'*Não são tijolos; são histórias*': The Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro

Jennifer Ashley Chisholm

Department of Sociology

University of Cambridge

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

King's College

February 2019

To my family and to those who struggle for justice

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Jennifer Chisholm

February 2019

Acknowledgements

'*Não são tijolos; são histórias*': The Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro by Jennifer Chisholm

Abstract: My doctoral research consisted of fourteen months of fieldwork following anti-eviction activity within informal settlements called favelas on public land in Rio de Janeiro. In the dissertation, I make a series of arguments. The first is that despite a lack of scholarly attention post-2016 Olympics, Rio is experiencing its own favela housing rights movement, land rights, and government investment in upgrading projects that deserves academic attention. Implied in the term is a concomitant fight for land rights—both of which are needed to avoid eviction. Secondly, I explain how government officials and others antagonistic to favela housing rights use environmentalist discourse to justify evictions of informal settlements—charging them with being 'invaders' that spoil the natural habitat of the city. In response, favela residents have re-appropriated the discourse of environmentalism to position and re-brand themselves as conservationists instead of 'invaders' as one of two alternative strategies to avoid eviction.

Thirdly, and regarding the second alternative anti-eviction strategy, I explain how those against favela housing rights view favelas as places without culture or history that do not need to be saved from eviction. To subvert this narrative, residents have created favela museums and initiated tourism enterprises to prove that their communities have cultures and histories that are worth preserving. The fourth and fifth arguments correspond to the gender, class, and racial implications of these alternative strategies as interpreted through emotional politics. I argue that women (the predominant demographic in the movement) feel they must justify their leadership positions and participation in the movement by engaging in what I call performative vulnerability. Lastly, I explain how residents interpret the common justifications for favela removal (i.e. environmental destruction, favelas as places without history) as being truly about classism, and to a lesser extent racism. I contend that the general lack of awareness about the role of racism in favela evictions stems from the lingering ambivalence towards racial categorisation and the false belief that Afro-descendants do not face discrimination. This research engages with academic debates on the forced eviction of informal settlements, housing rights versus environmental rights, identity politics, and contributes to the literature on urban land and housing movements.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AEIS	Área de Especial Interesse Social
AMAHOR	Associação dos Moradores e Amigos do Horto
AMAJB	Associação de Moradores e Amigos do Jardim Botânico
CLT	Community land trust
CUEM	Concessão de uso especial para fins de moradia
FIST	Frente Internacionalista dos Sem-Teto
IBAMA	Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e Recursos Naturais Renováveis
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística
IJBRJ	Instituto de Pesquisas Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro
INEA	Instituto Estadual do Ambiente Rio de Janeiro
ITERJ	Instituto de Terras e Cartografia do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
LAB	Latin America Bureau
MPF	Ministério Público Federal
MST	Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra
MTST	Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto
NUTH	Núcleo de Terras e Habitação
OAB	Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil
PUC-Rio	Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro
RBG	Reserva Biológica Estadual de Guaratiba
SMU	Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo
SPU	Secretaria do Patrimônio da União
SPU/RJ	Superintendência do Patrimônio da União do Rio de Janeiro
UFRJ	Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
UMM	União de Movimentos de Moradia
UPP	Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora

Chapter 1: Introduction

When I began this research project, I was captivated by the injustice of forced evictions. As I immersed myself in the work, meeting residents of threatened favelas, I learned to understand their anger and their fear. Eventually, I felt it too, although I never imagined that the resistance of any of the communities that I researched would fail. On 13 November 2018, a month after my return from follow-up fieldwork, police forces violently evicted six families from the Maracajás favela. Videos taken by residents and neighbours show military and civil police breaking through a wall of people barricading the entry gate with dogs in tow. Police closed off the street, preventing supporters from assisting residents, and attempted to subdue resistors with pepper spray and baton blows. Di of neighbouring Rádio Sonda, recounted the eviction:

> *Eu fiquei imprensada no portão por um policial enorme em cima de mim. Vi um jovem sendo arrastado no chão por eles e levou um chute o olho de bute do policial, meu genro sendo agarrado por eles, o pai dele levou um empurrão deles caiu e bateu a cabeça numa pedra enorme, spray de pimenta, querendo soltar os cachorros em cima de mim.*

