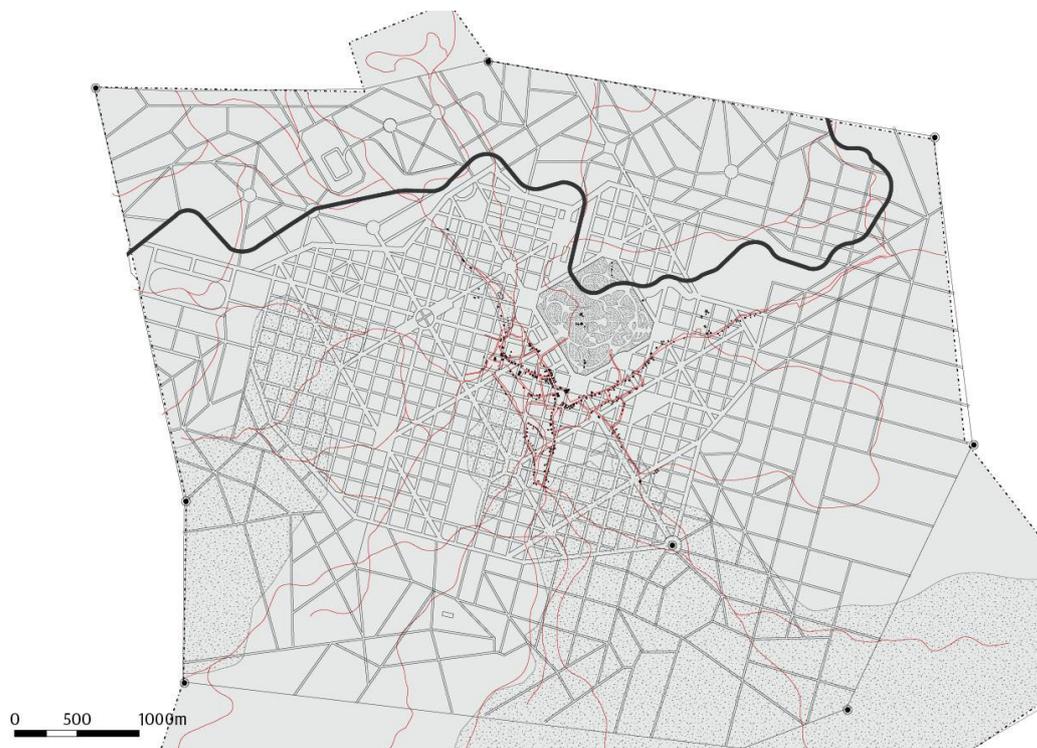


Figure 1: Superposition of the Planta da Cidade de Minas, with the Cadastre Map of Arraial de Belo Horizonte, the preexisting village. Source: Elaborated by the author over basis provided by APM.

years after the installation of the Republic of Brazil. The dispute between the locations to install the new capital was quickly solved in a rational manner through the creation of a special commission entitled Comissão D'Estudo das Localidades Indicadas para a Nova Capital (Study Commission of the localities appointed for the new Capital, hereafter Study Commission). This Study Commission was in charge of conducting surveys and later selecting a location for the construction of the new capital city. It was headed by the above-mentioned engineer Aarão Reis, the designer of the city plan and also the chief-engineer in charge of construction. Reis studied at the Escola Politécnica do Rio de Janeiro, known to host many followers of some fathers of socialism such as Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte (Lins, 1967).

Comparative surveys of locations took a very pragmatic approach, evaluating mainly the physical conditions of these localities. As noted by Salgueiro (2001), the population present in the localities were completely left out of the surveys – except for appearing occasionally in the medical reports related to the salubrity criteria – as they also were in the design and construction of the city. This becomes clear when noticing that the new Belo Horizonte's plan overlaps with the plan of the pre-existent village, which required its complete demolition, expropriation of all properties, and expulsion of its inhabitants.

The reports of some witnesses of its construction

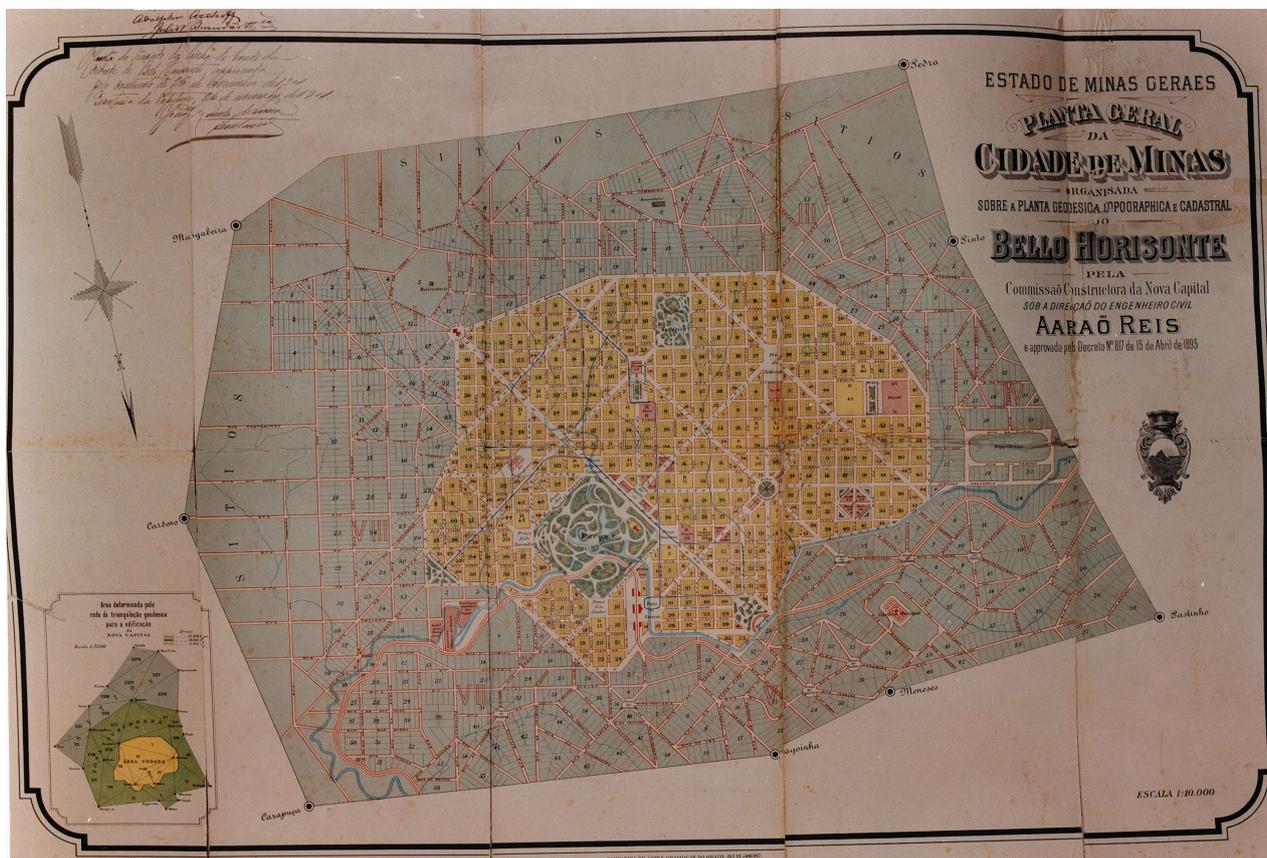


Figure 2: Planta da Cidade de Minas, 1895. Source: APM

are pregnant with disdain for the inhabitants of the village, considered to be unworthy of such a beautiful locality and inadequate for the new modern city (Barreto, 1928). Olavo Bilac, a poet and journalist from the capital Rio de Janeiro, commented in a chronicle published in 1900 having been surprised one evening, around 1894, by the sound of a piano, “hardly daring to believe in the existence of this torture of civilization in the plain primitive ingenuity of a village”. Another writer from the capital, Alfredo Camarate, has left precious reports from his visits to the construction site, pregnant with his personal views. In a chronicle published on the 5th of April in 1894, reported by Barreto (1928), Camarate seemed very impressed by the physical appearance of the inhabitants of the village of Belo Horizonte. In his words:

The general type of this people is sickly. Thin, yellow, little unbent in the majority; having a great proportion of defectives, crippled and gaunt. Well, this almost general physiognomy of the population of Belo Horizonte clashes completely with the amenity of the weather, with the dry air, almost constantly hit by a breeze, with the nature of the soil, which is magnificent, and with the good health and pantagruelian appetite of the newcomers and which, in more than one month of residence, were already feeling the symptoms and presages of future malaise (p.98).

After making his diagnostics based on the poor feeding habits of the population, consisting basically on

rice, beans, and dry meat, the author concludes that the reason for many “defectives” and “crippled” is probably due to the habit of marring between relatives. He then suggests that

The inoculation of new populating agents will disseminate more the sympathies which will desire to acclimatize in new territories and, in this forced blending, (...) the children and grandchildren of the people of Belo Horizonte will come unbent, elegant and robust (...) whether wanting or not (p.99).

Although the vast number of chronicles published at the time also account for the many qualities of the place and its people – honest, welcoming, and collaborative – the general impression was of a clear distancing between two different worlds: the civilized from Rio de Janeiro and Ouro Preto and the barbarians of the village. If the future blending was to be true in the social relations, as Camarate hoped, it clearly was not in the spatial distribution in the city. In that regard, frictions become evident when the reality of the law and Aarão Reis’ plan collide with the pre-existent social inequalities. The Law n.3 of 1895, additional to the constitution, set up the legal basis and premise in which the city would be planned and constructed, allowing the Construction Commission to expropriate private land and property within the location of the new plan to be approved; regulate the plans, hygienic conditions and architectural parameters ruling future constructions;

concede free plots to the public servants to construct their houses, facilitate their payment in monthly installments; promote the construction of houses, in hygienic conditions and affordable rent for the working class, and to concede free plots to the property owners of Ouro Preto. Almost simultaneously, the Decree n.803, concerning the new plan for the capital, called Planta da Cidade de Minas (Figure 1), reserves a number of plots to the former owners of the village of Belo Horizonte as a form of paid compensation of the expropriations. The documents also mention that the previous villagers could opt for plots in the urban or suburban zones, yet it is unclear what the exact conditions for this choice were. While in the Urban Zone the reserved plots were clearly located, the Suburban Zone was not previously designed, making it difficult to understand the exact location of the promised plots.

It is important to notice that the new laws assured previous inhabitants only the promise of plots in exchange for expropriated land, but they did not facilitate means to construct new houses as this would be given to the working class and to the functionaries of the state. The differentiated treatment becomes evident when comparing the rules that apply to the edification of houses in the Urban and the Suburban Zone. These rules are much stricter in the Urban Zone. For example, the construction had to be completed only 2 years after receiving the plot in the Urban Zone, while in the Suburban the deadline was extended to 4 years. Besides, other requirements in relation to size, architectural standards and maintenance were stricter in the Urban Zone, reflecting the desire of materializing the image of neatness and progress as fast as possible. Untidiness, poverty, and barbarity were therefore relegated to the suburbs.

In sum, 430 village properties were expropriated, 2000 inhabitants were removed and compensated. About one-third of the plots were reserved to the functionaries of the state, who waited long to effectively move to the city. This resulted in a half-empty, half in ruins center, and a dense and fast expanding suburb.

The last component to be mentioned is the fact that, although predicted by law, the plan didn't initially provide housing for the people who were building the city with their own hands. The plots that were not reserved were auctioned at high prices – as the Construction Commission was allowed to fix prices according to their will – with conditions unreachable for the poorer population. Villagers, builders, and migrants were allowed to “camp” inside the urban core but were eventually

evicted as urbanization advanced. This situation led to the emergence of the first favela of Belo Horizonte, over the steep hill across the Arrudas valley on its northern margin. Many others followed, and their population was constantly evicted and re-settled, adding new layers to Belo Horizonte's social and material palimpsest.

In face of the growth of the favelas, both in the Urban Zone and the surroundings, as well as in face of the compromise of the Commission to offer appropriate (rent) housing for workers, the authorities were obliged to take action. In 1902, the Vila Operária (workers village) was created and assigned to occupy the 8th sector of the Urban Zone (today Barro Preto neighborhood). To make this feasible, an exception to the rules had to be implemented – not the first, nor the last – to make them fit social reality. The sector was transformed into a Suburban Zone, meaning the softening of the norms for the concession of land, as well as its occupation parameters.

However, a certain degree of ‘civility’ was required for those wishing to live there. They would only have the right to the concession of plots if they could prove to be: “a) workers, therefore, to subsist from manual labor, (...); b) have resided in the capital for at least two years before making a request for plot concession and c) have good manners and be dedicated to work”. The law adds the paragraph: “The conditions of letters a and b will be proven by the testimony of three respected people according to the mayor; the letter c, by means of a certificate from the police

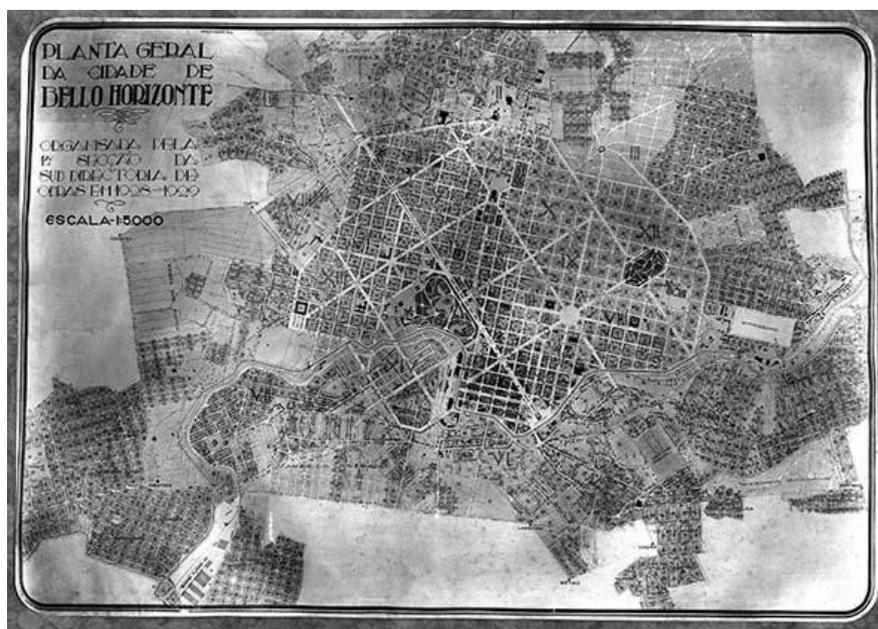


Figure 3: Cadastre plan of 1928. Source: APM

authority” (Plambel, 1979). In this light, suburbanization, favelization, and socio-spatial segregation of the city continue.



Figure 4: General view of the Suburban area, 1952.
Source: APCBH

3 The need to break the Grid

The 1930s in Belo Horizonte – the decade that preceded the construction of Pampulha – can be characterized by paradox feelings oscillating between, on the one hand, euphoria with the expectations of a city of a society in a maturing modernization and expansion process, and on the other, the deceptions and dissatisfactions of a city still incomplete and empty.

The double sensations of optimism and deception added to contrasting perceptions of the city's materialization which, on one side, grew out of control in the suburb of the poor and, on the other, seemed empty in its center while still in construction and already partially in ruins with abandoned constructed sites (Salgueiro, 2001). Despite this feeling of incompleteness, the government, already in 1934, created the Comissão Técnica Construtiva da Cidade, a technical committee for the construction of the city that aimed at providing solutions to the uncontrolled suburban expansion and poor infrastructure conditions.

October 13th of the same year, the magazine *Revista Bello Horizonte* published the chronicle of an author identified as Malzarte, entitled “Ruas sem história” (Streets without history). Malzarte (1934) expresses the situation well, as he comments:

“In the times of the Curral d’El Rey, there were beautiful streets in Belo Horizonte the former senator Modestino Gonçalves informs us. Today, senator, neither old streets nor modern ones. What is found here is only long lines of trees (...)”

The text, along with the photographs of the period, shows the predominance of vegetation over construction when the city was partially empty in the urban area. The anxiety of the city's inhabitants in the 1930s is also visible,

found in the limbo between old and modern, the nostalgia of the no-longer-present – with the demolition of the village – and the not-yet-there modernity.

The same issue of the magazine features an interesting article, entitled *O Amor fugiu da Cidade* (Love escaped from the city), signed by Barba Azul, accounting for the suburbanization and social segregation of the city. It is worthwhile to transcribe Barba Azul (1934) extensively:

The inhabitants of Cachoeirinha _ are protesting against the serenades that the unhappy love performed there every night. Cachoeirinha modernizes itself. In the old days, it was the aristocratic neighborhoods who complained of this nocturne plague, residues from old country costumes acting in the new soul of the city. Today, the remote neighborhoods, where the urban traces are confused with the rural line, no longer support the pains of non-retributed love, the sighs of absence, the complaints of ingratitude. Love, banished from the urban perimeter is repudiated, now, in its own humble suburbs, in which the workers live, the small businessmen, the policemen – the last people in the world that still love, in sum. (...) Evidently, the normal man, well fed, well dressed, well-coiffed and well loved, does not do serenades. But the shy, the betrayed, the jealous, the painful, those find sleep in the enemy bed in which they try to rest. They get up and go to the street, to the moonlight (...) The police hustle them from the center, the streets of the slums don't want them, there is no space for them in the city (...) _

In this case, the nostalgia is for the social life in the suburbs that is losing its place as the city ‘modernizes’ and grows. In fact, the urban development of the first two decades of the capital is frequently reported as a period of stagnation and slow construction (Lemos, 1998;



Figure 5: General view of Urban Zone, 1962. Source: APCBH.

Castriota and Passos, 1998; Salgueiro, 2001; Plambel, 1979), especially if compared to the following decades when greater formal and structure changes occurred, including the construction of Pampulha and the industrial city. This “stagnation” refers, however, both to the lack of investments by the public administration in the construction of the city, as well as to the slow consolidation of its still unpopulated center. Meanwhile, the cadastral map of 1928 (Figure 2) reveals, as the chronicles of 1934 confirm, that this situation is true only in the central areas, while the suburban areas were in plain expansion since the inauguration of the city. At this time, its occupation was equivalent or even bigger than the Urban Zone, initially planned.

4 Breaking the Grid, breaking the rules

After allowing the construction of allotments directed at the working class in the Suburb area in 1912, in the 1930s the municipality recognized the uncontrolled urban expansion as this occurred in the form of private land allotments without basic infrastructure,

Around the lake, an avenue of 14 kilometers will be built. The accumulation will serve the practice of water sports (Belo Horizonte, 1937, p.54)

far from the city, but affordable for the poor. From this moment, several actions were taken that attempted to control this precarious suburban expansion. Amongst them, the Decree n.54 of 1935 created financial and technical onus to the new subdivision of land in order to limit them. However, it is known that these actions were unable to halt urban expansion, aggravating the situation, since the illegality of the practice increased the level of precariousness, worsening the living conditions of those deprived of civility.

The report of the then mayor Octacílio Negrão de Lima (1937), in which the halting actions are listed, mentions at the same time, two other actions that would change the direction of the development of Belo Horizonte and promote urban expansion instead of breaking it: the creation of an Industrial Park and construction of Pampulha Dam. At this moment, the latter was presented as a solution for the city’s water supply, due to its physical and demographic growth. While two paragraphs were dedicated to the technical justifications of the enterprise, two small sentences determined the future of Pampulha, as a pole of tourism and leisure, as well the emergence



Figure 6: General view of Pampulha lake, 1948. Source: APCBH.

of unique urbanism and architecture in the country.

According to the report:

At this precise moment, the landscape of a future unique ensemble emerged from the merging of the avenue and the water body. Little later, the mayor gave a speech in the municipal chamber promoting the “edification of a new and picturesque leisure neighborhood” at Pampulha (Anais da Câmara Municipal de Belo Horizonte, 1936, cited by Ferreira, 2007), as such predicting, the future construction of a neighborhood around the lake. In the same discourse, the mayor also mentions Pampulha as a new place for leisure, away from the city, where the common worker could indulge himself and rest from the everyday labor in the city. This shows that however the segregated character of its initial occupation, the landscape provided by the lake was indeed intended for all.

A few years later, after the completion of the dam, the decree n.55 of 1939 governed the division of plots and construction parameters in the plots bordering the lake. It is interesting to note the role of the municipality, becoming the main agent of urbanization in the region in a context of private-led urbanization, common in the country – over private land, with the onus to the owner, however. The first article determined that projects, surveys, and leveling of plot subdivisions within a 500 meters strip around the lake should be undertaken by the municipality, under the request of the owners. The second article, while prescribing a minimum of 20 meters front and 1000 sq. meters of area in the plots, established an exceptional case



Figure 7: Casa do Baile, designed by Niemeyer. Source: by the author, 2015.

in the municipality, as it was cut out from the decree 54 of 1935 which ruled over the subdivision of plots in the rest of the city, at the same time that it determined which kind of use and social class would be established there.

This law was also exceptional in determining the architectural style of the houses, which was expected to be colonial or neo-colonial not admitting anything that would contrast to the cottage style. In the following decade, it became clear that the revolutionary and innovative characters of both the architecture and the urbanism of Pampulha, in local and national contexts, were allowed thanks to a certain degree of disobedience to the current standards. While the paradigm was to densify around the center, the construction of the dam has proven to be an opportunity to escape from the restrictions of the imposed orthogonal grid, constructing a totally new landscape, however only for the few well-off. The architecture of Niemeyer also broke barriers, installing at the borders of the lake notes of modernity that were fundamental not only for the construction of a new landscape but also for new social practices and modes of urbanity.

We can see that the construction of Pampulha, breaking away from the restrained grid and distancing itself from the unorganized suburbs, is a reaction to the claustrophobia of the old, outdated, gridded city. However, its slow consolidation is a reaction to a certain agoraphobia of the emptiness of the new. The region was – and perhaps still is – for many years considered to be “out of the city”. It is common to hear in the speech of Pampulha inhabitants

sentences like “I will go to the city” in order to do this or that activity.

In his administrative report of 1940-1941, mayor Juscelino Kubitschek referred to Pampulha as a “Satellite City” (Belo Horizonte, 1941), a term used by urbanist Alfred Agache in his visit to the city at the time. Worried about the social disparities seen in Belo Horizonte, Agache suggested the creation of a Satellite City to host the workers around the recently built lake (Segre, 2012). However, Kubitschek had different plans for Pampulha, where he had already imagined luxurious neighborhoods at the lake

margins not only perpetuating the image of a civilized, modern city, but also guaranteeing revenues from taxes and the tourism industry.

However, the desired social life of Niemeyer’s buildings would not last as long as their architectural legacy. Due to its audacious forms, the clergy did not consecrate the church until 1959, though it was preventively listed as heritage since 1947. After causing a revolution in local customs and attracting many people to the region, the Casino was closed in 1946 when gambling was forbidden in the country. With its closure, the Casa do Baile also lost attention. Although Pampulha had become a leisure destination, not many houses were built in the first decades since its residents were still unsure of its success. By 1954 it all seemed to have come to an end with the rupture of the dam, leading to great efforts to recover the area. In the second half to the decade, the dam was repaired, the church was restored and consecrated, a modern art museum was installed in the Casino and the Federal University of Minas Gerais started to be constructed south of the lake. Later, the government also invested in the construction of two massive sports stadiums (Mineirão and Mineirinho) in 1965, the Zoo (1957) and the airport (Carsalade, 2007).

As intended, Pampulha plays the role of the city’s “playground” since its birth, not only by the possibilities allowed by the great water body but also by the constant governmental investments in the name of leisure. However, it was only by the late 1970s that Pampulha



Figure 8: Sample of Bairro São Luiz. In red, non-commercial uses. Source: by the author over basis provided by Prodabel.



Figure 9: Sample around Avenida Flemming. In red, non-commercial uses. Source; by the author over basis provided by Prodabel.

started to consolidate as a place of dwelling beside leisure. The residential enclaves were no longer weekend-homes but permanent residence, while other middle-class neighborhoods started to emerge together with informal settlements. These spread the urban tissue towards all the northern region of the municipality. The intense occupation of the river valleys that feed the lake resulted in severe pollution, a serious issue already in the 1980s and still challenge.

As already shown, the initial urban parameters and social practices and equipment installed in Pampulha were responsible for an elitist occupation as the lake was surrounded by mansions and private sports clubs. However, the interstices left between the lake and the enclaves (the

lake border itself) and between one allotment and another – for example Avenida Flemming and Rua Coronel Dias Bicalho – were transformed, after decades of slow occupation, in alternative spaces of inclusive sociability and urbanity, where diverse social layers meet and where commerce is allowed. In addition, the successive interventions in the region contributed to the democratization and ‘popularization’ of uses around the lake (Alvares and Bessa, 2010).

Despite the physical and demographic growth, Pampulha’s enclaves and peripheral settlements remained for a long time without a centrality. Most of the interviewed inhabitants revealed that it was only in the last decade that “Pampulha improved a lot” in the sense that it is now (almost) completely independent from the traditional city center, having banks, supermarkets, health clinics, boutiques and other services. This new urbanity inserted in Pampulha occurs mainly along the spaces that have been constructed more or less spontaneously, in the interstices between allotments and in the second ring of occupation, with more permissive uses.

Since the first zoning law of 1976, successive urban regulations have reinforced the single-family residential model around the lake, while being more permissive in the peripheries. This zoning defined the neighborhoods around the lake as Residential Zone 1, allowing, besides this, only institutional uses such as schools, hospitals, libraries, clubs, museums, etc. of up to two stories high (Belo Horizonte, 1976). The new zoning of 1996, defined this area as Protection Zone 2 under the justification of the demographic growth in the region (Belo Horizonte, 1996), mainly in the form of informal settlements along the river valleys, contributing to the pollution of the lake, but in fact reinforcing the segregated character of the region. A perimeter of special guidelines, known as Area de Diretrizes Especiais (ADE), was juxtaposed to this zoning, restricting the use around the lake to residence only.

What was observed after this law, between its launching and its regulation in 2005, was the consolidation of commercial and service areas in the areas outside the ADE bordering it. This is visible mainly in the already

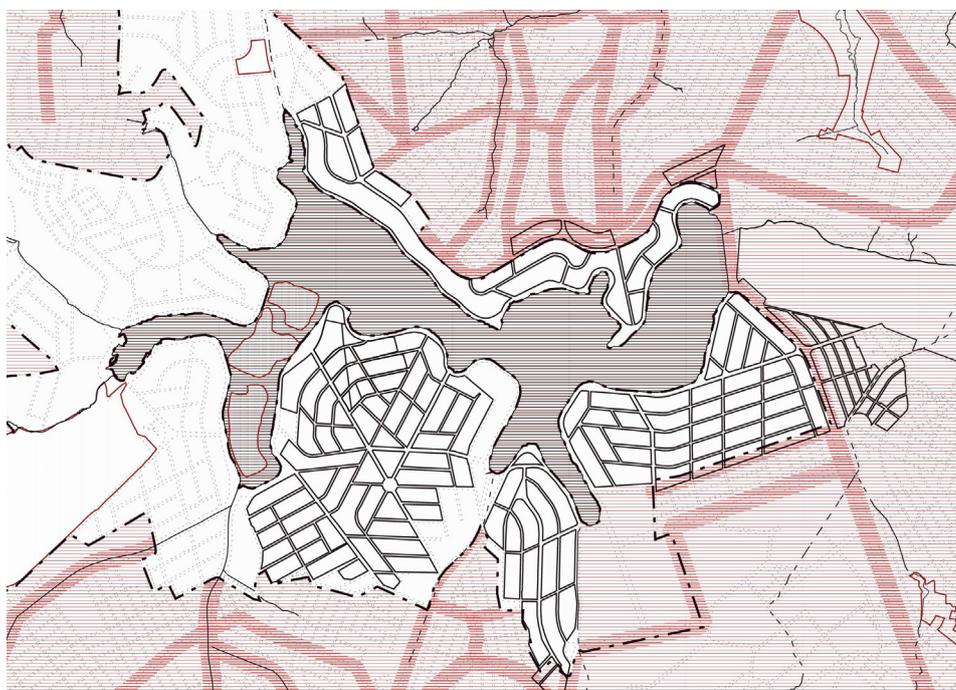


Figure 10: Map showing Zoning of 1996. Source: by the author over basis provided by Prodabel and LUOS 7166/1996.

mentioned Avenida Flemming and Rua Coronel Dias Bicalho, besides the Avenida Portugal, in the northern bank. When this special zone was regulated, through the law 9037 of 2005 (Belo Horizonte, 2005), an action plan for the environmental recovery and development of the area was also included, aiming, besides protection, to promote an urban and economic development for the region through the investments in qualification of public spaces in order to encourage their appropriation and bring attractiveness to Pampulha as a space for leisure, culture and tourism in the metropolitan realm. Adequate parameters of occupation had to be designed.

In the new law, a significant relaxation of uses could be noted, however under a very selective character. The law distinguishes three types of spaces in which some activities are desirable or not. These are: (1) the border of the lake; (2) the commercial and service corridors and (3) the predominantly residential interior of the neighborhoods. In the very precise listing of allowed and forbidden activities and uses the appointed character of each space becomes clear. The border of the lake is the main touristic attraction, allowing theme parks and street vendors, yet restricting commerce to touristic items. In the corridors, most commerce and service are allowed, except for heavy industry, garages, theme parks and street vendors. Inside the neighborhoods, only the minimum survival services are allowed, such as bakeries, gyms, newsstands, health clinics, geriatric homes, and schools.

5 Conclusions

What is evident in Pampulha in the last decades is the significant increase of both leisure and everyday activities in the region allowing, finally, to gain independence from the traditional city center, offering services such as banks and commerce in several layers of social strata, as well as school, clinics, restaurants, etc. The constant increase in the appropriation of public space is also evident, thanks to the constant investments of the municipality in consolidating it as a touristic attraction.

Meanwhile, what is observed inside the neighborhoods, where the laws are more restrictive, and where the large plots and houses

no longer belong to the social reality of its heirs, is a sad abandonment and emptiness. This situation provokes security problems and therefore, an increase in the fear of the other in these areas, where what is missed is the “eyes on the streets” as exhaustively argued by Jacobs and followers. The relaxation and democratization of uses in Pampulha in the last decades resulted in movements that aim to return to the highly restrictive and segregated parameters already seen in the law of 1996. The result of this struggle is seen in the recent entitling of Pampulha as a UNESCO Cultural Landscape World Heritage site, receiving its highest level of heritage protection. This leads to questions around appropriate parameters of protection of architectural and landscape heritage established around the lake that can also guarantee the permanence of the other public uses and people that were added giving it new forms of life, even if only at the margins and interstices. It is still possible to observe ambivalence between modernity (the civilized) and tradition (the barbarian) through the succession of legislation and state actions in Pampulha and Belo Horizonte. While constantly looking for the new, the old and preexistences are still attached to urban planning.

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Endnotes

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2. Freely translated by the author.
3. Another name given to the locality of the Arraial de Bello Horizonte.
4. Freely translated by the author from Bello Horizonte, 1934.
5. A neighborhood in the suburbs.
- 6., Freely translated by the author from Bello Horizonte, 1934.



THEORIZING SLUM POLITICS IN RECIFE, BRAZIL

Community leaders symbolize the
inconsistency of the urban situation

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RESUMEN

En este artículo nos centramos en Coque, un barrio pobre en el centro de Recife, Brasil, que se ha convertido en un lugar ejemplar de procesos de gentrificación, y donde los residentes establecidos coexisten con los recién llegados, los más pobres del barrio, que viven en tugurios. Vemos la situación urbana como fundamentalmente inconsistente, y por lo tanto definimos barrios pobres usando el concepto de “éx-timidad (una relación íntima que proviene de afuera); la “parte que no hace parte”. Esta parte está íntimamente conectada con el barrio, sin embargo, al mismo tiempo esta exterior al barrio. Aquí los más pobres viven en tugurios, localidades de las cuales se duda si son parte del barrio. Retomando la noción de “esperanza” de Brian Massumi – que localiza el concepto fuera del marco convencional de optimismo o pesimismo – teorizamos la política del barrio como una política esperanza posibilidad. Esta política se entrelaza con una política de mayor cobertura en toda la ciudad, pero no es lo mismo que ella. Líderes comunitarios son parte de la política del barrio, como una política de la esperanza. Al mismo tiempo, participan en la “política convencional”, que se desenvuelve en las oficinas (políticas gubernamentales) y en tiempos electorales (política electoral). Participar en estos diferentes tipos de política crea toda clase de inconsistencias. En la sección etnográfica nos centramos en un líder comunitario que representa la inconsistencia de la situación urbana. Al contrario de los estudios de casos que representan los líderes comunitarios como estrategias, este líder está lleno de contradicciones. De hecho, él es consciente de su inconsistencia. El punto crítico que hacemos es que esta inconsistencia reside en sus conexiones con la “parte que no hace parte” del barrio. Para el líder, esta parte sigue siendo un símbolo de esperanza y desesperación.

Key words - favela, “parte que no hace parte”, Recife, líderes comunitarios, esperanza

1 The political importance of slums

By 2030, the global number of slum dwellers is expected to increase to about 2 billion (UN-Habitat, 2003). This unfolding slum-growth could have major consequences for social and political life in cities since slum dwellers construct livelihoods and engage in politics in ways that are difficult to capture in dominant theorizations of the urban. Therefore, it becomes urgent to study ethnographically what is happening in slums.

A major theoretical contribution has come from urban theorist Mike Davis's *Planet of Slums* (2004, 2006). Davis blames the continued mushrooming of slums, amongst others, on the IMF and World Bank, whose Structural Adjustment Programs required a reduction in government social expenditure. The result that Davis portrays is a dystopian one; cities with numerous superfluous marginalized laborers, superfluous civil servants, and ex-peasants, that have turned into informal wage workers or self-employed entrepreneurs, with no adequate health or social security coverage.

Yet, could the Left be on to something with slum dwellers and/or squatters? Davis entertains the possibility of slums becoming new sources of revolution. However, he is pessimistic about this possibility for progressive politics in slums. According to him; “the Left [is] still

largely missing from the slum” (Davis, 2004). He portrays slum dwellers as being more prone to accept gangs and fundamentalist religious influences, rather than have truly political potential.

Building on Davis, philosopher Slavoj Žižek (2004) sees slums as sources of political struggle on the global level. He characterizes – in an overly romantic way – the explosive growth of slums as “perhaps the crucial geopolitical event of our time”. According to him; “our main hope for a truly ‘free world’ lies in the desolate universe of the slums” (ibid). Paradoxically, according to Žižek, the negative characterization of slums provides elements for hope and possibility.

In this article, we sympathize with Žižek's ideas. His counter-intuitive idea that slums can be seen as spaces of possibility is interesting. In this article we want to make that argument by drawing on the case of Coque; an informal neighborhood in central Recife, Brazil. Yet, in order to do so, we need to clarify our conceptual framework by making three analytical distinctions. First, we explain the difference between the slum (or favela) and the community (or comunidade) in order to theorize the difference between slum politics and other types of urban politics such as electoral and governmental politics (section 3). Thereafter we establish the distinction between “hope” as a political category and the notions of optimism and pessimism (section 4). In section 5 we connect these ideas

to the case of Aderbal, one of Coque's community leaders. In the conclusion, we use the case to elaborate on the concept of slum politics.

2 How to characterize slums?

Žižek (2005) proposes to perceive of slums in Badiou's terms;

As one of the few authentic 'eventual sites' in today's society — the slum-dwellers are literally a collection of those who are the "part of no part," the "supernumerary" element of society, excluded from the benefits of citizenship, the uprooted and dispossessed.

It is worthwhile to quote Žižek (2004) here at length;

Even more than the classic proletariat, [slum dwellers] are 'free' in the double meaning of the word – 'freed' from all substantial ties and dwelling in a free space outside state and police regulations. They are large collectives, forcibly thrown into a situation where they must invent some mode of being-together, while simultaneously deprived of any inherited ethnic and religious traditions.

Although there is a logic in the functioning of Coque that resonates with Žižek's statements, his description is a very broad one, and if not a caricature (see also Pithouse, 2006). It is highly speculative and ethnographically ungrounded. Yet, he has a number of strong points, particularly in that we can speak of 'a part of no part' – of "a collective thrown into a situation where they must invent some mode of being together".

First, Žižek's thesis of "free and freed collectives dwelling in a 'free' space outside state and police regulations" can never be substantiated. In the form of redevelopment schemes and police actions, residents of Coque are very much subjected to state and police regulations. Coque is not a periphery, it is economically and politically integrated with the city. However, this happened under special circumstances. Like other poor neighborhoods, it has been incorporated outside of the formal plans of the city, making Coque part of the city, but in a way that is negative and even perverse (de Vries, 2016a, b). Coque has always been described as a problematic community, characterized by crime, promiscuity, and informality (Silva, 2009, Neto, 2010), making it a target of evictions. In 40 years Coque lost 51% of its territory ((R)existe, 2013a).

Second – regarding slum dwellers as 'free from all substantial ties' – Coque's residents are still tied to each other in "mutual support networks" (Auyero, 2001) as well as to the strategic location near the "formal city". Furthermore, kinship- and other "substantial" ties are important. And yet again, there is a kernel of truth in Žižek's assertions, since it is striking how fluid and fragile

these political and kinship relations are.

Slums can thus not be defined by a single parameter. They are too multifaceted, heterogeneous, too changeable, and frequently they have blurred boundaries (Nuissl and Heinrichs, 2013). So, what makes slums different from other neighborhoods then? Our answer is the persistence of extreme poverty, and the remembrance thereof. When making this argument, it is crucial to contrast the slum/favela with the community/comunidade (Hellweg, 2014).

The comunidade is an authorized entity receiving state protection and as such it operates as a legitimate part of the city. In Recife, the favela is a derogatory term, used to designate locations where the very poor live, a non-place characterized by criminality and promiscuity. Favelas are usually "invaded" areas inhabited by newcomers. Residents of the comunidade have ambivalent relations with the favela. Many come from the favela and/or have close relationships to these areas, but at the same time, these are painful memories, since residents of the favela are accused of being marginals, opportunists, etc.

In Lacanian parlance, the favela is an "extimate part" – an intimate part that is not considered in the whole (Pavón-Cuéllar, 2014). This is our interpretation of Žižek (2005) quoting Badiou's term "part of no part". In the next section, we define slum politics in terms of this "extimate" "part of no part" that is entwined with, but could be separately identified from, a more encompassing citywide politics.

3 Types of politics

Javier Auyero's Poor People's Politics (2001), an ethnographic study of punteros (brokers) in an urban shantytown hit by neoliberal austerity measures in Buenos Aires, is a relevant starting point for theorizing slum politics. Auyero criticizes conventional notions of "clientelism" that see it as coercive vote selling. He prefers to speak about "problem-solving through personalized forms of political mediation" (2001, p. 213) that happens in a "problem-solving network" (2001, p. 80).

Such punteros have a lot in common with the Brazilian líderes comunitários (community leaders) who are often seen as falsely projecting themselves as community representatives, while being paid for personal gains. Yet, there is a distinction between "community leaders" and "political brokers". A "political broker" (cabo eleitoral) relates to electoral politics, whereas community leaders relate to slum politics (Koster and de Vries, 2012). Although community leaders are also involved in electoral- and governmental politics, they represent the needs and aspirations of the slum, making them main protagonist in slum politics.

Auyero (2001) does not make these distinctions between three types of politics that community leaders are involved in, and that impact on poor urban informal communities. We describe them in terms of the places where they take

place. Electoral politics refers to the spectacular politics of party competition and promises during electoral campaigns and administrative periods. This type of politics is about patron-client relations, about all practices that are instrumental for getting votes, assuming or maintaining public positions, and making money as such.

Governmental politics is about managing and governing populations, the politics of programs and projects. These lend themselves to all kinds of exchanges. Whereas electoral politics happens in public spaces, governmental politics takes place in the offices of the City Hall.

Slum politics, in turn, is about claiming the right to be counted and recognized, and about the care for the other. This is the product of an interrelation with governmental and electoral politics. It is the outcome of both outside interventions and intimate relations with the favela, where the very poor live in *palafitas* (stilts), and whose being part of the *comunidade* is contested.

4 Redefining hope

If slums and slum politics are defined in terms of an “extimate” force, then the spaces of hope are in the “real” slum; it is in these spaces of “despair” that we can start thinking of slum politics as a politics of hope and possibility. If this exists, it is because of the possibility of the emancipation of “the part of no part”. Yet, this can only be imagined when thinking outside the conventional notions of optimism or pessimism.

In order to make this point, we have to redefine the notion of hope. We do so by drawing on Brian Massumi’s view on “hope” that places it outside of the conventional frame of a rational assessment of the situation, such that it becomes “something different from optimism” (Zournazi and Massumi, 2002). Since “rationally there really isn’t much room for hope” (*ibid*), it should be disconnected from “an expected success” (*ibid*). Here Massumi searches for “a margin of maneuverability” (*ibid*) that can be found in an empowering uncertainty that is provided by the “uncertainty about where you might be able to go” (*ibid*).

As such, hope is about “focusing on the next experimental step rather than the big utopian picture” (*ibid*). Hope is “more like being right where you are – more intensely” (*ibid*). It is thus not about belief, but it resides in our capacity to see things that hitherto remained invisible. It is where you least expect it. It is not about the future but about the now that can at the same time represent despair and hope.

This resonates with our experience in Coque, where it seemed that hope was rather a certain practice, an attitude in life. Hope, it seemed, was one of the few resources that Coque’s residents had in their lives and politics. What was striking was their insistence in looking at life from the bright side. Their resistance to pessimism that could be seen in the continuing fantasizing and joking about life.

And this all while being marked by memories of suffering and/or humiliation of living in the favela.

We argue that, if a disconnection exists between hope and optimism, it is because hope is grounded in “the desolate universe of slums” (Žižek, 2004) – of the favela, of the “extimate” “part of no part”. This shared background of living in the favela is what – in the eyes of *favelados* – makes that apparently opportunistic and “politically unconscious” community leaders like Aderbal can be viewed as legitimate community leaders. This is the topic of the next section.

5 The case study

Paradoxically, Aderbal is not an “ideal type” leader to make our claim that slum politics is a politics of hope and possibility. His mode of operation fits very much with the conventional view of poor people’s politics as clientelistic. What makes Aderbal an interesting case, however, is his inconsistency. Contrary to so many other case studies that represent community leaders as strategists, he is full of contradictions.

He is aware of this inconsistency, and in fact, performs inconsistency. This makes him a symbol of the inconsistency of the urban situation. As we show in this section, Aderbal indulges in the “excess enjoyment” (Žižek, 2008) that electoral politics provides him, and the recognition that governmental politics gives him. Yet, in his daily activities, he is haunted by the remembrance of the slum, where residents are constantly accused of, amongst others, being marginals, criminals or opportunists.

A critical point we make is that this inconsistency resides in his “extimate” connections to a “part of no part” that we described in section two. For Aderbal this part remains a symbolic given that embodies both hope and despair. In the current section, we describe this “extimate” connection as his relationships with poor women in his food distribution program, as well as in his inconsistent family live.

5.1 Introducing Aderbal

Former *favelado* Aderbal is a tall, 49-year-old, dark-skinned, hyperactive *líder comunitário*. He is at times jokingly called a *pé-leve*, a bummer. Most of his life he lived in Coque, working in the transport sector before pursuing a political career. He grew up near Coque, in a poor swampy neighborhood that is currently a nature conservation area. In the 70s, he was relocated to a poor neighborhood further away from the Recife’s center. After some years, he returned to Coque. His house started “from *papelão* [cardboard]”, with “only a single bed” that would be soaking wet in times of heavy rainfall. Now his house continues to grow; currently, the third floor is being constructed.