> I was jammed into the gate by a giant police officer who was on top of me. I saw a boy being dragged on the ground by them and he got kicked in the eye by an officer's boot. I saw my son-in-law [Anderson] being taken by them; his father pushed by them, falling, and hitting his head on an enormous rock; pepper spray; the police wanting to unleash their dogs on me. (Personal communication, 15 November 2018)

Watching the horror unfold from afar, I hoped that the various messages of support from left-leaning local politicians and public defenders would convince the judiciary to demand a halt to the eviction. I hoped that large protests from residents and supporters would re-take Maracajás from Aeronáutica (part of the Brazilian Air Force), which called for the eviction. As I followed the situation, I waited for a swift justice that did not come. Di relayed to me that evicted residents were staying with friends and family or renting other housing on short notice.

Two weeks later, supporters received word that Dr. Thales Arcoverde Treiger, a federal public defender, had managed to overturn the injunction, thus allowing evicted residents to return to their homes as they wait for the final decision on their eviction cases. Upon hearing the news, not all residents felt safe to return but those that did saw that Aeronáutica had already begun the process of reclaiming the favela by building a wall, dismantling houses, and marking homes as property of the Air Force.

Figure 1. 'Military Area'. Maracajás claimed by Aeronáutica. Courtesy of Di Cunha.

The eviction possibly relates to the elections of far-right politicians at federal and state levels. Conservative populist Jair Bolsonaro won the 2018 presidential election with a campaign that was marked by political violence and hate crimes from his supporters (Phillips 2018). At the local level, Wilson Witzel, part of the political bloc of social conservative evangelicals, claimed victory in Rio's gubernatorial elections. Witzel has not revealed his stance on forced evictions but he enthusiastically supports lethal police violence as a means to curb drug trafficking in Rio's favelas (Filipe 2018). Taking advantage of this transitional period and perhaps spurred by the election of conservative politicians who would likely condone their actions, Aeronáutica set out to uproot the lives of people without security of tenure.

Before Maracajás, a few years had passed since any of the communities in this study had experienced eviction—the last one occurring in November 2016 in an informal settlement called Horto. During fieldwork when I asked residents about their visions for the future, most seemed hopeful and had no intention of desisting. Anderson, resident and anti-eviction activist from Maracajás, envisioned a future of continued struggle but one in which the lessons learned would make the struggle more effective for his and other communities:

> *Ajudar com minha experiência outras pessoas e comunidades, tentar promover eventos para o esclarecimento das pessoas sobre direitos e deveres. Conscientizando assim uma população de luta e decide seu caminho.*
>
> [What I hope for the future is] to help other people and communities using my experience, to try to promote events that clarify for people their rights and responsibilities. In this way, raising awareness about the struggle among the people so that they may decide their own paths. (Personal communication, 30 January 2018)

Anderson and his family had eviction notices and were among those evicted on November 13. He and his family are currently staying with one of his cousins while they decide their next steps.

In another interview, Di of Rádio Sonda spoke of her desire for a future more amenable to favela housing rights and in which their standards of living will have improved:

> *Espero conseguir o nosso direito de continuar morando na nossa comunidade, e legalizar de vez as nossas casas. Trazer melhorias, como saneamento, asfalto etc.*
>
> I hope to obtain our right to continue living in our community and to eventually legalise our houses. I hope the future brings improvements like basic sanitation, paved roads, etc. (Personal communication, 25 February 2018)

Videos of the eviction depict Di roughed up by police as she attempts to prevent them from entering Maracajás. Videos also show quiet scenes of Di helping her stunned, distraught neighbours clear their belongings from their homes. The eviction of Maracajás, along with Rio's current political climate, may indicate that another period of favela intolerance and

forced evictions is on the horizon—making the work of land and housing rights activists to realise a future without evictions more crucial than ever.