While walking through the conservation area, Aderbal

emotionally tells about his relocation:

We wanted to construct a life in here. And came the politicians. And got us out. There was a man who did not accept the resettlement money and did not want to leave. With force, they got him out of his house and broke down his house. I got out, I was young, but I remember these stuff [crying]. It was the biggest humiliation of the people. Now people talk negatively about Coque, but Coque is a place where people struggle. All to stay here ((R)existe, 2013b).

Back in Coque, it was through football that he got involved with politics at the end of the 90s. He started his political trajectory as a campaigner (*cabo eleitoral*) and is now in one of the highest positions of the PREZEIS (Plan for Regularization of Special Zones of Social Interest), a unique participatory slum governance system that aims to protect ZEIS areas from real estate speculation, provide social services to these areas, and legalize property rights of invaded areas (Nuijten et al., 2012). However, Aderbal was initially never interested in *negócio político* [political business]. He recalls his first participation for election to represent Coque as community leaders in the PREZEIS as only to *tira onda* [fool around].

Although Aderbal's main activity in Coque is the distribution of goods, amongst others, he also arranges work for people, helps people to fill in forms, he arranges for the streetlights to be fixed, he informs the police about dangerous areas in the community, he informs people about upcoming projects in the area, and he organizes festivities.

On a daily basis, Aderbal goes from meeting to meeting, to the City Hall and the URB [Recife Urbanization Company]. In the car, he often drives fast, often with Funk music on the background, and with his phone in one hand. With the other hand, he switches between the clutch and the steering wheel. The song entitled *Poderoza* (powerful) often blast out of the boxes in his car that also has a small TV screen in it.

Looking at Aderbal's material possessions, he has outgrown the favela, something that has been possible due to his career in politics. His connections to the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), that govern at the state and city level, provides him – and the community – with resources. He is however aware that this might one day be over. The distribution program reminds him of the time that he himself was a favelado.

5.2 Aderbal's distribution practices

Aderbal distributes fruits, vegetables, diapers, and Tupperware to women living near two distribution locations in Coque. Like the *punteros* (Auyero, 2001), he does not see this as politics, but as voluntary work.

He recounts that the *deputado* gave him the contact information of the headquarters of the Extra supermarket in São Paulo. After a number of calls, they helped him to arrange with Extra in Recife to supply him with unsaleable, over-date, fruits and vegetables.

Damilo – part of Aderbal's "inner circle" (Auyero, 2001) – helps Aderbal with the transport of goods from the supermarket to the distribution points. Today he arrives in his Combi minibus with potatoes, onions, peppers, tomatoes, pineapples, and papayas. We drive to the distribution point that is located at Rua da Zoada [street of noise], at a few minutes driving distance. In Rua da Zoada;

The City Hall gets things done, but the people break the stuff they get. They make their own favela and then complain about the City Hall afterwards [...] they love to live in the dark! To deal their drugs.

At arrival, Damilo complains "Porra!", referring to the fact that he has to maneuver his Combi between the sewer holes in order to get towards the distribution point. It is one bucket per family Damilo explains, pointing at the row of buckets outside of the building. The two begin to empty the Combi, always a moment for making jokes that are often sexual or racial. Damilo says that Aderbal "eats a lot of bananas, that's why he got strong". "You also have to eat more bananas before you get so strong", Damilo continues, while laughing due to the multiple interpretations of such a saying.

Meanwhile, the women are gathering at the distribution point. They hold their babies in the arm, while children are screaming around them. Aderbal is preparing the fruits and vegetables in such a way that facilitates him to quickly fill the buckets. The women wait outside and cannot see what Aderbal is doing inside. Everyone keeps a close eye on their buckets. The rule here is "first come, first served".

There is both tension, laughter, and exchange of gossip and daily news at the same time. A woman with a flip-flop in her hands runs behind her crying son. There is constant yelling for people not to slip in front of others. Aderbal walks from inside the distribution building to the women waiting in line outside, while he occasionally shouts to the people standing in line that they should keep calm and that there will also be a distribution on Friday if they don't receive anything today.

The women are teasing each other and Aderbal. One woman jokingly says; "Aderbal is my man, I'm going to have children with him". She is wearing school uniform pants and a ripped t-shirt. She later says that she is 52. After talking for a while, she starts pointing to the women waiting in line. She starts teasing them; "she is 23 and has four children, she has 11 children, and she, her mother, has 12 children. Some of the women call her the baby factory".

Although not all the food is distributed, after little more

than an hour, Aderbal decides that it is enough. While walking back home, between one of his phone calls, he asks “Did you see how they liked me?”. In response to the answer that there are many women with children, he replies that – giving a sexual tint to a discourse used by right-wing politicians against the poor – “the women like sex, and they like kids, because of the money they get from the Bolsa Familia [social government program]”.

This scene very well expresses Aderbal’s style of operation as a typical broker who provides services to the poor in the service of a political patron. Aderbal will use his influence among these women to have them participate in electoral politics. It shows also how survival and patron-client networks overlap (Auyero, 2001).

The critical point, however, is that Aderbal is able to sustain this network because he himself was part of the favela, a fact that generates unpleasant, painful, memories. There is a marked inconsistency between the right-wing politics he represents – full of obscene excessive enjoyment (Žižek, 2008) – and his awareness of the “part of no part”, something his wife confronts him with.

5.3 Aderbal’s wife Jucelia

Aderbal lives together with the 48-year-old, Evangelical, Jucelia, who is also a former favelado. She has held a number of jobs as a housekeeper. Jucelia cooks and washes the clothes for her family. She cleans the house twice a day. When Jucelia talks about Aderbal she refers to him as o patrão [the boss]. At times she then says; “my life is one full of patrões”, referring to all the men around her. According to her;

On the street he [Aderbal] is different. From the money I get from the people [a gente], I buy food for inside the house. Nevertheless, he does not think like that. I believe that if your situation gets better, the situation of your family must also become better. He thinks first of the community and second his family. For me, it is first family and after that o povo [the people].

Jucelia slept most of the time on the couch because she had a severe conflict with Aderbal. The conflict had to do with Aderbal’s contact with other women, who were attracted to him by his status and money. Sometimes there were rumors that he had bought presents for them or that he received sexual favors from them. Jucelia is very much ashamed of this.

When confronted with the question of what the impact of his practices are for Jucelia he replied;

She does not like politics, but I love her and there is nobody who could take her place. She is the best housewife. We have suffered a lot together. But there are a lot of women that like me! I do not want them all! But I am like

this; if they are open and offer themselves, then I will eat [consume sexually]. Do you understand? But Jucelia is the best! We have suffered a lot together. A lot of women want me to separate from her, but without her, I will die. In case she dies I would soon after.

Aderbal definitely enjoys the attention he receives from the recipients of the food distribution program. However, it is not sufficient to see Aderbal behavior as an example of sexual exploitation by an opportunistic broker. The eroticization of relationships with disenfranchised women living under dismal conditions is a way of masking and revealing a shared condition, that of the “part of no part”.

5.4 A conflict around the favela within the comunidade

Community leaders re-establish their relationship with this “part of no part”, with the favela, on a daily basis. However, not all community leaders work to mobilize these poorer sections. On the contrary, some are paid to suppress contrary mobilizations. Community leaders, therefore, play an important role in conflicts around new land invasions. At times they represent favelados and at times forces that want to evict people that live in palafitas or new land invasions.

On Labor Day 2014 a group of people decided to break into a fenced area near Coque, located between two factories, where previously the railway passed. According to another community leader of Coque – with connections to the Workers Party (PT), and who was involved in organizing this invasion – the area is public land. Whatever material available that could be used to build a shack was used by the occupiers. Community leaders registered people arriving at this squatter settlement.

There were attempts of the police to evict people from this land. However, according to the community leader; “since it was not private area and we [the squatters] had all the necessary papers, they did not remove the people [a gente]”. Yet, also in Coque, there were forces that seemingly wanted to see the squatters evicted.

Aderbal would say things like;

This is private land [...] since this invasion the bagunça [mess] in our city began [...] they all have a house, they all have, and they simply want to benefit, however one day the police will get them all out [...] if there are 50 people who need a house, then that is too much.

He believes that – yet again using a rightist political argument against the poor – “these actions are just to rent out again” or “just to sell it afterwards”. Still, he is not against the invasion; “Now they [other community leaders] are saying that I am against. I am not against. I am against that these are not people who need a house”.

Aderbal, as mentioned, knows what it is to be dispossessed, hence the distinction he makes between those who deserve housing support and those who don't. It is not easy for him to identify wholeheartedly with the repressive forces that set out to evict the squatters. Aderbal's inconsistency reveals the injustice of the urban situation.

capable to expose the inconsistency of the urban situation, the fact that the city is divided, that it is antagonistic, and that it contains a supernumerary category of a group that is not included and whose belonging is always put in doubt.

6 Back to slum politics

We have argued in this paper, using an "unideal" case, that slum politics can be seen as a politics of hope and possibility that emerges from the needs and aspirations of the favela in and near the comunidade. Squatters are favelados who embody rupture and prevent the real estate powers from further colonizing and gentrifying comunidades such as Coque that are located in strategic parts of the city. The lines of rupture established by the "part of no part" provide the basis of a politics of hope in conditions of despair. Slum politics becomes emancipatory when this part presents itself and proclaims that it has been wronged and that it has the right to be part of the city. Slum politics then happens through distribution programs, but also through mobilizations and occupations by the "extimate" part of the comunidade, through the work of intermediation of community leaders. That community leaders may embody the very contradictions and inconsistency that characterizes the urban situation is demonstrated by the case of Aderbal.

We have made this argument by drawing on Brian Massumi's conceptualization of hope. Massumi places hope outside of the conventional frame of a rational assessment of the situation. When doing so, we need, however, to allow for the possibility that inconsistency can be the ground for emancipatory action, to see that many apparently opportunistic and "politically unconscious" community leaders may be involved in slum politics as a politics of hope. This was the case thirty years ago when Coque community leaders joined a forceful social movement that fought for the right to the city (Hellweg, 2014).

Aderbal, however, is more an example of how slum politics might also degenerate. This is seen in the sexualization of slum politics, or what Žižek (2008) calls the excessive and obscene enjoyment deriving from the privileges of electoral politics. At the same time, the case study shows how hope is performed by (former) favelado women like Jucelia; women who despite the many blows in their life, retained an immense energy to struggle and make sacrifices.

Slum politics as a politics of hope is seemingly more visible when looking at the practices of a group of other community leaders who are involved in keeping memories of Coque alive. In particular, they keep alive memories of a strong popular movement in the 1980s. By the end of the 1980s, as a result of popular mobilization that included the church, slum dwellers, and social movements, the PREZEIS framework was created. This popular movement was

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Endnotes

1. This article is an early draft version of a manuscript that results from the first author's Master thesis. It is part of his PhD project in which he will return to Recife to set forth his research with community leaders.

DENSIFYING ECUADORIAN MIDDLE CITIES

Questions, Problems and Design Issues

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RESUMEN

En las ciudades ecuatorianas de medio tamaño la solución a problemas específicos de diseño urbano; definición de formas, prácticas del habitar e interacción social a la escala de proximidad de manera más inclusiva, pueden llevarse a cabo mediante estrategias precisas de densificación urbana centradas en la invención de particulares dispositivos de interacción social caracterizados por una superposición de usos y funciones capaces de definir formas densas de usos en espacios urbanos residuales. La configuración de estos dispositivos hará que el mosaico urbano de ciudades medianas sea más habitable e inclusivo, configurando una geografía de lugares diseñados como espacios de "membranas" entre barrios habitados por diferentes clases sociales. Los dispositivos se localizan dentro del sistema de reticulación ambiental; quebradas o redes hidrográficas menores, que hoy funcionan como barreras, zonas de contacto o zonas de interfaz entre barrios habitados por diferentes clases sociales. Estos dispositivos pueden tener de vez en cuando un carácter comunitario, semipúblico o completamente público. La metodología de investigación espacial junto con el análisis social, definen áreas específicas de intervención y temas de proyecto de densificación expresados por 'escenarios'. Las estrategias propuestas son descritas como 'protocolos' de densificación urbana que pueden replicarse en diferentes ciudades ecuatorianas de medio tamaño. En definitiva, aquí la densificación significa una serie de estrategias de contra-proyectos de consolidación, intensificación de usos e intercambio social antes que incremento de volumen o habitantes por hectárea.

Key words: Ecuador, Urban Densification, Middle Cities, Spatial Justice, Membrane, Counter-projects

1 Introduction

The strategic hypothesis [of this work] based on space [...] sets itself up in the clear opposition to the homogenizing efforts of state, of political power, of the world market, and of the commodities world-tendencies [...] which find their practical expression through and in abstract space (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 64-65)

In the last years, a lot of urban research has been done on Latin American as well as on Global South large cities (Brenna et al. 1994; Gilbert 1996; Rakodi, 1997; Romero 1999; Perlman 2010). These authors have analyzed various forces for urbanization (population movements, labor force changes, social conflicts, etc.), their impact on the city's modification processes, and their ability to achieve some forms of sustainable or equitable growth.

Central to many of these studies, are environmental and socioeconomic issues. There are large cities, such as Bogotá or Medellín, that have been recently run well and have tried to overcome some

social and environmental challenges and are slowly improving their dwelling conditions, as there are, especially in Andean countries, a number of minor or middle cities that are frequently poorly managed according to design strategies and spatial models uncritically borrowed from other contexts. In general terms, at least in Latin America, the middle-sized city is rarely considered as a relevant research field.

In the case of Ecuadorian cities, in the last two decades, a network of middle cities is gaining importance under the economic and sociopolitical point of view. Yet, specific forms of observation and the definition of adequate urban design strategies are seemingly missing for these cities.

The hypothesis expressed here is that in Ecuadorian middle cities, the solution of specific urban design problems and the redefinition, in a more inclusive sense, of some forms of dwelling and social interaction at the proximity scale, can be pursued through precise urban densification strategies focused on the invention of particular spatial "devices" characterized by a superposition of uses and functions able to define dense forms of uses and social exchanges along actually residual environmental spaces and nets.

The term "device" is intended in a Foucauld-

ian sense as a machinery apparatus, as a disposition (Foucault 1971, 1975), which enhances different forms of power within the city trying to address, in this case, the question of how notions of just/unjust space relate to issues of densification. The configuration of these devices will help make the urban mosaic of Ecuadorian medium-sized cities more spatially diversified and socially inclusive, configuring a geography of places designed as “membrane” spaces between neighborhoods inhabited by different social classes.

The Latin American city is generally described by architects, planners, and social science scholars, as an “extreme” space marked by persistent and articulated processes of spatial and social fragmentation usually associated with images of indefinite and uncontrollable urban growth (Gilbert, 1994; Davis, 2006; Kinsbruner, 2010; Franko, 2007). Social, historical, political and economic reasons for such processes have been largely investigated, especially in the social sciences, both Latin American and European, where different traditions and practices of research have identified a number of elements that we can synthetically order in two large fields.

The first field consists of spatial and territorial figures and issues. The construction logic of Latin American urban spaces is largely the output of its formal matrix described by the figure of the grid, or *damero* (Joseph and Szuchman, 1995; Beall et al. 2012). It is an abstract, purely geometric space, indifferent to physical and social contexts, conceived as a replicable prototype. The grid is made of lines ideally directed towards infinity, defined by movements rather than figurations.

A highly symbolic space whose signs correspond to names or numbers. It does not contain places. The desire of isotropy and the search for egalitarian settlement conditions through the abstraction of the *damero* is however contradicted since the times of the first colonization, by a particular dual condition where the utopian social order of the founded cities confronted itself almost immediately with his double, the indigenous city, sometimes planned according to specific social conditions, as in the case of the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay, sometimes built according to regular patterns and symbolic connotations (Carrión, 2001). Two places that have soon established a strongly asymmetrical and dependence relationship that reflects social relations between settlers and natives.

The model of the indigenous city is also based

on the grid, articulated around some public facilities such as the square for markets, events, sacred ceremonies, the house of the head of the community or place of festivals, and the church. The construction of the indigenous town was part of the project of construction of a “double nation”, an urban state for Europeans settlers, and a rural state for the natives where the transition was expected from a form of a dispersed settlement to an agglomerated one (Isbell, 1977). The particularly pedagogical and doctrinal character of the new indigenous town was emphasized by the central role played by the space for religious worship. In these experiences, a typical Latin American urbanism was defined with idea of centrality and separation of functions, density.

The principles of separation and dependence, the dual character of the colonial urban space articulated according to the center-periphery structure have been reproduced in larger scale relations. In Latin America, the city is basically the only place where to look for the “good life” (Gutiérrez, 1993; Cummins and Rappaport, 2012). This phenomenon causes constant migration of rural populations to urban areas, eager for social redemption.

The second field, marked by political themes, is defined by issues of poor democracy in decision-making and management processes and the persistence of colonial forms in the constructions of urban space. In urban contexts inhabited by the lower middle or poor classes, redevelopment and regeneration public initiatives aimed at bringing illegally formed districts into formality are hampered by particular forms of resistance to power and authority on the part of social groups that should theoretically benefit from these transformations. It is a resistance strategy expressed through a non-adherence to more regulated forms of dwelling, public action seeks to promote (Orbea Trávez, 2015; di Campli, 2011).

The lack of trust that especially poorest city dwellers express about the purpose and often paternalistic attitudes characterizing processes of informal neighborhoods urban regeneration, produces unexpected effects of dysregulations and trigger a variety of unexpected speculative processes. Examples of such drifts can be found observing some processes characterizing some social housing neighborhoods built to solve the residential crisis of informal settlements in Ecuadorian or Colombian medium-sized and large cities whose residents, in many cases, prefer to rent new apartments allocated to them and build for themselves

other houses in distant new informal settlements.

These new illegal residential areas, built following the redevelopment and inclusion in the perimeter of the formal city of consolidated informal settlements, in turn, require new infrastructure and new services that are often realized through political and electoral exchanges (Orbea Trávez, 2015; Carrión, 1979, 1985; Carrión et al., 1983).

The transition of these spaces from a condition of illegality to a state of legality triggers replication of the same process of expansion of the urban space. This process results from an implicit form of blackmail addressed to public administrations by the inhabitants of abusive neighborhoods. The desire for informality, in any case, is not eternal. Improvement of economic conditions of the inhabitants corresponds to a desire of formality and to a greater ability to adhere to models and ways of living of the formal districts.

In a context marked by such processes and logics, the social fabric tends “to decant” in the urban space recomposing itself in layers or homogeneous social groups. If this distinction in the past was mainly linked to ethnic issues (neighborhoods for white people, mestizos, natives, blacks), what today has gained importance is the economic status. Although some social groups such as the natives persist in settling in exclusive communities or mingling only with low-class mestizos. The result is an urban mosaic where each tile corresponds to specific social groups, urban landscapes, forms of use of the space. A mosaic which in many cases tend to have more and more extended pieces as one moves outward from the center of the city.

These processes of fragmentation, separation, and definition of asymmetrical relationships between different parts of the city, identify urban areas where each part has a specific role and character, defined functions and inhabited by a distinct social group. The Latin American city, despite its chaotic image, appears to be regulated by rather precise orders and principles (Keiner et al., 2011; Van Cott, 2008).

2 Ecuadorian Medium-sized Cities

The place where urban studies and social sciences scholars traditionally observed these phenomena has almost always been the metropolitan city (Perlman, 2010; Bredenoord et al., 2014). Rio de

Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Bogota, Caracas, and Lima, were places of investigation and experimentations of complex planning, urban and social design strategies whose successes and failures have been widely debated worldwide.

Attention to major centers, to the issues they raise and to the solutions where identified for them, has, indirectly, suggested that in Latin America, the urban question is essentially defined by themes and problems of the metropolis and that the design solutions tested in these areas are substantially exportable in other urban contexts (Burdett, 2014; Lerner, 2014; McGuirk, 2015).

In recent years, however, phenomena such as the political stability of the continent, the general improvement of economic conditions, the emergence and consolidation of the middle class, a general increase in infrastructure resources both at urban and territorial scale, are triggering unprecedented changes in the forms and dwelling imaginaries. From the beginning of the Noughties, there emerged, across the continent, discourses of various subjects and social groups, architects, urban planners or politicians, a desire for a different urbanity or cityness, an anxious search for new urban space conditions characterized by less rarefied, less divided, more compact and more cozy dwelling conditions.

The preference for less introverted settlement forms, the affirmation of discourses on urban sustainability, ecology, on the importance of public space, the recovery of old incrementalistic housing strategies or the success of urban acupuncture experimentations, basically insist, using different arguments or objectives, on the search for a more “dense” urban space. This desire of density, in the social, spatial and functional sense, is one of the main symptoms that describe the liquid, condition of contemporary Latin American city. (Salazar, 2001; Rincón Avellaneda, 2004; Aguiló et al., 2009; Villasante, 1997; Pérez Bustamante and Salinas Varela, 2011; Vera and Padilla, 2011).

At the same time, in many Latin American contexts, it is possible to assist to a change in the settlement arrangement at the territorial scale in a less hierarchical sense characterized by the emergence of networks of medium-sized centers that are triggering phenomena of regionalization of economies as well as of territories.

All the above-described phenomena are well-connected to one another and define together the outlines of a new urban question which, unlike the classic themes of the Latin American city, requires

precise and adequate design strategies (Secchi, 2013).

One of the territories where these phenomena are more visible is Ecuador, a country characterized by a settlement structure arranged according to “canton-al” logics, supported by an articulated network of medium-sized cities. In Ecuador, this category includes cities with 200,000 and 400,000 inhabitants. Examples are cities such as Riobamba, Ibarra, Ambato, Loja, Machala and, under certain aspects, Cuenca.

This settlement frame, since the early 2000s, following the triggering of migratory inflows from rural areas and the return of previously emigrated abroad families, has acquired a growing strength, unexpectedly capable, in many ways, to balance the attractive power of Quito and Guayaquil, cities with approximately three million inhabitants, respectively, the political and economic capital of the country (Orbea Trávez, 2015).

Processes of growth and urban transformations that have characterized Ecuadorian middle cities in the recent years tend to present themselves as more controllable than those featuring larger centers. Middle cities appear to be less marked by phenomena of uncontrolled expansion of residential suburbs, urban violence and social insecurity that traditionally characterize urban landscapes of metropolitan cities. In many cases, these dynamics are not devoid of dysregulations and serious problems, but medium-sized cities, under certain aspects, have been able to define less conflictual, although not fully integrated, conditions for cohabitation between different groups and social classes. In particular, the phenomenon of informality in these cities appears less dramatic, interbreeding or binding in an ambiguous way to the logic of construction of the formal city, thus making processes of distortion often indistinguishable from those of a clumsy urban planning (Carrión, 2001; Centro ecuatoriano de investigación geográfica, 1983, 1986). In particular, contemporary Ecuadorian medium-sized cities’ urban growth processes are largely the outcome of particular economic speculation phenomena promoted by middle-class families and by people immigrated since the early 2000s, in countries like Spain or Italy who, having improved their economic conditions now decide to come back to Ecuador investing their savings in the construction of residential buildings for their families, or to be placed on the housing market as houses to rent. Differently from previous phenomena of urbanization that took place in the country, middle-class families investments, from the Noughties onward, are no longer directed solely towards the two major centers of Quito and Guayaquil, but to the network of medium-sized urban centers (Orbea Trávez,

2015).

Dwelling imaginaries and the economic strength of these actors make the theme of urban growth project and control, of the cohabitation between different classes and social groups, the solution of the problems of informality and infrastructural equipment, different from those characterizing great size cities which enjoyed a long tradition of research and urban design experiences.

However, some specific processes and problems characterize Ecuadorian medium-sized cities. The first element that acquires relevance here is the presence of well-defined desires and dwelling imaginaries. These visions and practices appear to be more consolidated and therefore less malleable than those characterizing, for example, some dwelling situations that are identifiable in many large cities’ peripheries. In Ecuadorian middle cities, the ideal, real or imagined, freedom of choice between alternative forms of living that seems possible to invent in the isotropic urban space is almost always denied by the preference given to the typology of the row house in blocks defined by more or less regular grids and road alignments. Forms of construction of new residential areas are marked by incremental spatial and constructive logics, and by the adoption of particularly “showy” architectural languages. Here the house is an image more than space, a device by which the status and economic condition of the family who live there is affirmed. This prevalence of the visual over the spatial describes the competitive and mental character of many Ecuadorian middle cities urban landscapes.

The satisfaction and enjoyment that people show with respect to these forms of design and construction of residential spaces are an example of these consolidated dwelling practices and imaginaries (Klaufus, 2009, Ouweneel, 2012).

A second element is constituted by the fact that the geometric damero informing Ecuadorian middle cities urban spaces, in its informal as well as in its consolidated and central parts, is almost always indifferent to the environmental system which, in this way, is considered as a residual space marked by phenomena such as hydraulic or geological risk, ecological instability, and degradation. In the overlap and interaction between the abstract grid and the physical urban “palimpsest”, a friction is produced and the environmental system, in its various articulations such as, hydrographic net, geological jumps, agricultural or forest areas, is redefined as a threshold between parts of the city inhabited by different social groups and classes.

But, this residual condition, unexpectedly, in some cases, contains a promise. Urban analyses, sur-

veys and field interviews with inhabitants demonstrated that, often, thresholds are places where it is possible to observe forms of social interaction between different social strata, upper classes and lower classes. These dangerous situations are, in many cases, the only real “public spaces”, this is to say, places where some forms of social interaction, conflicts, and exchange, are put in scene.

The relatively small extension of middle-sized cities, moreover, is not accompanied by the definition of polycentric urban structures, on the contrary, here growth phenomena almost always strengthen the tertiary, commercial and administrative roles of consolidated central parts of the city that were already characterized by such features. This phenomenon, associated with an exasperated functional connotation of the urban fabric, helps to highlight a third question, the presence of strong commuters’ movements between downtown and the suburbs.

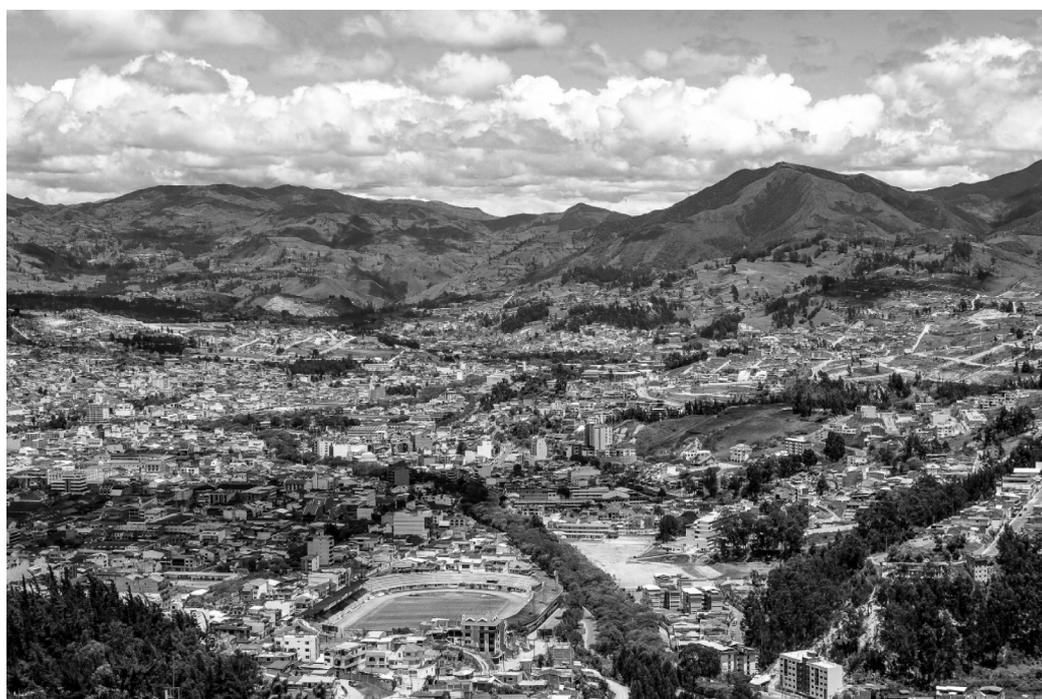


Figure 1: General view of Loja, Ecuador.

3 Protocols of Loja

In order to address some specific urban design problems characterizing Ecuadorian middle cities, two hypotheses can be investigated and tested. The first hypothesis is that a spatial and social recomposition of Ecuadorian medium-sized cities and a redefinition in most inclusive ways of the forms of dwelling and of social interaction at the proximity scale can be pursued through precise urban space densification strategies.

If we talk about “urban”, some clarifications need to be made. Traditional meanings associated with the concept of urban density are related to cur-

rent popular discourses such as economic sustainability, reduction of consumption of land and urban sprawl containment. These policies and design techniques are the outcomes of several studies and experiences, absolutely important and highly relevant.

These densification strategies, however, in these contexts, seem able to solve only a few problems, mainly related to questions of compactness of urban space, mixité or co-presence of multiple functions, improvement of urban landscapes. These are forms of densification that trigger virtuous uses of abandoned or underutilized urban spaces, reducing problems of the small-scale mobility that relieve the demand for social housing, but, under many aspects, these strategies seem not to directly address some relevant issues, social conditions and dwelling practices characterizing contemporary Ecuadorian middle cities (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Amphoux et al. 2003; Bruegmann, 2005; Koek et al., 2013; MVRDV, 2006; Schramm, 2008; Gehl, 2011; Bates and Sergison, 2014; Tröger, 2014).

Alternative ideas about urban densification strategies, then, can be defined focusing on the experimentation and the invention of particular devices space of social interaction characterized by a superposition of uses and functions able to define dense forms of use in actually residual spaces. The configuration of these devices will make the urban mosaic of medium-sized cities more livable and inclusive,

configuring a geography of places designed as “membranes” spaces between neighborhoods inhabited by different social classes.

The devices are located within the lattice environmental system, quebradas or minor hydrographic nets, actually working as barriers, contact zones or interface zones, between neighborhoods inhabited by different social classes. These in-between linear spaces may be considered as potential sites of subversiveness, precisely because the positive rendering of the gaps it describes simultaneously link and separate opposed conditions, in just the ways that overly rationalized urban patterns that attempt to erase devices, and

correspond to systems of spaces conceived in section as a sequence of layers that hosts functions and possibilities of use that can be very different such as sports equipment, gardens, commercial spaces, nurseries, small craft workshops, recreational areas and schools. Such sequences of layers may correspond to interiors, open spaces or to transitions between inside and outside.

These devices are physically designed as a sequence of narrow ribbons diluted along the articulations of the environmental system. From the environmental point of view, these “membranes” are themselves hydraulic machines, able to collect and purify rainwaters and waste-waters connecting themselves and improving the ecology of the quebradas.

This strategy of densification neither corresponds to an attempt to make the existing urban fabric more porous or functionally mixed, nor is it based on the adoption of European public space models such as squares, boulevard or arcades. This strategy accepts the functionalist and, in some ways, “hypermodern” character of this urban space, inserting densification devices in the contact zones between today socially and spatially separated neighborhoods. In the identification and configuration of these devices, a central role is therefore given to the upgrading of the environmental network that is redefined in some of its parts as a “membrane”, a contact and social interaction zone between parts of the city and social groups now separated from each other, inventing new ecological qualities and features.

This particular strategy of densification, intended as consolidation and intensification of borders of existing neighborhoods, identifies a number of new public open spaces, public facilities, spaces for leisure, commerce, and labor, intended as social and environmental interaction devices. These devices may have a semi-public, communitarian or fully public character from time to time. A membrane is a selective barrier, not a smooth open surface. It allows some things to pass through it but stops others. In this sense, it may acquire the structure and character of an urban interior crossable by subjects, functions, processes.

The result is the definition of a number of innovative “social condensers”, central places able to host a variety of social exchange process related to leisure, commerce, work or sport activities, which will help reduce the current center-periphery commuting movements, and able to reinterpret the friction between the abstract grid informing the existing urban fabrics and the residual environmental system. The definition of these spatial devices will redefine in more inclusive ways the relations between districts inhabit-

ed by different social classes, increasing urban comfort qualities. These devices will finally help an incremental physical densification process in its surrounding neighborhoods as its inhabitants with adequate centralities, urban comfort conditions, workspaces and leisure time equipment, will trigger processes of incremental residential modifications.

In the Latin American incrementalism tradition, characterized by progressive housing strategies and participatory design to architecture and urban development, it is possible to see how well-equipped neighborhoods evolve in a definitely physically dense and socially rooted way. In the persistent colonial dwelling tradition characterizing these territories, inhabitants, when they improve their economic or social conditions, move into the richer district. In this sense, the strategy of densification here proposed is an attempt to question and criticize this attitude of unrootedness.

Densification is here understood as a series of counter-projects defining protocols of consolidation and intensification of uses and social exchanges, more than increasing of volumes or inhabitants per hectare. These counter-projects presuppose a collective ownership and self-management of space founded on the permanent participation of the interested parties with their multiple, varied, and even contradictory interests, skills and visions. It thus also presupposes confrontation.

The counter-projects help to surpass separations and dissociations between social groups, spaces and finally time. On the horizon, then, it is not a matter of quantities of dense urban fabrics, rather it is a matter of producing space capable to redefine dwelling practices at the proximity scale in a more just and inclusive ways. These counter-projects represent a challenge of a utopian sort, a utopia of real projects reliant on an orientation rather than a system for their emergence.

The second hypothesis is that the current massive residential growths and the resulting processes of consumption of land and commuting movements will not be solved by traditional policies of urban densification such as the construction of new residential-commercial buildings in the periphery or downtown vacant lots. These problems can be solved in the long run, only through innovative economic and social policies able to put in crisis the persisting colonial imaginaries about rural territories as only productive areas, and through policies able to strengthen the role of small urban centers. What is missing is a public discourse around economies and dwelling imaginaries in rural areas. As long as countryside inhabitants will see the city as the only place where to find the “good life” the influx of people directed to middle and large

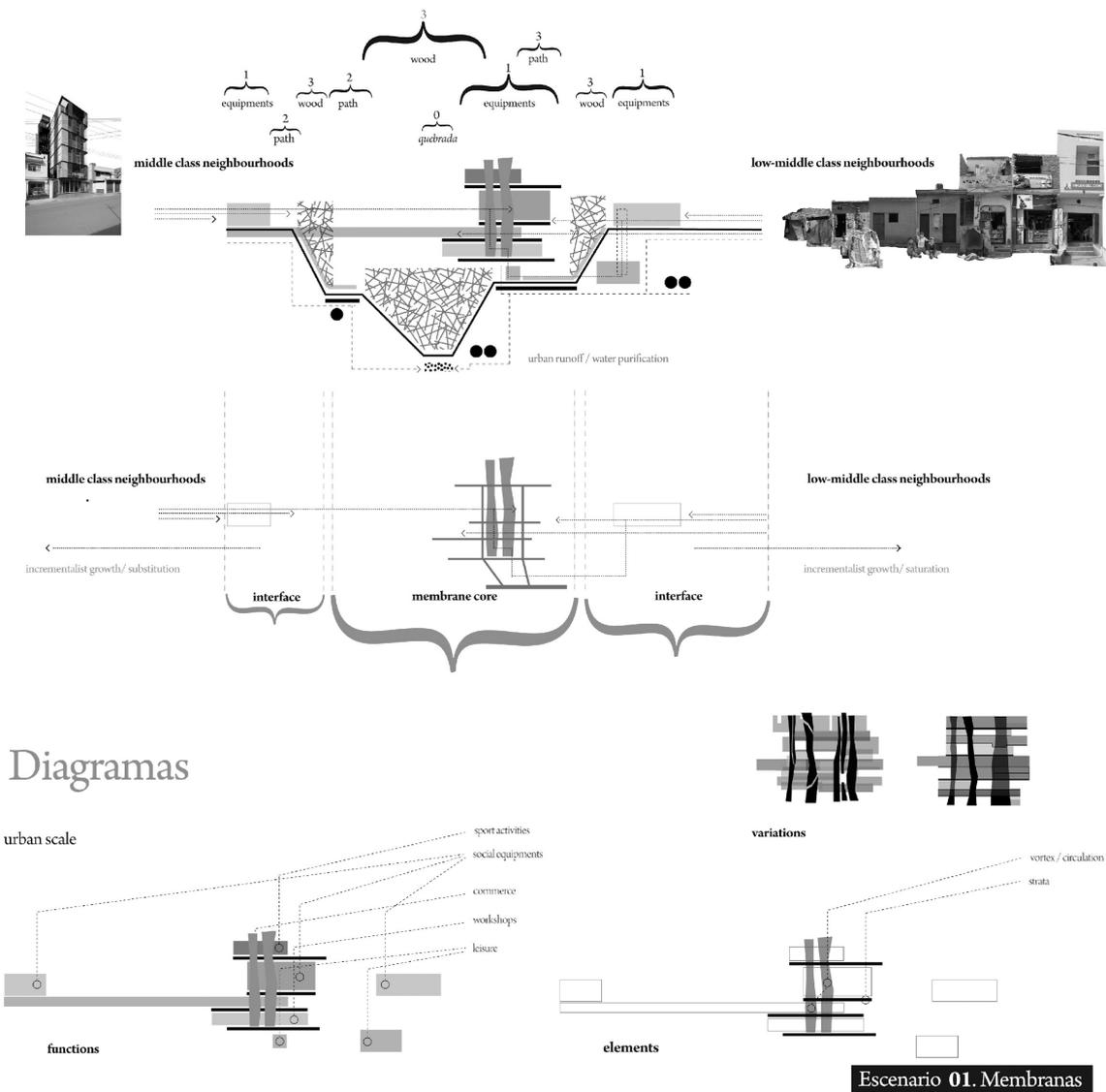


Figure 2: Scenario 1. Diagram

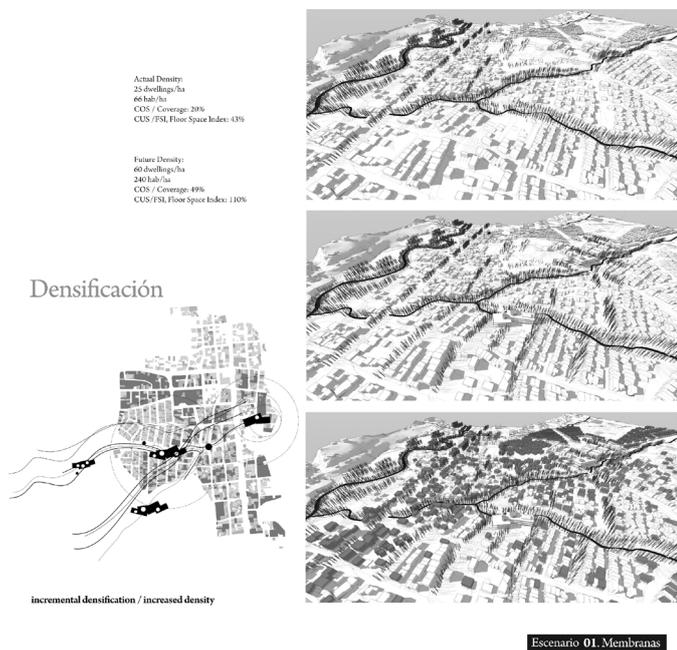


Figure 3: Scenario 1. Urban Densification

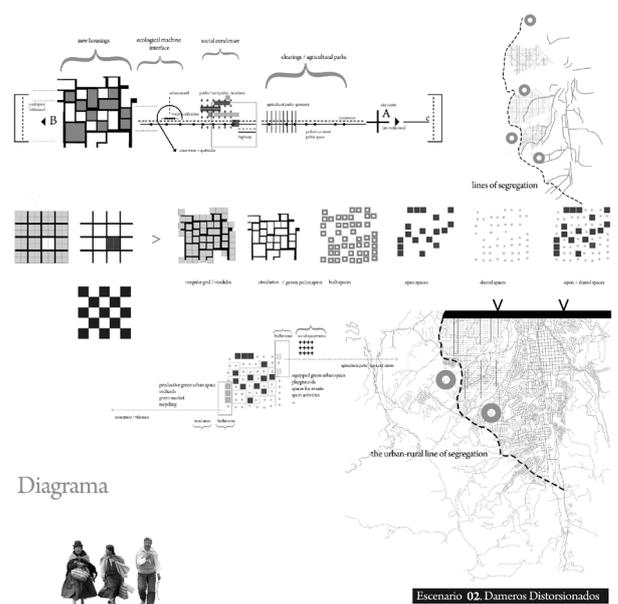
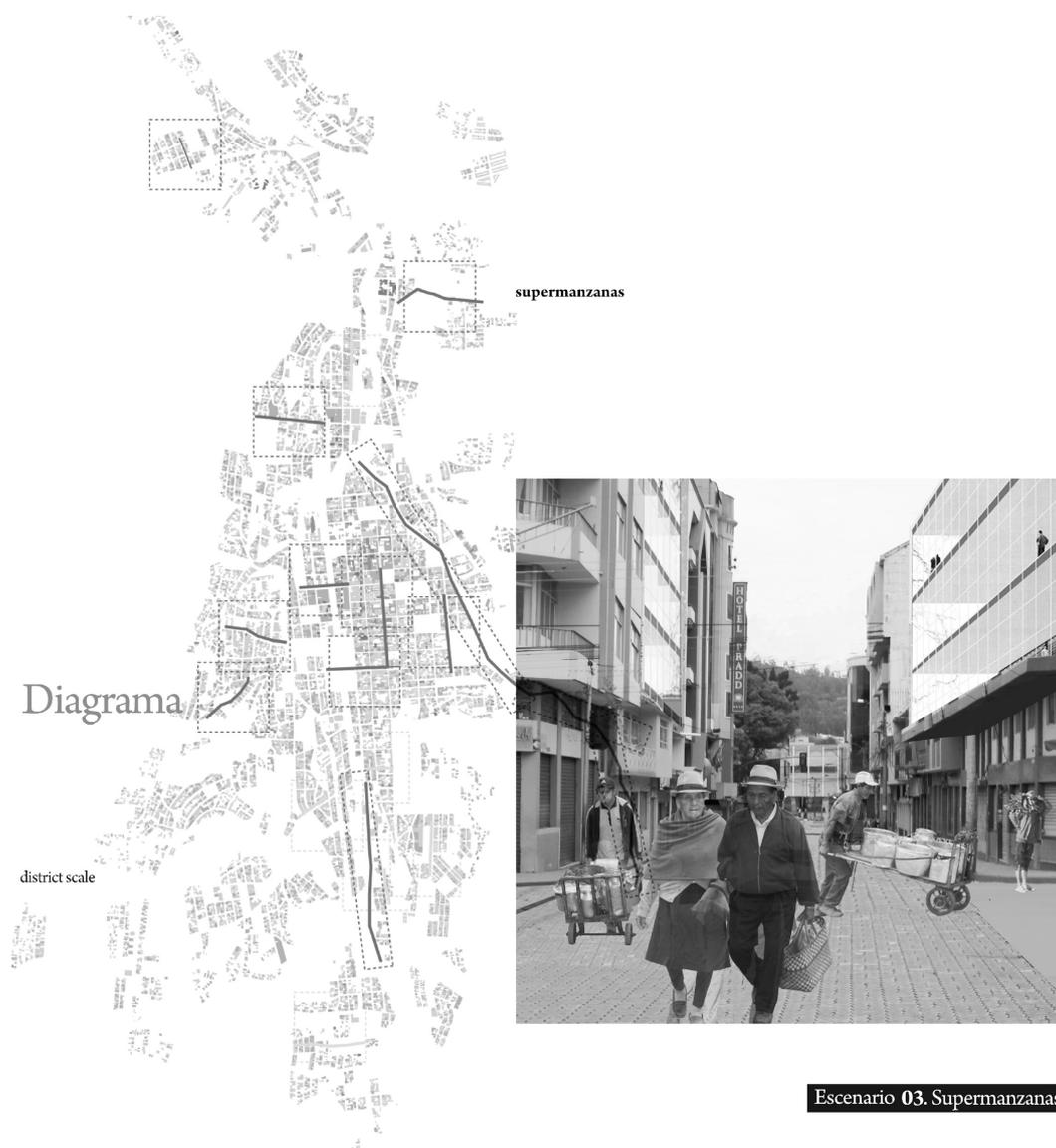


Figure 4: Scenario 2. Distorted Checkerboards



Escenario 03. Supermanzanas

Figure 5: Scenario 3. Supermanzanas

cities will not stop. This strategy of urban densification addresses some very specific problems. The goal is to solve some current dwelling problems where social and environmental issues are interrelated. In this sense, it is conceived as a design “protocol” replicable in different Ecuadorian middle cities.

4 Conclusions

The strategy of a protocol for urban densification does not claim to be scientifically precise as those designed in the field of natural sciences, as it needs to be redefined from case by case according to the different urban contexts. The protocol is articulated in five parts: identification of strategic “contact zones” among spatially and socially divided neighborhoods, investigations on their physical-environmental and social characters, involvement of the inhabitants in the design process in order to define the functional and spatial characters of the “membranes” to be realized, management of the project, and definition of an

abacus of incremental forms of physical densification of neighborhoods involved in the urban transformation process.

The use of the term protocol here seems to generate a paradox, as it is associated with fixed models that are often indifferent to the context of the Ecuadorian city, as repeatedly criticized. The attempt here is not to totally refuse the context and traditional habits, rather it is to operate a sort of “estrangement” of those traditional automatic protocols that have informed, since the beginning, the construction and evolution of the colonial city, in order to alter its abstract and mathematical character. It is an attempt to use the tradition against itself.

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Endnotes

1. The following notes are part of a research on Ecuadorian middle cities urban densification strategies currently developed at the UTPL, Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja within the Prometeo Program Fellows Research, Senescyt, Quito. This research began in October 2014 and ended in May 2016.

2. The reference is to the concept of creolisation and membraneous politics as developed by the French philosopher Yves Citton (2005).



CHILDREN AS CITIZENS (TO BE)

The construction of citizenship among
school children in a favela in
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Children in Rio de Janeiro grow up in a situation of differentiated citizenship, within a ‘divided city’. Living in favelas coincides with exclusion along social, political, economic, and spatial lines, greater exposure to violence, and fighting for equal citizenship. The perspectives of children are predominantly neglected in urban inequality studies. Children can, however, be seen as – at least – semi-citizens who actively participate in and give meaning to their environment. Schools are one context in which children learn to be citizens. Citizenship education, however, also takes place in the broader environment: the neighborhood, the mass media, and by participation in everyday rituals, traditions, and practices. Furthermore, children’s citizenship is also practiced in school, home, neighborhood, and leisure contexts. This paper explains, on theoretical and empirical levels, how children’s citizenship is shaped and enacted. The empirical information is based on a case study among children aged 9-13, within the context of a favela in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The findings show that living in the favela shapes the ‘structural’ conditions for children’s citizenship education in terms of architecture, circumstances, and ascribed images by inhabitants of other parts of the city. These conditions often force children to act. However, that doesn’t mean children are completely deprived of agency. They still find ways to enact citizenship in specific contexts and they have plenty of dreams for the future in which ideas of citizenship come to the fore.

Keywords – citizenship, children, favela, youth, Brazil

1 Introduction

Inequality and exclusion have characterized Brazilian society throughout its modern history. This has been reflected in differentiated tropes of identity and belonging, based on shifting configurations of nationalism, political regime, locality, and social class. With the consolidation of liberal democracy after 1985, national repertoires shifted towards citizenship, social justice, and cultural and racial diversity (Murillo de Carvalho, 2001; Kingstone and Power, 2008; Castro et al., 2014). Campos de Sousa and Nascimento (2008, p.130) describe the core of the contemporary Brazilian national identity as being “built around ideas of a melting-pot society and successful integration of races and cultures”. Indeed, a lot has been written about (the “myth” of) Brazil’s racial democracy, in which the celebration of racial mixing and relatively harmonious racial relations are seen as the backbone of Brazilian national identity, but mask deep racial inequalities (Campos de Sousa and Nascimento, 2008; Hasenbalg and Do Valle Silva, 1999; Winant, 1999). Additionally, Holston (2008) frames Brazilian citizenship as historically inclusive in terms of membership (formal), and at the same time very inegalitarian in terms of the distribution of rights, duties, and resources related to this membership (substantive), leading to exclusion based on class, race, and place. In cities, this citizenship differentiation is often closely related to socio-spatial contexts. It is, therefore, no coincidence that scholars refer to Rio de Janeiro as the “divided city” (Ventura, 1994; De Queiroz Ribeiro and Corrêa do Lago, 2001; Arias, 2006; Moreira Alves and

Evanson, 2011). Living in the favelas is associated with exclusion along social, political, economic, and spatial lines, fighting for equal citizenship, and greater exposure to violence (Wheeler, 2003; Perlman, 2010; Gay, 2010; McCann, 2014).

Although a lot has been written about “differentiated citizenship” in Brazil, and about life in Rio’s favelas, the perspectives of children are predominantly neglected in urban inequality studies (Bos and Jaffe, 2015). Therefore, this paper explores the implications of the socio-spatial background of the favela for the shaping and enactments of citizenship among children aged 9-13 within the context of a favela in Rio de Janeiro. Before doing so, the concept of citizenship will be elaborated on from a social, spatial, and childhood perspective.

2. Citizenship as a social meaningful practice

Conventional notions of citizenship often frame it as membership of a community that comes with equal rights and responsibilities (see Marshall, 1950), or as merely a “nationality issue” (Doek, 2008). This article, additionally, approaches it from an anthropological perspective and focuses on citizenship as a social, meaningful practice in people’s daily lives. As Levinson (2011) states, the term should be viewed broader than only as “political

socialization”, yet not become overly all-encompassing. Consequently, in this article, citizenship will be conceived of as a gathering of practices that shape the connection between the individual and the state (Lazar, 2008, p.5) and encompasses “relationships between rights, duties, participation and [national] identity” (Delanty, 2000, p.9), that are negotiated and enacted in within interactions of people’s agency, participation and the power relations, or structures in society (Ong, 1996; 1999; Faulks, 2000).

Ong uses the term “cultural citizenship” referring to “cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory” (Ong, 1996, p.738). It is therefore “a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society” (Ong, 1999, p.264). Seen from an anthropological perspective, citizenship, thus, encompasses both bottom-up and top-down processes of identification and belonging. Faulks (2000), in this sense, refers to Giddens’ “duality of structure” while stating that citizenship is a dynamic identity and that citizens are creative agents who always invent new means to express their citizenship, rights, and duties. At the same time, he argues that it is important to focus on the social and political contexts in which citizenship is practiced, and on “the conditions that make it meaningful” (Faulks, 2000, p.2). Citizenship, hence, means agency in terms of possibilities to actively participate in the processes that construct belonging and identification, yet is also influenced by contextual conditions relating to the power-relations in society, both on macro and micro level.

3. Citizenship and (social) locations

Context is also decisive if one looks at the concept of citizenship as a multi-layered construct. As Yuval-Davis (1999) states, people’s memberships in collectivities on different levels (local, ethnic, national, state, cross- and trans-state and supra-state) influence their positions and mode of participation in others. Regarding state citizenship, for example, one’s “rights and responsibilities are mediated by one’s membership in other collectivities and polities, sub-, cross- and supra-state” (Yuval-Davis, 1999, p.131). These memberships are not always to be freely chosen: according to Yuval-Davis (2006) people belong to specific “social locations”, defined as particular groups, based on class, gender, age, and ethnicity, that are related to the grids of power-relations in society. Circumstances such as poverty, discrimination, and exclusion can undermine the benefits of citizenship (Faulks, 2000). Multi-layered memberships, when related to social locations can, therefore, be seen as structures, determining one’s access

to citizenship rights and the opportunities to actively participate.

Holston’s (2008) description of Brazilian citizenship is illustrative here. Caldeira and Holston (Caldeira and Holston, 1999; Caldeira, 2000; Holston, 2008) call it a situation of disjunctive or differentiated citizenship. They explain that despite contemporary Brazil being a democratic state, systematic violation of civil rights and a neglect of protective responsibilities greatly influence the daily lives of the poorer populations, that are regarded as second class, incomplete citizens (Murillo de Carvalho, 2001). The differentiation coincides with exclusion based on memberships of other collectivities or social locations: class, race, and place (Caldeira and Holston, 1999; Caldeira, 2000; Holston, 2008). Regarding the socio-spatial division of Rio de Janeiro, one could, therefore, state that social locations are connected to physical spaces. As we have seen, living in a poorer area generally means having limited access to (substantive) citizenship, having a lower socioeconomic status, darker skin color, and hence belonging to a subaltern social class. This situation of differentiated citizenship, related to one’s space of living, constitutes an important part of the context or structure in which children in Rio de Janeiro grow up, develop and enact citizenship.

4. Children and citizenship

The development of children’s citizenship is influenced by several factors. Schooling, firstly, is of decisive importance. The formal educational system is an important means of constructing citizenship through spreading the collective cultural, political, religious, and legal principles of the nation (cf. Smith, 1991; Anderson, 2006). Schiffauer et al. (2004, p.10) describe schooling as always being related to identity-shaping purposes within the framework of nation-states. Pollock and Levinson characterize schools as “containers and conveyors for culture” (2011, p.4). Since schools are located in different socio-spatial contexts and mostly receive students from that neighborhood, they form ideal places to start a research on the implications of socio-spatial background for the shaping and enactment of citizenship among children. The influence of schooling in the construction of citizenship among children in Rio will be addressed in forthcoming publications.

Although they are often considered “citizenship factories” (Luykx, 1999) schools are not the only sources of “learning the nation”. The development of national identity is additionally influenced by the environment, the mass media, and by participation in everyday rituals, traditions and practices (Barrett 2007, p.21; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 2006). The spaces in which children’s citizenship is practiced also include both the school and other places,

such as the home, neighborhood, and leisure facilities (Jans, 2004).

While this article focuses on the environmental aspect of citizenship development, the term “education” will be used to refer to this process. Pollock and Levinson (2011, p.4) advocate a broad understanding of education as not only schooling but as learning and teaching that happens throughout daily life. Furthermore, Levinson (2011) argues that citizenship education contributes to the construction of identities and to group-morality. Citizenship education can then be defined as “efforts of societies and social groups to educate their members to imagine their social belonging and exercise their participation as (democratic) citizens” (Levinson 2011, p.284). The concept, thus, seems to comprise questions of citizenship and identity, that are related through their tendency to define who is part of a community and who is not, i.e. who “belongs” or does not belong to the – political, national or local – group or collective. Furthermore, it involves active participation or expression of this belonging (Levinson, 2011). Within the context of the divided city of Rio de Janeiro, it is interesting how children perceive and develop their social belonging, both to the community of the favela and to society at large.

The term citizenship education suggests that a kind of development occurs in the extent to which children are citizens. Stroobants, Celis, Snick and Wildemeersch (2001), however, state that citizenship is like a learning process, rather than a predefined learning goal. That could make children just as much citizens as adults. The question is, and to which degree children can be seen as citizens is much debated. As Roche (1999) states, children are often seen as a source of trouble – they need to be better controlled – or in trouble – the need to be protected from evil adult practices – rather than as social actors. They are not perceived as rational or independent, thus lacking the skills and competencies related to citizenship (Cockburn, 1998). Cohen (2005) calls children “semi citizens”, arguing that they “are citizens by certain standards and not by others” (p.222). Although their status in terms of political rights and duties obviously and justly differs from the positions of adults, many scholars agree that it is possible and necessary to perceive them as genuine members of society.

In order to do so, we should not only refer to children as citizens of the future, but also recognize their current contributions to their worlds and to society (Roche, 1999). Jans (2004) emphasizes children are citizens because they actively give meaning to their environment. Larkins (2014) adds that seeing citizenship as a practice provides for children to be seen as citizens since they are social actors and agents committing “actions of citizenship” by negotiating rules, contributing to relationships of social interdependence and by enacting their own rights (Larkins, 2014). This coincides with the broader discourse on

citizenship as a matter of agency and participation.

Although children are agents in many ways, just like anyone else, they do not have a say in all aspects of life. Roche (1999, p.479) argues: “children have to start from where they are socially positioned. This means they that they have to make their own space in spaces not of their making”. Moreover, they are subject to the same structures as their adult counterparts, regarding, for example, racism and poverty (Roche, 1999), and other circumstances that may or may not be related to state control or intervention. This is especially interesting in the case of favelas: spaces of exclusion in social, political, economic, and spatial terms, where Pacifying Police Units (UPP) are present, with all due consequences. The distinctions between childhood and adulthood are, thus, not always straightforward, in terms of competence, dependence, and vulnerability (Ben-Arieh and Boyer, 2005).

Concluding, one can state that although their citizenship differs from adults’ state-membership, children can be seen as citizens in the sense that they are both able to actively participate in their environment and to a great extent subject to structural influences equal to those of adults. In this article, therefore, I aim to explain how citizenship among children aged 9-13 is shaped and enacted in the societal and the local learning context of a favela in Rio de Janeiro.

The article is based on four months of fieldwork (2015-2016) in a favela situated school in Rio de Janeiro. I have visited the school and the favela on a daily basis and participated in the classroom, carried out creative works with the students, and interviewed both students and employees of the school.

5. Results

The children in this study grow up in one of the many favelas or morros (hills) of Rio de Janeiro. This specific context shapes the “structural” conditions for their citizenship education. It is what Roche (1999) calls, the space they have to make “their own”. This space, however, yet has an established specific form, particular conditions, and ascribed images by inhabitants of other parts of the city, that are not always pleasant ones and that determine both adults’ and children’s position in society. These are the aspects discussed in the following.

5.1 The favela as a living environment

Focusing on the physical space, firstly, the neighborhood consists of the well-known piled up houses, mostly made of bricks and concrete. More uphill some older, wooden houses are still there. A common complaint about the neighborhood is the amount of waste lying around in the streets. Almost all students address the



Figure 1: “Picture what you like/dislike about your neighborhood

garbage issue when asked to take pictures of what they want to change in their living environment, and when asked to write a recipe for “an awesome neighborhood” (see figure 1 and 2). Indeed, when walking around, one encounters various rubbish-heaps. In many places, it seems difficult to get rid of them, due to the steep and narrow streets and stairs, impassable for rolling trash bins. In a few locations, elevators exist that transport goods, including the official orange waste collectors, but they do not serve the whole area.

Secondly, the moradores happen to find themselves in specific local circumstances, influencing their way of living. The favela was, for example, “pacified” a few years ago and the UPP is still present. The UPP-presence is one of the most tangible practices that shape these children’s relationship to the state, which partly determines their citizenship, according to Lazar (2008, p.5). Most dwellers I talked to stated that the drug traffic is also still existent, and shoot-outs still take place on a frequent basis. During my fieldwork, I have heard of two incidents in which a family member of a student was involved.

Talking about shootings, children show different reactions. Some indicated that, during a shooting, they are very afraid and always cry, hiding under their beds. Others comment that although they do not like the incidents, they are used to it. When starting a chat about the topic, practically everyone has a story about a shooting that happened while they were outside and they had to get home. Children are in this case not any different from their adult fellow community members: they are subject to equal, structural influences (Roche, 1999) regarding physical and violence characteristics.

More typical children’s activities are affected by the local circumstances as well. Some of the students told me their parents do not let them play outside because “it is dangerous”. Instead, many children stay inside in their free time, play computer games, babysit younger family members, go to church, or play with their smartphone. While walking around the morro, I was able to observe some playgrounds – mostly soccer courts. There are few,

and most of them are not fit to use. They either lack nets or fences to keep balls, other objects, or even people from falling down the hill, or they are full of garbage. One of the fields ironically also serves/served as a place for shooting people, according to the stories and the countless bullet-holes in the cliff on the side. Fortunately, one also encounters a little

park, with brightly painted benches and a beautiful view. According to their pictures posted on social media, the students visit this park as well.

Zooming in, conceiving of the favela as a learning space for citizenship, it has to be noted that an essential diversity exists within the local community regarding both the living situation and discourses on these circumstances. As stated by the employees of the school, the population within the favela – and hence within the school – is divergent in terms of socio-economic background. Some families are leading a more or less tranquil life, not being rich but “having enough”, others barely have any means to dress and feed their kids. Some families are involved

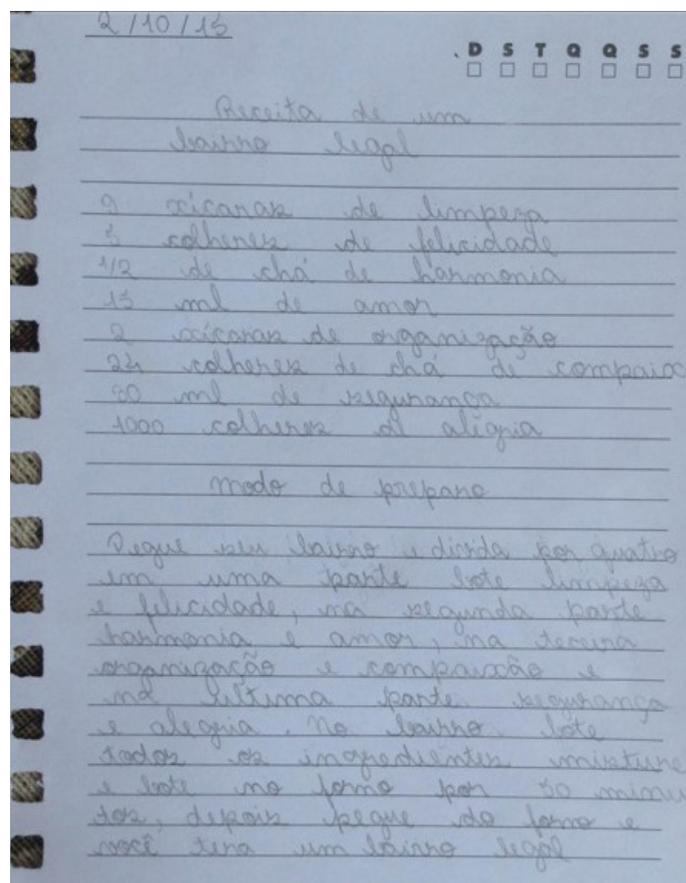


Figure 2: Partial translation of a recipe for an awesome neighborhood

in the drug trafficking, others deal with drug addiction, prostitution, domestic violence, or a combination of these. These are (structural) situations unchosen by the children, that often force them to act. In many cases, children take care of younger brothers and sisters, because their parents (in many cases single mothers) must work a lot to make a living. Although being a kid themselves, it is common for them to do housekeeping and to be responsible for their siblings. This supports Larkins' (2014) statement that children are citizens in terms of the "actions of citizenship" they perform by contributing to relationships of social interdependence: in this case within the family. Furthermore, it shows the thin line between child- and adulthood regarding competences and dependence (Ben-Arieh and Boyer, 2005), especially where the situation calls for it.

The internal diversity of the community also reflects in children's discourses on people involved in the trafficking. In a conversation about having children in the future, one of the boys, for example, states that in his neighborhood, it is more important to look after your daughters than after your sons. "Before you know it she's a bandidos wife!" One of his female classmates answers: "What about sons? Before you know it he is a bandido himself!" When I ask them if not becoming a trafficker is hard, the boy shouts: "Well, anyway, I am not gonna be one, may God protect me!", whereupon another boy screams "stop talking about this!". His father, according to rumors, is involved in the traffic, and he is clearly not comfortable with the topic. In another case, one of the girls told me that she is not afraid of the drug-related violence, because she has a family member who is a trafficker and she, therefore, feels protected. Nevertheless, she also clearly stated she doesn't like the presence of traffic and violence. Children, although growing up in the same neighborhood can, thus, experience very different forms of citizenship education and hence express themselves contrarily.

5.2 The position of favelas in society

As becomes clear, Roches (1999) observation that children are citizens because they are subject to the same structures as their adult counterparts can certainly be recognized in the researched neighborhood. Children, as well as adults in this study, are being part of a lower socio-economic segment of society, mostly darker skinned, living in a spatially separated environment: the morro.

Additionally, both children and adults are subject to more symbolic structural influences, namely the existing – predominantly negative – images about favelas and their inhabitants in broader society. The students show they are conscious of their marginalized social location. The following examples illustrate that the identities they perceive to be ascribed to them subordinate them in terms of space, class, race, and economic status, exactly as stated

in the work of Wheeler (2003), Perlman (2010), Gay (2010), and McCann (2014). Nayara, for instance, tells me that when going to a specific shop outside of the favela;

They will think you steal and they will search your pockets because you are black and you are from the morro, which means to them you are poor. But I have seen a white woman stealing a lot of Easter eggs once!

Douglas explains how he is often being racially profiled in the streets close to the beach (outside of the favela):

When you happen to be close to someone who is robbing or smoking and black, tia, the police automatically assumes you are stealing too. It makes me very nervous. Only when I tell them my dad is a civil functionary [too], they let me go.

A very clear-cut example concerning the consciousness of societal positions and concomitant terminology comes from Leila, who explains to me a song she is singing: "It talks about the favela and how they see us as urban garbage". When I ask her who "they" are, the answer is straight: "The middle and upper class, tia".

According to Levinson (2011), citizenship education contributes to the construction of identities, group-morality, and the imagination of social belonging. The above mentioned ascribed and (subsequently) self-ascribed images, or identities, reflect children's vision of their social belonging, and are an outcome of these students' citizenship education in the context of the favela. In other cases, the children show awareness of the "special status" of their neighborhood in questions or reactions to my stories: I get surprised looks when I tell them I have visited their morro, or when I encounter them in the favela. Furthermore, Luis Henrique asks me if favelas exist in my country too, which at least shows he knows he lives in a specific type of community. In terms of Yuval-Davis (1999), the children are aware of the fact that their membership in the collectivity and the space of the favela influences their positions in the collectivity of society as a whole, or at least in the collectivity of the city. This is a final structure determining the context in which children's citizenship is learned and practiced, or, as Faulks (2000, p.2) states: "the conditions that make it [citizenship] meaningful".

Despite all negative conditions within the community, and maybe because of the prevailing prejudice from outside, very few children express the wish to leave the morro. "Even if I could have better living conditions, I would not leave, because of the prejudice outside of the community. Here you have more friendships", says Nayara. Others confirm: "on the morro, you know everybody", and "we have cheaper supermarkets". Although one can argue it is comforting to hear that the children feel "at home" in

the favela, their reasons seem to confirm the dividedness of Rio even more.

Concluding, children are subject to environmental structures that shape their citizenship education on different levels: their neighborhood characteristics, the conditions on within their families, that can differ mutually, and their ascribed position within the society of the city. The last two paragraphs mostly addressed “structural”, environmental factors in life, that the children cannot control, but that often force them to act or deprive them of choices. However, citizenship also entails agency related aspects. The next paragraph will, therefore, discuss children’s’ views on the concept of citizenship and their citizenship “actions”.

5.3 Children’s perceptions and actions of citizenship

One day, in the afternoon break, at the school, I ask Pedro why he so convincingly raised his hand when miss Ana asked who in the classroom is a citizen. His answer is clear: “I am a citizen because I have WhatsApp and I can say whatever I want in the group conversations”. Luis Henrique agrees with his classmate: “Citizenship means being able to give your opinion”. The two boys, thus, seem to associate citizenship with the (democratic) right to participate. Discussing the concept of citizenship among other children indeed often takes place in terms of rights and participation. However, duties and dreams also play a role. Within the conversations individual, local, and national or societal aspects of citizenship come to the fore.

In one of the history classes, citizenship is being defined, both in the book and by the children, in terms of rights and duties. According to the students, rights are: having your political rights; having your own place; going to school; voting; being able to give your opinion; and having equal rights, irrespectively of race, color, gender or religion. Duties are described as: taking care of your living environment; respecting others and their spaces; studying; not disrespecting anyone; and choosing your representative (the latter could be regarded both as a right and as a duty since voting in Brazil is compulsory).

Interestingly, in their definitions, the children seem to apply both an adult and a child-specific approach to citizenship, without explicitly distinguishing them. They, for example, refer to the right to vote – which they do not have yet – and to the right/duty to study – which is more relevant in their own life. They do, however, have ideas about the differences between children and adult citizenship. When asking Denise what citizenship is, for instance, she answers that she doesn’t really know how to explain the term citizenship, but that she does know that children have rights and duties: “As a child, you do not have to work at least until you are twelve years old, you

have the right to someone taking care of you, and the right to a place to live”. Duties are not her favorite topic, because according to Denise “studying is also a duty and I don’t always like to study”. According to Thaissa “the difference [between children and adults] is that we cannot work as much as grown-ups, but we can be active!”

According to Larkins (2014) children can perform “actions of citizenship” by negotiating rules, enacting their own rights, and by contributing to relations of social interdependence. In other conversations outside the classroom, several students stated that children can participate as citizens, both in and outside of school. These expressions agency can be observed in numerous ways. Several children state that citizenship is about taking care of others and not throwing garbage on the ground. Pedro, furthermore, emphasizes the topic of participation by stating: “We are citizens because we can have an influence”. I ask him how that works and he states: “well, you can unite in a group and go to the director to ask if you can do or organize something”. During my fieldwork, this was done by a group of students who wanted to celebrate their teachers’ anniversary. They talked to the director of the school, asked their parents to buy soda and bake cakes, and some of the girls prepared a dancing show. Another example of an action of citizenship is given by one of the volunteers of the school. She explains how Michele went to the directors’ office to ask if she could be placed back one year. Michele recently entered the school and couldn’t keep up with the classes of the year she was put in. She said that she felt like she didn’t learn anything this way and the director agreed to move her to another group.

Besides their current opportunities to participate, students also have dreams and ideas about how they want to perform actions of citizenship in the future, by providing better conditions for themselves and others. Maria, for example, says that she wants to become a cook and open three restaurants: “one of them will be serving food for people who live on the streets. There is a lot of them here, especially around the shopping malls”. Moreover, when talking about the opportunities to escape conditions of poverty, Leila argues that this is hardly possible: “Maybe if you work very, very hard and eat very little, so you do not spend a lot, you could have more money”. I ask her if she thinks she could do that. “I don’t think so...but tia, to be honest, my dream would be to go to Africa and help the people there. People there really need help”. It is remarkable that children’s plans and goals are directed mainly to problems of other people, rather than to problems the children face themselves.

Children’s perceptions and enactments of citizenship, thus, draw our attention to their rights and duties, as well as to their role as active agents, as already emphasized by Roche (1999), Jans (2004), and Larkins (2014). One could state that their ideas about the concept of citizenship are formulated more in national/society-broad terms, while

their actions and plans of/for citizenship are more locally and individually focused. The idea's, actions and dreams, at this phase in their life, reflect particular problems or issues they perceive in daily practice within the favela and the school – such as the garbage-surplus, or the idea to organize a party – and not the problems they observe and experience in society – such as the way they feel negatively stereotyped by people outside of the favela. It would be interesting to study how these ideas and enactments develop while the children become adolescents.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

This article has focused on how citizenship among school-children is shaped and enacted among students in the socio-spatial context of a favela in Rio de Janeiro. That draws us, firstly to the issue of how children can be conceived of as citizens and, secondly, how the specific space of the favela influences the construction and actions of citizenship.

In the initial part of the article, citizenship was defined as a gathering of practices that shape the connection between the individual and the state (Lazar, 2008, p.5) and encompasses “relationships between rights, duties, participation and [national] identity” (Delanty, 2000, p.9), that are negotiated and enacted in within interactions of people's agency, participation and the power relations, or structures in society (Ong, 1996; 1999; Faulks, 2000). Furthermore, it was explained how several authors state that children can be perceived of as (semi-)citizens. Considering the data obtained among children in a Rio-favela, we have seen that although children have a different relationship to the state than adults in terms of duties, they do encounter “the state” in daily life in the same way as grown-ups, due to the presence of the UPP in their neighborhood, and the (partial) absence of services such as garbage collection.

Assuming the power relations and structures mentioned by Ong (1996; 1999) and Faulks (2000), it has been observed that children are in many aspects subject to the same environmental and societal structures shaping the conditions for their citizenship, either related to state intervention, particular living conditions or societal imaging. Especially in situations that demand a lot of their responsibilities, such as living in a favela, children furthermore perform actions of citizenship, contributing to what Larkins (2014) calls relationships of social interdependence, and blurring the contrast between children and adults even more (Ben-Arieh and Boyer, 2005). This agency or participative aspect, emphasized by Ong (1996; 1999) and Faulks (2000) as constituting citizenship in tandem with structural factors, is also observed in children's broader actions and perceptions of

citizenship as we have seen in the last paragraph.

Concluding, the results make clear that children can be seen as “semi-citizens”, in Cohen's (2005) terms. Although they differ from adults in terms of rights and duties, they experience equal societal and environmental structures and perform actions of citizenship. These actions are, furthermore, performed in specific “layers” (Yuval-Davis, 1999): if not so much in a national or state-related sense, in the local context children can be influential actors.

The title of this article can, therefore, be interpreted twofold. Firstly, it has been empirically illustrated that children can be perceived of as semi-citizens because of their subjection to environmental influences and their active participation. Secondly, the results endorse the scientific viewpoint that children, although they are still children, should be seen as citizens both within discourses of professionals and society and in scientific debates.

The current description of the construction of citizenship among children has its limitations. Firstly, this article only describes the environment of the favela as a factor in citizenship education among children, while it is clear that citizenship education takes place in the interplay between schooling and the environment (Barrett 2007; Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 2006; Pollock and Levinson, 2011). To provide a complete image of citizenship education among children, their schooling should be taken into account as well. As stated, this aspect has also been studied and will be reported on in subsequent publications.

Secondly, this article specifically addresses citizenship development in the context of a favela: a situation in which particular structures demand a lot of children's responsibilities and determine their memberships of specific groups in society. It would be interesting to compare the children of the favela to children of the middle and upper class, that visit private schools. In the remainder of my PhD-trajectory, this is what I will be doing.

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Endnotes

1. The article of Bos and Jaffe (2015) also refers to the increasing attention for and significance of youth within (urban) development studies.

2. *Tia* means both aunt and teacher but is also used for adults in general.

URBAN CYCLIST MOVEMENT

Collective Imaginary turned into material
expressions

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RESUMEN

El presente artículo de investigación científica y tecnológica, es el resultado de una investigación realizada con un enfoque cualitativo en la ciudad de Medellín, donde el principal objetivo era reconocer los significados que ha adquirido la bicicleta como medio de manifestación ante temas sociales, políticos y culturales dentro de los grupos que se conforman alrededor de ella. En este trabajo resaltamos cuatro propósitos con carácter académico: primero, identificar los grupos y las actividades que surgen a partir del uso de la bicicleta; segundo, establecer relación entre las materialidades, la bicicleta y partes adicionales de engalle funcional y estético, con los diferentes grupos y sus actividades; tercero, evidenciar el sentido que se le da a las prácticas y las materialidades identificadas; cuarto, analizar el impacto que han tenido los colectivos, sus manifestaciones pacíficas y de reclamación social, en la configuración de nuestra ciudad, su infraestructura y movilidad. Abordamos la relevancia de estas dinámicas y significados en compañía de los líderes de los colectivos ciclistas de la ciudad y otros agentes miembros de entidades públicas relacionadas con el tema, haciendo énfasis en y encontrando resultados para la creación de nuevos conceptos para el diseño en relación con la cultura material.

Key words – biking, urban practices, Medellin, culture, social movements

1. Introduction

Medellín, as other cities in Latin America, has turned into a more inclusive place. Some of its citizens have, as active members of the city, sought to reshape the collective thinking. Alternative clean transport, care, and equitable mobility of citizens within the public space are some of the factors that those groups of citizens have focused on. Four years ago, this thought has generated some changes at the social and cultural level, which influenced even the planning of urban infrastructure. One of the most important parts of this change has been the cyclist urban movement that has been strengthened in recent years inside the city.

From the above, the question about what meanings the bicycle as an object of manifestation acquires for cultural groups when dealing with social and political problems in the city of Medellín arose. The present study is focused on answering questions that had not been addressed from a material culture perspective. To carry out this research it was necessary to raise a general objective that sought to recognize the meanings of acquiring a bicycle as a means of protest against social, political and cultural issues within the groups that are formed around the bicycle in the city of Medellín. This led to the formulation of specific objectives:

1. Identify groups and activities that arise from the use of the bicycle as a symbol of peaceful demonstrations and as a symbol of the cyclist movement.
2. Set relationships between the materials, the bicycle parts, and additional functional and aesthetic

improvements, with different groups and their activities.

3. Identify the meaning given to the practices and the material issues identified.

4. Analyze the impact of the cyclist collective in shaping infrastructure and mobility.

As a first approach, some themes and concepts were investigated. For example, plans, proposals, and State changes that occur for the initiatives of citizens, the request for better conditions of mobility and clean transport. All this made us aware of the magnitude of the challenge of managing the city planning toward common development, where economic, social and environmental factors combine to seek economic, social and environmental equity. There were several concepts that also helped us to understand the big picture of the cyclist urban movement, from the bicycle as an object to its symbolic connotations. The transformation of bicycles becomes a commercial activity that leads to a cultural movement around the dynamics of material culture, around an object that acquires different meanings, beyond that of its use.

The cyclist urban movement in Medellín has a significance in time since the bicycle is perceived as an important object of demonstration and transport. This stands for a rupture and a transformation of collective thought which is against the public space, people who live there and the material issues that make this relationship.

In the next section, we discuss several concepts that are necessary to understand in relation to our research.

These concepts have been defined by several authors from different disciplines. We have adapted these definitions in order to meet our objectives.

2 Concepts

According to Diéguez and Guardiola (1998) and Morin (1960), cultural groups share similar characteristics that lead them to be identified within a space inhabited by other groups. They are formed by individuals with similar characteristics and common ideals, as they seek through their relationships to work for common goals.

In our document analysis, we noticed how the concepts of community, associations and collective, have been linked to create a picture of groups formed within the city for specific purposes. The concept of community is interpreted as a form of social relationship in which a group of people gathers, with a certain goal, in which their social relations and interests are linked, in order to democratize society. This democratization refers to compliance with certain rights and duties that affect directly these communities and their aims.

After defining the concept of cultural groups, we can see how these groups gain a voice through political action. This is defined by Ema (2007), who, following Rancière's notion of a Political Event, sees political action as a form of community management that makes possible practical and subjective thoughts that create new practices. It is through political action and events that collective groups are heard, where the change on their conditions are the result of peaceful actions which can lead to the construction of new spaces that are transformed into the city, understood as a stage where various practices appear.

From these political actions and cultural events modifications, changes and appropriation of public space, take form. These public spaces, as defined in the Constitution of Colombia (1998), as well as in Morente (2011), Garcia (n.d.) and Recendiz (2013), are achieved space of symbolic identification of social groups, due to their physical configuration and capacity of openness and adaptation. It is conceived as such through architecture, infrastructure, and public financial resources. In public spaces, public activities take place in which all citizens can participate. Such public spaces become part of people's identity and as such part of the urban culture. Certain elements become part of the cultural identity of groups that bind them to political, spatial imaginaries and material purposes. Such elements can be seen as objects that mediate the relationship between people and spaces.

According to Rojas and Guerrero (1999), Sanin (2009), and Carvajalino (2004) the *engalle*, is, in this case, the basis of cultural transformation, ownership, and personalization seeking identification, recognition, and differentiation within the cultural collective. These appropriations are given through uses, which tend to change physical aspects

such as shape and material, parts, and structure, responding to the appropriations or "*engalle*" as an individual or collective trend. In this way, people show their purely individual identity or their individual identity derived from the group through the objects that they are related to in daily life. These are materialized through tastes and thoughts, carrying objects with senses and more personal and individual meanings, without thereby ceasing to reflect on collective patterns, and to a large extent tastes that are present in society.

The "*engalle*" as a collective act played a major role in research, to relate subject to context through objects and activities. In addition, it supports peaceful political action, for adopting city spaces as scenarios for socialization and participation.

Space appropriation is defined by Diaz and Ortiz (2006), and Moranta and Urrútia (2005), as different groups that use and value space in ways that there becomes visible a process of socio-spatial fragmentation. It is given from the uses made of public space, in this case an urban setting that to some extent meets the needs of the people, a space in which infrastructure and planning flaws appear, but that in some way impel the collective to manifest through activities and material issues that reflect their desires to be heard. Space then has a political and official character, based on government urban planning.

We look at official structural changes occurring in public spaces from an urban planning perspective. This is defined by Echebarría and Aguado (2003), Gonzalez (1992), and Peralta (2010), as a function of public administration, responsible for detecting both collective and individual needs and activities within public space, in order to generate responses based on strategies, infrastructure, and management of territorial nature.

Urban planning should not only be seen in relation to the distribution of land uses, but also with the efficient allocation of resources, with problems of communication, and with movement between housing, work, and recreation. This is a complex task that requires a holistic view of the phenomena that motivate urban growth. Urban planning is the responsibility of the state, but it is the citizens who really conceive of it through their practices and daily activities which set the tone for "*engalle*" and renovations; important contributions are also peaceful demonstrations and unofficial appropriations that make space without damaging or force it.

We see then how urban planning is directly linked to the appropriations that cultural groups make on public space, through use of the bicycle as a channel, and the "*engalle*" as a message, using these as a symbolic meaning with purposes as political action and cultural events, which eventually influence the configuration of space and its transformation through practices and the pursuit of social ideals that shape the culture of a city.

3 Methodology

materialities through which they communicate, and the

The proposed research developed for understanding material culture takes a qualitative approach, focused on a social situation by one or more individuals in a certain space and time (Castro and Rodriguez, 2005). Aiming to find patterns in thought and action within urban groups around the bicycle, while contrasting the above concepts with social reality.

The concepts highlighted above helped us to define the tools for collecting information. We conducted three types of interviews, as well as photographic analysis. The fieldwork we did was divided into two phases, the first phase was a pilot test to verify the relevance of the tools designed to collect information. After tuning these tools, we could continue with the rest of the fieldwork, which was to interview experts and participants of groups and citizens in general.

The sample that we defined for the first phase consisted of an expert, the group leader Siclas, a participant of this same group, and a citizen who used the bicycle as a regular means of transport. For the final phase, we interviewed an expert architect in urban planning and mobility, three leaders of different groups, a journalist, a sociologist, and finally the owner of one of the best-recognized bicycle customization shops in the city.

We assisted Sicladas, an activity that has become a temporary form of expression and city streets' space appropriation in which the groups involved become visible, as they express their views on environmental and cultural issues. We also attended events like the Pre-Forum World Bicycle that was held at the Pontifical Bolivarian University on 24 January, the World Bike Forum held in various venues throughout the city, between January 26 and February 1, and attended to lecturers developed by leaders in sustainable mobility from different countries, who presented examples of cities that have experimented with new mobility strategies.

Finally, we categorized the information obtained and organized and analyzed them through matrices. In doing so we could relate the activities, objectives of each group,



Figure 1: Members of the collective Siclas passing through the neighborhoods of the city in one of the Wednesday Sicladas. They meet to get noticed and show customizations on their bikes. They sing, whistle and wave their flags, showing their objectives to the citizens. Leaders are always encouraging, directing, and guiding participants to respect the public space and its users. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/siclas/>

impact they have had on the transformation of the city.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Cultural groups

Cultural groups have been formed around the bike because they have assumed it as a solution to the mobility issues, pollution, and culture. Six to seven urban groups formed around specific objectives were identified. The ways each group moves are associated with their goals. There are groups that give life to the city by moving along main streets and neighborhoods. They sing, whistle, shout and invite all citizens to join this recreational activity, while they learn to move around the city by bike and turn it into a habit, rather than a hobby.

Some leaders of the groups in the city appropriate opportunities, and actively participate in decision-making. However, this is an exclusive movement that benefited only those with high acquisitive power; people living in the flat area of the city. They leave out plans for road development or infrastructure to people living on the slopes, people who are affected by topography and by no means are benefited with requests and changes made by these groups.



Figure 2: A Siclas member who takes their message to the most representative spaces of the city. He does so through a flag adapted to his bicycle. This is a particular member who has become an icon of the group. For each route, he changes his phrase and flag and always invites citizens to become aware, to respect others, and to become citizens' cyclists by conviction. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/siclas/>

without interfering with the movement of the other. When the State responds to these requests it may happen that this corresponds to an educational plan or plan for infrastructure improvements. You can also respond by establishing an official organization such as the Metropolitan Mobility Mesa. All these actions end up influencing the configuration of public space, even from the behavior of people in these spaces.

4.3 Public space

There is a way that collectives influence in the design of public space through their practices and habits, configuring, transforming and appropriating it, without planning it, distort it or

4.2 Political action

There are testimonies that talk about these movements as elitist. They see the participants as consisting mainly of representatives of political interests, people who want to generate tensions and draw attention to others to join their groups. This has even generated certain prejudices against groups. These groups, of course, have objectives as they make symbolic use of the bicycle to connect to the city. It does not become clear to citizens that such groups seek to change socio-cultural paradigms. Yet, they remain to be seen as groups with political interests. Leaders of the groups are clear that only those with clear ideologies can have a voice within the group. Participants must take part in periodic activities to present ideas or ideologies.

It is noteworthy that the State's responses to the requests of the groups are not always timely or accurate, there are plenty of inconsistencies. These range from the sacrifice of pedestrian infrastructure to ensure the rider, in the absence of legislation to ensure that all citizens can move properly



Figure 3: Collective artistic interventions in public space. It is common to see murals, graffiti, banners and parades; expressions that invite to appropriate spaces, and to generate citizen and road culture. Each group has a different way of intervening in public space, and to influence their official planning. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/siclas/>



Figure 4: “One more bicycle” plate. This has become one of the most representative symbols of the groups in the city, which means it is a massive group symbol and one of the elements that unite the collective. It is not exclusive of any group. The photograph was taken by the research team in April 2015.



Figure 6: Sign adapted to the racks of a member of the collective. Source: researchers. April 2015.



Figure 5: Sticker “Siclas” is a graphic symbol common on bicycles participants of this group Source: researchers. April 2015.

attack it, but simply by using it. This way of configuring the space and transform it leads it to be an “identity place”, a place with a number of individuals, a place of relationship that creates connections, with a specific history.

Some of these spaces are being recognized as cultural centers and meeting points for groups that manifest and leave marks in their wake. They pass, move, stay and remain, so that future official influential infrastructure plans need to take them into account. Such spaces were achieved through the activity takes place there, ownership, demonstrations, and petitions.

All these actions end up influencing the configuration of public space, because of the demands of different groups that drive urban change, even in people’s behavior. This informal office layout makes sense politically, as such spaces get a different meaning compared to that of its creation.

4. 4 “Engalle”

It is at this point that the symbols that collectives utilized can be noticed. There are many groups whose symbol is the bicycle, which happens to be a vehicle of usual transport, an element of peaceful demonstration, understood as a banner of a movement, and finally as a capital asset that must support a process linked to culture. This is part of several processes in which a material object has different connotations depending on the group of people who use it and the needs of different social groups to which is linked during its life cycle. The bicycle can function as a means of transportation and also as a symbol, message and even as the flag of a social, political and peaceful movement which it is gaining strength. It is the perfect setting for a series of graphic expressions and linguistic expressions that convey the sense of an individual, a group, or an organized community.

4.5 Space appropriation

Sometimes the appropriation of space by the collective is not enough to physically transform, but the repetition of activities and the fact that they have become regular means dead spaces in the city have come to life: avenues that were considered dead for pedestrians and cyclists, streets of high traffic flow as the Oriental Avenue, Palacé or street Colombia, by walking or rolling turns out to be dangerous, have been traversed by these groups to give them life and teach citizens that they also belong to these spaces and that they are not for the exclusive usage of motorcycles, cars, and busses. The groups have implemented various methods to be heard from official documents submitted to the Mayor of Medellín, to unofficial artistic interventions in public space and mass participation in social networks and city events.



Figures 7 and 8: Appropriation of the provisional bikeway Avenue San Juan for the World Bike Forum that was held in Medellín. Siclas members were given the task of coloring the road for visitors to the Forum. It was also part of their requests for this pathway to be included in city planning. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/siclas/>

4.6 Urban planning

Urban planning is an official element that is influenced by the action of the groups, through the appropriation and use of public space. Interestingly, there is an impact of the action of these groups in the official planning of the city, since several practices are giving a guideline to plan space. This is something not immediately seen, but it occurs over time.

The images on the right are from the EnCicla Project. This is a response from the Metro and the Metropolitan Area to requests to implement collective and safe bikeways. These bikeways connect to the Metro system.

5 Conclusions

Design is present in the graphic, and morphological



Figure 9: A young citizen transiting EnCicla routes. Source: http://www.sabaneta.gov.co/SalaPrensa/PublishingImages/Miercoles_16_10_2013@@ENCICLA-600.jpg



Figure 10: EnCicla stations in the city. These spaces are adapted to the needs expressed by the collective and resolved by official organizations in the city. Source: <http://www.mdeinteligente.co/estrategia/ciclorrutas-estaciones-en-cicla-y-ciclovias-de-Medellin-y-su-area-metropolitana/>



Figure 11: Public bike's station. Source: <http://encicla.gov.co/noticias/encicla-sigue-creciendo/>

changes of the bicycle. It is an element that plays a very important role for cultural movements within the city, becoming the medium, the message, the channel and the symbol of a social movement. It belongs to a culture of changing habits and behaviors, influencing certain ways in the movement that changes city-wide processes.

Medellín is a developing city, in which citizens – drivers, cyclists, and pedestrians – are in search of safe spaces to move. We addressed this specifically from a material culture perspective. More specifically through the interwoven relationships between individuals, objects, and spaces, giving a symbolic character to the last two through practices and appropriations. This makes it possible to see change over time as a result of collective thinking expressed through materialist and intangible symbols that become material expressions.

We were able to address the issue in depth, relating to matters that go beyond the material, in ways that recognize that both tangible and intangible elements come to define the city's configuration over time. The demonstrations of the cyclist movement continue, because, although there have been changes in the city, still not all the requests and desires of the collective have been responded to.

In Medellín, the bicycle is considered a symbol of sustainable mobility, a means for peaceful demonstrations, and it supports the transmission of a collective message to the State. It is a material element fraught with political and ideological connotations. It is the support of various messages that materialize through “engalle”; the expression of an individual whole, a collective whole and that has appropriated the city and made the bicycle a strong message.

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SOCIAL HOUSING AND THE NORMALIZATION OF URBAN RESIDENTS IN BOGOTÁ

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ABSTRACT

The privatization of social housing provision in Bogotá, Colombia, has resulted in the construction of large numbers of simple and standardized residential compounds in the capital's peripheries. Here units are offered at market prices, but with favorable, government subsidized mortgage plans that allow low-income earners access to property. Yet, the new residential projects are isolated from the city proper, and suffer rapid deterioration, as well as invasion of public space, petty crime, and disturbances of public order. To address the resulting tensions and conflicts, construction companies have developed programs to generate "social capital" in the housing complexes. Based on qualitative and quantitative research, this paper examines the life in market-based social housing projects, and the workings of these social capital programs. We show the schism between the programs and the specific necessities and desires of residents. Moreover, it becomes evident that the social capital programs are largely motivated by economic interests and effectively work as a normalizing mechanism of "unruly" urban population segments.

Keywords – Colombia, social housing, social capital, normalization

1 Introduction

The common goal of social housing is to provide affordable housing. It is thus a potential remedy to alleviate housing inequality. But what happens when the provision of social housing is privatized – as it has been since the 1980s in Colombia? How does privatization affect the housing market? What does it mean for low-income homebuyers? Who is living in these privately constructed "social housing" complexes, and how?

Based on 6 months of ethnographic research in 9 different social housing complexes – that included observation, interviews with residents and administrators of the housing complexes, as well as a survey – this paper discusses the realities of privatized social housing in Bogotá, Colombia. First, we show that in the context of Colombia's national economic policies, the model offers low-income earners access to private property, yet excludes a large segment of the Colombian population. In the second part, the paper presents some of our research findings on *convivencia* (living together) and social capital in the residential complexes. The third section explores the special programs developed to alleviate social problems in subsidized housing compounds and the ways in which they are executed. We suggest that these programs have little effect, because they are driven less by an interest in nurturing healthy communities and the well-being of residents than by economic interests. Even more, as will become evident, the special programs are a mechanism to normalize unruly residents within a neoliberal project of fashioning a middle-class society.

2 The Characteristics of Social Housing in Bogotá

In Colombia, Law No.3 from 1991 paved the way for a radical rethinking of the state's role in the social housing sector, moving away from a policy focused on the provision of residential units towards a policy focused on the market (Cuervo & Jaramillo, 2009). Thus, in 1999, 80 percent of housing subsidies went towards the purchase of private housing or improvement of existing structures. That is, the government does no longer construct housing itself; neither does it subsidize construction companies to do so. Instead, subsidies are directly channeled towards property buyers (subsidy on demand). As a result, social housing provision is in the hands of the market.

Housing constructed under these policies is defined by several characteristics:

1. Compounds are predominantly located on the capital's peripheries where lower land prices promise greater profit margins for private construction companies. Here they are surrounded by other similar compounds, industrial areas, or informal housing. In addition, these fringes often lack infrastructure and transportation facilities.

2. What sets "social housing" units apart from regular housing is that prices are capped: units cannot cost more than 75 percent of legal monthly minimum salaries, and are sold with government subsidized mortgage plans. To comply with the price limits, the units are kept extremely small – between 43 and 73 m². In addition, they are sold as *obra gris* (shell construction), i.e. without any details such as floor tiles or plaster; houses often have only one or two floors, with the option to add another.

3. Two types of social housing compounds – VIP and VIS – are significantly different, both in terms of appearances as in terms of their population. According to our survey of 800 residents, residents in VIP complexes had an average monthly household income of \$1.5 million Colombian pesos, compared to \$3 million in VIS. This difference is reflected in residents’ educational level: VIP compounds’ head of household most commonly have a high school degree, whereas in VIS they have technical or university degrees. The same goes for their occupation: VIP residents tended to work in the manual labor or unqualified manual labor sector, whereas residents in VIS were predominantly semi-qualified employees in the service sector.

4. To further increase their gains, construction companies cut costs wherever possible, which is especially with regards to the design. Thus, within the different price ranges, social housing complexes are extremely homogenous in appearance: their form, layout, and interior design are completely standardized. Residents have only very limited space to interact or socialize. Moreover, thin walls, lack of insulation, and general layout of apartment buildings offer practically no protection against noise, a fact only exacerbated by the high occupancy rate per square meter. Buildings are also positioned very close to one another. Finally, the back of one apartment block usually faces the front of the next, which is another failed opportunity for social interaction.

Despite these drawbacks, social housing projects offer access to private property, and thus attract low-income buyers from diverse social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. According to our survey, about 70% of residents previously did not live in an apartment complex (propiedad horizontal) before and many came from “informal housing”.

To buy a social housing unit, people make an initial down-payment (from private funds combined with a government subsidy) and pay the rest in monthly installments. Despite the price-caps, most low-income homebuyers need to take out mortgages. To access the mortgage, potential buyers have to prove regular income and personal savings. This makes it extremely difficult for the self-employed to be approved. It is even more difficult for those in informal employment, which in 2016 consisted of almost half of the population.

Yet, even employees

often have difficulties to keep up with mortgage payments. The general employment situation of Colombia’s (neoliberal) economy that allows companies to hire and fire without much restriction especially affects the low-qualified, low-income sector. Moreover, lower income earners have fewer resources (family, property, savings) to fall back on. Thus, in the residential compounds we investigated, there were always numerous cases of homeowners who had lost their property because they could not comply with mortgage obligations.

In effect, the privatization of Colombia’s social housing sector excludes significant numbers of urbanites and especially low-income earners with the highest need for housing. For those who do manage to access this type of housing, the market-based, “cost-effective” layout and location of these social housing compounds separate them from the city proper. In combination with mortgage payment obligations, the “social” in social housing is pretty limited in its effects; the very characteristics of Colombia’s social housing policies exacerbate low-income residents’ socio-spatial marginalization or exclusion.

3 Residential Problems and Social Capital Generation Programs

Under these circumstances, and given the diverse population, it might not be surprising that there exist tensions and conflicts in many of the social housing projects – between residents, but also with administrators, the construction companies, or local authorities. In everyday life, our research has shown that residents complain mostly about the mishandling of pets and noise of neighbors. But they also struggle with the construction companies over structural problems or unfulfilled promises. The housing complexes often experience rapid deterioration of their environment, including its physical

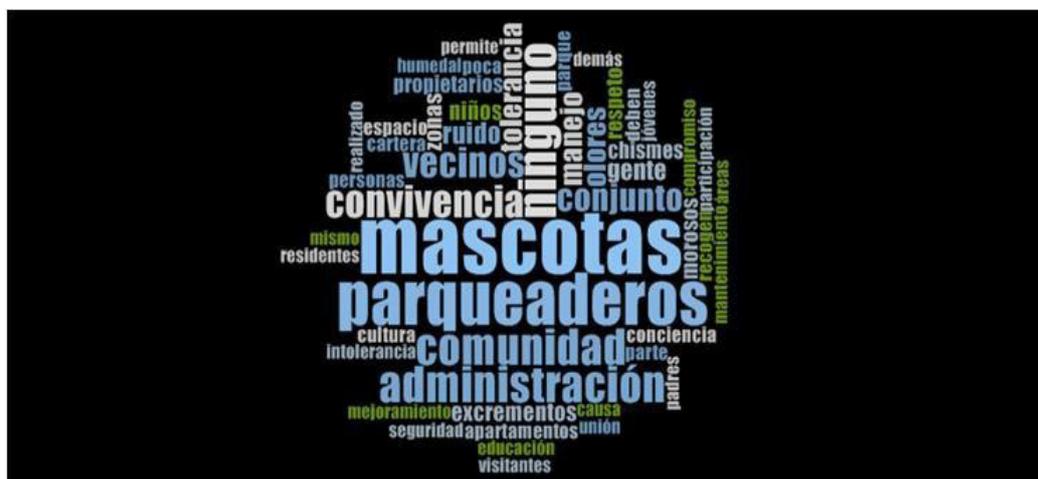


Figure 1: Principal reasons for conflict among residents. Source: Survey of 4 residential compounds, Universidad de los Andes.

structure. In addition, invasion of public space (by street vendors for example), misappropriation of residential space, petty crimes, micro-trafficking, threat of, and real violence, and more general disturbances of public order are common.

Even though residents suggested that the majority of conflicts were resolved via the administrator of the compound, there also occurred more serious confrontations between neighbors. During our research we witnessed the police intervening when one neighbor threatened another with a knife; an administrator being attacked by a teenager who was being called out for smoking pot in the hallways; and a resident who proudly reported threatening a neighbor with a gun. In some compounds – generally the lower-priced ones – it was common to call the police to intervene in neighborly conflicts.

Above all comes the police, you know? {Laughs} Whatever problem, it's the police, the police; I say they should put a police station [CAI] here in the little park. {Laughs} People get used to it. This, you walk by and I say to the neighbor "you I don't know what, you I don't know how many," come on, I am going to file a lawsuit against you, the police come for that; it's not like it's for major cases. [Resident in social housing complex]

To address these issues, some construction companies have developed special programs to improve the convivencia or “cohabitation” in the compounds by aiming to produce “social capital.” “Social capital,” as developed by Putnam (2000), or “collective efficacy,” as identified by Robert Sampson (2012), refers to the degree of social cohesion, the density of association, shared expectations of action in relation to problems, and the capacity to resolve conflicts. These traits have been found to be vital for a neighborhoods’ well-being and especially for urban areas with high conflict potential. Neighborhoods with higher collective efficacy tend to have lower crime rates, and also lower levels of adolescent pregnancies, lower child mortality, etc. (Putnam, 2000; Sampson, 2012). Thus, programs aimed at nurturing social capital should have a positive effect. But do they?

The programs that support social capital generation in Bogota’s social housing complexes include different activities such as encouraging residents to attend the annual assembly and to comply with their homeowner obligations (payment of administration fees, respecting the rules for residential living [propiedad horizontal]); tree planting drives in communal spaces; the involvement of youngsters in environmental awareness activities; recycling programs; special celebrations (e.g. Mother’s Day

and Children’s Day), etc. These activities are facilitated by the compounds’ administrators (who are employed by the homeowner assembly and mostly do not live in the compounds) and sometimes involve benefits for the residents – such as a computer for the communal salon – or for the administrators themselves, such as special training programs.

In our research, we found that, apart from the special day celebrations, turn-out is generally low, sometimes so low that the event is canceled. In some complexes, residents are even actively opposed to the program; a number of compounds voluntarily dis-enrolled from the support program due to lack of interest, conflicts with the construction companies, or because the administrator considered it an excessive demand of her time. In the majority of cases, however, a high number of residents were not even aware of the existence of the programs and/or that certain activities and events in their compound (and the prices they win) were part of these. Even more importantly, we have found no indication that these activities promote social interaction beyond the event itself. Residents mostly commented that they attended some of the activities but that they had not formed lasting relations with neighbors as a result. Where this happened was in compounds which already had a better convivencia and where neighbors already interact on a more frequent basis.

Indicator	%
Know the program	18%
Have participated in program activities	5%
Got to know neighbors through the program	4%
Evaluate the programs’ activities as good or very good	8%
Source: Survey of 4 compounds conducted by Universidad de los Andes.	

Finally, the implementation of the programs happens through the administrator. Administrators in most cases are in charge of more than one compound, have a high turn-over rate, and tend to end up mechanically complying with the programs’ “tasks”. The result is that there exists no stable channel of communication between construction companies and residents. Moreover, the programs tend to operate as a list of goals that compounds have to fulfill, with standardized tasks and activities that are not necessarily needed or of interest to the residents. Thus, it remains questionable whether the programs’ activities produce social capital in social housing compounds.

4 Convivencia and Social Capital in Social Housing Compounds

How is life in the social housing complexes? What about convivencia? Why did some of the complexes in our research have apparently much better neighborly relations than others? To examine this question, let's compare two compounds, San Francisco and Villa Real.

With 250 units, San Francisco, the older compound, is comparatively small; residents live in two or three story 43m² size row-houses. The compound is quite run-down. We saw garbage and scrap, the skeleton of a motorcycle in the parking area, and broken windows. At the same time, residents have transformed the green space between the rows of houses into small gardens that each unit tends to and maintains according to their likes. Moreover, in an unusual case house entrances face each other and this is a natural space for social interaction. The compound is also exceptional due to the presence of commerce – which is actually forbidden. Nonetheless, several residents have converted their ground floors into shops that sell soft drinks, cookies, and other daily necessities. These businesses have turned into important social foci for the community.

In San Francisco, people are constantly entering and leaving through the gates, including non-residents who visit the businesses inside. Thus, even though the compound is (as all the others we researched) designed as a gated community, there is a real connection to the compound's surroundings. While there are no benches, seats, and not even a playground, children play in the car park and the walkways between the houses. People stand in their doorways to see what is going on in the compound or visit the small kiosks and shops to chat with neighbors and visitors. There is a high degree of familiarity among residents who not only know each other by name, know their homes from the inside, but also help each other, and even lend each other money. Thus, San Francisco, despite its rather poor and run-down overall impression, appears to have a relatively high degree of social cohesion among residents.

This, however, is not the type of housing the construction companies seek to promote, as was expressed quite clearly by a high-ranking employee of one company who compared the hustling and bustling in a compound like San Francisco disdainfully to “a village fair”.

The residential communities the construction companies envision, look more like Villa Real which actually appears to belong to a higher income stratum. It looks newer, is better kept, and more spacious. There is no garbage; cars (many new and more expensive models than we found in San Francisco) are parked in an orderly

manner. There is green space between the buildings and playground installations; there are even some seats, and all is well kept. The compound even has a swimming pool and a climbing wall. Yet, very few people “hang out” in the communal space; residents expressed no interest in knowing their neighbors or to hang out. Moreover, anything that implies agreements, activities or problems among residents is strictly mediated by the compound's administrator. This means, as indeed happens in Villa Real, that interaction among neighbors is virtually non-existent if the administrator is more interested in restricting and sanctioning the population than in generating spaces and activities for social integration.

San Francisco and Villa Real represent two extreme cases among the different residential compounds that were part of our investigation. There actually exists a range of social housing compounds' situations. To better illustrate this diversity, we summarize here our research about social capital in the different residential complexes.

To measure social capital, the study employed the categories “social cohesion,” “associative density,” “shared expectation of action in relation to a problem,” and “capacity to solve conflicts.” Regarding social cohesion, we found that although in the lower-priced compounds residents knew more people by name and interacted more frequently in the communal spaces, this did not substantially affect the number of friends or favors exchanged. At the same time, the favors that were exchanged – lending money, store credit, or neighborly supervision of children and pets – likely contributed to the growth of social capital among residents.

Indeed, one of the spaces that principally contribute to familiarity and interaction between residents are the small shops and kiosks within the compound. These businesses are focal points contributing to cohesion. We identified the shop owners as key persons who know the majority of residents, and as such generate cooperation and interchange of favors.

How to describe it? ... Well...this is a cell where I live of you and you live of me, we all live in the world, so if you come and buy something from me for no more than 50 pesos you give me 50 pesos. (Resident)

Familiarity and the “watchful eyes” in the residential compounds can be considered as a first step towards social cohesion, or at least towards good convivencia. At the same time, they can give rise to conflicts – as was the case in one of the compounds where one small shop sold alcohol which clients consequently consumed in the communal areas.

Regarding association density, a collective dimension that is vital for social capital formation, the obligatory residents' assembly would come to mind. Nonetheless, despite high attendance rates, administrators and residents

alike described the meetings with adjectives ranging from “chaotic/ heavy [difficult]” to “calm”. Many interlocutors thought of the assembly as merely a bureaucratic formality, something not very interesting (“tedious”), and something one had to attend to avoid paying a fine. The most common description of the event, however, was that there was too much discussion and little decision making going on: “Uy, sometimes heavy [difficult], one talks a lot and never comes to an agreement” (administrator).

Apart from the assembly, residential compounds usually have other meetings and activities. The majority of these are occasional events, such as the Mother’s Day celebration or the “novenas” during Christmas time. As became apparent through our research, the administrators play a crucial role in the organization of these events. In one compound, for example, the administrator regularly organized events, not only those promoted by the social programs, but also permanent activities. Yet, in other complexes, there were no activities beyond the obligatory assemblies.

The most common reasons why residents did not participate in organized events in their residential compound were: lack of time, lack of interest, and not being aware of the events. In addition, besides lack of interest, some administrators and residents also did not like these kinds of events to happen within their compounds.

The majority of events are organized by the residents’ council and administrators together. Thus, who occupies these positions (a proactive person or not) determines whether activities take place or not, as in the example above. Nonetheless, there are also activities initiated by the residents themselves, such as aerobics classes in the communal salon or a greenhouse in the compounds. And some of these initiatives become permanent.

Here we do cool things. On Sundays, I organize my mass at 8 in the morning. Easter week it was programmed. And there was a good reception; people liked it. A priest comes. (Resident)

Well, here A. [a resident] bought some board games and I said “oh great” because we meet in the [communal] salon and play. And I have in mind that Fridays from 3 to 5 pm we are going to dance, how great. Well, this has not been suggested but I have this idea. (Resident)

Participation in organizations outside the residential compounds varies between 20 and 30 percent among informants in the different compounds. Among those who do participate in such activities, the church is the most commonly named institution attended by residents in the social housing compounds. In one case, residents’ mobilization to bring a church to the neighborhood, located in an area of the city where “there was nothing,”

was a milestone that united residents of different residential compounds.

In other cases, residents mention relations with local institutions such as the police for questions of security. In one of the areas of research, for example, for a certain time there existed a “security front” that residents appreciated as something positive, but it was abandoned due to misunderstandings among participants:

The security front was formed by people from the administrative boards of each compound. It links up with the supervisors from each security company, the security guards, us administrators, and other residents. So, these meetings were being held until August of last year. We had a meeting per month in which obviously there was the quadrant and the CAI [local police post]. (Administrator)

Latent social capital is considered highly relevant by social scientists. Robert Sampson suggests that it describes residents’ probability to act together and this is what distinguishes neighborhoods with lesser crimes and higher indicators of wellbeing. This characteristic, according to the author, is not always related to cohesion given that a neighborhood or compound can be very united or unified yet not manage to resolve its issues.

In our research, we found that the expectation of joint action to resolve common problems is lesser than the expectation of being helped individually when confronting a problem. Whereas 80 percent of respondents to the survey answered positively that neighbors would help in a personal emergency, only 41 percent were convinced that neighbors would help in case of an unfortunate event or problem in the compound.

Convivencia in the compounds is generally perceived as good according to our research. This does not mean, however, that there exist no problems or conflicts. Generally, however, apart from minor conflicts, interlocutors considered the convivencia in the compound to be “normal” or good.

It’s a very quiet area, people are not scandalous, not noisy; they are not aggressive, but normal. There are conflicts every once in a while, like a neighbor shouts, that the other bangs his doors, but it’s all bearable. (Resident)

Q: How is the general convivencia among neighbors?

A: Good... obviously as everywhere, there is noise contamination, like the neighbor coming home, or at time fights with his wife, or listens to loud music up till late hours of the night, or takes out the dog and does not pick up after him... The usual stuff, but that one would say there is shocking violence within the compound? No. (Resident)

Nevertheless, what interlocutors understand by “convivencia” varies and does not exactly reflect how social capital is conceived. There existed, for example, positive perceptions of convivencia in contexts where there was no cohesion but also no conflicts. In contrast, in compounds with high rates of cohesion, we found more neutral or even negative evaluations of convivencia.

In some compounds, what residents understand as convivencia is that nobody bothers you. This is especially the case in those of the mid-price range which have on average more positive evaluations of convivencia or “sense of community”. In other contexts, good convivencia can mean helping one another, doing things together, visiting one another etc. In compounds with high interaction, residents thought that their convivencia was problematic, such as in San Francisco, despite a high degree of cohesion, frequent daily interactions in the communal spaces, and open doors. Respondents commented that there existed “gossip” and “envy”. Thus, to repeat, social capital is not univocal or unambiguous; its characteristics do not always correlate positively.

5 The “Normalization” of Social Housing Residents

Given the highly complex residential landscape, what can we say about the special programs aimed at generating social capital in the social housing complexes? In our research, we found that both administrators and better off residents linked the problems and conflicts that occurred in the compounds with class (or, for the Colombian context, income stratum). They especially referred to the (alleged) fact that residents had never before lived in apartments. That is, residents previously rented houses in poor (popular) neighborhoods. Administrators thus saw it as one of their prime tasks to teach residents how to live in an apartment compound:

Well, let's say, most of the owners, hmmh, ...



Figure 2: Mailboxes with “defaulter signs in the entrance to a residential compound. Source: Authors.

let's say it's the first time they live in a residential compound. It's the first time they buy a house, and so the function of the administrator is to orientate them on how the cohabitation (convivencia) in a compound works and how it is different from living in an (informal) neighborhood. (Administrator)

It is this educational mission, we argue, that is the main motivation behind the social capital-generating programs that the construction companies run. This is evident in the emphasis put on compliance with rules and regulations regarding hygiene, appearances, and especially mortgage and administration fee payments, reinforcement which can go to great length.

In one compound the administrator used the tree planting drive to regulate supposedly illicit use of space by planting exactly where the children tended to play. In another, both security guards and residents were encouraged to take photos of residents' infringements of neighborhood rules such as leaving objects lying around in public areas. Or if someone complained about a neighbor, the administrator talked directly to the culprit to mention the name of the complainer. And, finally, in another residential compound, we noticed that people who had failed to pay their dues were flagged with an orange sign moroso (defaulter) on their mailbox in the public entry of the compound, such that everybody could see this.

Such practices, promoted by the administrators or residents themselves in the name of “maintaining order,” are encouraged by the social programs. Yet, instead of

social capital, such measures are likely to generate distrust between residents. Thus, we suggest, that what we can see in these practices is the attempt to “normalize” residents. In the name of *convivencia* some forms of behavior – such as children playing or youngsters “hanging out” in the public areas – was considered inappropriate and efforts were directed at eradicating this. However, while the control of pets and noise suppression obviously have benefits for the living conditions of the residential community at large, the rationale behind other rules and regulations introduced under the same logic are less clear.

A case in point is the prohibition of commercial activities and the design logic of the compounds. Our research shows the importance of commercial activities and social space within the compound. The interaction between private and public space, the opening of the compounds towards its environment, and ground-level commercial activities positively contribute to the formation of social capital, or at the very least, do not negatively impact it. Small shops and businesses, moreover, offer residents important income opportunities which can improve the economic situation of households.

In addition, these are spaces where neighbors can meet and interact. They provide what Jane Jacobs (1961) called “eyes on the street”. Local practices further cement social relations between residents, such as offering store credit, which works because amounts are small and customers know each other.

Residential neighborhoods without commercial activities and other spaces for social interaction, in contrast, are characterized by very little internal movement. People leave in the morning to go to work and come back at night. On the weekends, and in their spare time, they leave the neighborhood to go shopping and pursue other activities.

In sum, the design of residential compounds (communal spaces thought of in terms of circulation, not in terms of socializing) as well as the regulations promoted by the social programs (inhibiting socializing activities beyond the private realm), combined with the excessive dependence on administrators as mediators of neighborly relations, all result in dis-incentivizing neighborly interaction. If the promoted *convivencia* in social housing compounds refers to neighbors who do not interact, neighbors who “do not bother” each other, then generating social capital is not only difficult, but on the contrary, the programs have contradicting outcomes.

6 Conclusion

Construction companies’ support programs to improve the *convivencia* and to produce social capital in social housing projects. Nonetheless, we have argued that in the context of Colombia’s social housing politics, part of a neoliberal economic approach, is rather meant to normalize an “unruly” population. Instead of focusing on

creating spaces for social interaction and generating trust among residents, the programs are aimed at educating (supposed) first-time homeowners in “how to live in apartments” (*propiedad horizontal*), including measures to improve safety, hygiene, compliance with rules and (financial) obligations etc.

Much more important for the *convivencia* in residential compounds is the general well-being of residents, including economic opportunities and the existence of social services and amenities. This could be accomplished via design improvements and residential policies that would go beyond the current programs which merely focus on compliance with specific tasks and standardized activities.

Beyond the accompanying social programs and the compounds under investigation, it is important to keep in mind that this is only a panorama of those who managed to access social housing, that is, persons who are already included in the neoliberal project to build a middle class. Social housing in Colombia today is part and parcel of larger economic restructuring processes, of shifting resources and discourses away from the neediest and focusing instead on those with certain economic purchasing power. Belonging to the “middle-class” and to fulfill “the dream of becoming a homeowner” today is celebrated as an economic achievement. This alleged achievement, however, only disguises the costs of the policies for the people who are being left out, as well as the environmental degradation that these huge housing projects bring. Meanwhile, cities are increasingly becoming more uniform and sterile.

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Endnotes

1. Novena in Colombia is a social gathering of family and friends to pray and sing together. It takes place on nine consecutive days leading up the Christmas.

POSITIVE VS NEGATIVE REINTEGRATION

Case Study on the Educational Reintegration Program for Ex-combatants in Bogota,

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RESUMEN

El presente artículo constituye un análisis crítico de carácter evaluativo aplicado al programa educativo para la reintegración de excombatientes en Bogotá, Colombia. La información aquí analizada fue recogida durante una investigación de campo intensiva en Bogotá, llevada a cabo de Agosto a Diciembre de 2015. Se empleó una metodología mixta de investigación; los métodos utilizados fueron: entrevistas semi-estructuradas, grupos focales, análisis de contenido, y el análisis cuantitativo de bases de datos. Partiendo de la teoría de 'Justicia Social' propuesta por Nancy Fraser, y el trabajo de Johan Galtung como bases teóricas, se aplica el marco analítico desarrollado por el 'Research Consortium on Education and Peace Building' para la evaluación del programa. Los resultados del análisis evidencian las tensiones existentes entre la normatividad que regula el programa, el discurso en el cual ha sido enmarcado, y las prácticas de implementación. La inequidad existente en la repartición de recursos, la falta de canales de participación para estudiantes, profesores y comunidades, y la carencia de una política de pedagogía nacional son solo algunos de los factores que van en contra de las leyes y el discurso de construcción de paz y reconciliación sobre el cual se ha enmarcado el programa.

Keywords – Colombia, peacebuilding, education, reintegration, ex-combatants

1 Introduction

This paper presents a critical analysis of the educational reintegration program (ERP) for guerrilla and paramilitary ex-combatants in Bogota, Colombia. The main aim of the investigation was to determine the extent to which the ERP is delivering on its promise to reintegrate individuals into civilian life. The overarching goals of this reintegration are crime and violence reduction, and contribution to social justice and sustainable peacebuilding.

In the midst of an armed conflict that has lasted more than half a century, successive Colombian governments since the 1990s have implemented reintegration programs as a way to aid the transition of those directly involved in violence (Fajardo, 2015; Gomez; 2013; Molano, 2015; Rodríguez and Salgado, 2011).

Various publications have attempted to explain the features such programs should have in order to be successful, pointing out to its components, and how they should be monitored and evaluated (De Vries and Wiegink, 2011; Theidon, 2007; Rethmann, 2010; Ginifer, 2003; Muggah 2005; Kilroy, 2009; Obadare, 2014; Udogu, 2011; ILO, 2011; UN, 2005, 2014).

A common problem identified in such studies resides in the theoretical perspectives that guide reintegration policies. These tend to narrow down the issue of reintegration in a quite simplistic manner, focusing too much on economic and security components and outcomes, thereby neglecting valuable aspects of programs and actors involved that could help us to better understand these programs and their outcomes (Richmond, 2009; Richmond

and Mitchell, 2011). By taking the entry into the labor market, and the relapse rate into violence as the only measures of success or failure, most of these studies ignore questions related to, for example, the actual content of the program, the role of teachers, its normativity, the resource allocation structure, the degree of community involvement, and the perspectives of stakeholders.

In order to critically analyze the ERP, this paper builds on Nancy Fraser's theory of social justice and Johan Galtung's theory of peace. Through a mixed methods research design, this study draws on empirical data collected during fieldwork in Bogota, Colombia, from August to December 2015. Methods employed were: content analysis of the normativity regulating the program, and the broader content of the program; a statistical analysis of the official database containing information regarding the educational pathways of ex-combatant, and relapse rate into violence; and qualitative analysis of information gathered via interviews and focus groups with government officials, teachers, ex-combatants, NGOs, and communities. The findings of the investigation shed light on the inherent contradictions that exist between the normativity that regulates this program, the discourse upon which it is framed, implementation practices, and generated outcomes.

The following section explains the analytical framework used. Subsequently, the paper turns to the analysis and discussion. Drawing on this section, the paper then concludes with a set of recommendations for policy and practice.

2 The 4R Analytical Framework

For the most part of the 20th century, the debate regarding social justice has been waged between those who understand social justice as the equitable distribution of wealth and those that see social justice as the granting of cultural recognition. Nancy Fraser (1995, 2009) brings both of them as separate but interrelated dimensions of social justice. For her “justice is parity of participation” (2009, p.16), and she, therefore, argues that we require “social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life” (2009, p. 16).

Thus, by taking Fraser’s definition of social justice as a starting point, we are not only considering issues of economic redistribution and cultural recognition, but we are also addressing the problem of political representation and participation. Fraser’s theory takes the form of a three-dimensional model: (a) a political dimension concerned with representation and participation (b) a cultural dimension focusing on recognition and (c) an economic dimension related to redistribution.

Turning to the work of Johan Galtung (1969; 1985), we consider issues of conflict resolution and peacebuilding. For Galtung, violent conflict can be resolved in different ways, however, regardless the means used, the end result can be categorized in two ways: a “positive peace” or a “negative peace” scenario. A positive peace scenario would be one in which the root causes of the conflict are effectively addressed. Conversely, a context in which resolution simply means the silencing of weapons while the root causes of the struggle remain untouched would be considered a negative peace scenario.

Galtung understands violent conflict as the result of pervasive structural, direct, and cultural types of violence. First, structural violence, as its name indicates, refers to the macro-societal structures that perpetuate discrimination, poverty, and exclusion. Second, direct violence refers to the infliction of physical harm. Third, cultural violence refers to the characteristics of any culture that allow and legitimize the use of direct and structural violence. Throughout all of his work, Galtung has advocated positive peace as a higher ideal than negative peace. He has consistently criticized the latter as he considers it to be the dominant approach in peacebuilding practice, one that serves mainly the interests of the powerful and the status-quo (Grewal, 2003).

Moreover, Galtung’s theory also establishes that peace can only be achieved through peaceful means. Thus, top-down impositions will do little to achieve positive peace. What is needed, instead, is the nurturing of peaceful relations at the grassroots level. Professor Alan Smith (2016), one of the members of the Research Consortium on Education and Peace Building (RCEP) – developers of the

4R framework – refers to such relations as the fostering of horizontal trust, i.e., trust within the members of a group and among different groups. The RCEP also adds the notion of vertical trust, which refers to the relationship between citizens and governmental institutions. This process of building relationships of trust between individuals, groups, and institutions receives the name of reconciliation.

The 4R framework bridges these theories as to form a 4-dimensional model for the study of educational initiatives in conflict-affected contexts. Taking Fraser’s three dimensions of justice together with Galtung’s requirements for positive peacebuilding, the framework is composed out of four different, yet interrelated, dimensions: Redistribution, Representation, Recognition, and Reconciliation (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo and Smith, 2015).

Recognizing that the 4R framework has not yet been applied to the study of ERPs, or in the Colombian context, the model needs some adjustments. Our starting point lies in the fact that the different types of violence (cultural, direct and structural) are the consequence of social injustices (misrecognition, misrepresentation, and misdistribution). Keeping Galtung’s peace theory in mind, it makes sense to theorize the ways in which the ERP, through the successful reintegration of ex-combatants, may or may not tackle the injustices that generate and perpetuate these different forms of violence. Accordingly, Reintegration is here defined as the processes of personal and societal transformation by which ex-combatants acquire the necessary material, cognitive and affective capabilities that will allow them to participate on equal footing in society.

The definition of reintegration adopted here differs from the one used by most IOs and governments. This change at the theoretical-conceptual level serves a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it helps us move away from the economic connotation that the concept has acquired through practice. On the other hand, it is more aligned with the theories of justice and peace that are the basis of the 4R framework. Our point of departure is Fraser’s distinction between “transformative strategies” and “affirmative strategies”. Fraser defines “affirmative strategies” as measures that correct “inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them” (1995, p.82). Transformative measures are “aimed at correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework. The nub of the contrast is end-state outcomes versus the processes that produce them” (1995, p.82). If we take as our starting point the conception of violence as a consequence of injustice, then the transformation of unjust social arrangements is a better-suited strategy for conflict resolution and

sustainable peacebuilding than affirmative strategies where structural factors are not addressed. In fact, in line with the work of scholars working within the RCEP, “sustainable peacebuilding” is here understood as “the set of core transformations that must occur in society in order to eliminate injustice” (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo and Smith, 2015, p. 2).

If we conceive the role of education in conflict-affected societies to be that of sustainable peacebuilding, ERPs must then be rooted in transformative strategies geared towards the remediation of unjust social arrangements that impede equal participation and serve as causes and drivers of violence. Conceptually speaking then, Galtung’s positive and negative peace distinction can be applied to categorize the processes and outcomes of ERPs. A “negative reintegration” would be the result of an ERP whose rules, norms, content, and practices are affirmative. Thus, an ERP that does not address the needs of ex-combatants and society in a comprehensive manner will leave ex-combatants in a state of re-marginalization since its only focus is to provide quick results and employment through training for labor-intensive sectors (ILO, 2014, p.21). Conversely, “positive reintegration” is defined as a process and result through which all dimensions of social justice are served and accomplished. In practice, as pointed out by Keddie (2012), if we base our conceptualization on Fraser’s work, educational programs should provide ex-combatants with the necessary capabilities to participate in social life on an equal footing by reintegrating them fully, not just partially.

This means ERPs must include in their programs not only subjects that are directly related to the skills and knowledge necessary for the labor market, but also issues related to the conflict itself and the experiences of ex-combatants. Furthermore, the ERP must allow for the participation of ex-combatants in decision-making regarding the content, structure, and practices of the program. It must not only engage ex-combatants, but also their families, teachers, and receptor communities in the process. Having explained the theoretical basis of the analytical framework, we now turn to the analysis and discussion section.

3 Analysis & Discussion

Using the 4R framework (Novelli, Lopes Cardozo, Smith, 2015) as an analytical tool, each element of gathered data will be critically discussed and compared with the dimensions of the model. Accordingly, this section has been divided into four paragraphs, one for each theoretical dimension. The dimensions are presented here separately to provide a clear structure. However, it is important to bear in mind that the 4R framework is an organic model and that all dimensions are closely related to each other. A policy like the ERP, which is intended to reintegrate

ex-combatants into civilian life, must necessarily deal with the various forms of violence and injustice that have caused and perpetuated the conflict. Addressing them only partially will diminish ERPs capacity to reintegrate ex-combatants and contribute positively to peacebuilding.

3.1 Redistribution

The redistribution dimension is concerned with the macrostructure of the policy and the degree to which it does address vertical and horizontal inequalities related to educational input, resources, and outcomes. In 2005, in what is considered a historic shift in discourse, the Ministry of Education recognized ex-combatants as a vulnerable population group through resolution 2533. The Colombian government by statute grants a “vulnerable group” status to sections of the population that are considered to be historical victims of exclusion and discrimination. As a consequence, all levels of government and its institutions are obliged to take steps to ensure that these groups overcome the conditions presumed to contribute to their vulnerability. Thus, the ERP in 2005 became a mechanism to guarantee the constitutional right to education to a group that previously has been discriminated against and excluded from educational opportunities due to political, economic, social and cultural inequalities (ACR, 2011b, p. 31).

Public education in Colombia is funded through the General System of Participation (Sistema General de Participaciones, SGP). The SGP is one of the mechanisms through which tax money collected by the state is distributed to departments and municipalities (Contraloría General de la Nación, 2014). By law, most of the SGPs must be allocated to education, however, this allocation represents only the contribution of the central government to its lower levels. These lower levels must then allocate from their own resources whatever additional amounts are necessary to provide services to all their population. In practice, this means that certain municipalities and regions that have more solid economies invest more in the implementation of the ERP. As a consequence, although regulated by the same principles, the quality of teachers, infrastructure, and pedagogic materials varies greatly throughout the country.

A second problem stemming from the resource allocation structure of the ERP is corruption. Schools implementing the program are chosen by municipal authorities. Schools must report back to municipal authorities, the MEN, and the ACR, information relating to the number of students and teachers taking part in the ERP. The MEN, the ACR, and municipal authorities then proceed to transfer the resources. Several government officials complain about the unintended effects of this

system. During interviews and focus groups they expressed repeatedly, the fact that in many cases local authorities do not choose schools based on their experience, merit, and capabilities, but rather because of client relations. Furthermore, many schools and municipalities tend to inflate the numbers of students and teachers in order to perceive more resources.

A third problem has to do with the tensions that the whole reintegration policy is generating in the country, especially among other vulnerable population groups. During the focus group with NGO representatives, many narrated their experiences in working with other vulnerable population groups such as indigenous people and Afro-Colombians. For these groups, the benefits of the reintegration policy are unfair and are perceived as an undeserved reward given the crimes that ex-combatants have committed. Such perceptions and feelings are held by a considerable number of Colombians. This makes it very difficult to secure more resources for the implementation of the ERP; resources that could help close the gap that exists among municipalities.

3.2 Representation

The second dimension, places emphasis on the decision-making mechanisms and dynamics throughout the policy process, from elaboration to implementation to evaluation. The degree of top-down and bottom-up participation and influence is what determines whether the ERPs policy process is representative or not (Novelli, Lopez Cardoso, Smith, 2015). Consequently, this paragraph has been divided into three parts.

3.2.1 Elaboration

The current structure and content of the ERP were elaborated through a cooperation contract between the MEN, the ACR, the Organization for the Internationalization of Education (NUFFIC), and the National Learning System (SENA) that started in 2008. This took place during the administration of Alvaro Uribe (2002-2010).

Even though the educational component became more relevant compared to previous years, it was still framed in the security policy of Uribe's administration (Seguridad democrática) and designed in isolation from ex-combatants and teacher's input, at least through official channels. To date, there is no official mechanism through which ex-combatants, teachers, or communities can influence the process of policy formulation and reform. Since the 1990's, the ERP's content and structure has always been devised at the higher levels of government and then delegated to regions and municipalities for implementation (ACR, 2011b).

This does not mean their voices have gone

completely unheard. Pressure from below has certainly had an impact on the ERP's reforms. Continuous demands from teachers, students, communities, and municipalities have played an important role in some of the most significant reforms of the ERP. In several meetings with ACR officials, they explained how the demands of these groups had pushed forward the reform that changed the ERP's time lapse from two years to a maximum of seven years. In the same way, the demands from schools and teachers led to the creation of training materials for teachers who were implementing the model. Moreover, a considerable improvement was achieved in the available options of tertiary education when the SENA was brought in as a permanent partner in the implementation of the ERP.

3.2.2 Implementation

Besides the issues of resource and quality inequity, and corruption inherent in the decentralized approach to implementation, one positive aspect of the ERP is the freedom municipalities, schools, and teachers have in order to adapt the ERP to their local contexts and circumstances. This aspect is often highlighted in the normativity and the content of the ERP, as well as in the official internal documents of the ACR (ACR, 2011ab, 2014).

Necessary adjustments must be made to the ERP's content and structure, and they should reflect classroom composition and the preferences of the students. In-class practices should take into account students' backgrounds, the different armed groups to which they belonged, their reasons for entry, their age, sex, cultural identity, and political affiliations. However, due to the budget constraints and the lack of commitment of several educational institutions, a very standardized, blueprint of the ERP is being implemented instead.

Some schools in Bogota, Medellín, and other large cities are exceptions to this standardized model. As noted earlier, in addition to the financial resources received from the MEN and ACR, large cities allocate a part of their own resources to the ERP. In addition, the private sector has become more involved in these cities, providing another source of resources. Thus, schools in these cities have a greater capacity to implement and adapt the ERP to local circumstances based on the input of teachers and school directives.

However, it would not be accurate to say that ex-combatants have any significant decision-making power over the way the ERP is implemented. Other than being able to choose among a number of curricular options and courses, ex-combatants have no say on the pedagogical methodology and materials that are used, and the choice of schools, teachers, and schedules (ACR, 2011ab, 2014). While it is true that teacher's wishes have a better chance of having an impact, this is highly dependent on the

municipality, and the school directors .

3.2.3 Evaluation

Regarding the evaluation process, the perceptions and opinions of teachers and ex-combatants rarely reach higher levels of the organizational ladder. Hence, they have very little impact on the policy evaluation process. It became clear through the content analysis of the normativity and the ACR documents that the perceptions and attitudes of students and teachers are not part of the measures used to evaluate the performance of the ERP; indicators focus mostly on the “efficient use of financial resources”, employment, and relapse into violence (ACR, 2011ab, 2011, 2013, 2014).

Policy makers and government officials argue that satisfaction surveys are carried out periodically, and that these are taken into account for policy reform and implementation. However, a derived conclusion from the interviews and focus groups held with students and teachers is that this is certainly not the case. This seriously limits the legitimacy of the evaluations, and the possibilities for program improvement.

3.3 Recognition

The recognition dimension deals with the curricular content of the ERP, in-class practices and dynamics, and the perspectives of students and teachers. The 4R framework has so far been developed for, and applied in, contexts of armed conflict, rooted in issues related to ethnicity, religion, and culture (Novelli., Lopes Cardozo., and Smith, 2015). Logically, the framework stresses the need to study the degree to which the curricular contents and in-class practices deal properly with these issues. However, the Colombian conflict is rather rooted in issues of socio-economic inequalities, political exclusion, and poor policy concerning land property rights (Fajardo, 2015; Molano, 2015; Rodríguez and Salgado, 2011). For these reasons, instead of focusing on issues of religion, ethnicity, culture, and language, the dimension of recognition here is rather concerned with the ways in which the curriculum and in-class practices deal with the history of the conflict, and ex-combatant’s social, military, and political affiliations and experiences.

The structure of the ERP consists of six academic cycles, five years in total, that compress the eleven years of regular mandatory schooling in Colombia. Emphasis here is placed on the subjects that deal specifically with the above-mentioned aspects. These are the social science, ethics and human values, political constitution and democracy courses (MEN, 2016abc). In addition to these, the training handbook for teachers, the Documento de Formación Docente, has also been included. This document is the one provided to teachers and is meant to

prepare them for the implementation of the ERP.

The curricular content of these three courses crosscuts all levels of primary and secondary education in Colombia, and they are composed of academic disciplines like history, geography, philosophy, and economics. The broad objectives of these courses are: a) to provide students with the necessary knowledge and skills in order to comprehend the local, national and international realities (past and present) so that they are able to participate and transform them and b) to make students aware of their rights and duties as citizens of a constitutional democracy (MEN, 2016abc). Given that the curricular guidelines explicitly recognize the necessity to deal with the past of ex-combatants in relation to the armed conflict, the history of the conflict itself, and the views and experiences of ex-combatants as political and social agents, one would expect these topics to be of central importance in the classroom.

However, as the results of the content analysis, interviews, and focus groups show this is not the case. In practice, the fears of teachers and students of being discriminated and excluded stay in way of engaging with these issues. Another obstacle is that most of the teachers and students perceive the classroom as a place where they go to learn useful things for their future, often related to finding a job. They are perfectly comfortable talking about the conflict in history class, but that remains a detached way of studying the topic for people who experienced it firsthand. Furthermore, the fact that the ERP is within the standard academic curriculum used in the country for children and teenagers translates to the result that it is not a comfortable fit to engage deeply and critically with the conflict, the reasons why they joined, why they left, and how they perceive their new role as citizens. Emphasis is placed on standard peace education, conflict resolution, negotiation, and respect for authority and institutions .

Novelli (2016) speaks of this approach as a worrying trend and sees it as one of the shortcomings of educational policy and programming in conflict-affected contexts. Novelli argues the contribution education can make to peacebuilding is thereby diminished since it is reduced to handling broad topics of citizenship and conflict resolution while neglecting issues that lay at the core of the conflict in which the ex-combatants have participated. In his own words, the role of education is reduced to “a bit of hugging and a bit of hand washing.” Although not arguing that the topics of civic education and conflict resolution are unimportant, he stresses that alone they are insufficient .

3.4 Reconciliation

When thinking about reconciliation in relation to the ERP, we must reflect on the ways in which the outcomes of the program have helped in building vertical and horizontal trust (Novelli & Lopes Cardozo & Smith, 2015). Thus, emphasis is placed on the degree to

which the policy outcomes have improved the relations between individuals, groups, and institutions at the school, community, and national levels.

Data collected by Vanderbilt University under its Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP), and the results from the content analysis of the interviews and the focus groups are useful in this respect. The results from the LAPOP survey (2015) show that a considerable number of Colombians, 41.5% to 44.1%, think that the demobilization and reintegration processes have had, and will continue to have, a positive impact on the country's democracy, security, and economy, while 26.6% to 31.8% think it has had no impact whatsoever. A minority of 30% believes it has been detrimental to the above-mentioned societal aspects.

When asked about their positions regarding a hypothetical scenario an ex-combatant will become their neighbor, Colombians show mixed attitudes. An interesting finding points out to the fact that people living in the areas most affected by the conflict are slightly more receptive to the idea of having an ex-combatant as a neighbor. At the national level, however, the results show an almost even result, with around 50% of the population being in favor and 50% against.

The survey included as well a set of questions directly related to the dimension of reconciliation. When explicitly asked about forgiveness, results show Colombians are not ready or willing to let go of the past. Around 70% of the Colombian population openly declares itself incapable or unwilling to forgive ex-combatants. Another 10% is indifferent. The results thus appear to be quite contradictory. On the one hand, we have a significant part of the population that recognizes the contribution that the reintegration policy does to the country. On the other hand, however, we see how another equally significant part still holds to fear, hatred, and mistrust.

The reason why this information is presented at the start of this section is because I want to contrast the results of the survey against the findings of this investigation. During my visits to receptor communities and schools, and the focus groups and interviews I conducted with community leaders, teachers, and students, I did not observe or experience the unwillingness to forgive that the survey results show. Quite the contrary, from day one I encountered open communities that are very committed to the reintegration process.

In the various interviews conducted with ACR officials, ex-combatants, and teachers it became clear that where the ERP is properly implemented communities are usually brought into the process; schools organize numerous activities where victims, ex-combatants, and receptor communities come together in order to talk about the conflict and their experiences. As noted in the previous sections, however, this level of involvement is not uniform across the city, let alone the country. Due to the unequal

distribution of resources and lack of commitment in some municipalities and schools, this is the exception rather than the rule.

4 Conclusion and Recommendations

The focus of this research, its theoretical lens, methodology, and findings offer important insights into the extent of the contribution that education can make to achieve sustainable peacebuilding through the reintegration process of ex-combatants. Adopting the 4R framework as a theoretical lens and analytical tool, allowed me to overcome the narrow understanding of reintegration often used by governments and IOs working in the DDR policy field. This narrow conception of reintegration limits the understanding of a successful reintegration to high rates of employment and low rates of relapse into violence. The outcomes of the ERP and the reintegration policy as a whole in Colombia are remarkable in this respect. However, while important, these two indicators alone allow little insight into the actual content, structure, practices, outcomes, and the perspectives of stakeholders involved in the policy process.

The four-dimensional framework developed by the RCEP (2015), provided a better-suited approach to the study of the ERP at both the theoretical and practical levels. The results from the analysis revealed that there is a remarkable difference between the government's discourse and rhetoric regarding the ERP program and the normativity that regulates it on the one hand and the actual practices and processes through which the ERP is being implemented on the other. This holds true for all the dimensions of the framework. While the rhetoric, discourse, and normativity fall in line with the definition of a positive reintegration here adopted, the practices fall short of that objective, and in some cases, these are a direct obstacle to it.

The decentralized resource distribution and oversights mechanisms have resulted in the unequal distribution of resources and facilitated the rise of corrupt networks; negatively affecting the quality of the program. In order to make the ERP more redistributive as a policy, steps should be taken to modify the rules of the allocation model so that municipalities and regions are obliged by law to allocate resources for the ERP's implementation.

Regarding representation, a policy intended to reintegrate ex-combatants should allow them to have a direct influence on decision-making throughout the policy process, thereby giving them de facto ownership of the ERP. The absence of such participation channels poses serious questions over the alleged participatory character enshrined in the normativity of the program.

Furthermore, neglecting to deal with ex-combatant's

experiences, and roles in the conflict through every day, in-class practices are in direct opposition to the understanding of recognition and reconciliation. Dialogue and debate over sensitive issues that lie at the heart of the conflict are the basis from which transformative strategies arise and socially just arrangements are constructed. Their absence constitutes a grave pitfall in the program's content and implementation practices.

Lastly, in relation to reconciliation, it is necessary to recreate at a national level the initiatives that are taking place in certain schools and communities, where interaction between groups is fostered by opening the school as a space for dialogue and debate. The contrast that exists between the levels of acceptance of the ex-combatant population in receptor communities and the population, in general, is telling. This contrast reflects primarily the lack of interaction between ex-combatants and the general public, as well as the lack of knowledge by the latter about reintegration policy. The ways in which positive relations have been built at the receptor community level can provide valuable knowledge as to how to build bridges between the general public and ex-combatants, thereby fostering reconciliation, and ultimately, a sustainable peace scenario.

Altogether, the mismatch that exists between the normativity, the discourse, and rhetoric on the one hand and the actual practices on the other have resulted in an asymmetrical pattern of practices, perspectives, and outcomes throughout the country. In the schools where the four dimensions of the model are served and accomplished we see examples of how achieving the positive reintegration of ex-combatants is possible. As stated earlier, however, these are the exceptions rather than the rule.

The recently signed peace agreement between the Colombian government and the left-wing guerrilla group FARC is both a challenge and a window of opportunity for the State. It is a chance for the State to enter the most marginalized, impoverished, and affected areas by the conflict, and thereby bring to its inhabitants the benefits of the rapid and steady political, social, and economic developments that other parts of the country have experienced and benefitted from over the past decades. However, if not handled correctly, the result could be the continuation of the armed conflict. In order not to relapse into the latter, the positive reintegration of the ex-combatants will be key and the role of the education essential.

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Endnotes

1. Opening speech by Professor Alan Smith at the dissemination seminar of the RCEP, on the 20th of April 2016.
2. Focus group with ACR officials (18/09/2015)
3. Focus group with ACR officials (18/09/2015)
4. Multiple interviews and focus groups with teachers implementing the ERP, and ex-combatants.
5. Intervention of Professor Mario Novelli at the Research Dissemination Seminar of the RCEP, on the 21st of April 2016.

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ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIES WITH- IN A NEO-LIBERAL STRUCTURE

How to generate conditions for an alternative economy in environmentally fragile regions through a spatial strategy approach? The case of the Chocó region in Colombia

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RESUMEN

Las actividades extractivas, tales como la deforestación, la minería y la producción de cocaína, están generando un alto impacto en los ciclos naturales, amenazando el medio ambiente, la biodiversidad y las comunidades que habitan la región del Chocó en Colombia. La presente investigación propone encontrar y explorar las posibilidades de un modelo alternativo de desarrollo que considere las potencialidades espaciales y económicas del ecosistema regional, desde la perspectiva del ordenamiento territorial. El enfoque sistemático de este trabajo permite desarrollar una metodología que integre tanto los servicios de los ecosistemas, como las estructuras socio-urbanas. Esto, a través de diferentes escalas y marcos temporales, cada uno con implicaciones espaciales diferentes. De igual forma, ésta metodología puede garantizar el desarrollo sostenible de contextos frágiles, a través de la comprensión de las características locales en el territorio. Con el fin de reconocer el modelo actual de economía en los países en desarrollo, se analizaron teorías de diferentes disciplinas, entre las cuales se encuentran la antropología, la ecología social y el urbanismo. Como resultado se obtiene un marco teórico, que recopila la teoría del Valor de Lugar de Arturo Escobar, la teoría del Valor del capital natural por Costanza y La multifuncionalidad en la planificación de la infraestructura verde por Hansen y Pauleit, con el objetivo de desarrollar un marco para la ordenación del territorio capaz de soportar la propuesta de un modelo alternativo de desarrollo.

Key words – Alternative economies, green infrastructure, environment, spatial planning, sustainable development

1 Introduction

Due to the current economic model the Chocó region in the Colombian Pacific faces an irresponsible consumption of natural resources. This is causing socioeconomic inequality and a negative impact on the social and ecological structures of the region. These extractive practices derived from colonialism remain today under the structure of neoliberalism.

The Chocó region has suffered many transformations. From the colonial model and slavery-system in the 16th and 18th centuries to freedom and economic prosperity during the 19th and the first part of the 20th century to economic decadence, social inequality

and extreme poverty from 1950 until today. During the different periods one thing was common in the region, namely the economic production based on gold and platinum extraction, as depicted in figure 1.

This practice became stronger with the industrialization and mechanization of this activity, and it was enhanced by capitalism. The higher the demand for raw materials, the higher the investment in new technologies of extraction and faster industrial and urban growth. Arturo Escobar (2008) accurately states that “one of the most common ways in which places have been transformed in recent centuries throughout the world is, of course, by capitalism”. This model led to an unfair distribution of goods, where few people get rich on behalf of the poverty of many, despite the environmental richness of some regions. This is one of the biggest contradictions of the Chocó region in particular and Colombia in general.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the impacts of the current economic model on the social, environmental and cultural structures in the Chocó region. Starting from a critique of the neoliberal model that the government of Colombia has adopted as a strategy of development, the first part of the paper provides the context of how the current economic model has negative impacts on the existing structures, specifically on environmentally fragile and vulnerable areas, such as the Chocó region. The second part of the paper, highlights the consequences of such a model in the region and sets a discussion around the urgency of changing this model. Finally, the paper reflects on the possibility of developing an alternative economic model in relation to spatial planning. This is part of an



Figure 1: Impact of mining in rivers. Available at: <https://mineriavscolombia.wordpress.com/>

attempt to understand different theories, specifically about ecosystem services (ES) and natural capital value, and how they relate to regional characteristics. The aim of this reflection is to work on a framework for spatial planning that could lead to an environmentally friendly economy.

2 A general view of the development model in Latin American countries

The world's economy integrated the Colombian Pacific since colonial times through exploration, slavery, gold mining, and chasing of indigenous inhabitants. There were socioeconomic booms and periods of decadence that are tied to the extraction of raw materials (gold, platinum, fine wood, timber, rubber and more recently biodiversity). Each of these periods has left behind a negative trace in the social, economic, ecological and cultural production structure of the place (Escobar, 2008). The perception of the colonizers was that they needed to educate the indigenous communities, who inhabited unique environmental regions, in order to show them how humans can take from nature what they need, without giving anything back. This ideology stayed in most of the countries where colonialism took place, like a scar that never healed, and determined the start of a process of vast transformation of the territory, led by the imposed economic model.

Latin America, and in particular Colombia, after independence, remained under the old colonial system. Native thinkers tried to create their own laws, their own models, their own system, but still looked up to Europe as the biggest example. During the 1930's, US secretary Robert Bacon, referring to Latin America, declared that "they have passed out of the condition of militarism, out of the condition of revolution, into the condition of industrialism, into the path of successful commerce, and are becoming great and powerful nations" (Escobar, 1995). According to Escobar, during this decade and after the Great Depression that affected the US economy, many Latin American countries started strengthening their domestic economies, and became more autonomous based on industrialization. An emergent democracy accompanied this process, working towards social justice and equality. However, the weak socio-political structures in developing

countries and the submergence of the world in constant war generated many obstacles in the plans of Latin American countries to continue flourishing.

After the World Wars and during the Post War period, there was a unanimous decision that

The industrialized nations of North America and Europe were supposed to be the indubitable models for the societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the so-called Third World, and that these societies must catch up with the industrialized countries, perhaps even become like them (Escobar, 1995).

Many organizations and companies showed interest in the developing world, and the devastating scenario of Europe was the perfect occasion for people migrating to more stable places, including Latin America.

In his book *Encountering Development: the making and unmaking of the Third World* (1995) Arturo Escobar talks about the discourse of development. This idea refers to a series of factors that divided the world in three: The First World (highly industrialized countries, with a capitalist model and freedom), the Second World (industrialized countries under the regime of Socialism) and the Third World (underdeveloped countries, without industry or any socio-economic structure whatsoever). The interesting thing is that the countries of the so-called First World decided this.

This discourse has had different purposes. One of them was to determine the correct model for development. Based on the speech of a UN officer in 1948 mentioned by Escobar, there was a definition for the model of development that Asia, Africa, and Latin America should aim for: "The development of a country depends primarily on a material factor: first, the knowledge, and then the

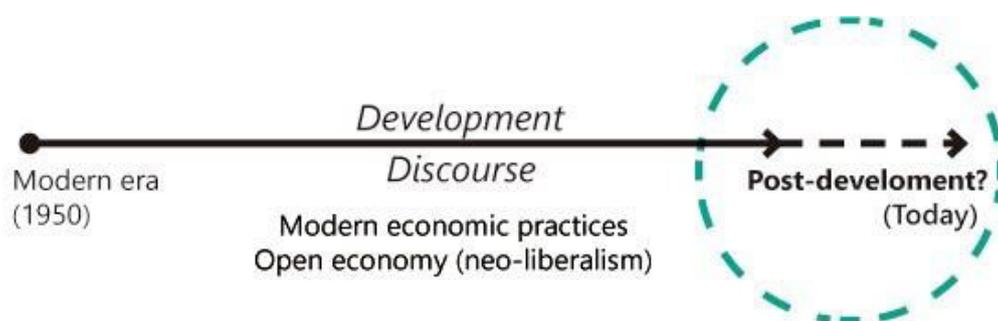


Figure 2: Diagrams of the development model. Made by the author based on Escobar, 1995.

exploitation of all its natural resources" (Escobar, 1995). The model of development is of the 20th century and should be changed to one of the 21st century.

In the case of the Chocó region that includes the most biodiverse rain forest in the world, colonizers only had interest in its natural resources and their exploitation,

Aspect	Neoclassical economics	Environmental economics	Ecological economics	Distributed economics
Allocation of resources	Market creates efficient allocation of resources	Market creates efficient allocation of most resources	Sustainable allocation of resources	Allocation of resources through network and cooperation
Regulatory principle	Market is prime regulatory principle	Market and regulations to protect the environment	Democracy: The people	Democracy: The people
Motivation of consumers	Consumers are purely rational and egocentric	Not rational, notions of environmental friendliness also play a role	Individual and societal health	Cooperation and mutual benefit
Amount of consumption	Consumers are inestable	Quantity and quality	Aims for less consumption. Quality over quantity	Focus on quality
Scale	Economy is scale less	Scale less if the resources are managed efficiently	Economy has clear boundaries, defined by natural resources	Focus on the local scale
Growth	Growth is indispensable	Growth is indispensable, but can be slower	Qualitative growth is desirable	Natural growth, expansion of the network
View on technology	Technology can solve problems with resources	Important, but protection is also important. Balance	Can support, but only in addition to reduction measures	Emphasis on craftsmanship (handmade)

Figure 3: Overview of economic theory made by the author based on Costanza. Source: Smits, 2012.

during all periods of history. During the Spanish occupation, the greed of the colonizers focused only in extracting gold; while they consumed all the resources, they forgot about the knowledge of the place, which was very important for the indigenous communities. Throughout the twentieth century, other colonizers, who came in the name of private companies, only cared about their capitalist means: work, gold, time, and once again, forgot about regional traditions and culture.

3 The current economic model of the Chocó region

The international community imposed a capitalist model of economy to Colombia, which had a strong influence on the existing system. During the 1950s Colombia was facing an ideological fight nationwide that destabilized the ongoing socio-political structure. All of the financial projects that came from the development discourse were introduced to the country through the following ways: financial aids, private investment, and special development projects. The injection of capital generated a high debt for Colombia, like in the rest of Latin America, known as the Debt crisis of the 1980s. In the 1990s, Colombia initiated a new economic period known as “the opening”, which aimed to enter the process of economic globalization, free economy, free market and free trades. Today, Colombia runs by the economic model of Neoliberalism, an open economy with the privatization

of public goods and natural resources, capital competition, free market, and free trade agreements.

According to Perstova (2007), neoclassical economies have a general approach for dealing with the allocation of scarce resources that focuses on the determination of prices, outputs, and income distributions in markets through supply and demand. The market is based on three assumptions:

1. People are rational actors who have rational preferences.
2. Individuals maximize their utility and companies maximize their profits.
3. People act independently on the basis of full and relevant information.

Based on the capitalist perspective, neoclassical economics introduced the market system and established the allocation of scarce resources. There are many critical arguments made against the neoclassical economic theory, especially in relation to the use of natural resources.

Because neoclassical economics assumes that the economy is scaleless, it considers all elements contributing to the economy as sub-sectors of that economy. However, many of these elements are far from scaleless. There is ever increasing proof that the amount of virgin natural resources is decreasing fast (Smits, 2012).

To provide a better understanding of the different

economic theories, figure 3 places them in contrast to each other.

The economic development went parallel to the process of globalization. Economic liberalism accelerated this process. As Rocco (2008) puts it, “the unprecedented developments in communications, data collection, management- and transportation technologies, have all transformed space and time relationships. This unprecedented transformation has an obvious impact on how urban environments evolve and how they should be planned”. So facing globalization and economic liberation, Colombia has privatized many of its natural resources.

In the case of Chocó, the government has held two main positions. The first is to allow private companies the right to extract gold, platinum and wood, without any precautions for environmental impact. The second is to fail in fighting illegal extractive activities, which are diminishing the natural resources and affecting biodiversity. As a result, they have endangered the security of local inhabitants, their health, well-being, and identity.

As we have seen, economic models are engines of transformation and development. In the case of Colombia, specifically in the case of Chocó, the neoliberal economic system is compromising not only the development, but also the wellbeing of inhabitants. When the model is not sharing knowledge, it is only profiting private companies, it is not being regulated by the government, and it is not being environmentally responsible. At least, it is not adequate for that specific place. We need to find an alternative in the ways of production, new practices based in a place with a local model of nature, with an exceptional understanding of the natural environment. Neoclassical economists do not consider environmental aspects and therefore they do not fit in the integral development of the region (Smits, 2012).

4 Exploring alternative economic models: three perspectives

The neoliberal economic model has emerged from previous models (such as capitalism and neoclassical economics) and most of the powerful countries have applied it. It is the economic model of globalization. However, I am suggesting in this paper that the principles of this model are not appropriate for environmental fragile and vulnerable regions, such as Chocó in the Colombian Pacific. According to Costanza et al. (1997), the social and environmental problems associated with economic growth show consequences that are different from economies based on scientific progress, such as control of nature and material plenty. Costanza et al. (1997) state, “We need to direct the best of our scientific expertise and far more educational effort at learning how to work with nature”.

In theory, Costanza et al focus on simple problems

that require innovative policies and management instruments, in order to take steps forward. These elements are:

1. Population: Unsustainably large and growing human populations that exceed the carrying capacity of the earth.
2. Technical practices and instruments: Highly increasing technologies that deplete the earth of its resources, and whose unassimilated wastes poison the air, water, and land.
3. Land use transformation: Land conversion that destroys habitat, increases soil erosion and accelerates the loss of species diversity.

By taking into consideration the natural capital and the ecosystem services as principles, you can develop innovative policies and management instruments, starting from the point in which there is a complete and integrated understanding of the previous problems.

In order to do so, is important to see these problems from another perspective. To do so, I discuss three main concepts. First, the value of place and the importance of the local, as elaborated by Escobar (2008). Second, the value of the ecosystem services and natural capital, as set out by Costanza et al. (1997). Third, the conceptual framework for multifunctionality in Green Infrastructure planning, as presented by Hansen and Pauleit (2014).

4.1 The value of place

In his book *Territories of Difference: Place, Movements, Life, Redes*, Arturo Escobar (2008) describes the particular situation of the Colombian Pacific in terms of place, capital, nature, development, identity, and networks. I will revise a few aspects to understand the concepts of place and context, relevant in the definition of an alternative economy.

The understanding of place remains an important source of culture and identity. For a long time, we have been giving more importance to the “global” and less to the “local”. One of the explanations is the fast changes in life, things, and structures. While living in an accelerated pace in which there is no time to stop for the details, it is necessary to make a stop and recognize the local potentialities. It is essential to find alternatives to the current model in the local scale.

In accordance with Escobar, the ideology of economic dependence on capitalist languages and individual markets needs to change and be transformed into new alternatives of locally based economies. What we need is to make visible other ways of thinking and organizing the material and social life. As mentioned before, this involves the research of local economic models, which are deeply shaped by local culture, but do not exist

in isolation from their conflicting articulation with the dominant models. Escobar (2008) puts it the following way

As local models of nature, these models are an important part of the dimension of production of place. What is important to review, is the possibility of finding forms of non-capitalist economy deployed from specific situations, such as the so-called traditional production systems of the Pacific. The non-capitalist is not defined in terms of control over the means of production, but in terms of circulation and appropriation of profit and revenue.

4.2 The value of the ecosystem services and natural capital

Robert Costanza, an expert in Natural Capital, says that if ecosystem services were part of the market, they would have a bigger role in the world's economy: "Ecosystem functions refer variously to the habitat, biological or system properties or processes of ecosystems. Ecosystem goods (such as food) and services (such as waste assimilation) represent the benefits human population derive, directly or indirectly, from ecosystem functions." (Costanza et al., 1997) As these services become more scarce and overloaded, there is an urgency in protecting them, due to its increased value.

Since ecosystem services are not fully captured in global markets or quantified in comparable terms with other man-made capitals, they are given too little importance in policy decisions, and this situation is compromising the sustainable development of humans (Costanza et al., 1997). There are several theories about this position, but there has not been an agreement on it yet, and I argue that, as long as the model does not change, there is not really a chance of this agreement happening.

An example to understand how ecosystem services can be part of the market is one in which

Forests provide timber materials through well-established markets, but the associated habitat values of forests are also felt through un-marketed recreational activities. Forests provide timber, but also hold soils and moisture, and create microclimates, all of which contribute to human welfare in complex, and generally non-marketed ways (Costanza et al., 1997).

The extra benefits of ecosystems are used for more environmentally grounded policies that will lead to sustainable development by emphasizing the characteristics of the local (ecosystem) and using this to boost the local economy. As mentioned before, one of the big steps towards a more integrated and environmentally based economic model would take into account the real value of local natural capital.

4.3 Ecosystem Services and Green Infrastructure: principles and framework

The importance of giving natural capital more power in decision-making processes is fundamental to value the services provided by ecosystems. To enhance that, the use of ecosystem services to human welfare needs to contribute in a more sustainable way. From the spatial perspective, one way of increasing the total value of ecosystem services is to recognize that a minimal level of ecosystem "infrastructure" is necessary (Costanza et al., 1997) Besides this, there must exist some basic principles around ecosystem services, including a perspective of how these are connected.

Hansen and Pauleit (2014) call these connections Green Infrastructures (GI).

GI is defined as a strategically planned network of natural and semi-natural areas with other environmental features designed and managed to deliver a wide range of ecosystem services. In contrast to a mono-functional planned "gray" infrastructure, GI enhances and synergizes benefits provided by nature. (Hansen and Pauleit, 2014)

The networks are based on two type of principles. First, those approaches addressing the green structures, and second, those approaches addressing the governance process. Hansen and Pauleit (2014) classify the principles in the following way:

Approaches addressing the green structures:

- Integration
- Multifunctionality
- Connectivity
- Multi-scale approach
- Multi-object approach

Approaches addressing governance process:

- Strategic approach
- Social inclusion
- Transdisciplinary

Next to these principles, some guidelines have been developed, aimed at the creation of an alternative economic model. Since the most important aspect of achieving an alternative is a proposal, the final aspect to evaluate is a framework for multifunctionality in Green Infrastructure network. Hansen and Pauleit (2014) describe Green Infrastructure as, "a conceptual framework for the assessment of multi-functionality from a social-ecological perspective is proposed that can inform the design of planning processes and support stronger exchange between Green Infrastructure and Ecosystem Service research". This framework takes into consideration system analysis,

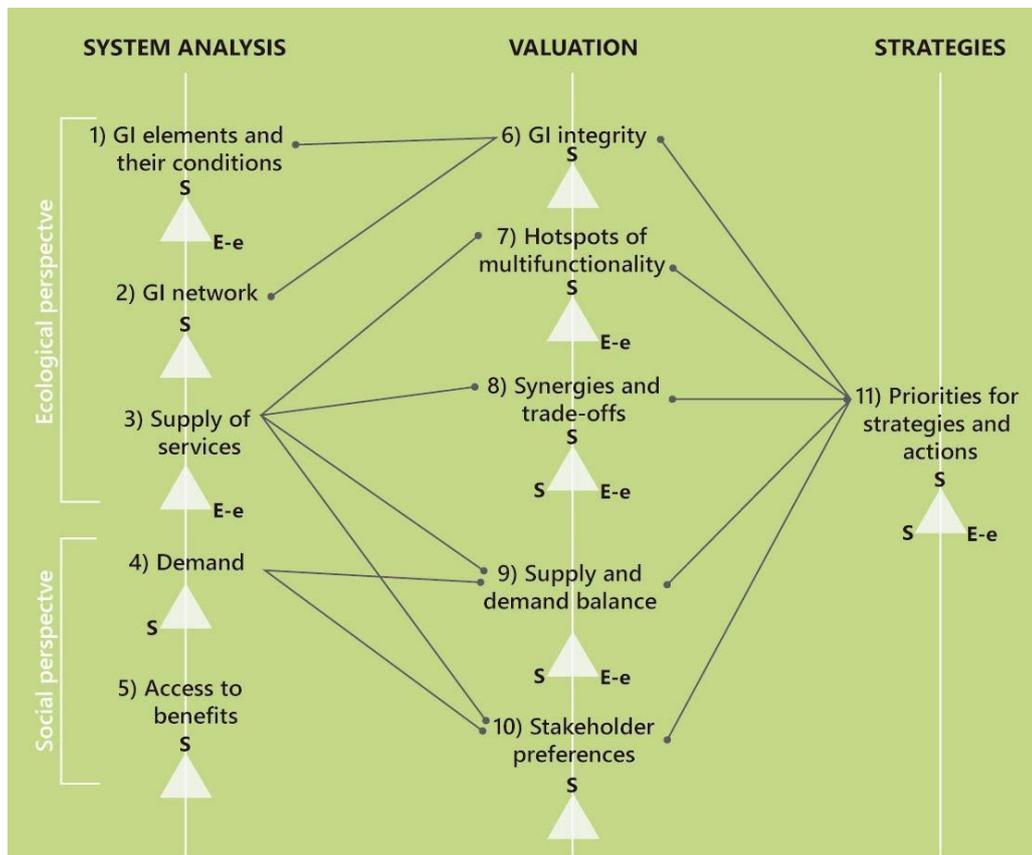


Figure 4: Conceptual framework for the assessment of GI multifunctionality. Made by the author based on Hansen and Pauleit, 2014. S=Social; E-e=Environment and economy; S=Spatial.

valuation, and strategies. Figure 4 shows an adaptation of the original framework of Hansen and Pauleit (2014).

By developing a vision for the use of Green Infrastructure and Ecosystem Services, an innovative framework can be created, one that integrates the social and ecological aspects and supports policy objectives related to sustainable development, environmental justice, social cohesion, and resilience.

5 Conclusions

After reviewing the impacts of the current economic model on social environmental structures in the Chocó region, from the perspective of anthropology, economy, ecological economy and spatial planning, the following can be concluded:

1. There is a discourse of development created by countries of the First World, in order to impose one single ideology, in which the development of a country can only depend on knowledge and the exploitation of all its natural resources.

2. The current economic model in Colombia is neoliberalism, an open economy that aims at privatization of public goods, natural resources and capital, competition, free market, and free trade agreements. with the ambition

of growing and developing fast This model does not protect the environment or the society.

3. It is urgent to find a non-capitalist model, defined in terms of circulation and appropriation of profit and revenue. An alternative model based in a place that includes social and cultural perspectives.

4. This vision for an alternative model can be built on principles of an innovative framework that integrates social and ecological aspects, from the perspective of Green Infrastructure, Ecosystem Services and Value of Natural Capital.

As mentioned, this paper engages with the question of how to generate conditions for an alternative economy in environmentally fragile regions through

a spatial strategy approach. The theory review had the purpose of answering this question, giving the following tools and parameters:

1. Find potentialities in local ecosystems to generate conditions for a more inclusive model of development.
2. Understand current economic systems and identify which of the potentialities can propose an alternative model to boom local economy.
3. Build a framework that considers Green Infrastructure and Ecosystem Services as part of the elements of spatial planning strategy.

One of the most relevant findings relates to the emphasis on the local as part of the global, and the understanding of the role of place in multiple scales. In order to achieve this, the involvement and compromise of the national government in creating stronger policies and penalties against illegal mining, deforestation, and drugs is necessary.

On another hand, from the perspective of spatial planning, an integral framework and a strategic plan can reorganize the relations between ecosystem services, improving the connectivity, increasing the efficiency of distribution and protecting the environment. For this case,

the elements that derive from the place and aim to tackle local issues are the main components of the strategy for the Chocó region.

Finally, with respect to the value of natural capital, the proposed strategy contemplates the possibility of the market introducing ecosystems services as quantifiable elements. It considers and proposes the use of natural elements as the main economic output of the region. One example of this is the introduction of productive landscapes, not only to ensure food security, but also for recreation and tourism.

Productive landscapes will not only provide more jobs in agroforestry, but will also provide opportunities for local entrepreneurs in forming touristic, educational and industrial programs, based on the element of production, making the region more competitive, with an economy based on nature.

6 Recommendations

The relevance of this research for the Latin American context, as well as for the field of urban design and planning, is to find a method to organize the territory in relation to the socioeconomic and environmental potentialities. The main result of this research is the development of a systematic methodology to assess fragile contexts and analyze them through different scales, considering local spatial and environmental characteristics. Even though the case study presented here was specific, the purpose of the research methodology is to apply it in the analysis of other regions with similar characteristics, using the same parameters.

This methodology can be applied to any other region in Colombia, Latin America, or any country in the developing world, in order to find alternative models for development that consider spatial and environmental potentialities, to achieve sustainable development.

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PAISAJES LINGÜÍSTICOS EN LATINOAMÉRICA

El caso de las lenguas indígenas en los
escenarios urbanos

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ABSTRACT

Central to this study is to delve into the linguistic landscapes of three Latin American cities, i.e. Lima, Mexico City, and Santiago, and to explore the processes behind the absence of Amerindian elements in their open spaces. The underlying notion is that visibility, vitality and symbolism are key concepts to understand how a city chooses to express itself through the use of written language. But also, that linguistic landscapes of an urban area do not necessarily reflect the presence of specific language communities. Due to the status allocated to indigenous minorities within the social hierarchy in most Latin American countries, it is noticeable that Amerindian languages are absent from signs, advertisement, place names, public notifications, etc. In order to review the attitudes of non-indigenous citizens towards Amerindian languages, a series of interviews and surveys were conducted in Lima and Santiago. The results indicate that most citizens see functional purposes in recognizing graphically the linguistic heritage of minorities, they agree that city authorities fail to promote an all-embracing language policy, and they view positively the visual recognition of linguistic heterogeneity.

Keywords – linguistic landscape, indigenous languages, linguistic attitudes, visibility

1 Introducción

El presente trabajo se enmarca en el campo de la sociolingüística, y particularmente, en la confluencia de prácticas lingüísticas escritas y su presencia en ámbitos urbanos. Concretamente, esta investigación se centra en las actitudes generales hacia la inclusión de lengua(s) subalterna(s) en el espacio público de tres de las más grandes metrópolis en Latinoamérica: Lima, Santiago y Ciudad de México. Como sobrevaloradas, se entienden las lenguas indígenas, también conocidas como amerindias o lenguas nativas de América. El objetivo de esta investigación es explorar las actitudes hacia el posicionamiento de dichos idiomas dentro del paisaje urbano del continente. Específicamente, interesa indagar el protagonismo o ausencia de estas lenguas en las urbes con mayores concentraciones de población indígena ya mencionadas. La pregunta central de investigación es en qué medida las actitudes lingüísticas de la población se reflejan en el uso de lenguas minoritarias en los espacios públicos, por ejemplos en signos, señalizaciones y anuncios.

Como marcos teóricos se recurren a las observaciones expuestas por Landry y Bourhis (1997) sobre el entorno urbano como reflexión de la realidad lingüística de una ciudad, y las ideas propuestas por Backhaus (2006) sobre los repertorios de signos. Igualmente, este análisis se apoya en las formulaciones de Shohamy & Gorter (2009) sobre el despliegue y representación de la realidad lingüística de una urbe y de Sáez Rivera y Llunch (2012) sobre los espacios urbanos silenciosos.

Después de discutir el marco teórico, este artículo

procede a dar una descripción del panorama lingüístico de las sociedades estudiadas, desde una perspectiva cultural. Aquí el tema central lo ocupan la visibilidad, la vitalidad y el simbolismo de las lenguas amerindias dentro del contexto local. El objetivo es poder explicar teóricamente las raíces del desbalance entre un idioma central y aquellos periféricos e ignorados. Subsecuentemente, se exponen los resultados de un estudio realizado entre la población estudiantil de Lima respecto a sus actitudes frente al uso del quechua en espacios urbanos. Estos datos son luego contrastados con consideraciones teóricas sobre la inclusión de idiomas minoritarios en los núcleos urbanos. Previo a las conclusiones finales, se intenta determinar las posibles conexiones entre las actitudes lingüísticas y la ausencia de espacios que reflejen las prácticas comunicativas de los ciudadanos.

2 Formulación teórica sobre los paisajes lingüísticos

Aunque emerge en una variedad ilimitada de formatos, la comunicación escrita resalta por su capacidad de expandir mensajes y establecer un punto de referencia gráfico, pero también simbólico (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). No existen medios de comunicación neutrales, y la elección de un idioma determinado es por sí misma una decisión sociopolítica (Ahearn 2011). Esto se

evidencia particularmente en el caso de áreas públicas donde varias comunidades confluyen y donde emerge una jerarquía entre los idiomas de los respectivos grupos sociales. Con el término paisajes lingüísticos se entiende la lectura e interpretación del entorno urbano desde una perspectiva sociolingüística en la que se consideran signos, señalizaciones, anuncios, carteles, toponímicos, instrucciones, publicidad, prohibiciones y cualquier otro formato escrito, como plataformas de identificación cultural (Laundry & Bourhis, 1997). Aún los intentos de desestabilizar el entorno escrito urbano, por ejemplo, el uso del grafiti, se vale de la elección de un idioma concreto. Así, la lengua rige el paisaje colectivo, a la vez que refleja las especificidades que cada idioma tiene dentro del ámbito compartido, sin importar su prominencia (Backhaus, 2006).

Analizar los paisajes lingüísticos de ciudades es básicamente prestar atención a la forma en la que se codifica el uso de los diversos idiomas en el espacio público (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). De esta forma, un estudio sociolingüístico del entorno escrito requiere reconocer el papel que cumplen las formas gráficas de una lengua en establecer alianzas, crear distancias y reafirmar hegemonías. Resulta difícil ignorar que la decisión de utilizar un específico código en avisos públicos, señalizaciones, edificios gubernamentales o en publicidad masiva tiene la capacidad de favorecer, promover o reafirmar la comunidad lingüística que se identifica con dicho idioma (Laundry & Bourhis, 1997). Ciudades como Singapur o Quebec constituyen ejemplos claros de metrópolis en las que la convivencia lingüística se refleja en la creación de un entorno multilingüe común.

De manera acertada se ha observado que la lengua de los ciudadanos en una determinada área urbana no necesariamente refleja la política lingüística vigente (Ahearn, 2011). En ciudades como Dubái, las lenguas habladas en el ámbito doméstico por la mayoría de los residentes (malabar, urdu, persa, etc.), no concuerda plenamente con el idioma considerado como oficial o de rigor (árabe). Se puede concluir que en ciertos casos no existe una sintonización entre la lengua que se utiliza diariamente en actividades mundanas, por ejemplo, para hacer una broma, reñir, o hacer una declaración de amor, y el idioma utilizado en formularios fiscales, mapas oficiales o prohibiciones en medios de transporte públicos. En el caso en cuestión, cabe subrayar que a pesar de la relativa uniformidad lingüística con las que se asocia frecuentemente a Lima, Ciudad de México y Santiago de Chile, las tres metrópolis cuentan con números considerables de población bilingüe y multilingüe. Debido a diversos procesos sociales, sin embargo, los paisajes lingüísticos de estas capitales latinoamericanas no parecen reflejar la heterogeneidad lingüística que albergan. Son estos los casos en los que se habla de espacios urbanos silenciosos (Sáez Rivera & Llunch, 2012).

Desde la antigüedad, el poder de cada lengua ha residido en última instancia en el círculo de influencia de sus hablantes. Hasta nuestros días, un idioma común funciona como un rótulo que identifica o une a quienes lo usan (Edwards, 2009). En las regiones del mundo previamente colonizadas, aún hoy, las minorías lingüísticas están notoriamente relegadas por el peso y el tamaño de los hablantes de lenguas más relevantes (Heller, 2009). La diversidad lingüística, especialmente en el caso de las lenguas menos prominentes, nunca fue muy apreciada por las superpotencias colonizadoras y, eventualmente tampoco por los estados independientes establecidos en el siglo XIX (Errington, 2008), por ejemplo, en Latinoamérica. En la creación de nuevas naciones se consideraba contraproducente conservar un amplio espectro de lenguas, pues se creía que esto amenazaba la formación de sociedades homogéneas. Estrategias como el mito que sostenía que los latinoamericanos pertenecían a una raza mestiza, defendían la idea que, como raza, los miembros de estas nuevas sociedades compartían un lenguaje común (Sánchez y Dueñas, 2002).

Otras técnicas puestas en marcha para debilitar y finalmente erradicar el uso de lenguas indígenas incluían su exclusión de espacios abiertos y públicos. Considerando que la educación fue uno de los ámbitos en los que se aplicaron políticas lingüísticas extremas, no es de extrañar que surgieran disparidades entre hablantes de español y hablantes de lenguas amerindias. La situación económica precaria de las minorías étnicas se refleja aún hoy en el ámbito económico, social y cultural (Warren & Jackson, 2010). Este poco reconocimiento y sobrevaloración se han traducido en ciudades donde lenguas como el quechua o el tzo'tzil son invisibles.

Como consecuencia, en la actualidad, las lenguas europeas lideran la jerarquía lingüística en Latinoamérica. Aparte de contar con el mayor número de hablantes, su predominio y prestigio explican la carencia de diversidad lingüística en espacios públicos. Una falta de reconocimiento perenne amenaza con exacerbar la invisibilidad de las minorías étnicas y contribuir a la extinción de las lenguas indígenas a un ritmo acelerado (Blommaert, 2006). La hegemonía lingüística obstruye la diversidad al no facilitar espacios comunes a colectivos menos afluentes e influyentes (Postero & Zamosc, 2004). En Latinoamérica esto aqueja principalmente a las minorías más vulnerables, cuyas lenguas son reprimidas y socavadas. Como se ha notado ampliamente en varias sociedades (Ahearn, 2011), los lazos estrechos entre el prestigio y la inclusión o exclusión de una comunidad lingüística se materializa eventualmente en paisajes urbanos incluyentes o excluyentes.

3 Visibilidad, vitalidad y simbolismo

El hecho de que un idioma no forme parte del espacio público en forma escrita no significa que esté completamente ausente. Los signos o avisos bilingües, por ejemplo, evidencian una política lingüística explícita cuyo objetivo es dar igual prioridad a dos códigos paralelos (Dal Negro, 2009). Además, confirman la voluntad y compromiso de las autoridades para salvaguardar el estatus de dos comunidades lingüísticas, de manera simultánea y equitativa. Lamentablemente, este no es el caso en las ciudades latinoamericanas, simplemente porque las minorías étnicas y sus lenguas no son ampliamente favorecidas o promovidas, ni de manera formal (e.g. legislaciones) o informal (e.g. publicidad).

En gran medida, esta invisibilidad refleja el estatus de aquellos ciudadanos que son, por ejemplo, Limeños, pero que también representan una cultura minoritaria. La falta de presencia de quechua, mapudungún o náhuatl en las capitales chilena, mexicana y peruana puede ser vista como un síntoma de un problema subyacente que afecta a estas comunidades: el desprestigio. Un aspecto a considerar es el excesivo uso de otras lenguas europeas, como por ejemplo inglés, italiano y francés para decorar espacios urbanos, en tanto que lenguas como el aimara o el quechua se ocultan, o simplemente se evitan. La siguiente imagen ejemplifica esta tendencia.

La presencia de otros idiomas que el español denota el valor, el estado y el reconocimiento del que gozan, y que la aparta de idiomas rechazados y relegados. Vale la pena preguntarse por qué, por ejemplo, en Lima, el inglés, el francés o el italiano están más presentes en la publicidad que los idiomas hablados por tantos residentes locales en sus propios hogares. Considerando que las ciudades son en muchos sentidos, los teatros de acción social más influyentes (Mumford, 2016), es evidente que la

invisibilidad amenaza el ya debilitado uso de las lenguas indígenas de Latinoamérica.

En este contexto, es oportuno cuestionar cuáles son los verdaderos sonidos de una ciudad y cómo se reflejan en el material gráfico que ocupa el espacio público. Una válida observación es que uno de los malentendidos más expandidos es que la mayoría de las ciudades del continente son monolingües y mono culturales. Sin embargo, datos provistos por diversos cuerpos gubernamentales demuestran lo contrario. Las cifras indican que aproximadamente 122.000 ciudadanos residentes en la Ciudad de México dominan alguna lengua indígena (INEGI, 2016), mientras que Lima cuenta con 477.000 hablantes de quechua (INEI, 2016), con diversos grados de fluidez, y Santiago con alrededor de 100.000 hablantes de mapudungún (Lagos, 2012). Aunque son porcentajes mínimos si se comparan con la población total de estas grandes metrópolis, no se puede ignorar la responsabilidad de las autoridades locales en salvaguardar la diversidad lingüística de los espacios urbanos.

La percepción general parece ser que estas lenguas son lo suficientemente simbólicas como para ser reconocidas desde una perspectiva legal, pero demasiado emblemáticas para ser herramientas funcionales de comunicación dentro de los espacios urbanos. En este sentido, se puede inferir que el predominio del español y de otras lenguas europeas en las ciudades latinoamericanas es una respuesta a las actitudes y prácticas modernas “útiles”. Como han señalado Laundry y Bourhis (1997), el paisaje lingüístico de un territorio puede cumplir dos funciones básicas: una función informativa y una función simbólica. Estudios sobre el uso del lenguaje en Santiago muestran que los habitantes Mapuche son menos propensos a aprender mapudungún por su “inutilidad” en contextos urbanos, excepto como un marcador de identidad (Lagos, 2012). Del mismo modo, un estudio realizado por el CDI en la Ciudad de México muestra que la mayoría de las víctimas de discriminación son ciudadanos de ascendencia indígena, entre otras

razones, porque se considera que hablan español con un marcado acento indígena/rural.

Irónicamente, México sobresale a nivel global por su notoria diversidad lingüística, al contar con más de 250 idiomas y dialectos diferentes (Hamel, 2008). Un dato que pierde importancia frente a una población monolingüe de más de 120 millones de habitantes, para quienes el español -a veces el inglés- es el único idioma que reconocen (Terborg,



Imagen 1: Ejemplo de un restaurante considerado de alto nivel en Lima. La imagen muestra como ciertas lenguas europeas denotan prestigio y reconocimiento. Fuente: Atrápalo. Disponible en: https://www.atrapalo.pe/restaurantes/marchand_f47779.html

García & Moore, 2006). Estas cifras posicionan a México como la nación con mayor número de hispanohablantes en todo el mundo. Quizás por esa razón, las iniciativas para reforzar una política lingüística incluyente, adoptada por el estado en 1992, son ineficaces (Rolstad, 2001).

Históricamente, los procesos para expandir el español en México y en otras partes del continente se aplicaban principalmente a áreas urbanas o regiones con valor económico, primero por los gobernantes españoles y más tarde, por el estado mexicano moderno. Esto explica algunos de los bolsillos lingüísticos y la diversidad que todavía se encuentran en todo el país. Pero también esclarece la ausencia de lenguas amerindias en la vida pública de la capital mexicana. La marginación urbana de las comunidades indígenas, principalmente en Ciudad de México, se ha documentado en forma de vergüenza y devaluación de la identidad lingüística en aras de la inclusión y las oportunidades de trabajo (Peña, 2005). Esta metrópolis sobresale por el protagonismo del que goza el español sobre cualquier otra forma de comunicación. El prestigio y el estatus social, fuertemente ligado a contextos históricos, se destacan como las razones principales para no desplegar trazos lingüísticos de grupos poco valorados en sitios públicos.

Igualmente, en el caso de Santiago de Chile, la ausencia de mapudungún en ámbitos urbanos está ligada al desprestigio del idioma, pero también al reducido número de residentes que domina la lengua del pueblo mapuche. La educación en mapudungún no está respaldada, y tampoco la participación pública de sus hablantes, a menudo etiquetados como “aquellos que no quieren progresar” (Sierra, 2010, pp. 216,). A la luz de las políticas vigentes aplicadas por el gobierno chileno, es improbable que mapudungún alcance pronto el estatus de idioma oficial, aunque sea a nivel local. El pueblo mapuche todavía se encuentra hoy en la intersección de complejos procesos políticos y vestigios de ideologías discriminatorias del pasado. A pesar de que el 11% de la población chilena

se identifica como mapuche, las autoridades aún no han elevado el estatus o nivel de reconocimiento de la lengua mapudungún (Richards, 2005). La mentalidad progresista chilena prefiere reconocer sus vínculos con el mundo occidental, antes que favorecer las raíces indígenas, a menudo relacionadas con atraso, pobreza e ignorancia. El debilitamiento de la lengua mapuche y las connotaciones que conlleva limitan su uso dentro de los entornos urbanos públicos, así fuera de manera puramente simbólica.

El caso andino no es más alentador. Ecuador, Perú y Bolivia comparten el quechua como idioma predominante, y el cual se extiende a lo largo de grandes regiones geográficas (Adelaar, 2014), pero sin gozar de gran reconocimiento en espacios públicos. Con más de ocho millones de hablantes, y una gran variedad entre los diversos dialectos que lo componen (Restall, Sousa & Terraciano, 2005), es poco probable que se extinga en un futuro próximo. Sin embargo, su expansión tampoco parece probable. En contextos sociales, se reconoce como lengua de administración, educación y en las últimas décadas, el quechua ha fortalecido su participación en los ámbitos mediáticos tanto en Bolivia como en el Perú. Se destaca el uso del quechua en entornos donde se busca incrementar el sentido de autenticidad o valor histórico, en especial cuando se lo relaciona con las culturas prehispánicas. Por ejemplo, en sitios turísticos como Cusco.

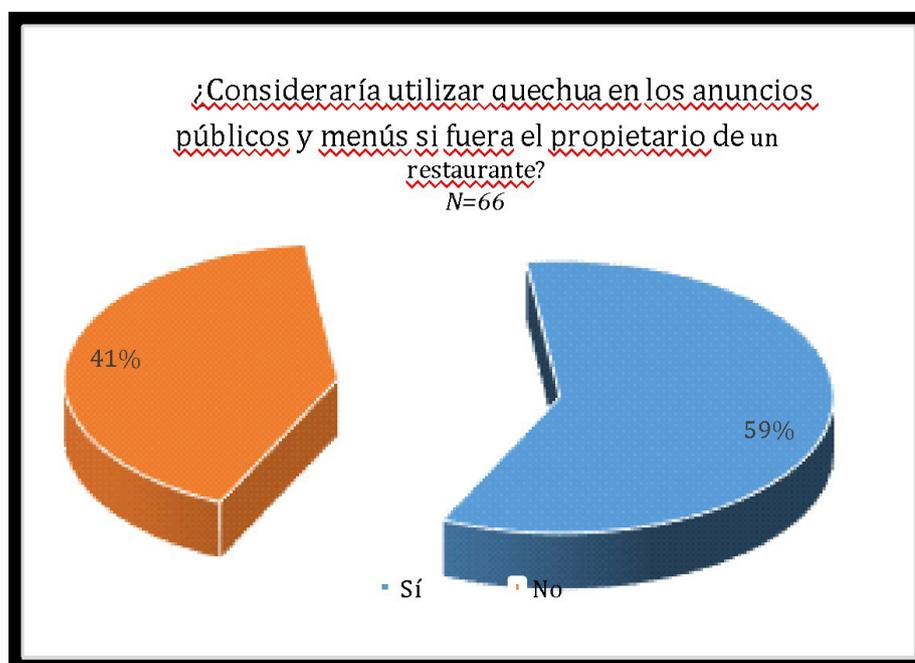
Excepto por el uso de lenguas amerindias en entornos turísticos, el apoyo institucional a la expansión de estos idiomas es mínimo. Al igual que en el caso del mapudungún y las lenguas indígenas mexicanas, el desprestigio y desconocimiento obstruyen su inclusión en la vida pública.

4 Actitudes lingüísticas y la esfera pública y privada

Para conocer las actitudes hacia el uso de las lenguas indígenas en las ciudades, se entrevistaron 20 ciudadanos de Santiago, algunos de los cuales eran hablantes de mapudungún (N=5). También se realizó una encuesta entre 66 estudiantes entre 17 y 25 años residentes en la ciudad de Lima. El objetivo era explorar las actitudes de los ciudadanos hacia la inclusión de lenguas indígenas en su entorno inmediato. En el caso de Santiago, los hablantes de mapudungún hablaban del sentido de “reconocimiento,” apoyo y aceptación que sentían las pocas veces que veían elementos lingüísticos mapuches. Admitían lo mucho que se sorprendían cuando veían signos en su lengua. Los cinco entrevistados estaban de acuerdo en que el español o incluso el inglés eran las lenguas favoritas de los santiaguinos. Igualmente expresa ben preocupación de lo que implicaba sonar “mapuche,” y o de lo que hablar como “indio” podría conllevar en términos de oportunidades laborales.



Imagén 2: Anuncio en el mercado más visitado por extranjeros en la ciudad de Cusco. Foto del autor.



Imagén 3: Distribución de los encuestados respecto al uso del quechua en entornos públicos en su ciudad (Lima). N=66 (17-25).

En el caso de Lima, la mayoría de los encuestados (N=66) respondió positivamente a la pregunta: ¿Consideraría utilizar quechua en anuncios públicos y menús si fuera propietarios de un restaurante? (Imagén 3).

La mayoría coincidía en añadir que las autoridades de Lima no reconocen el patrimonio lingüístico de todos sus ciudadanos. A la pregunta de si recuerdan haber visto signos bilingües en español y quechua, el 69% dijo no haber visto jamás el uso de los idiomas de forma paralela. Lo que si reconocían eran anuncios y signos en lenguas europeas y asiáticas, observación que confirma que las lenguas son ignoradas por la cultura dominante cuando no se consideran prestigiosas.

Al preguntarles qué pensarían si las autoridades de Lima estipularan que todos los letreros públicos deberían estar tanto en español como en quechua, la mayoría reaccionó positivamente. Para algunos, sería “una buena manera de mostrar la inclusión social”, además de ofrecer una oportunidad para que todos “pudieran hacer cosas en su propio idioma”. Otros opinaban que “debería ser la norma”, y que sería una “buena manera de preservar una parte auténtica de la cultura peruana.” Más del 85% de los encuestados lo verían como un signo de progreso e inclusión, entre otras cosas, porque son conscientes que residen en un contexto pluricultural y multilingüe. Estas cifras comprueban que la ausencia de lenguas minoritarias no está necesariamente ligada con actitudes negativas de los residentes no-indígenas de la ciudad. Teniendo en cuenta que las actitudes de los ciudadanos son mayoritariamente positivas, al menos en términos de presencia visual, el desafío reside en transformar desprestigio y vergüenza en orgullo y pertenencia. Sin embargo, la preservación de las identidades lingüísticas en las zonas urbanas parece

un desafío porque la vida social se lleva a cabo generalmente en un idioma dominante. Como le exponen Shohamy y Gorter (2009), los paisajes lingüísticos son funcionales y/o simbólicos. Quechua, mapundungún y las lenguas indígenas mexicanas corren el riesgo de permanecer asilenciadas hasta que su presencia se reconozca como parte de la identidad de la ciudad.

5 Conclusiones

Los paisajes lingüísticos de un entorno urbano denotan la presencia o ausencia de las comunidades que allí residen y operan. La visibilidad y vitalidad de un idioma en espacios públicos están estrechamente ligadas con el valor simbólico y el grado de prestigio con el que se identifica a los hablantes de un idioma. En el caso

de Ciudad de México, Lima y Santiago, las comunidades indígenas son relegadas a posiciones subalternas que conllevan al desprestigio de sus legados culturales. En estas grandes urbes, las lenguas indígenas están simplemente ausentes de la esfera social y los contextos formales e informales. Paradójicamente, como en el caso de Lima, las actitudes de los ciudadanos no parecen coincidir con la falta de visibilidad de estos idiomas en signos, señalizaciones, avisos, publicidad, etc. Está claro que un papel más activo de las autoridades ciudadanas podría contra restar la invisibilidad de las minorías lingüísticas. Uno de los pasos hacia un mayor reconocimiento de la heterogeneidad lingüística es la reconfiguración de la identidad de las ciudades como metrópolis pluriculturales y multilingües. En lugar de omitir la diversidad, un buen paso sería escribirla y subrayarla.

6 Recomendaciones para futuros estudios

Por diversos motivos, este estudio no incluyó entrevistas o encuestas entre la población de la Ciudad de México. Sin embargo, futuros estudios podrían considerar la interacción de las minorías étnicas en esta ciudad como pieza clave para entender la inclusión de lenguas indígenas en espacios públicos.

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AUTOMOBILITY AND MODERNITY IN MEXICAN CINEMA

An Analysis of Güeros

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ABSTRACT

According to Ricardo Trumper and Patricia Tomic (2009), car ownership and road-use can be analyzed in terms of exclusionary citizenship rights in contemporary neoliberal societies. This article examines their hypothesis through an analysis of the Mexican film *Güeros* by Alonso Ruiz Palacios (2014). As an urban road movie leading through Mexico City, *Güeros* takes the protagonists out of their comfort zones and into the dark regions of Mexico's capital. One of the areas the journey passes through is the university campus of the UNAM, where a strike against neoliberal reforms of the educational system is taking place. The article discusses the ways in which the film draws on road imaginary in its reframing of forms of exclusion and outsidership in contemporary Mexican society.

Keywords – Mexico, urban road movie, neoliberalism, cars

1 Introduction

A car stops in the middle of a highway. Irritated drivers quickly try to find their way alongside the stationary vehicle, honking nervously. One of the passengers has defiantly stuck her foot out of the window – as if to indicate that the car occupants couldn't care less about the trouble they are causing. In fact, we witness how the passengers smile and sit back, completely relaxed. The camera zooms out, gradually moving from the car until we're looking at the scene from a bird's eye perspective: a car in the middle of high traffic, deliberately obstructing the general movement.

This scene from the debut feature film *Güeros*, released in 2014 and directed by Alfonso Ruiz Palacios, takes place in Mexico City, where the increase of cars and drivers has reached dramatic proportions. What interests me here, however, are not the sociological and ecological aspects of automobility in Mexico, but rather the way in which the image of the car is used in cultural discourse and charged with a symbolic dimension. Indeed, what the stationary car in the scene just evoked seems to challenge is not just the ordinary flow of traffic, but the car's long-standing association with the idea of democracy itself. As Ian Borden (2013: 17) states: "The single most powerful idea attached to urban driving is that cars and driving are true harbingers of democracy, creating a world where all men and women are equal, where they can go anywhere, do anything, meet anyone". If this is true, what then is expressed by a deliberate standstill in the middle of high traffic? Does it suggest an abandonment of democratic ideals, or is it – in a context where so many cars move in the same direction – rather an attempt to recover a sense of freedom through automobility, this time not by moving forward, but by turning off the engine on purpose?

The question becomes acuter when taking into account the fact that recent studies of car culture in Latin America

have established a direct link between automobility and citizenship. Joel Wolfe (2010), for instance, has focused on the central place of the car in the building of the modern Brazilian state, while Ricardo Trumper and Patricia Tomic (2009: 175) claim that in a country as Chile, "car ownership and road use can also be analyzed in terms of exclusionary citizenship rights". In Trumper and Tomic's study, a direct relationship is established with neoliberalism.

The way in which mobility has become a marker of social inclusion or exclusion with respect to the neoliberal state is poignantly demonstrated by many recent road movies and documentaries, in which protagonists are often confined to the sidewalks of the roads. One may think of the Chilean documentary *Huacho* (Alejandro Fernández Almendras, 2009) or the Argentine fiction film *El Cielito* (María Victoria Menis, 2004) as two examples of road films that (in certain scenes) depict the highway from the point of view of more modest characters who, standing or sitting at the side of the road, sell fruits and home-made cakes to people racing by in fancy cars.

But reflections on social mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion can assume more subtle forms, as is demonstrated by the Mexican film *Güeros*. The title itself already alludes to such exclusionary mechanisms as expressed by the term "güeros", a typically Mexican word which refers to people of a lighter complexion, often associated with the upper classes. The word is normally used by people who do not belong to this group, and thus serves as a marker of social and racial prejudices that live on in Mexican society.

Güeros, however, is not an explicitly political film which aims to decry social injustice, thus ascribing itself to the tradition of politicized filmmaking in Latin America. Neither is it a typical "art house film" which provides European and US-audiences with technically sophisticated shots of poor people in suburbs, a description ironically provided by one of the characters of *Güeros* when he

comments on these kinds of art films. Rather Güeros has been hailed by film critics as the herald of “an exciting new direction for Mexican features, deftly avoiding both elite high culture and crass populism” (Smith 2015: 206). The host of international and national prizes which the film has garnered up until now testifies to the success of this strategy.

In this essay, I will focus on the way in which Güeros engages with automobility, adopting the form of an urban road movie. Ninety percent of the film, indeed, consists of three (occasionally four) young adults driving around in Mexico City. While the genre of the road movie has witnessed a significant boom in contemporary Latin American cinema, road movies which exclusively take place in urban zones – hence “urban road movies” – are relatively rare. Latin American films rather tend to follow the traditional pattern of the genre, which consists of moving away from the city as one of modernity’s prime icons.

Road movies engage the onlooker in a critical reflection on modernity by detaching him from his sociological comfort zone, which is why experiences of defamiliarization are key to the genre (Laderman 2002: 2). In Güeros such experiences are also represented, but the defamiliarization is brought about by the characters’ movement across different spatial areas of the city of Mexico, leading them and the spectators from South to West, passing through the Center and the University Campus. A clear delineation of these zones is provided by the insertion of intertitles in the film, which are handwritten on drawings. Thus, we receive the image of an internally divided – or at least diversified – city. On several occasions, the characters get lost or wonder where on earth they are exactly, as when they suddenly cross an open area where ordinary citizens grow vegetables – a green heterotopia in the overcrowded city.

The automobile used by the characters – an old Volkswagen – serves to physically connect these different zones, indirectly subverting the visual demarcation of the intertitles by its motorized movement. In this way, the car and the mobile gaze it brings about allow the director to visually “narrate” the city, fulfilling a function analogous to the one of the “flâneur” in Michel De Certeau’s essay on “Walking in the city” (1988: 91-110). Seen from this perspective, both entities – the car and the flâneur – are story-telling devices which are intimately connected to the notion of modernity as it appeared at the turn of the 20th century: the period in which the automobile was invented, not long after Baudelaire’s flâneur had started to “paint modern life”, according to the title of Baudelaire’s book on Constantin Guys.

Other elements associated with the same period

play a significant role in Ruiz Palacios’s film, such as the photographic camera – carried along by one of the passengers – and the zoo – a typically 19th-century urban invention visited by the travelers. The insertion of such references bespeaks a fascination with modernity, even if other scenes simultaneously insist upon the dilapidated side of the kind of modernity which is also present in Mexico City: elevators do not always work, doorbells fail to ring, and cars sometimes need to be pushed. What’s more: it is not without risk to drive around in the city: bandits may hop on, and bricks thrown by playing kids may suddenly land on your dashboard.

That said, the car in Güeros takes us along on a poetic, whimsical journey through a Mexico that most foreign spectators have never seen, not only because it is urban, but also because any touristic reference to Aztec or Spanish baroque culture is entirely lacking. This motif of the journey, in combination with the dynamic camera-eye which sets the film apart from the minimalist, static style of directors like Carlos Reygadas and Amat Escalante (Smith 2015), underscores the prominent position of the concept of mobility in Güeros. The meaning of this word, however, acquires a richer sociological dimension as the film progresses. This happens by having the urban journey of 2014 intersect with a legendary strike that took place at the UNAM in the year 1999 and lasted almost a year. In this context, Güeros not only blurs the spatial lines in contemporary Mexico City (through the device of the car), but equally the temporal distance between the end of the 1990s and the present: while television screens which appear in the background of several scenes clearly situate the film in today’s Mexico by depicting the events of Big Brother, an extended visit to the UNAM during the urban journey seems to transport us back to the days in 1999 when thousands of students took the defense of free education.

In Güeros, this defense of what the students considered a basic principle on which their public university was built, is explicitly portrayed as a more general struggle against neoliberalism by one of the student activists, when she openly proclaims: “the best way to fight neoliberalism today is by defending free education.” Another one defiantly paints the words “today” on a mural by Mexican artists, thus giving the struggle a sense of permanent actuality.

What is crucial to my argument here is the fact that this specific student’s struggle is underpinned by the concept of mobility. As Roberto Rhoads and Liliana Mina (2001: 351) explain:

“[...] student strikers believed that UNAM ought to serve the poorest of the society by offering accessible education and opportunities for social

mobility”.

In other words, the struggle concerned mobility as social mobility, upward movement by means of higher education as a basic right of all citizens.

What’s more, by defending this right, the students emphasized values that José Maurício Domingues (2008) has presented as typical for “second modernity” – a form of modernity in which the state occupies center stage as a defender of collective rights. In Latin American history, the Mexican Revolution serves as a prime example of this specific form of modernity, but the economic and political crises that broke out by the end of the millennium introduced a change in politics that jeopardized the social values that the Mexican Revolution had claimed to defend and protect. More specifically, the newly appointed rector of the UNAM – Francisco Barnés – announced that tuition fees would be introduced at this public university, thereby indicating that the era of free education had come to an end. On a more abstract level, the confrontation between student movement and university administration during the 1999 strike comes down to a confrontation between “second modernity” – articulated around the notion of the state and social justice – and what Domingues refers to as “third modernity” – articulated around the notion of the free market and democracy.

As a road movie then, *Güeros* focuses not on modernity in general, but on this specific confrontation of two forms of modernity. In this context, the emphasis is laid on the student movement which is represented in a particularly Romantic and even utopian way. Portraits of revolutionary icons such as el Che and José Martí adorn the places where they gather, and the student leader showing us around – named Ana – compares the occupied campus to a house where her true family lives, a place of authentic community life. While we look around in the different “rooms” of this house, the romantic tunes of a Mexican classic – *Azul* – accompany us on an extradiegetic level, evoking love and happiness under an idyllic blue sky. Throughout the film, the spectator is provided with other allusions to Mexican film and music of the 1940s, a period in which national identity was formed through cultural discourse (Noble 2005: 76). Such allusions infuse a sense of nostalgia into this black-and-white film.

At the same time, however, it should be recalled that the historical strike did not end with a clear victory on the part of the student movement: having demanded more profound reforms in the university’s policy, the students were eventually forcefully removed from the university campus by the police, which wryly indicated that the power was still very much in the hands of the administration, and not so much in those of the student movement. To quote

Rhoads and Mina on the results of the historic strike (2001: 351):

From the perspective of the student strikers, it was somewhat disheartening that so little was accomplished when so much seemed possible. In the end, a movement with the potential to be a vanguard for democratic reform in higher education fizzled under the weight of in-fighting, immaturity, and inexperience.

This in-fighting is also evoked in the film, contesting the utopian portrayal of the movement as one big, happy family from within.

But there is another form of contestation which may be called – in a way – a contestation from the outside. Not all students indeed supported or continued to support the strike. These dissident voices were pejoratively referred to by the strikers as “squirrels” or “esquiroles”. It is interesting that two of the protagonists of *Güeros* precisely belong to this group: Sombra (nickname of Federico) and Santos (whose real name in the film is never revealed). Until Tomás – Sombra’s younger brother – arrives at their run-down apartment in Mexico City’s South, the two roommates spend their days playing cards and listening to the university’s pirate radio station, which invariably proclaims that “things are on the move”. Sombra and Santos, however, rather prefer to adopt an attitude of detachment that verges on apathy, as they hardly ever leave their house.

The reasons why they declare to be “on strike from the strike” are not clearly explained, but they seem inspired by a certain aversion towards sectarian and exclusionary tendencies which indeed emerged in the student movement. Federico, for instance, gets infuriated when he and his friends are denied access to the university campus during their urban journey for being “squirrels” and subsequently accuses the strikers of merely mimicking the exclusionary practices they claim to contest on a political level, by locking down a campus that should be open to all. Sombra and Santos’s immobility – we see them sitting on the hood of their car, listening to music – here appears as a reaction against the overall mobilization preached by the student movement and is dietetically connected to the motif of the upcoming protest march the strikers are planning.

However, they are called upon to awaken from this apathetic state by Sombra’s younger brother Tomás who arrives from Veracruz and reads in the newspaper that a former rock star named Epigmenio Cruz is dying in the hospital. Profoundly shocked, he urges his older brother to take him to the singer he so deeply admires so that he can ask him for one last autograph. It is this search for the mythical rock legend – often referred to as “the man who made Bob Dylan cry” – which sets in motion the urban

road movie I depicted above.

From the point of view of mobility, this urban journey temporarily blurs the difference between strikers and non-strikers, as Ana, one of the student leaders with whom Federico is romantically involved, decides to join them for a couple of hours on their shared quest for Epigmenio until the march she co-organizes will take place. Her presence fills the car with a female atmosphere, turning the political romance as experienced on campus into a personal romance – Federico and Ana end up exchanging a long kiss on the backseat of the car.

However, once Ana recalls the students' march the next day and sees the opportunity to join the human flow of students which is already covering the streets, she does not hesitate one second and leaves the car. Federico briefly follows her, then returns to the car, a smile on his face. His attitude of detachment will remain, but it has turned from negative apathy into sympathetic observation.

In this process, the act of driving – for Federico is the one who steers the vehicle most of the time – seems to perform a therapeutic function. As Borden (2013: 76) explains:

Driving helps us to forget what we know and to focus instead on what we simply see. This process is particularly attractive to artists, writers, filmmakers and other creative producers, providing them with appropriate metaphors or other reflections on modern life.

If an aesthetics of detachment has recently been connected to neoliberalism in the context of Chilean cinema (see Barraza 2015), I personally believe Güeros rather draws on the artistic potential of this detachment, charging it with more positive values than the ones it receives from a political point of view (which generally considers it as an inability to empathize with the less deprived people in society).

After their initial attitude of apathy and ennui is abandoned, Sombra and Santos's poetics of detachment is enriched by the capacity of acute observation in this movie, a form of looking without judging, even if some of the scenes portrayed may be interpreted as a critique on the downsides of neoliberalism: as the overcrowded public hospitals, and the vagabonds roaming the streets, among other things, testify to.

But as mentioned before, Güeros is not a straightforward political movie; rather, the film depicts the inner diversity of the city the characters live in by means of the mobile gaze of the driver and his passengers. In this context, the car in which they move appears as a mediator of the external tensions in the city. Besides temporarily wiping out the differences between strikers (Ana) and non-strikers (Sombra and Santos), the car unites a güerito brother

(Tomás, of light complexion) with his much darker brother (Sombra, significantly meaning 'shadow').

Significantly, this racial difference is regularly commented upon outside the car but disappears once they get inside of it. Moreover, the film stretches the meaning of the word, recalling its original sense of "unfertilized egg" in the opening images, and surprisingly revealing in the end that it also is the title of the Epigmenio Cruz's cassette which Tomás carries along so as to have it signed by the dying rock star.

Rather than referring to a specifically Mexican term, the word "güeros", in this film, directly connects to the attitude of detachment which the film deploys. Just like the "unfertilized egg" is not a real egg yet, the teenage boy and his student friends are not real adults yet. They have an in-between position, which precisely allows them to contemplate their surroundings from their detached, observational and non-judgmental perspective.

"Güero" may be understood, in this context, as a synonym of the outsider, the one who does not belong but prefers to watch and observe those who do. I find further ground for this interpretation in the moving speech of admiration addressed by Federico to Epigmenio Cruz once the four buddies have somehow accidentally bumped into him in a remote town bar. The former rock star is sitting alone on a table, his skinny body wasted by alcohol and cigarettes. Only half the man he used to be, he annoyingly warns off Tomás's plea to scribble his autograph on the tape. Upon this refusal, Federico takes his brother's place in front of the table, explaining to the old man that his music was passed on to Tomás and himself by their deceased father. Being a great admirer of Epigmenio's, this father used to tell them that life was like a railway station, where ordinary people come and go. Poets and artists, on the contrary, are the ones who remain behind, watching the trains arrive and leave, and helping others, through their visionary talents, to seize what lies behind the everyday appearance of things. Significantly, an attitude of detachment is here geared onto an idea of immobility as a condition for the creation of art, and a deeper way of seeing.

In this way, the refusal to participate in the overall mobility of contemporary society becomes a potentially poetic act, which is not devoid of a critical awareness, as the outsiders' position allows them to take a distance from the movement others uncritically and conformistically engage in, as is aptly captured by the image of the stream of cars passing along that single, stationary vehicle of which the passengers decided to turn off the engine.

In the same way, Federico finally decides not to follow his love interest Ana once she abruptly jumps out of the car in order to follow – almost in trance – the student crowd that has already set itself in motion. Having briefly run after her, Federico simply returns to the car, smiling at his brother

and the onlooker, pausing for a moment amidst the sea of people who all head into the same direction. This moment, eternalized by his younger brother who takes a picture of Federico standing in the middle of the crowd, once more connects to the aesthetics of detachment. This time, however, it also brings to light the other dimension of Domingues' notion of "third modernity": not the one of the neoliberal free market which replaces free education by privatized access, but the one of democracy, the right to decide for oneself, even if this right implies the possibility of not to decide, or to abstain from the general movement. In this respect, this urban road movie not only plays out different forms of modernity by drawing on movement and images of social mobility; it also foregrounds the potentially creative dimension of its opposite: stasis.

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Endnotes

1. This thesis finds a symbolic expression in the fact that one of the presidents was a former autoworker: Lula (Wolfe 2010: 183).
2. The IMDb-website lists 21 wins and 12 nominations. Among the awards, see e.g. the Audience Award at the AFI-festival in 2014, the Best First Feature award at the Berlin-Festival in 2014, and the Golden Ariel for Best Picture in 2015.
3. See Brandellero (2013), Pinazza (2014), Garibotto & Pérez (2016) and Lie (2017).
4. Published as *Le peintre de la vie moderne* [The painter of modern life] by Charles Baudelaire in 1863.
5. For a detailed account of the events, see Moreno & Amador 1999.
6. Interestingly, Güeros revives this song composed in the 1940s by having it sung by Natalia Lafourcade, a contemporary Mexican pop singer who adds her own special timbre to it.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND SLUM UPGRADING IN RIO DE JANEIRO

How governmental actors are engaging
with slum dwellers in favelas controlled
by drug gangs

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RESUMEN

Las instituciones participativas adoptadas en Brasil en los últimos decenios, como el presupuesto participativo, son reconocidas internacionalmente por su capacidad de involucrar a los ciudadanos pobres y redistribuir a los bienes urbanos (Avritzer 2010). Pero, ¿cuáles son los límites y posibilidades de participación en contextos de violencia crónica, como la realidad de la mayoría de las favelas de Río de Janeiro? Muchos de los habitantes de asentamientos precarios no están dispuestos o no pueden hablar y participar en procesos participativos, porque temen represalias de los grupos de narcotraficantes al mismo tiempo que se preguntan si deben confiar en el mismo Estado que mata indiscriminadamente durante una incursión policial. Además, en algunos casos, los grupos de narcotraficantes han ocupado a las Asociaciones de Residentes utilizando su dominio sobre los medios de violencia para establecerse como “mediadores casi legítimos” (Benequista et al 2010: 2) de la relación entre la “comunidad” y el gobierno, llevando a la necesidad de crear nuevos espacios de participación en las favelas. Para analizar esta cuestión con mayor profundidad, este trabajo se centrará en el caso de Manguinhos, una favela de Río de Janeiro que fue seleccionada en 2007 para recibir una serie de intervenciones de mejoramiento de asentamientos precarios financiadas por el gobierno nacional a través de un programa llamado Programa de Aceleración del Crecimiento (PAC).

Palabras clave – Grupos de narcotraficantes, violencia, mejoramiento de asentamientos precarios, participación ciudadana

1 Introduction

For many decades, the combination of rural-urban migration followed by economic crises, the lack of public policies aimed at providing housing alternatives to part of the working class in cities like Rio de Janeiro, and the absence of the State in the favelas have transformed many informal settlements into centers of drugs trade wracked by violence. Once armed groups were already well established in slums, national and local governments began to look for ways to do in-situ slum upgrading instead of relocating families into newly built social housing units in the peripheries. More recently, following the adoption of several legal instruments at the national level that called for citizen participation in policies affecting their lives (e.g. the City Statute), governments tried to involve slum dwellers in the formulation and implementation of slum upgrading projects.

This paper aims to present one way in which citizen participation can take place in contexts of chronic violence, such as the favelas controlled by drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro. Slum upgrading interventions – in particular through the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) – aim at providing slum dwellers with basic services and infrastructure, while promoting their involvement in discussions about interventions. Within this perspective, the state government of Rio de Janeiro developed a participatory methodology, which was implemented in several slums, including Manguinhos in the north of Rio de Janeiro. This methodology was adapted for the context of chronic violence found in many slums. Its innovative

approach, as well as its limitations, are presented in this paper. Based on current literature, this paper starts by defining the different scales of citizen participation. Section 3 provides a brief introduction to slum upgrading policies in Rio de Janeiro. The differences between the traditional Residents' Associations and the new Community Councils are presented in section four, followed by the case study of Manguinhos. The paper ends with a conclusion (section 5) as well as with recommendations for further research (section 6).

2 Citizen Participation and Urban Violence

Sherry Arnstein's work offers a typology for participation according to different levels of involvement in development projects. According to her, this typology could be represented as a ladder where each step upwards indicates an increase in citizen's power, which would range from communities being informed about a project as one of the lowest steps to having a true partnership with communities as one of the highest steps. She makes a clear distinction between “having the power needed to affect the outcomes of the process” and what she calls the “empty ritual of participation” (Arnstein 1969: 216).

Within this perspective, Robert Chambers (1994) affirms that participation can be used as rhetoric in development projects, only in order to make projects “look good” without really impacting the community. It can be used only to ensure that actions and measures taken under

the scope of the project are not affected by riots, as the community is somehow involved in the project.

Jules Pretty (1995) developed another typology of citizen participation based on the extent to which it is translated in project outcomes. This typology also ranges from “bad” to “good” types of participation. It has an intermediate category, which Pretty has named as “functional participation”. This intermediate scale would be a step further to simply consultation, as people could form groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project and take part in certain decision-making processes, but in general only after major decisions have already been made by external agents.

These different levels of citizen participation are very useful but may fail to comprehend the situation faced by communities living in contexts of persistent armed violence, where the existence of fear and mistrust shape their perspectives on their community and existing institutions. For instance, people who feel threatened by the possibility of being shot during a police raid cannot trust their police and, as a result, the State itself. Violence can also be silencing and extremely disempowering, as militias and armed groups can silence citizens, who become unwilling or unable to speak out and take part in participatory processes promoted by the government. Moreover, violence can be subduing, as the physical appropriation of space by non-State security actors (illegal armed groups and militias) can prevent citizens from assembling and mobilizing (Benequista et al 2010). In the case of Rio de Janeiro, it is known that militias and groups financed by drug trafficking have occupied residents’ associations, using their dominance over means of violence to establish themselves as quasi-legitimate mediators of the relationship between the “community” and State actors. This will be further explored in section 4.

3 Participatory Slum Upgrading in Rio de Janeiro

Slum upgrading is the term given to interventions aimed at improving the provision of infrastructure and basic services (including water and sanitation) in informal settlements. During the past decades, slum upgrading has been promoted by the United Nations (UN-Habitat 2016) and other international organizations (World Bank 2012) as the best response to the challenge faced by cities in developing countries, where many urban dwellers live in informal settlements (Avritzer 2010).

In Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of the 20th century, favelas (slums) were seen as provisional and were “ignored” by governments. Paradoxically, until the 1990s, public policies were complacent about the growth of informal settlements, while simultaneously promoting systematic actions aimed at eradicating them (Perlman 2010).

By the end of the 1970s and throughout the 1980s, the first slum upgrading policies emerged, bringing infrastructure solutions such as paved streets, electricity and basic sanitation to informal settlements. Although several isolated experiments of the “urbanization of slums” had already been implemented in Rio de Janeiro and other cities in Brazil, the institutionalization of slum upgrading policies in Rio de Janeiro began in 1981 with the creation of Projeto Mutirão (Collective Self-Help) by the city government. It provided technical assistance, building materials, tools and resources to Residents’ Associations. With these inputs, the associations organized task forces using local labor and promoted the paving of alleys and the provision of water, sewage networks and drainage systems. This project was followed by an initiative at the State level named Cada Família Um Lote (Each Family a Plot), launched in 1983, that aimed at providing land ownership to slum residents, together with some improvements in their living conditions (Perlman 2010).

The dictatorship that was installed in the country came to an end in 1985, but it was only in the 1990s that the city of Rio de Janeiro took a significant step towards changing the living conditions of its slum dwellers. Through a program called Favela Bairro, initiated in 1994 with the goal of reintegrating the favelas into their neighborhoods through the provision of infrastructure and other interventions, slums started receiving important upgrades. The program invested USD 650 million in the provision of social equipment, social housing units, and income-generating activities in over one hundred slums, benefitting a total of 710,000 slum dwellers (Simpson 2013). Favela Bairro was a source of inspiration for projects developed under the idea of Social Urbanism in Medellín, although the Brazilian project was criticized for its lack of community involvement in decision-making processes (Jurberg 2015, pers. comm., in Mastellarolo 2015).

The City Statute, adopted in 2001, is one of the main legal frameworks that enshrined the need of participation to promote the “right to the city” to all citizens, in particular, the most vulnerable (Fernandes, 2007). The three main guiding principles of the City Statute are the concept of the social function of land, the fair distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanization, and the democratic management of the city. Within this perspective, the City Statute has recognized several mechanisms to ensure the dimension of democratic management of the city (participation), such as consultations, the creation of city councils, committees, referendums, and, above all, reinforcing the practices of the participatory budgeting, public audiences, and popular initiatives to propose bills of urban laws. The Statute represented an important step towards the inclusion of slum upgrading and participation in the national urban agenda of the country, which was partially reflected in the national slum upgrading program adopted by the Brazilian

government in 2007 called the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC).

One of the components of PAC focused on slum upgrading projects. PAC Slum Upgrading aimed at promoting economic growth in the country, increasing employment opportunities through investment in the construction sector. It focused particularly on the most vulnerable communities in order to promote social development and improve living conditions in the country.

One of the main innovations of PAC-Slum Upgrading is the fact that the release of public funds depends on the level of implementation of the “social work” required for the phase of the work being performed. In most public programs, the release of funds depended only on the progress of construction works, while in PAC-Slum Upgrading there is the need to perform social work and report it to the national government and its Federal Savings Bank (CAIXA). The social work represents the participatory component of the program, which involves activities aimed at increasing the engagement of all residents and their sense of ownership. This could be made through community censuses (participatory mapping of existing homes and business in the favela), the establishment of Community Councils, the organization of meetings and discussions about the project and other issues in the community, as well as through contributions by the community to the project implementation and monitoring, such as the selection of beneficiaries for social housing units and local workforce to be hired during construction works.

4 Spaces for Citizen Participation in favelas: Community Councils versus Residents’ Associations

The traditional community representatives are the presidents of the Residents’ Associations. However, it is well known that people who traditionally serve the interests of politicians and, in some cases, drug dealers, have occupied these Associations in Rio de Janeiro. Presidents of the Residents’ Associations are elected by direct vote, but, as few residents actively participate in the daily activities of these associations, they delegate powers to presidents without providing any supervision or oversight. Therefore, these presidents end up acting to promote their own interests in spite of the interests of the broader community. Very often, the presidents of Residents’ Associations play alongside the interests of drug gangs and, in exchange for their loyalty, they are treated as legitimate interlocutors of the community and often become responsible for activities with high potential for personal advantages such as the selection of local workforce to be employed in construction activities

(Minon 2010).

This control of Residents’ Association by drug gangs is widely known and is not a new phenomenon. In her longitudinal study of four generations of slum dwellers in Rio de Janeiro, Janice Perlman (2010) identified this issue in almost all of the slums studied:

The loss of independent Residents’ Associations has meant the loss of voice, the loss of the only institution that represented the interests of the favelas. At the start of this restudy, in 1999-2000, about half of the favelas in Rio still had independent Residents’ Associations with popularly elected presidents. One by one, as the years progressed, the elected presidents have been eliminated, and, by 2005, almost all of the Residents’ Associations were controlled by (drug) traffic. (p. 276).

There are still presidents of Residents’ Associations who are willing to promote the interests of the community, but their acts are limited to the acceptance of drug gangs. In view of this limitation, the state government of Rio de Janeiro decided to create “Community Councils”. As part of the participatory process in PAC-Slum Upgrading, these councils brought together representatives from different sectors of the civil society, such as residents, community leaders, NGOs, and academics. Participants were grouped according to their interests in Thematic Committees (Education and Culture; Health; Youth; Human Rights, Security, and Citizenship; Income Generation; Communication; Urban Landscape and Environment; Tourism; and Sports and Leisure) and designated a leader to organize and moderate the meetings.

The methodology adopted by the government of Rio de Janeiro for the “social work”, and in particular for the Community Councils, is based on projects implemented in Medellín, Colombia, under the idea of Social Urbanism. According to representatives from the government, members of some Residents’ Associations tried to prevent other residents from joining the first meetings, “telling some residents to go home because there was no need to participate as they would be informed afterwards about the outcomes of the meetings” (Jurberg 2015, pers. comm., in Mastellaro 2015). Participation in these meetings progressively increased over time. An outcome of these meetings was the elaboration of guidelines (called Sustainable Development Plans) based on results of the “Workshops of Imaginary” during which government officials explained the scope of the PAC-Slum Upgrading for that specific community and residents had the opportunity to share their needs and dreams about the place where they live.



Figure 1: On the right side we can see the elevation of the railway in Manguinhos. Photo by author.

4.1 The case of Manguinhos

Manguinhos is one of the few complexes of favelas in Rio de Janeiro located in a completely flat area. It has a population of about 44.000 inhabitants (Mastellaro 2015) living in one of its 15 slums, and a total area of almost 535.000 m². The community has the 5th worst Human Development Index (HDI) in Rio and, according to the 2010 Census, 10.83% of the households do not have garbage collection – which is the worst rate in Rio de Janeiro.

Manguinhos is also known for being one of oldest bases of a drug gang called the Red Command (Comando Vermelho). As there used to be a railway that crossed the favela and separated two rival criminal groups, the media used to refer to the region as the “Gaza Strip” (World Bank 2012). One of the main interventions financed by PAC-Slum Upgrading in this community was the elevation of the railway, as shown in Figure 1, facilitating access within the slum and connecting slum dwellers living on both sides. This project also had an important symbolic impact, as it promoted the idea that the State was retaking control of areas that were controlled by armed groups.

The Federal Serum Therapy Institute (FIOCRUZ/ Manguinhos), located in the community, needed to establish a channel of communication with the community living in the area. Thus, in 2007, it created a space for collective discussion named the Social Movement and Forum of Manguinhos (Fórum do Movimento Social de Manguinhos). This Forum represented an important tool for community mobilization, which was already in place

before the state government of Rio de Janeiro decided to implement the PAC-Slum Upgrading in the community and created the Community Council of Manguinhos.

As part of the PAC-Slum Upgrading participatory methodology implemented by the Rio de Janeiro state government, community councils have been established as the official channels through which community members can be informed about the progress of the program and get involved in the decisions regarding their communities. The councils are open to all interested members of the community and meant to constitute a platform where community members other

than the elected presidents of Residents’ Associations can participate.

In 2011, the government officially created ComManguinhos, the Community Council of Manguinhos. Although the interventions under PAC-Slum Upgrading in Manguinhos are (almost) completed, ComManguinhos remains active to this day with frequent meetings, even without involving the participation of government representatives.

4.2 Limited participation and general apathy

At first, most of the residents moved away from the PAC-Slum Upgrading meetings as (1) they were expecting that only traditional actors, such as Residents’ Associations, would have a say, or (2) they were intimidated by the presidents of these Associations when they tried to join the first meetings. This limited involvement and lack of participation can be explained by Bourdieu’s concept of “symbolic power” (Bourdieu 1989): individuals who have greater power and legitimacy to determine which proposals the majority should embrace contribute to the disbelief of individuals with lower possibilities of action. In other words, some individuals know they have less symbolic capital and that decisions are restricted to actors who are located in the higher ranks of the hierarchy. Instead of uninterested, these individuals understand that some groups have the final say and decision-making power, and therefore decide not to participate. This is true if we consider that, throughout the 1990s, most of the Residents’ Associations in Rio de Janeiro were co-opted by the state or

dominated by leaders supported by drug gangs.

Another limitation to citizen participation can be inferred from the way that the participatory process, and particularly the Community Councils, were formulated. The institutionalization of citizen participation in Councils with clear rules and mediation from an external actor (in this case, a representative from the government) represents a means of reaching pre-defined objectives, as in what Pretty (1995) has defined as “functional participation”. Citizens involved in this process serve more as instruments to ensure the achievement of project goals and to reduce its costs, rather than as agents of development.

5 Conclusions

Citizenship can be considered as a spatially delimited concept in Brazil. Formal rights and freedoms cannot be exercised in a meaningful way by those born in violent territories and who are unable to escape them. In most of the slums in Rio de Janeiro, citizens are often silenced, as they are afraid to express themselves through the existing official channels, such as the Residents’ Associations because they know that these channels are co-opted by drug lords and criminal organizations. Violence, therefore, hinders the possibilities of real and effective participation among communities and affects the capability of the State to intervene in the territory, approach the residents and deliver effective policies.

The vast majority of the residents remained distant from the decision-making process during the implementation of the PAC-Slum Upgrading projects. Low levels of participation in the meetings organized by the state government of Rio de Janeiro could be either because there were, on average, 20-30 people (out of thousands living in each of the favelas) joining the meetings or because, in many cases, there were always the same people. This can be explained by the fact that most of the slum dwellers lacked accurate information about the slum upgrading program. According to Mariana Dias Simpson (2013: 16), a research carried out by an independent NGO in Rio (Ibase) showed that only 20% of the residents interviewed felt they were well informed about interventions taking place in their communities. Moreover, although over 70% of the interviewees were optimistic and expected PAC to successfully fulfill its objectives, most mistakenly believed the project’s main objective was to build social housing units.

In this sense, the creation of the Community Councils was an important step to progressively change this perception. These Councils were not necessarily chaired by the presidents of the Residents’ Associations, which therefore contributed to question, to some extension, their legitimacy and recognition as representatives of their respective communities or, as Bourdieu (1989) explained

it, challenging their “symbolic power”. The creation of Committees that are open to all citizens represented an important step towards a more inclusive type of citizen participation. Despite limitations, there are important possibilities for participation, and ComManguinhos represents an important example of citizen participation in contexts of chronic violence. Through Community Councils, residents and community leaders can act together and clearly communicate their interests to governmental actors. However, these have done very little or nothing to change existing power relations, in particular with regard to drug gangs.

6 Recommendations

The links between participatory slum upgrading and increased citizen participation in contexts of chronic violence should be further explored. Cities like Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and Medellín in Colombia constitute important experiences that should be studied from this perspective. They could make the case to inspire interventions in cities transitioning from long periods of violence combined with urban poverty and inequality.

This could be the case of Abidjan, in Ivory Coast, where participatory slum upgrading could be used as an important tool for post-conflict reconstruction not only through the provision of physical infrastructure but also through the constitution of new channels of citizen participation that could contribute to improving the relationship between the Ivorian State and its citizens, increasing a sense of collective belonging and identity. The limits and possibilities of community participation in contexts of chronic violence should also be further studied.

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IS BUENOS AIRES FOR SALE?

Fractured neighborhood groups battling
for public green space

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Argentina

ABSTRACT

In the last two decades heterogeneous groups of urban middle classes have successfully mobilized against deepening inequalities in Buenos Aires and seeking more social inclusion (Kanai, 2010). In the last few years, neighborhood groups have specifically targeted the lack of or threat to existing green public spaces. And although some have been successful at winning their own battles, they have not been able to effectively join forces addressing the broader issue of spatial injustice relating to the availability of and access to public space. Differences in motives and strategies, combined with a very small nucleus of activists, depending on a rank and file who's spatial belonging is defined by their own neighborhood, has resulted in fractured battles. This has created opportunities for the local government to effectively use divide-and-rule strategies to prevent a successful citywide movement in defense of public space. This paper describes four different cases to illustrate the goals and strategies of the various groups, using a theoretical framework of urban social movement and citizenship to explain the fractiousness of these neighborhood groups.

Keywords – Buenos Aires, public green space, urban social movements, citizenship

1 Introduction

Buenos Aires globally ranks among the cities with the least square meters of parks and green spaces per capita: only 1,8 m², where the World Health Organization (WHO) recommends at least 10 -15 m². What's more, green spaces are not equally distributed across the city. Despite elaborate marketing campaigns advocating Buenos Aires as 'La Ciudad Verde' (The Green City), public green spaces have diminished under the local government of Macrí (2007-2014) and his successor Rodríguez Larreta. They have been sold off to private companies, and access to existing public spaces has been restricted by putting up fences, cameras and selling concessions for cafés to be established in parks. This has provoked a revival of neighborhood assemblies (asambleas) protecting existing parks or advocating for new parks.

Some have been successful in preventing fences being put up, or commercial cafés being admitted, or have even succeeded in obtaining support for a plan to build a new public park where real estate development was planned. Although there is contact between various neighborhood groups, and although they exchange information for example through the Red Interparques y Plazas, they do not seem to be able to successfully join forces in a common battle. An effort to unite various neighborhood groups and NGO's under the slogan "Buenos Aires no se Vende" (Buenos Aires is not for Sale) has proven to be difficult. This slogan was developed to counteract the local government's plans to set up a joint stock company to accumulate huge amounts of public terrains and buildings, thereby making it possible to sell them to private parties without the otherwise necessary approval of the city council. Although there is a consensus among groups that the structural privatization of public

property is the underlying problem, this did not result in significant joint action. During a meeting of Buenos Aires no se Vende, participants from various neighborhood groups concluded that a coherent strategy that would tie local battles for parks with the bigger question of 'what kind of city do we want in the future?' was missing. On a neighborhood level, some battles were won, but this did not change the essence of urban policy in Buenos Aires.

This paper looks at earlier research on urban social movements and citizenship in Buenos Aires. Kanai (2010, 2011) has described the successful mobilization of heterogeneous urban middle-class groups in seeking more social inclusion, especially in the period 2002-2007, before the center-right PRO party took over the government of the city. I contend that cooperation between these different groups has lost momentum in recent years. Other relevant research in that same period is the work of Centner (2012). Especially his concept of 'micro-citizenship', is useful in explaining the group-specific solutions with the local government.

This paper describes four cases of neighborhood actions in defense of public green space: the association Amigos del Lago (defending Parque 3 de Febrero in Palermo), asamblea Parque Chacabuco, asamblea Parque Lezama (San Telmo) and asamblea Manzana 66 Público y Verde (Balvanera). I describe their goals, strategies, and ways of cooperation. Data was gathered in the period from March to May 2016 through in-depth interviews with social actors, politicians, and expert informants, and analysis of secondary sources, such as (social) media and press articles.

This paper first describes a brief theoretical background of urban social movements in general and

specifically in Buenos Aires. Then it analyses four case studies, followed by concluding remarks to answer the central question of this paper why local neighborhood groups defending public green space have not been able to join forces to address the issue of spatial inequality arising from restricted access to green spaces at an urban level.

2 Spatial divide-and-rule

The wave of social movements in Argentina in the 1990's and 2000's is related to neo-liberal policy and the lack of trust in political parties (Villalón, 2007). In Buenos Aires, which since 1996 has its own constitution and is governed as a province, neighborhood assemblies or *asambleas* started to pop-up in the early 2000's to rebuild a sense of community that was lost under neo-liberalism. They were places of debate, horizontally organized, that connected people from different background to discuss a new political system and neighborhood-related issues (Dinerstein, 2003; Villalón, 2007). Contrary to many other Latin American cities, in Buenos Aires, the middle classes have always played an important role in urban social movements. These heterogeneous groups mobilized in response to effects of neo-liberal policies, such as city-marketing, increase of poverty (also among middle classes), lack of affordable housing and deterioration of public space (Kanai, 2010, Michelini, 2013).

Generally, cities are considered crucial in social movements because they foster the formation of diverse groups with strong ties and they have access to brokers that can connect different groups and make specialized resources available for mobilization (Putnam, 2000; Nicholls, 2008). The middle classes, with their relatively high education and social skills, have both the resources and the capacity to make connections. Yet, whether these social movements become successful depends on power relations between political authorities and these civil movements (Nicholls, 2008). According to Kanai (2010, 2011) the urban middle classes in Buenos Aires have been very successful in influencing city council, especially when it comes to pressuring the authorities to put into effect a law to decentralize power to the *comunas* (city regions). On the other hand, they could also easily switch between institutionalized tactics to influence government and neighborhood activist tactics, a difference which Risely (2011) describes as direct versus indirect advocacy.

Kanai's research took place between 2002 and 2009. On the basis of my fieldwork in 2016 I contend that neighborhood movements have lost efficacy in combining neighborhood goals with broader issues of spatial justice. It is difficult to give a clear-cut explanation for this change. I consider two interconnected factors to be of importance: first, spatial belonging and secondly, effective divide-and-

rule tactics of the government.

Castells (1983) was the first to define "territory" and "state" as two of the three factors (the third being "consumption") crucial to political activities in cities. People join political mobilizations in defense of their territorial identity. Their urban social citizenship is related to access to particular material space in the city (Centner, 2012). In the case of the battles over parks, this spatial belonging or territorial identity is very narrowly defined. The majority of people mobilize when their local park is threatened, which affects their day to day happiness, not when the underlying, more abstract cause is addressed.

As stated earlier the effectiveness of social movements is measured in terms of how they can influence authorities. Castells (1983) states that the state can reinforce particularistic concerns of urban insurgents through divide-and-rule practices. A government can feel the pressure when various movements combine forces, so they try to break coalitions (Villalón, 2007). In the case of neighborhood battles for parks, the local government can give in to some local demands, thereby undermining the formation of coalitions addressing the broader issue of spatial inequality. Neighborhood movements find themselves in a conflictive situation, which makes it difficult to address both their local issue and the citywide issue. What is happening with the neighborhood groups shows similarities with Centner's concept of "micro-citizenship", which he defines as "group-specific, quasi-legal relationships with the local state [...] in order to grant exclusive, yet temporary rights to particularized legitimate uses of urban space" (2012, 339). In the case of the battles over neighborhood parks it is not necessarily the citizens that seek this exclusivity, but the government that grants it as part of a divide-and-rule strategy.

3 Case studies

The case studies consist of four neighborhood groups from different areas of the city, from the wealthier Palermo neighborhood to the more middle and lower-class neighborhoods Chacabuco, San Telmo and Balvanera.

Amigos del Lago in Palermo is a neighborhood association. Contrary to other neighborhood *asambleas* they are a legal entity, which means they can, for example, receive donations, and more importantly, they can start a lawsuit. Amigos del Lago is also the oldest neighborhood group, they have existed for 27 years. Their focus is on the preservation of the Parque 3 de Febrero, one of the biggest parks in Buenos Aires, that has a local as well as a regional function, because of its size. Since their establishment they have managed to recuperate an area 117,000 m² and prevented 57 hectares from being privatized (Revista del Lago, 2015). Osvaldo Guerrica Echevarría, the current

president of Amigos del Lago and one of its first members, says that without them the park would now be half of what it is today.

Their battle is primarily ecological in nature. Amigos del Lago, compared to other groups, also has a more metropolitan view. They are part of the Asamblea Permanente sobre Espacios Urbanos in the metropolitan area and work closely together with a national network of ecological activists. Their strategy focusses on resisting privatizations and making the government comply with existing laws. They do that using the legal instrument the law has to offer, by pressuring delegates in the city council, and by trying to influence the media. They have no particular political orientation. Guerrica Echevarría states,

Within Amigos del Lago we have radicals, Kirchneristas, Peronists, fervent anti-Peronists; we have everything and I make sure it stays that way, because we have to be apolitical. Our sole objective is the preservation of the park (interview 28 April 2016).

According to Guerrica Echevarría, support for Amigos del Lago has dropped since 2005, with only a small nucleus left to do the work, and citywide cooperation is failing. “There are always initiatives to work together, but it is difficult. It is not easy to work with people from different backgrounds and with different interests”, he states (interview 28 April 2016).

Asamblea Parque Chacabuco has in the past prevented fencing of the park – although many residents were in favor of fencing for security reasons – and is protesting against the pavement of green areas. Since 2014 it has focused on preventing commercial cafés in the park, which would take away even more green space. In 2014 the local government established a law (*Ley de Bares*) that permits exploitation of commercial cafés in parks of more than 10,000 m². The first park where the government put out a tender for the construction of such a café was Parque Chacabuco.

The neighborhood *asamblea* consists only of a small nucleus of active members but was able to secure a couple of thousand signatures of neighbors that resist the construction of a café in the park. Their strategy focused on weekly protest meetings in the park and an underpinning social media campaign. Their goal was to get media attention and talk to neighbors about the importance of the park – and green spaces in general – and to get them sign the petition.

The *asamblea* Parque Chacabuco cooperates with other *asambleas*. They come to each other’s protests and exchange press contacts. In 2015 they received support from Adrian Camps, a delegate from the Partido Socialista Auténtica, who filed a motion to exempt Parque Chacabuco from the *Ley de Bares*. The motion never got voted on, but the government decided to retrieve the license to build a bar that was already granted to a private company. The

law itself was not revoked. Camps defended this strategy, saying,

We had momentum going in Parque Chacabuco with the involvement of neighbors. We also had the media picking up on this case, so we chose to concentrate on Parque Chacabuco, hoping that the government would think twice before trying to implement this law in another place (interview 25 April 2016).

Unfortunately, this did not work out, since recently the government has shifted attention to Parque Patricios to establish a bar.

Asamblea Parque Lezama has successfully prevented the construction of fences around their park. Parque Lezama is a nodal point between three neighborhoods: San Telmo, which is a main tourist attraction and is rapidly gentrifying, La Barraca, a middle-class residential neighborhood and La Boca, a more lower-class neighborhood, which also faces gentrification due to its touristic attraction. The park connects the three neighborhoods and people pass it moving from one neighborhood to another. Also, many people live in small apartments without terraces in this area and for them, the park is an extension of their home.

The *asamblea* is mainly socially motivated. For them, the park is above all a space of social interaction for all kinds of people. The plan to put up fences, after the restoration of the park in 2014, for them was a sign that the government wants to cleanse the neighborhood of certain people. Yet, there is also a lot of support for putting up fences, especially among people who value the park as cultural heritage and want to put an end to vandalism. In the end, the *asamblea* succeeded in stopping the fences. Eva, one of its members states, “Our battle is on the streets”, to mark the difference between them and Amigos del Lago, which they describe as having a “more institutionalized view of citizen participation” (interview 5 April 2016). They invest a lot of time on the streets, talking to residents and connecting to other organizations in the neighborhood. Their presence has been picked up by the media. They clearly see their battle as part of a much broader fight in the city to protect public spaces from privatization, still, they also realize that every park is different and needs a different approach.

Eva and Mauricio of the *asamblea* Parque Lezama are also the initiators of the Red Interparques y Plazas, a horizontally operating network organization that exchanges of strategy experiences. It is not an organization that acts on behalf of any of the *asambleas*, but they do support each other. Unlike other *asambleas*, who clearly foster not being partisan, the members of the *asamblea* Parque Lezama do not have a problem when members show their political affiliation.

Manzana 66 Público y Verde is an *asamblea* that

does not defend an existing park but is trying to turn a plot of land into a public park with a school, and some other public amenities. The block of houses (“manzana” in Spanish) was sold to a private company in 2011 who started to evict people and tear down houses. It was not until 2014 that residents read in the newspaper about plans for a concert hall, including a five-star hotel, restaurant and underground parking lot, which shocked people in the already heavily traffic congested neighborhood of Balvanera. With only 0,4 m² of green space per capita, this neighborhood is more deprived of green space than any other neighborhood in the city.

A small group took the initiative to set up an *asamblea* to try stop the plans. Soon they found out that the company did not have the necessary permits for the construction, and the plans for construction were postponed. In the meantime, the territory was sublet to another entrepreneur who used it for outdoor football fields, which at night were flooded with light and produced a lot of noise. The *asamblea* came up with an alternative plan to turn the territory into a public park. They set up weekly meetings in the local parish church, talked to other public institutions like schools and hospitals and started to collect signatures in support of their plan. Within a couple of weeks, they had 6,000 signatures.

Although their media strategy focuses on the need for more green space and their plan to realize this, they have a broader interest as well. They listen to people’s complaints – ranging from malfunctioning street lights to illegally cut trees – and put them on the table of the local authorities. According to Alberto Aguilera, initiator of *Manzana 66*, they need to address these day-to-day issues to keep the support of the neighborhood in their long-term trajectory to gain sufficient support at city hall for their plan. They need the support of 40 delegates to be able to initiate a vote. Apart from individually addressing these delegates, the *asamblea* makes ample use of social media, street protests, and media connections to get their message across. They also work closely together with other *asambleas* and support each other in their local protests. “We want more or less the same; we are like brothers”, states Aguilera (interview 4 May 2016). To Aguilera’s own surprise the mainstream media – which normally are not very critical towards the governing PRO party – started to side with the residents and increase coverage of their battle. Finally, they succeeded in securing enough delegates and the plan was voted on and accepted in November 2016.

Manzana 66 is going to be a public park, yet there is a catch: in return, the owner of the territory is granted a different plot of land in the neighborhood of Saavedra to realize his real estate ambitions. For one of the more progressive delegates – usually, in support of the neighborhood battles for green space – this was reason enough not to support the plan. “It is presented as if it costs nothing, but now the residents in Saavedra will have

to pay for it”, stated delegate Marcelo Ramal in his city council address, whereas PRO-delegate Augustín Forchieri, who voted in favor, described the outcome as “a healthy equilibrium between public and private interests”.

These four case studies present an interesting cross-section of the wide range of neighborhood groups defending public green space. Looking at their similarities and differences sheds light on their inability to join forces on a large scale.

First, despite differences in their primary motivation – from being more ecological to more social – they agree on one thing: the change in policy concerning public space, under the PRO party which governs the city since 2007. “This party is in reality a corporation”, is how Guerrica Echevarría describes the PRO (interview 28 April 2016). And Mauricio of the *asamblea Parque Lezama* states that, “From 2012 onward there seems to be an increase in the privatization of public space. It is considered space without financial merits” (interview 5 April 2016). The disapproval of this policy surpasses political differences. The government, on the other hand, has been very successful in creating an image that the city is not safe, which justifies security measures such as putting up fences around parks. It is more difficult to gain citizens support to prevent fencing, than when talking about parks in terms of ecological benefits (*Amigos del Lago*) or health and social benefits (*Parque Chacabuco*, *Parque Lezama*, *Manzana 66*).

The groups take on different points of view when it comes to city hall and their advocacy strategies. The *asamblea Parque Lezama* is most explicit in rejecting cooperation with delegates, preferring indirect advocacy through mobilizing the public, whereas others combine indirect advocacy with direct advocacy (Risely, 2011) and make use of the possibilities the system offers to influence decision making at city hall. This can be through a delegate that takes on their case – as in the case of *Parque Chacabuco* – or by directly presenting a proposal, as *Manzana 66* did.

All neighborhood groups suffer the same weakness: they depend on a very small nucleus of people who carry all the workload. This makes them very vulnerable in terms of continuity. It puts a lot of pressure on the people who haul the groups, since they often combine this work with more formal jobs. Around this nucleus of often no more than five people, is a larger group that comes to meetings, but does not actively participate or just for a short period. As Aguilera describes, “At weekly meetings, there are about 20-30 people, but not always the same. If they live in the same building, they take turns in the meeting” (interview 4 May 2016). The group that might sign a petition is often much bigger and can consist of several thousand. Since *asambleas* are loosely organized informal organizations they are dependent upon support from the neighborhood for their actions. This is slightly different with *Amigos del Lago*, which is a judicial entity and has more room to

maneuver without the direct support of a large group of citizens.

4 Conclusions

Social movements in Buenos Aires have in the 1990's and 2000's been relatively successful in addressing urban inequalities. They had a strong base in the middle-classes and were effective in combining strategies of direct and indirect advocacy (Kanai, 2010, 2011; Michelini, 2013). In the last decade, when the city was governed by the center-right PRO, the privatization of public space has become one of the major topics in the city. Across the city, neighborhood movements have organized resistance to fencing and other forms of privatization of public parks. Yet, unlike the decade before, these movements have not been very successful in cooperating and addressing the underlying topic of spatial inequality.

I have presented four neighborhood movements, their strategies, and successes in defending green spaces. On the basis of my research, I conclude that there are various factors that prevent effective cooperation.

First, cooperation is hindered by some fundamental differences between the groups in terms of motives, background, and choice of strategy (direct versus indirect advocacy). This difference is best visible between the two extremes in my case studies, the defenders of the Parque Lezama on the one hand and the defenders of the Parque 3 de Febrero on the other hand.

Secondly, neighborhood movements defending public green space rely on a very small active nucleus. They are strong tie groups that need brokers to connect them with other strong tie groups to make use of their accumulated resources and be effective as a social movement (Putnam, 2000; Nicholls, 2008). The handful of members in these nuclei is able to make connections to other groups in the city and potentially engage in a more fundamental battle on spatial injustice, but their rank and file – the residents in the neighborhood that sign petitions and incidentally join in a protest march – is not easily mobilized. Most of them can only be mobilized in defense of their own territory and for a short period of time. In terms of Castells (1983) their territorial belonging is defined by their neighborhood, and in this case, their neighborhood park.

This dichotomy between very local involvement of residents and underlying issues which can only be addressed on an urban level allows the local government to effectively apply divide-and-rule strategy (Castells, 1983). To withdraw the concession for the café in Parque Chacabuco but leave the underlying law (*Ley de Bares*) intact, was a victory for the *asamblea* Parque Chacabuco, but now residents of Parque Patrizio and possibly other

parks are facing the same problems. Manzana 66 has booked a huge and unexpected victory when city council accepted their proposal to turn the terrain into a public park, yet residents in the neighborhood of Saavedra are now facing the impact of the real estate plans of the company owning the land. These local deals between the city council and neighborhood movements are a form of what Centner (2012) refers to as “micro-citizenships”. I contend that these local agreements undermine urban solidarity, which makes it more difficult to merge these heterogeneous neighborhood movements battling for green spaces into one urban movement, such as Buenos Aires No Se Vende, addressing the underlying trend of an entrepreneurial government threatening public space and increasing spatial inequality. At the meeting Buenos Aires No Se Vende in April 2016, where various groups were trying to develop a common strategy, the chairwoman remarked, “We as citizens – not neighbors (*vecinos*) – demand that the government upholds the law”. This distinction between citizenship and neighbor proves crucial. Making local deals with the government is a form of “micro-citizenship”, yet a “citizenship” that is far removed from citizens uniting in defense of spatial justice; it reduces them to neighborhood residents making a deal with the local government.

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Endnotes

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3. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vad1JyH-IOg&feature=em-share_video_user (accessed 30 January 2017)
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RECYCLED CITY

A Genealogy of Urban Occupations in
Central São Paulo

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ABSTRACT

This paper delineates a genealogy of São Paulo's inner-city "slum" movements. It explores how occupation practices ensued from distinctive spatial traits of the city's old center, inquiring the interaction between urban movements and the architecture of the city. The focus lies on the rhizomatic proliferation of occupations, percolating and recycling São Paulo's center. It probes why and how myriad movements set off reclaiming the center's disaggregated stockpile of derelict building carcasses, uncovering how in the decrepit debris of the renounced old city, a recycled city is germinating from what others have forsaken. In a worn-out wasteland of discarded hotels, factories, offices, storehouses, shops and apartment buildings alike, a home-made city is collectively pieced together. Some are violently evicted right-away, others remain temporary shelters allowing numerous families to overcome dreadful poverty. Here and there a few impel refurbishment and become self-managed housing projects, amidst all the job-opportunities, social services, cultural amenities and infrastructural benefits the center contains. It will be prospected how occupations propagate a structural urban realm in downtown São Paulo, a continuously mutating constellation of temporarily inhabited spaces, volatile and pervasive at the same time. Urban erosion, hence, will appear as a breeding ground for embryonic prototypes of more inclusive urban renewal. The paper stems from a close collaboration with multiple occupation movements, especially FLM and MSTC, human rights associations, as well as governmental and academic institutions in São Paulo.

Keywords – Inner-city slum, cortiço, squatting, housing movement, urban activism, mutirão

1 Harbingers of Reclaim

In 1977, a loosely organized group of tenants occupies an old cinema in São Paulo's downtown neighborhood of Mooca, after being evicted from a nearby slum. The squatted cinema soon makes a name as one of the city's largest inner-city squats, a harbinger of numerous organized building occupations set to come twenty years later. The squatter group is supported by the Housing Pastoral, one of the first institutions to broach the deplorable dwelling conditions found in countless inner-city slums where tenants pay exorbitant rents for insalubrious rooms of merely a few square meters, lacking light as much as air. Appalling sanitary installations and deficient electricity and water connections are to be shared with up to a few dozens of families, suffering from frequent exploitation and violence by landlords and intermediaries. The Pastoral's report echoes astonishingly accurate the 19th century literary masterpieces of Dickens, Riis, and Azevedo, that made the archetypical downtown slum known worldwide, long before academia or public authority became preoccupied with the urban poor's dwelling circumstances.

The city and its slums, germinating and burgeoning as symbiotic twins. At the dawn of the 20th century, São Paulo's mutation from a provincial backwater into industrial metropolis propagates countless inner-city slum settlements, housing a massive influx of former slaves and European immigrant workers. Along the rail tracks

and on marshy lowlands, "warrens of narrow streets and tenements, dotted with factory chimneys. are hastily pieced together" (Rolnik, 1989). When the city enters the 20th century, *cortiços* absorb the poorest third of the city's population (Kowarick and Ant, 1989). In the older districts of Sé and Republica they are utterly eradicated during the 19th century "cleansing" operations, only to crop up again elsewhere. Especially the city's earliest industrial districts such as Mooca, Bixiga, Bom Retiro, Barra Funda and Brás aggregate downtown slums that bring a diverse nomenclature in their wake: *cortiços* (beehives), *quintais* (backyards), *casas de cômodos* (boarding houses), *pensões* (pensions), *hoteis* (hotels), *casarões* (mansions), or *cabeças-de-porco* (pork heads), to name only a few.

Until the 1970s, *cortiços* are by large the city's predominant low-income housing typology. But during the military ruling (1964-1984) the city changes fast. Their developmentalist investments in industry and infrastructural works, and the so-called "milagre econômico" (economic miracle) spark vast rural-urban migration, from Brazil's impoverished North-East regions in particular, but the payoff is hardly redistributed. The militaries' National Housing Bank (BNH) depots about 4.5 million low-income families to desolate housing complexes in the extreme peripheries but is still unable to deal with the immense housing crisis. Arriving migrants and squeezed-out urbanites alike can no longer be absorbed by the city's *cortiços*, and by 1980, 8.5 million squatters have fudged together a small thousand favelas

around the consolidated city. (Pasternack Tascher, 1995) Instantaneously, a plethora of social movements springs up in their wake, many of whom led by women, campaigning for improved housing and urban services such as crèches, healthcare, transport, and sanitation. From the alleged “margins” of the city, “those “without” – without homes, without land, without work, without rights (Zibechi, 2012) – leap to the center of the urban stage, and housing movements turn out new protagonists in the territorial arena (Saber, 2001).

Nuclei of liberation theology, Christian Base Communities or CEBs, play an infrastructural role for the upsurge of popular revolt, as they nest in old and new deprived neighborhoods for inciting the poor to autonomously overcome the injustice done to them. Insubordinate direct action is lauded as the celestial path to liberation. “Liber-a(c)tion” proposes the “wretched of the earth” to “discover the causes of their oppression [and] organize themselves into movements” (Boff and Boff, 1986). Encountering a fruitful soil of peoples in the central and peripheral “slums”, the CEB’s are “sweeping through the Brazilian masses like wildfire” (Burdick, 1992). They set up local committees and neighborhood associations committed to “the life, cause, and struggle of these millions of debased and marginalized human beings, a commitment to ending this historical social iniquity” (Boff and Boff, 1986).

Freire’s “pedagogy of the oppressed” provides the educational guidelines, advocating that only “unity and organization can enable them to change their weakness into a transforming force with which they can re-create the world, making it more human”. (Freire, 1968) In keeping with Freire, efflorescing movements take up the “great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed [...] to liberate themselves and their oppressors [...] who exploit, and rape by virtue of their power” (Freire, 1968). In the center, the struggle for rights emanates from the defective architecture of the inner-city slums, and the material drawbacks of the poor’s dwelling environment are probably the main *raison d’être* of germinating cortiço-movements, advocated as the best way to channel discontent on material deprivation into organized direct action that allows overcoming the slum’s dreadful hardship. Embryonic tenant organizations, human rights associations and labor unions find each other in Freire’s (1968) mantra;

Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift, agitating the encortiçados to claim everything that the existing system can give: better wages, working conditions, healthcare, education, housing, and so forth; then work towards the transformation of present society in the direction of a new society characterized by widespread participation, a better and more just balance among social classes and more worthy ways of life (Boff and Boff, 1986).

Seven years after occupying the antique Cinema de Mooca, pamphlets announce that

The union of tenants of Mooca has been born! We don’t have anywhere to live, what could we then offer our children? If we eat, we cannot dwell, and if we dwell, we cannot eat! We discovered that decent housing is a basic right for all, but for the workers, this clearly doesn’t apply. Those that work the most, that wake up the earliest, and sleep the latest, have no place to live! Therefore, we will fight together for decent housing.

Eventually, the cortiço-movement gets rebaptized as the *Movimento dos Quintais da Mooca*, as to avoid the *cortiços* pejorative and promiscuous connotation. The group meets weekly at the head office of Mooca’s workers’ association. In 1984 they present at the town hall a list indicating vacant sites in the districts of Mooca and Brás, supposedly appropriate for the construction of low-income housing, conjoined with a demand for financial support for the purchase of construction materials (Neuhold, 2016). It are the heydays of *mutirão*.

The first collective self-construction experiments in the Eastern fringes of the city demonstrate viable scenarios for autonomously rebuilding slums into housing projects, rather than waiting for governmental agencies to hand them over ready-made. With the emergence of *mutirão*, housing movements increasingly take up a fight over autonomy, no longer restricting claims to isolated struggles over water, electricity, and access to land, but simultaneously claiming control over the construction and self-management of housing co-operatives. The fight over space (*Ocupar!*) and the fight over autonomy (*Mutirão!*) become two interlocked fronts, calling upon a Lefebvrian right to collectively take part in the making and remaking of the city (Lefebvre, 1968).

In May 1985, after a year without a response, the *União dos Moradores de Quintais* mobilize forty members. “Cortiço-dwellers invade Mooca’s Fabes!” The group occupies the regional office of the Secretary of Family & Well-Being, leaving the building five days later with the governmental promise of 200 building lots, later watered down to 96 *mutirão* units in the Eastern city-outskirts of Sapopemba, Guaianases and Cidade Tiradentes. The modest *conquista* (victory) gives a powerful impetus to the young housing movement, providing living proof that popular revolt pays off. Be that as it may, many former cortiço-inhabitants find out right away that the center is central for their subsistence. They are street sweepers and hawkers, nanny’s and dog walkers, security guards, taxi drivers or check out girls, willing or not, depending on propinquity to the rich for making a living. Many sell off

their hard-earned moradias (housing units) and move back to square one in one or another downtown cortiço. Hence, the group's fight shifts from moradia (housing) to moradia digna (dignant housing), understood as sound apartments in the well-serviced center, amidst social and cultural amenities, public transport and low-skilled job opportunities. From now on, the *Movimento dos Quintais* consciously addresses the center as the pragmatic and symbolic site and subject of its struggle, envisioning mutirão as a viable instrument for central slum-upgrading.

Over the course of the 1980s, manifold disaggregated local squatter committees and neighborhood associations merge into larger, professionalized and highly networked housing movements. A movement of movements is pullulating. A first national gathering is held while increasingly large demonstrations bring thousands of favelados to the center for claiming drinkable water, electricity, sewers and land titles (Levy, 2005). In the periphery –out of sight, out of mind – they are hardly heard. In 1987, the *União dos Movimentos de Moradia* (UMM) unites different housing movements to strengthen their weight on the municipal, regional and federal authorities (Earle, 2009). The UMM undertakes successive “housing caravans” to Brasília, mobilizing busloads with up to 3000 movement members to the capital for claiming federal investments in low-income housing, pulling countless fragmented movements together. Meanwhile, popular mobilization is upscaling and professionalizing all over Latin America, paving the way for critics to cry blue murder: Institutionalization! Co-optation! De-radicalization! Movement leaders all over the continent become broadly accused of substituting community work “at the base” for political career-making and negotiating, purportedly at the expense of direct action. In either way, the UMM negotiates the construction of many thousand low-income housing units, giving voice to hundreds of local housing movements, adapting “a dual strategy of collaboration and contestation” (Earle, 2009), by continuously alternating between insubordinate direct action and political counseling.

The union is there at the outset of the 1988 constitution, claiming legal maneuvering space for civil organizations. The constitution endorses principles of democratic urban management, providing legal and political instruments to widen direct participation. It leads to the approval of the 2001 City Statute, explicitly recognizing the “social function of property” by providing a set of legislative and fiscal instruments that municipal administrations can deploy for reversing the segregational nature of urban development (Fernandes, 2011). Eventually, the promising statute waters down to an almost inoperable and unenforceable “tax increase”, and the material outcome remains minor, provoking movements to take up the execution by insurgently seizing “un-proper” properties and induce their social function.

The progressive left-wing Erundina (Workers Party, PT, 1989-1992) is elected mayor in 1989, in the midst of exacerbating unemployment and massive social mobilizations. The city's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (Sehab) is monthly, often weekly, occupied by one or another movement, demanding more public measures for housing the poor (Maricato, 2011). Occupations proliferate. Unfinished social housing projects, empty lands, governmental headquarters, and central avenues, squatters are omnipresent. Erundina's municipal government is the first to implement legal measures with and for the cortiço population to improve the central slums' housing conditions. The FUNAPS, Fundo de Atendimento à População Moradia em Habitação Subnormal is launched to finance self-managed mutirão projects in the central area (Sanches, 2015).

In 1990, two well-known *cortiços* in Mooca, Celso Garcia, and Madre de Deus, are expropriated, torn down and rebuilt according to mutirão-dictums. The symbolic value of both projects is not to be underestimated, after 100 years of slum-clearance as the standard “urbanistic” response to downtown slumification. It underscores that popular housing not necessarily has to be a synonym of mono-functional and monotonous peripheral underserviced compounds but is indeed reconcilable with the center for which many cortiço-inhabitants prefer the inner-city slum above peripheral squatting in the first place.

While the projects are under self-construction, cortiço-associations gather on the 15th of June 1991 in a cortiço in the Rua do Carmo (Sé) and set-up the *Unificação das Lutas dos Cortiços* (ULC): the first downtown movement that integrates different popular quarters from the center in a unified cortiço- movement, explicitly claiming popular housing for the lowest income workers in the very center of the city (Neuhold, 2016). From its inception onwards, the focus lies on the center's paradoxical congregation of appalling slum-dwellings and homelessness surrounded by an abundance of vacant and underused buildings and sites.

In the early 1990's, the political tide turns, and the PT repeatedly loses municipal elections. Projects of mutirão, such as Madre de Deus and Celso Garcia, are interrupted, only to be taken up again years later. Political negotiations are impeded and the central slum-movements are left no other option than to strengthen the local associations. It needs no saying, that the spatial fragmentation of the central slums, spread out all over the downtown area and largely hidden behind narrow gates and building façades, makes mobilization more demanding as in most peripheral settlements. On top of that, the movement has to deal with slumlords and intermediaries, more often than not all but eager to allow them access into the *cortiços*, and frequently residents risk eviction if they are caught taking part in the rebels' conspiracies.

It is exactly from the increased emergency and crisis that the ULC initiates in 1992 *Apoio*, the *Associação*

de Auxílio Mútuo da Região Leste, officially starting as an NGO in December 1993. *Apoio's*, (support) initial work concentrates on fighting hunger and illiteracy of the most vulnerable population, wherefore they closely work together with the Catholic pastorals. Firmly bound-up with *Apoio*, the ULC comes of age, uniting manifold cortiço-associations from all over the center. Nonetheless, the movement's enlargement goes hand in hand with exacerbating internal contention. Diverging political affiliations and disagreements over operational methodologies and ideological stances divide the movement's leading figures right away. While consolidating *Apoio*, the group concurrently breaks away from the ULC and sets up the *Fórum dos Cortiços de Sem-Teto* (FCST) Not much later also the *Movimento de Moradia do Centro* (MMC) splits off from the ULC.

The newly established *Fórum dos Cortiços* and *Apoio* are closely intertwined, the former primarily devoted to mobilization and direct action, the latter concurrently dedicated to immediate social assistance, employment, education and more "formal" cooperation with governmental institutions and international funding programs. Amongst others, *Apoio* gains partial funding from the state government program *Vida Alimento* and international humanitarian agencies such as the British Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), the Canadian Caritas' organization for Development and Peace, and the German Protestant *Bröt für die Welt*.

Incoming budgets are partially channeled to the housing movement, for instance by employing movement coordinators for allowing them to fully dedicate to the movement struggle. The alliance between the "radical" *Fórum* and the more "prudent" *Apoio* allows the group to get less beset by widespread debacles over "revolutionism" as opposed to "reformism", dividing housing movements all over Latin America. With a rudimentary division of labor, the two, work hand in hand, pointedly broadening the scope of their tactical repertory. As a result, they have organized at least eighteen cortiço-groups spread over the whole central area by 1996.

A decade after the erection of the UMM, years of arduous political negotiations, countless unfulfilled promises, unexecuted projects, hardly enforced legal instruments, and internal disagreements drive the downtown slum movements to the brink. On top of the halted mutirão projects, repressive police interventions and numerous evictions afflict the center. Escalating unemployment, reaching up to 19,5% by 1999, and plunging wages make the minor tangible achievements pale, and provoke more direct forms of action.

2 Occupied Center

In 1997, on the 8th of March, the *Forum dos Cortiços de Sem-Teto* and *Apoio* occupy with around 500 members the 19th century coffee-baron's palace Santos Dumont. After the mansion had been expropriated for housing the Fazenda Pública Estadual, it passed through the state's administration of the Secretary of Children, Family, and Well-Being. Left unused for multiple years it became informally filled-in as a cortiço, and many of the occupants had been living here before, paying up to 400 R\$ for a small room. The occupants managed to remain inside for three months while negotiating with the state government for refurbishing the building into popular housing. The perceived instantaneous success instigates a wave of organized occupations in the center during the years to come.

The ULC sets off to occupy abandoned buildings the same year, while also the UMM publicly announces similar actions. Key leaders are closely connected to the Landless Movement (MST), transposing their tactical land occupations to the urban environment. When on the 2nd of April, 100 dwellers are evicted from a cortiço in the neighborhood of Liberdade, they occupy with the *Fórum* a set of houses owned by the University of São Paulo, at the corner of Rua Pirineus and the Rua Brigadeiro Galvão. In the same year, they squat the INSS building at the Nove de Julho Avenue, one of the numerous properties of the National Institute of Social Security, the public organ that confiscates properties that accumulated too many debts, but so far hardly undertook incentives to make use of it. The occupation mobilizes more than 1000 members. Meanwhile, the governmental leviathan prepares more drastic measures for impeding the disruptive "invasions". Two occupations carried out by the *Fórum* end in violent confrontations with military police. In the center's slum-struggle, a new act is initiated, and vacancy accumulated over years of mistreatment converts into the stage of a new radical performance.

In 1998, on the 5th of October, the *Fórum* occupies the old Matarazzo Hospital in Bixiga to accommodate 300 evicted families. The MMC squats the Ouvidor 63 building, the former municipal department of culture, facing the center's main bus terminal Bandeiras. Also, the *Fórum* is afflicted by internal discontent, and its offspring *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto da Região Central* (MTSTRC) goes its own way, occupying with 350 families a 15-floor residential tower, just around the corner of the Ouvidor 63 building. New movements arise while other disintegrate, but abandoned buildings are squatted all over the center. The same year, *Apoio* publishes an anthology with photographer Wagner Celestino, poignantly titled *Cortiços: uma Realidade que Ninguém vê* (inner-city slums: a reality that nobody notices). The photographic testimony is a call for action: an invitation for getting out of the inertia with

concrete activities and actions. The church, NGO's, civil society and public authorities have to make life more just for the peoples of the *cortiços* (Apoio and Celestino, 1998). In his introduction, Manoel Del Rio is bitter.

Where can a family go that is under attack of unemployment and salaries offensive to human dignity? (...) Housing projects for cortiço-dwellers are left to rot in drawers. They don't move. For the authorities and the dominant class of the city, poor peoples have to live segregated, distanced thirty to fifty kilometers from the center. The urbanized city and its public value are only theirs. It is that social structure planned and orchestrated by the dominant class that produces the sorrow, the humiliation and the sufferance of our brothers. A creeping and arduous genuine extermination of human beings, their fate preordained only for being poor (Apoio and Celestino, 1998).

As the 20th century is drawing to a close, occupations make up a structural urban realm within downtown São Paulo. The municipal secretary of housing estimates that 23.000 persons are inhabiting occupied buildings in the center, and at least 17 buildings are occupied by organized squatter movements. The Fórum trumpets:

Don't remain isolated. Enter the fight for your rights! Free yourself from paying rent and join our fight for housing! Central São Paulo is devoid of inhabitants and full of vacant edifices. We must unite all the poor and occupy these vacant buildings!

And so they do. On October, the 25th, midnight, "6100 Homeless invade six buildings in less than an hour in São Paulo!", headlines the Folha. The downtown slum movements orchestrate an unforeseen prodigious squatting operation in the center, accompanied by the slogan: *Chega de blá, blá, blá, Mutirão Já* (Enough bla bla bla, Mutirão Now!). Supported by the Housing Pastoral, the UMM conjoins the inner-city *Fórum*, *Apoio*, the *Unificação das Lutas dos Cortiços* (ULC) with the peripheral *Movimento Sem Terra Leste 1* and *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra da Zone Oeste* to synchronously seize five public and one private building, one of whom belongs to the *Tribunal Regional do Trabalho* (TRT), at the moment involved in a corruption scandal, and an unfinished project from the state's social housing company, ironically the only one that is instantaneously evicted manu militari. Peripheral movements affiliated to the UMM participate in the central occupations, increasingly aware that the model of mutirão is reproducing similar underserved and segregated housing complexes as the state's social housing compounds.

Contention increases after the center's Conselho de Segurança (Conseg) signs a pact with municipal and state authorities to prevent further "unlawful invasion of the center". The retrofitting of the Santos Dumont occupation into popular housing gets blocked by the state's heritage department, and in 2005 it will eventually be transformed in the city's museum of energy, in keeping with the center's "cultural" revitalization (José, 2007). The 100 families that occupy a building in Bixiga's Rua da Abolição are summoned within less than a week by the proprietor – the state government – to peacefully leave the building within 60 days, without further openings for negotiation. The vice-president of the regional social housing institute admits that the center could easily accommodate another 800.000 inhabitants but accuses the movements of queue-jumping the waiting lists. For Apoio, however, notes in a 1999 educational text that

Fundamental rights are indispensable. The right to housing has no queue! (Del Rio, 2016) The urban workers create and maintain all that makes the city city. Nevertheless, all that they create in the city only serves the rich. (...) The urban land and built fabric serve a horde of parasite owners and speculators in order to convince the inner-city sem-tetos of their moral obligation to occupy those renounced buildings that the elite had forsaken.

Occupying had of course been part and parcel of urban development in Brazil for centuries. Levy (2005) notes by the end of the 1990s in São Paulo alone about eighty occupations per month. Occupying, in fact, constituted the basis of ownership rights ever since the first colonial land-regulations were established, a tendency further extended during the industrialization and ample urban growth during the 20th century (Rolnik, 1997). On the one hand, they remained often depicted as "invasions", hostile actions of intrusion. On the other hand, occupants continued defending a rhetoric of "occupations", recycling, inhabiting, giving use and meaning to formerly useless and meaningless vacancies. Gradually, it evolved into a politically charged guerrilla tactic but hitherto restricted by large to the periphery, where they were to a large degree tolerated and even increasingly regarded as a valuable housing alternative, as long as they remained comfortably out of the center's reach. Also, in the center, a plethora of derelict buildings were occupied for a long time, however until now usually without a politicized organization or activist agenda and much less visible. The moment downtown movements took off occupying vacant buildings they further expanded a tactical repertoire of ongoing squatting practices but integrated it into a cautiously organized civic movement, seizing some of the most expensive properties in the most exposed, best-

serviced areas of the metropolis, and hence gaining prime political importance in the blink of an eye.

In the same year that the inner-city slum movements take off to occupy abandoned buildings, they initiate the first attempt to comprehensively chart out the center's abundant vacancy, right away indicating the structures appropriate for rehabilitation. The resulting GTAI inventory enumerates 400 obsolete constructions, of which 54 are selected for a technical and legal study. Eventually, five of these are retrofitted, while most get stuck in red tape and stumble over exuberant expropriation costs, juridical and technical issues (Sanches, 2015).

3 Ocupar, Resistir, Construir, Morar

While São Paulo's central slum movements gain force and visibility, internal debate over occupation tactics increases. Multiple movement members question the architectural performativity of occupations, accusing them of reproducing the *cortiços'* precarious dwelling conditions which they actually sought to evacuate. Similar to the *cortiços*, most occupations are re-inhabiting a residual and derelict building tissue afflicted by vicious decay. The occupied ramshackle structures are mostly equally overcrowded and spawn similar issues related to insalubrious dwellings, over-used sanitation, clandestine electricity and water connections, deficient technical infrastructure, questionable privacy and ample safety issues. Despite the occupants' liberation from rent, tenure is equally insecure, as evictions are legion. Discontent is strongly invigorated after a fatal accident in 1999 when a child falls through a rotten water tank-coverage in the occupied Hotel São Paulo (Neuhold, 2016). In 2003, the 6th floor of the occupied sky-scraping industrial Prestes Maia building takes fire, demolishing 4 entire floors. The fogo da miséria (Del Rio, 2016) takes the life of a four-year-old girl.

Cortiços or *ocupações*, tenants or squatters, for skeptics they are equally regarded inner-city slums, and many movement coordinators consider it contradictory to fudge together precarious and hazardous dwellings in crumbling edifices while struggling in fact for dignified housing. The Ouvidor 63 building, occupied by MMC since 1998 receives a team of researchers from the Federal University FAU-USP, who plea for a Requalificação de Cortiço (Teixeira dos Santos et al., 2002). The study echoes the 19th century *cortiço*-surveys and renders similar perilous dwelling issues. For all this, the ULC and UMM substitute long-term squatting with symbolic short-term occupation actions aimed at pressurizing governmental housing programs.

Apoio, instead, maintains its commitment to autonomous direct action as a necessary complement to political pressuring and splits off from the *Fórum dos Cortiços*. After a year of reorganizing the *cortiço*-movements, Apoio's brand-new squatting movement enters the stage. "VIOLÊNCIA: Cerca de 100 famílias de sem-teto invadem prédio particular em SP" The newly baptized *Movimento Sem-Teto do Centro* (MSTC) rents eight busses to squat an 11-floor building at the Avenida Duque de Caxias, 401. Large banners make the façade shout: "Ocupar, Resistir, Construir, Morar!" (Occupy, Resist, Construct, Live). Three days later, the Folha de São Paulo subtly notes that the building was under negotiation with the sem-tetos from MMC. "We only found out afterward", affirms MSTC. They are evicted from the building on the 24th of November, 2000, after a violent raid of the military Trope de Choque. Five movement members are imprisoned for resisting. Ciléia de Carvalho, coordinator of the occupation replies: "if this is how the police are treating us, and the government does not take measures, what rests us but organizing ourselves and augment the occupations?"

In March 2001, 8 buildings are under negotiation between the owners, the inner-city slum movements and the public authorities. Increasingly, temporary occupations gain chances for transforming into "permanent" housing compounds. Although the major "impact" of the squatters is often evaluated on the basis of such formalized housing projects, the transitional and temporary improvement occupations engender for numerous occupants is profound and structural, while the libertarian inhabitation of the abandoned buildings implies distinctive spatial qualities, without denying the precarious nature of many cases. The provisional encampments set up in the occupations radically impact the everyday life and opportunities for the betterment of numerous families, and many occupied buildings provide a viable alternative to the street or excessive rents. The transitional accommodation and social infrastructure found in occupations, means a structural device for making ends meet and crawl out of poverty, and occupations offer an architectural and programmatic liberty (allowing spaces of cultural expression, working spaces, meeting rooms, social assistance, and many more) which is usually annihilated in the permanent projects.

In May 2001, the movements take the streets for protesting against a violent eviction, together with José Celso's Teatro Oficina. The theatre group is staging Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões* and recognizes numerous parallels between the play's 19th century Canudos war in Brazil's North-Eastern "backlands", where rebellious sertanejos were violently massacred by armed forces. Oficina involves the squatter youth of Apoio's occupation around the corner and turns them into the protagonists of the play. The central squatters, by large originating

from the poor North-East Sertões, are staged as the contemporary exponents of the oppressed rebels, the occupations in the eroding center as the backlands within the city, the evictions as the military massacre.

After the UMM's turn towards short-term occupations, the MSTC and Apoio make a name as the "radicals" among the squatter movements. Other movements that align with MSTC's direct action repertoire join forces, and at a meeting in Ribeirão Pires in February 2004, MSTC, MMRC (a split-off from MMC) and MTSTRC establish the Frente de Luta por Moradia (FLM), literally the front line of the housing struggle. The FLM brings together seven housing movements under one and the same red banner. Many of the founding members have their activist roots back in the *Movimento dos Quintais da Mooca*, involved in the social work of *Apoio*. Other movements that seek to deviate from the UMM join the FLM afterwards, the *Forum de Moradia e Meio Ambiente do Estado de São Paulo* (FOMMAESP), the *Fórum dos Mutirões*, the *Associação de Mutirões*, the *Movimento Terra Nossa Gente* (TNG) and four smaller groups that merge under the *Movimento Sem-Teto pela Reforma Urbana* (MSTRU). Later, also other movements join, such as the *Movimento de Moradia da Zona Norte* and the *Movimento Centro-Norte*, making up a total of 11 movements, represented by FLM. The frente maintains that occupations can be carried out simultaneously as political demonstrations, and as provisional emergency solutions for their members. For FLM, the motives are simple:

Miserable salaries, unemployment, real estate speculation, the urbanized city expels the low-income workers from its entrails! Therefore, it does not suffice to say that one lives bad, it does not suffice to provoke to revolt; each charlatan knows how to do this but reaches little effect. It is necessary that the workers understand in all clarity why they live in poverty and with whom they should unite to fight and liberate themselves from that misery! (Del Rio, 2016).

Occupations surface as an infrastructure for liberation.

4 Concluding Remarks

Between 1997 and 2007, Neuhold (2016) counts 79 central occupations, carried out by the ULC, Fórum, MMC, MTSTRC, *Novo Centro*, MSTC, MMRC, UMM, and FLM. Levy (2010) mentions more than 80 occupations between 1997 and 2005, involving more than 10.000 people. Sanches (2015) on her turn enumerates 102 occupations between 1997 and 2012. In any case, their structural

presence in the center is undeniable. Closely bound up with the center's historical propagation of *cortiços*, and catalyzed by the widespread abundance of vacant building tissue, occupation movements proliferate ever since the end of the 1990s and emerge as fundamental actors in São Paulo's housing struggle. Recycling formerly obsolete buildings into social and liberating infrastructures, they provide thousands of families with a transitional shelter in the very center of the city.

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- self-constructed in such coproduced experiments between movement coordinators, members, NGO's, architects, civil engineers, social workers and legal advisors.
4. Folha de São Paulo, 7/05/1985
 5. Folha de São Paulo, 20/12/1999
 6. Folha de São Paulo, 20/12/1999
 7. Fórum dos Cortiços, Caminho Da Luta, nr. 7, Maio 1999
 8. Folha de São Paulo, 26/10/1999
 9. Folha de São Paulo, 20/12/1999
 10. Folha de São Paulo, 03/03/2001
 11. Estadão, 5/11/2000
 12. Folha de São Paulo, Cotidiano, 8/11/2000
 13. Folha de São Paulo, 25/11/2000
 14. Folha de São Paulo, 03/03/2001
 15. MSTRU was formed out of the conflation of 14 de Janeiro, the Grupo da Água Rasa, the Grupo Colorado and Setor 8.
 15. Bolletim FLM, 2003

Endnotes

1. See Stevens et al (2017) for a complete study of São Paulo's cortiços.
2. Bolletim, União dos Moradores dos Quintais da Mooca, April 1984
3. Mutirão initially referred to mutual help amongst farmers during harvest, but over time came to cover a broad range of 'communal' practices, especially collective building practices. During the Labor Party's administration, more than 40.000 social housing units were collectively



UNLOCKING LA PAZ

A project about Integration of
Urban Food Systems

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Bolivia

RESUMEN

Actualmente estamos experimentando un cambio en las prioridades educativas y la práctica profesional. Muchos programas de estudios universitarios están adoptando un enfoque nuevo, más social y ambiental, el cual creemos está relacionado con el rápido crecimiento de la población urbana y sus vastas consecuencias para nuestro ecosistema. Futuros líderes deben estar preparados para afrontar estos retos y los profesionales actuales deben aprender a enfrentar uno de los desafíos más exigentes: ¿Cómo alimentar a la ciudad? El planeamiento urbano supone ser integral, orientado al futuro, impulsado por el público y deseoso de aumentar la responsabilidad de las comunidades. El sistema alimentario, sin embargo, es notable por su ausencia de la mayoría de las prácticas de planificación, investigación y educación. Esto ha inspirado el desarrollo del proyecto *Unlocking La Paz*, implementado en la ciudad de La Paz y El Alto en Bolivia. *Unlocking La Paz* tiene como objetivo sensibilizar a los jóvenes profesionales para descubrir cómo los desafíos urbanos están relacionados con el sistema alimentario urbano, cómo mejorar el sistema alimentario actual y cómo co-crear soluciones innovadoras para el beneficio de ambas ciudades. Por encima de todo, el proyecto tiene como objetivo crear una cadena de motivadores e influenciadores entre los futuros líderes para que puedan crear, actuar e implementar soluciones sociales. Tomar más conciencia de cuánto los alimentos definen nuestras vidas, darnos cuenta de que vivimos en una época en la que debemos considerar la comida como una herramienta de diseño urbano para abordar una serie de desafíos sociales y urbanos.

Palabras clave – Bolivia, ecosistemas, alimentacion, sistemas alimentarios, planificacion

1 Introduction

It is generally known that more of the half of the human population lives in urban areas. Today's world faces many challenges; social, environmental and economic. At the same time many ideas and solutions are constantly being developed. The greatest of these challenges are the global financial crisis and the crisis of resources. Resources such as food, water, energy, and source depletion, are disappearing at alarming rates, in particular due to rapid urbanization. This situation is exacerbated by climate change, a global problem which affects many different countries and all people. Other factors deepen the already complex crisis: unsustainable over-consumption, over-population, wealth disparity, and so on.

In recent years the awareness of the importance to pay attention to the urban food system has grown. This is in constant development and analysis. Recent international declarations, such as the Call of Action and Soul Declaration in 2014 and 2015 gathered the compromise of 96 mayors and other stakeholders to “encourage sustainable urban food production projects and resilient city region food system programs”.

Cities, as large hubs for consumptions, are increasingly recognizing their responsibility in building more sustainable food systems that not only reduce food waste and provide decent livelihood opportunities for those producing, processing and selling food (in rural and

peri -urban areas), but also promote environmentally sustainable forms of food transport (a large part of city transport is related to food supply), consumption, and social integration.

Furthermore, cities are starting to see food as driver for other sustainable urbanization policies. Food is directly related to other urban domains, including health, land use planning for agricultural and multifunctional areas: community development and revitalization; employment generation; waste management; integration of rural-urban linkages and climate change adaptations at a territorial scale.

Cities will always be dependent on hybrid food systems. They will continue to source food from distant locations and global food chains as well as from nearby rural locations. A guiding principle is to create and enhance spatial synergies achieving multiple benefits by using land for more than one purpose at a time, and by using food not only as a medium to link different urban policy objectives, but also to use food as an urban design tool.

2 Relevance

The phenomena of a product cycle has a dramatic impact in a city. This impact is not only economic, social and environmental, but also spatial and aesthetic. Cities in transition have multiple flexible spaces that metamorphose by the constant annual cultural events. These processes also

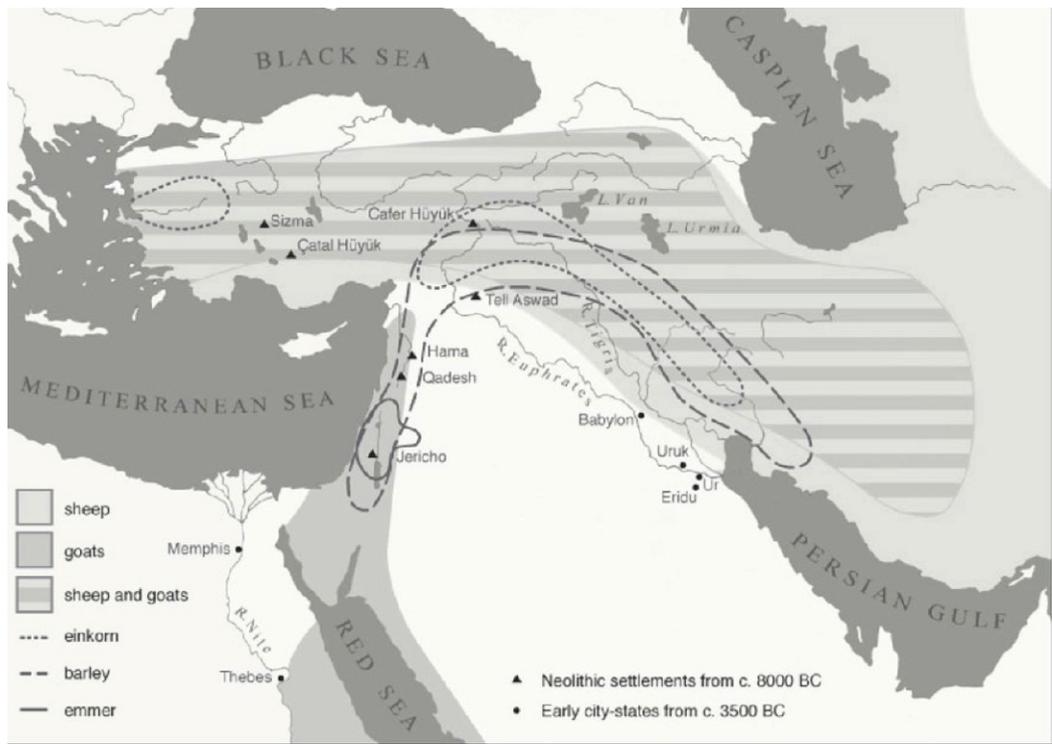


Figure 1: Middle East, “Fertile Crescent 10,000 years B.C. Map. Source: Wikipedia Creative Commons.

generate commercial identity of foods-capes, spatial usage and societal habits, as well as landscapes of well-being, or in some cases, the lack of it.

Cities have always been shaped by food, as Carolyn Steel mentions in her book “The Hungry City”, food influences act as instructions in our urban life. Markets were always located at the center, surrounded by merchandisers and popular shopping streets and main infrastructure and transport systems. Nowadays, since urbanization grows faster globally, our food identity does so as well. Markets are in transition. Consumers seek variety not only in food types, but also in the way they are produced. Architectural design is playing a more important role in food spaces as well, with hybrids usages combining leisure and housing among others . We are living in times were we are venerating food in all scales and forms.

Furthermore, food is the universal language. Food habits, culture and cuisine united people as much as they create urban segregations. Identities in neighborhoods are no longer categorized by the type of urban planning, or architecture in that matter. They are socially described and related to demographics, therefore defined by their food identities.

As an architect and urban designer, I felt the necessity to explore the connection between urban development and agriculture. Since the beginning of city developments, they were shaped by markets and food routes. If we look at an ancient Middle East map the so called “Fertile Moon” around 10,000 years B.C., we can read from there that the empires were trading goods all around the Mediterranean and beyond.

There are two primacies about the creation or beginning of a city development. According to Paul Bairoch, agriculture leads to urban development. And according to Jane Jacobs urban development leads to agriculture. Despite which primacy is the most accurate, in the last decades urban planning is emancipating more and

more from nature. Engaged communities and segregated areas from the city center are clear examples.

The introduction of the supermarket concept in the 60s defined an era of food culture and urban planning. Industrialization of mass food production grew as rapid as cities. Responding to food demands and feeding the growing population leads to the type of food that we have nowadays, full of chemicals, unnatural animal growth, GMO’s, and so on.

Ebenzer Howard’s Garden City concept provides the best example of systematic attention to food issues . Garden City proposals addressed many aspects of the food system-production, distribution, collective preparation and consumption, and waste recycling-as integral to the city. Highlights of Howard’s proposals include 5,000 acres of agricultural land doubling as a greenbelt, appropriate

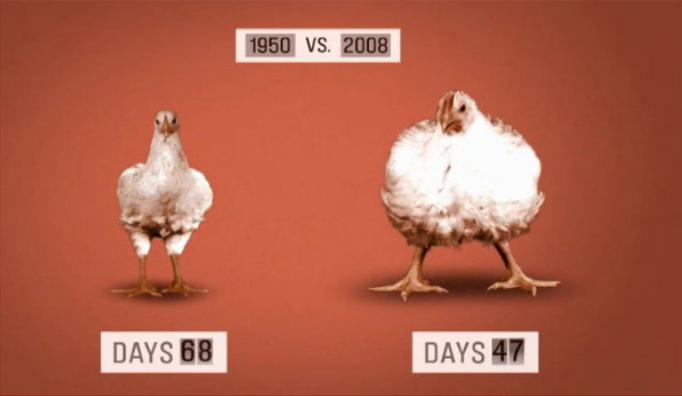


Figure 2: Cutout from Documentary Food Incorporation. Shows the natural and unnatural growth of chickens from 1950 vs. 2008.

3 Inspiration

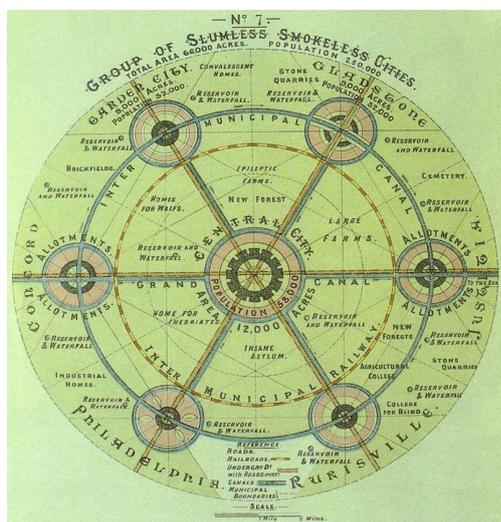


Figure 3: By Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) - originally published in "Garden Cities of tomorrow", Sonnenschein publishing, 1902; this was made as a cutout of the cover of the book by Robert Beever called "The Garden City Utopia". <http://www.oliviapress.co.uk/save0033.jpg>

location and flow of raw and processed commodities, collective kitchens and dining halls, and recycling of food waste as fertilizer for farms. These designs sought not only to provide a livable alternative to the grimy, overcrowded, and sprawling older cities, but also, to enhance local self-sufficiency. In the Garden City, the links between food and other community systems were understood and addressed in depth.

In later years, Lewis Mumford and Benton MacKaye were among the staunchest advocates of a regional and comprehensive view of planning. They urged a view of city systems from the frameworks of equity, vitality, and regional and sectoral comprehensiveness. They called for urbane cities rather than cities determined simply by market forces. For example, Mumford writes:

The planning of cities cannot be confined to 'housing, work, recreation, and circulation,' the standard planner's definition. The whole city must rather be conceived mainly as a theatre for active citizenship, for education, and for a vivid and autonomous personal life.

Yet even Mumford and MacKaye made little note of the importance of planning for local food systems. It is difficult to imagine any of the above goals being realized without secure, ongoing, and socially acceptable access for all citizens to high quality, nutritious food.

The purpose of this practice project is twofold. On one hand the goal is to seed awareness about the influences and consequences of food consumption in the urban areas by a designed training where not only comprehensive data of foodscapes is collected, but also innovative proposals are designed together with feasibility studies. On the other hand, the goal is to unlock the potential of both cities by improving their current food system and make it more integrated, sustainable and socially responsible. The aim in long term, is to create urban strategies on how to regenerate both cities that are suffering from globalization, rapid urbanization and economic transition, by using food as design tool. An outcome that will also imply social, environmental and climate change challenges.

Therefore, the Unlocking La Paz project aims to be an extensive long-term project with immediate results and social impacts. The first implementations are the trainings which are organized and offered each year in the city of La Paz.

The two cities in transition that are the inspiration for this project, are the city of La Paz, administrative capital of Bolivia, and El Alto, considered the Andean capital. These 2 cities are in transition, located next to each other, with similar contexts, yet with a sensitive political and social relationship. They are located on the high lands of the Andean mountains, between 3,600 – 4,000 meters above the sea level. Both cities have also similar populations. However, El Alto has more areas of expansion than La Paz. El Alto started developing as an annex to the city with rural immigration settlements and became an independent city in 1988. At the same time both differ when it comes to



Figure 4: General view of the city of La Paz, Bolivia. In the background the snowed mountain of the "Illimani". Photo: Mark Globe, Flickr user.



Figure 5: General view of the city of El Alto, Bolivia. On the right side we see the border of the city of La Paz. In Spanish this is called “La Ceja de El Alto (the eyebrow of El Alto). Image: Passa Palavra BLOG.

landscape, climate, urban structure and architecture.

The cities of La Paz and El Alto also suffer from overpopulated areas, unstable or unfinished infrastructure, landslides, social segregations, poverty, land squatting and extensive metamorphosis in architecture identity due the increment of urban foodscapes.

4 Urban Food System context

The city of La Paz was founded in 1548, for military strategies at that time. The first settlements were located at what is called the “bowl” . Due to the natural landscape between seven main mountain chains, the city grew between their slopes.

The first settlements of El Alto started in 1781 with the Aymara resistance against the Spanish. The first neighborhoods were formed after the first railroad was built from the Lake Titikaka towards the Chilean city



Figure 6: Map of both cities urban expansion with main roads and in red former train rail to Chile. Map by the author.

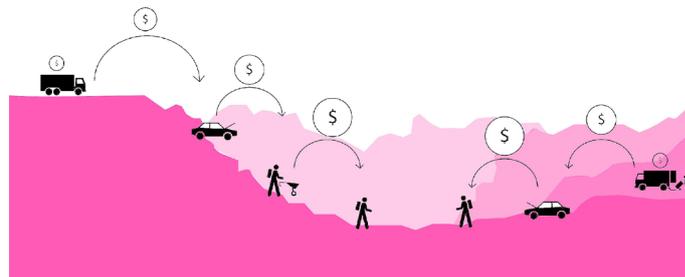


Figure 7: The food chain of both cities. Scheme made by the author.

of Arica. El alto started to grow tremendously after the Agricultural revolution back in 1952. The majority of the population consisted of rural migrants. By 1988 the city outgrew the urban expansion of the city of La Paz, asking for its independence as the Indigenous capital.

El Alto is geopolitically important not only because it is the main entry and exit route for La Paz, but also because it leads to the northern altiplano, where the most combative peasant communities in Bolivia and the mining center of the city of Oruro can be found. It also serves as the pathway to the Amazon region for the departments of La Paz, Beni and Pando.

While the cultural, social and educational center of Bolivia, La Paz is also remote and easily cut off, making its infrastructure and possibilities to reach quite challenging. The acute problem is one of food supply isolation. All accesses possible pass through the city of El Alto, from local roads of neighbor cities, international highways and even the airport is located there.

By an empirical research study made back in 2012, it was found that the city of La Paz produces little to almost none of the resources it needs on a daily basis. Majority of the daily product consumed by Paceños and Alteños are read meats, tubers, and grains; in much less amount legumes, vegetables and fruits; without mentioning the increment and attraction of fast food chains. Great number of the necessary food is brought from other cities or neighboring countries, increasing the usage of fossil fuel, and causing environmental pollution. Food cycle has a dramatic influence on the city; the effects are not only economic, but also spatial, social and environmental.

The urban economy is growing along with international trade and global markets. However, as in many other growing Latin American cities, nutritional quality is decreasing and healthy eating habits are disappearing,

causing an increase in rates of obesity and diabetes, especially among children. According to the FAO's 2014 "State of

Food Insecurity in the World" report, Bolivia's extreme poverty has decreased by 17% in the last decade, mostly due to income redistribution. Despite this improvement, however, there are still areas – most of them urban – where malnutrition is a problem. While much more can be said about both cities and how they relate to each other. I will focus on the topic of Urban Food Systems.

An interesting economic and spatial phenomena related to the food system, is the chain of markets and sub-markets. As explained before, the majority of the food supply and other goods arrive first to the city of El Alto, to be distributed to larger retail and logistics to then be auction to markets and supermarkets of the city of La Paz. But the systems differ when smaller merchandisers buy the products, transport them with smaller or private cars or even by foot, and re-sell them to a medium retailer. This selling chain from major to small selling points is an ongoing process from the high lands of El Alto to the lower lands to La Paz. Furthermore, each time a product is sold, the price increments. Once it has reached the last buyer, the price of the same product has – in the most extreme scenario – quadruplicated.

La Paz has also many markets and supermarkets. Fast-food companies have also started to monopolize key



Figure 9: Urban Food Mapping workshop in Amsterdam April 2014. Photo by author.

locations around wealthier neighborhoods. The branding of these companies is such that food habits among paceños are shifting into a more globalized one. Before there would be only a main meal during lunch time, and nowadays during dinner time people also seek larger meals. A natural effect of this is increment in obesity and lack of proper nutrition.

Furthermore, this shift has environmental consequences. Food waste is a large problem in both cities, contaminating rivers, their banks, as well as natural parks. The unplanned and spontaneous food transport systems also cause more fossil fuel within the urban tissue, besides causing large traffic jams.

Finally, most rural areas in Bolivia are in decay and/or abandoned. Many ex-farmers have moved to the cities with high hopes and aspirations for a better living condition. This social shift has a major impact on agricultural productivity .



Figure 8: Food waste areas in the surroundings of the city of El Alto and La Paz. Photo: Foundation Alternativas.



Figure 10: Urban Food Mapping workshop at La Casa de los Ningunos, La Paz Bolivia. Photo by author.

5 Implementation

All these urban challenges that my former home city and El Alto face have given me enough “food for thought” to start the development of the first phase of the project Unlocking La Paz. It started back in 2012, when in partnership with a Dutch colleague, the Catholic University of La Paz, and other experts, we designed a 3-month training program for the city of La Paz. We also designed Urban Food Mapping, a compact 3-day training program. We have successfully tested Urban Food Mapping in Amsterdam.

The first 3-day workshop in La Paz was organized in January 2013. We were hosted by the environmental activists called La Casa de los Ningunos (The house of the nobodies), and received support of the Foundation Alternativas.

Urban Food Mapping was designed with the principles of Design Thinking and Human Centered Innovation (HCI). During the workshop, participants learn to recognize food influences in the city, find social needs and urban challenges and co-create innovative solutions to be implemented for the benefit of a specific area. Participants perform their own mappings, documentations and investigations of the area where the workshop is hosted.

Both methods are centered on problem-solving based on observation, empathy, creativity and system thinking. They also aim at results that are integrated in all levels of sustainability, eventually to be implemented for the benefit of the area. Participants not only grasp a new learning method, but also realize how big the impact is of food systems on our cities and our lives.

The workshop was designed around the idea that participants collaborate, learn, create and apply innovative solutions in the following fields:

1. Spatial & urban solutions:

- Decrease urban food traffic with efficient transportation.
- Restore and enhance historical market locations and make them more effective for users and sellers.

2. Environmental solutions:

- Enhance urban greening, reduce harmful run-off, increase shading.
- Reduce environmental impact by enhancing consciousness of waste production and sharing

options for reuse of materials

3. Social solutions:

- Offer labor opportunities to former farmers who migrated to the city.
- Reconnect people with the Earth through gardening and enhance appreciation for the origin of food.
- Start a chain of knowledge and workshops in order to eventually offer a national training program.

6 Conclusions

First and foremost, I believe in the benefits of education prototyping, in combination with practice implementation. We live in times where we can find information quickly, yet we sometimes don't know how to act upon a current challenge.

By developing and implementing this educational project I have found myself more inspired than ever. I have grown in my empirical knowledge about the topic of Urban Food systems and Food security, yet have difficulties translating all that information to an academic audience. However, I do believe that I have started by doing something significant, with the hope to have reached people who believe in the same potential and see same challenges in our current urban food system.

It is time to learn how to design new tools for a more comprehensive and social urban planning, for cities in development and cities in transitions. To reach resilience and integrated sustainability. To prepare society for the future problems and to create consciousness on how to feed ourselves, dealing with questions of what to consume, when to consume and how this affects us all.

7 Outlook

In October 2014, the City Council of the Municipality of La Paz adopted the Autonomous Municipal Act No. 105 on Food Security, the first law of its kind in the country. The goal of the law is to guarantee citizens the right to food. It identifies five areas of work:

1. Promote and strengthen local food production.
2. Generate an efficient logistical system for the equitable distribution of food in the territory.
3. Strengthen and diversify existing and new marketing mechanisms.
4. Improve mechanisms for quality control and safety in supply centers.
5. Offer nutritional education to more diverse age groups.

The law can be characterized as comprehensive, as it includes actions throughout the food chain. Born as a citizens' initiative, it builds on, and is validated by, the participation of various actors, both public and private. This policy has been developed by the foundation Alternativas in collaboration with the Canadian Feed the Children, HIVOS and Friedrich Ebert Foundation. One of their initiatives is the urban garden Lak á Uta, located on the East slopes of the city. This garden not only aims at encouraging social interactions between neighbors, but also offers agricultural education and tries to provide families with healthy nutrition.

Before this food security policy was adopted, another inspiring foundation called Comunidad y Axi3n was already providing training and support to families in the city of El Alto such that people could have their own urban home gardens. In addition, this project supports families

in building their own 12m² urban garden inside their courtyards. Each family receives training on how to farm, on how to cook products they have never eaten before, and on the nutritional value of different food products.

Currently, thanks to this foundation, there are around 180 urban home gardens in El Alto. Family health has improved and families have been able to save money. The principal aim of this foundation is to improve family food security through locally produced food, not to commercialize it. There is a clear need to connect these local community initiatives to the local government's food policy, as well as to link education and practice in the field of urban agriculture.

Endnotes

1. Abstract Article "Food on the Urban Agenda" RUAFA Magazine, 29
2. Its cultivation and / or production -> distribution -> storage -> consumption and waste. e.g. the Markthal in Rotterdam.
3. Howard, 1960
4. Plate 1961
5. Abstract from Urban Agriculture Notes, published by City Farmer, Canada's Office of Urban Agriculture. Written by Kameshwari Pothukuchi, PhD. and Jerome L. Kaufman. Reproduced by permission of the Journal of the American Planning Association, 66, 2, spring 2000.
6. In Spanish: La hoyada.
7. Abstract from research article – History of El Alto Blog Passa Palavra.
8. People from La Paz are called Paceños and people from El Alto are called Alteños.
9. Report: Quinoa & the Souther Highlands: Production and Food security by Foundation Alternativas, February 2015.
10. www.alternativascc.org Pioneer Foundation working in Food Security Programmes in La Paz.



Figure 11: Urban Garden Lak'á Uta, La Paz. Photo by author.



Figure 12: Home garden private house in El Alto. Photo by author.



WANDERING PHANTOMS AND FATHERLESS ORPHANS IN SANTIAGO

Voices of guachos as resistance against
neoliberal citizenship in Mapocho

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ABSTRACT

In Chile, the term *guacho* refers to the state of orphanage, with which the Chilean writer Nona Fernández depicts the literary phenomenon that she belongs to; *la generación medio guacha*, a group consisting of several young and promising writers who were born and came to age during the Military Dictatorship of Chile (1973-1990). *Mapocho*, written by Nona Fernández in 2002, is considered among the most representative fictional works of this generation. It explores the relationship between the amnesiac discourse of urban planning of Santiago and the state of being *guachos* as resistance against this very discourse. The novel approaches two groups that are excluded by the imaginary citizenship in Santiago de Chile, by infiltrating the numerous layers of its urban palimpsests and constantly emerging as the fissures and fractures against the fabrication of the National History of Chile as well as the myth that the Chileans are a family. There is an obvious contrast between these two subaltern groups and the new forms of identity politics nurtured by neoliberal faith in market logic, where the traditional concept of citizenship is challenged by that of consumerism, hence separating Santiago from its past and transforming it into an untimely urban space.

Keywords – guacho, urban palimpsest, neoliberal citizenship

1 Introduction

Among the most recent Chilean narratives of the twenty-first century, there is a constant gaze towards the topics of memory/oblivion and past/present. The most renowned Chilean authors who cultivate these narratives include Alejandra Costamagna, Rafael Gumucio, Lina Meruane, Alejandro Zambra, Diego Zúñiga, and Nona Fernández, the novelist who will appear in the following presentation. Most of them lived their childhood and adolescence under the military regime of Pinochet, with their literary debut around the beginning of the new millennium. They are considered as part of what Ana Ros called “post-dictatorship generation” (Ros 2012: 4), among other designations such as *hijos de dictadura* (children of the dictatorship), *niños de represión* (children of repression) (De Querol 2015) or *generación de los hijos* (borrowing the name dedicated to their fellow Argentine authors). These writers are not limited to the children of parents who have disappeared or been murdered during the dictatorship but comprise of “all symbolic children whose childhood or adolescence was marked by the dictatorial experience” (Logie 2015: 75-76).

When Nona Fernández was asked the question of how to describe the generation of Chilean writers to which she belongs she answered *la generación medio guacha* (the generation of the half-orphaned). She elaborates: “I come from a half-orphaned generation. We spent our childhood in the dictatorship, being aware of what was happening, but without being the protagonists because the protagonists were our parents” (Fernández 2012, own translation). Like her fellow Chilean writers, Fernández is interested in telling her personal childhood stories under

the dictatorship. She does so by exploring *los residuos del pasado* (waste of the past), and by reconstructing with such residues a “memory between the intimate and the political” (De Querol 2015). The city of Santiago, in her 2002 novel *Mapocho* – named after the river that runs through the capital – is where she approximates the dialectics of urban space as sites of memory and forgetting and private versus collective. In her work, the archaeological archive of urban palimpsest is a product of constant submission to the erasures of the old residues, and the additions of the new along the construction of the urban morphology of Santiago.

Mapocho is a literary effort that goes against the repression of state violence, for those who do not accept the amnesia and forgetting during the democratic transition. The protagonist of this novel is a *guacha* named *la Rucia*. During her search in the urban space of Santiago she uncovers not only the truth of her family’s past but also several hidden stories about Chile. After the car accident that killed her mother in an unnamed Mediterranean country, *la Rucia* returns to Santiago to take her mother’s ashes to the *Mapocho* River. This trip is also meant to find her brother, *el Indio*, who after the accident has escaped to Santiago and asked *la Rucia* to look for him in their old family house.

During her adventure as a *flâneur* in the city, *la Rucia* unexpectedly encounters her father *Fausto, el Mago del Barrio* (the Magician of the neighborhood) who survived the dictatorship by helping the regime writing – or rather fabricating – a so-called legitimate version of the National History that praises the glorious past and present of Chile. Her mother considered her father a traitor, she left him and went into exile to Europe with *la Rucia* and *el Indio*.

However, she told her children that their father died a hero in a horrendous firefight alongside the neighbors against the torture and oppression of the military. Yet, *el Indio* and *la Rucia* never stopped the search for their father.

While wandering aimlessly in Santiago, a neoliberal modern city so different from her childhood memories, *la Rucia* also encounters the phantoms of the past who ceaselessly haunt the city. There are ghosts of decapitated Mapuche warriors from the sixteenth century, with their leader, the headless *Lautaro*. There are ghosts of slaves who died during the construction of the bridge over the *Mapocho* river in the eighteenth century. There are victims of the most recent military regime, crying and howling but ignored by the living of the present. And there are women, men, children, elderly couples, all are residents of the old neighborhood who rose against the military atrocity, were imprisoned in the football field, and finally executed there in the horrible fire.

2 Citizenship vs. marginality: neoliberal society of post-dictatorial Chile

In Fernández's novel, Santiago is a palimpsest urban space of unfinished and complex accumulation of layers of memories. Elizabeth Jelin and Susana Kaufman write in *Layers of memories: twenty years after in Argentina* that

when analyzing the memory (of the past, of the dictatorship), we are dealing with multiple inter-subjectives, multiple transmissions, and receptions of partial memories. Fragmented and contradictory, made up of pieces, shreds, and patches, of one layer on top of another, of traces and monuments, slips of the tongue and amnesias (Jelin and Kaufman 107).

Trapped in levels, layers, and strata of memory, there exists a pact between past and present. Without exploring these hidden layers of personal memories, we hardly can hear the voices of those who have been forgotten in national history.

Jelin, in her article *Ciudadanía, derechos e identidad* (Citizenship, rights, and identity), explains why we should pay attention to the ordinary urban families and their daily lives as part of our investigations on marginality, poverty, and exclusion. According to Jelin, marginality, and inequality "take different scales in which they manifest themselves: from inside the home or of the interpersonal relationships to the global" (Jelin 2004: 201, own translation). Everyday struggles and popular demands of the urban poor, although they can easily go unnoticed, actually form an integral part of the discussion of "the tension between human rights and rights of being citizens

on the one hand, and the recognition of differentiated identities on the other" (Jelin 2004: 199, own translation).

This tension, in my opinion, can be related to the discussion of Holston and Appadurai about national citizenship in a traditional sense, versus urban citizenship in the era of globalization. The investigations presented in *Cities and Citizenship* argue collectively how cities continue "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" (Holston and Appadurai 1999: 3). Cities are a salient site, and strategic arena, of the confrontation between the uniform frame of national ideals and "those excluded from the circle of citizens, their rallies against the hypocrisies of its ideology of universal equality and respect" (Holston and Appadurai 1999: 2).

Mobilizations and insurgencies of those excluded and marginalized question and defy the meaning of a "good" citizen of a nation, hence providing new assumptions on this symbolic subject. However, this endangers the place of the State in defining citizenship. Jelin (2004) discusses different types of threats during and after a dictatorship that can be applied to the Chilean case.

During the first years of Pinochet's military regime, these threats were more in ideological terms. The government responded with state violence, repression, and clandestine police operations such as assassination and abduction. Later, especially during the nineties, the years of democratic transition, the threats went through a redefinition, when the link between poverty and criminality was established (Jelin 2004: 199-200). The dictatorship ended but the neoliberal logic still rules. I deeply agree with the way that Jelin (2004: 200-201, own translation) puts it:

The repression transformed, but it did not stop existing. It takes many social sectors to notice the continuity of repression from dictatorial regimes to the neoliberal politics of the present [...] The inequalities persists in their multi-dimensionality; economic, social, cultural and political"

However, literature can serve as one of the possibilities to reveal the inequalities. Literature can resist the overwhelming tendency of turning memory into cultural consumption in the neoliberal market. Literature can serve as a vehicle for the voices of the forgotten citizens, releasing them from the hidden layers of urban palimpsest and thus rendering their presence visible.

In *Mapocho*, there are several of such moments. The main plot of the novel intertwines with minor personal stories told by the phantoms, to challenge the singular and hegemonic version of a single History made by Fausto, the father of *la Rucia* and *el Indio*. The descriptions of filth and obscenity subvert the imposition of the Order

and the Hygiene of the dictatorship. There are constant descriptions in the novel of tortured, mutilated, raped, burnt bodies, or overwhelming unpleasantness of human bodies, or bodies of incestuous love. There are various accounts of how disgusting the Mapocho River is. In the novel described as “a fecal route” along which thousands of corpses in their caskets are sailing, crossing the entire city and then entering the sea, or how dirty the urban space of Santiago is, with its pungent and repulsive odor that comes underneath the earth. The odor of the past.

Another moment of resistance of personal memory is the metaphor of a crack against the unanimity and consensus of the state, an allegory between the ruined house and the broken nation. Chile’s territory has an elongated shape, the old house of la Rucia is also described by the author as “long like a snake and a hallway full of doors to both sides” (Fernández 2002: 17). There’s a crack in the wall of her house, “a crack divides the house from its base to the ceiling, like an open wound that still remains after the accident. It is a thick crack that from its inside grows out weeds and moss” (Fernández 2002: 27). From the crack, the voices of the wandering phantoms, the fatherless orphans of the nations, all the forgotten citizens of la Patria, are struggling to be heard.

3 Conclusions

The epigraph of the novel is significant, taken from *La Amortajada* (The woman in the shroud) of the Chilean writer María Luisa Bombal: “I had suffered the death of the living. Then I longed for the total immersion, the second death, the death of the dead” (Bombal 1941: 91). For *la Rucia*, the protagonist of *Mapocho*, “death is a lie” (Fernández 2002: 20). For *la Rucia* “it is not true that the dead does not feel” (Fernández 2002: 16), because “there will be no end, no relief, no peace” unless the society stops ignoring the existence of the residues from the past.

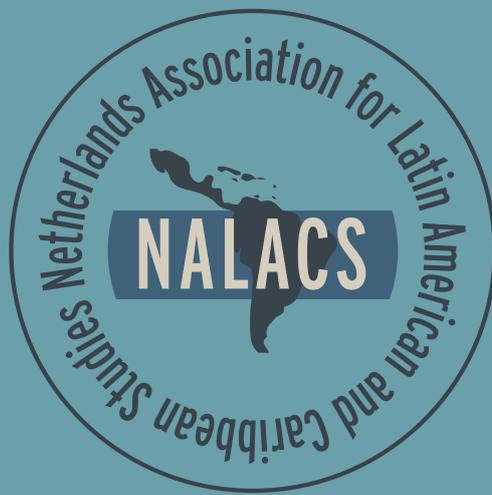
Nelly Richard, in *Residuos y metáforas* (Residues and metaphors), proposes the literary metaphorization of residues of the past as critical and strategic hypothesis, which inherently possess a subversive power (Del Sarto 2008: 2). This metaphorization “displaces the power of meaning towards the disadvantaged sides of strata of the social and cultural value, in order to question the discursive hierarchies from side positions and offsets characterized by hybridity and heterogeneity” (Richard 1998: 11, own translation). The residues of the past, the voices of those who have been marginalized and excluded for being “bad” citizens never stop striving to emerge from the hidden layers of the urban palimpsest to the surface, dropping clues to remind present citizens of how their figures have been forgotten and their voices buried under the guise of the modern urban life of Santiago.

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