Problem Statement, Research Question, and Contribution to Literature

Housing issues in Rio de Janeiro occur within the context of longstanding social problems within the city and in the country. Broadly, this includes political corruption and poor relations between the government and favelas. Pervasive political corruption in Brazil not only erodes residents' trust in their government but also hinders efforts to implement laws in a just way: 'corruption distorts the criteria by which public policies are chosen and thereby undermines the efficiency, efficacy, and public-regardingness of those policies' (Power and Taylor 2011, 6). This means that within the context of housing policies, only those with political and economic power stand to benefit from these policies while the poor are often differentially treated and often have their housing rights ignored. Furthermore, insufficient access to government officials have left residents vulnerable to forced evictions.

Research on favela evictions is not new, featuring prominently before and during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games held in Rio when mass evictions displaced thousands of people. In fact, most contemporary research on favela housing rights explores how these mega-events led to forced evictions.[1] However, research on favela evictions has not yet addressed how land type affects the likelihood of facing eviction threats and how residents deal with these threats. In a hypothetical situation, favela residents on privately-held land faced with the prospect of eviction could claim *usucapião* (adverse possession) or squatter's rights as long as residents have been occupying the land for at least five years and hold no other property. If successful, adverse possession leads to individual (though in some cases collective) land and housing titles (*posse*). Unfortunately, the outlook for favelas on public land is not as promising: adverse possession does not apply to settlements on public land because federal law restricts the ownership of public land to governmental entities.[2] What is permissible is *concessão de uso especial para fins de moradia* (CUEM), or the Special Right to Use Land for Housing. CUEM is a legal mechanism that allows residents usage rights (but not ownership) and permission to remain on the land for housing purposes (Handzic 2010,

---

[1] See Freeman 2012, 2014; Garcia and Novaes 2015; Gonçalves 2013; Sánchez and Broudehoux 2013; and Vainer 2016 for examples.

[2] For the purposes of this study, public land is generally synonymous with state or national parks, ecological reserves, and other land claimed by an entity of a city, state, or federal government.

13).[3] For CUEM to apply, the occupied land must be public land and must have been continuously occupied for five years at the point of application. The property must also be in an urban area, can only be used for housing, and cannot exceed 250m^2. When policymakers and analysts speak of land regularisation (the process of formalizing property) for informal settlements on public land, the typical goal is communal CUEM along with infrastructural improvements provided through a similar regularisation programme, AEIS (Special Zones of Social Interest).

Land regularisation of informal settlements on public land in the Rio area is rare or at least not well-documented. Examples include Morro das Andorinhas, an informal settlement in the Serra da Tiririca State Park in Niterói (a neighbouring city across Guanabara Bay) that successfully argued that as a traditional community that takes care of the environment, they should not be evicted (Mota 2014). Vila Autódromo, made famous during the 2016 Olympic Games for being the poster child of evictions, is on public land, and has both CUEM and AEIS (Associação de Moradores 2016, 26). However, having CUEM and AEIS did not impede evictions in Vila Autódromo, thus demonstrating the limits of legal and public policy instruments in preventing evictions.

Some housing rights advocates maintain that land title is the surest way of preventing evictions, while others allege that many large favelas have de facto title and that going through the process of claiming adverse possession is costly and unnecessary. This debate, of course, ignores informal settlements on public land that cannot obtain housing titles and only have access to usage rights that could be overturned if the government or real estate interests take an interest in the land. The fundamental question that forms the basis for this research project is if land titles are not an option for informal settlements on public land and neither CUEM nor AEIS can guarantee protection from forced evictions, what other kinds of securities exist? My overarching argument is that the insecurity of tenure experienced by the informal settlements featured in this dissertation has prompted a need for alternative, creative solutions to their eviction threats centred on identity politics and rebranding projects.[4]

---

[3]Although the legal consensus is that CUEM is not inheritable, the contradictory Law 8.629/1993 permits the inheritance of property with CUEM designation (Luft 2017, 1).

[4] In Rio, there are several types of insecurity of tenure. Borrowing from Davis' 'slum typology' (2006, 30-31), the types of tenure insecurity in Rio can be divided into those that are located in the 'metro core' and in the periphery. The metro core includes the Central Zone, the wealthy, mixed-income, and poor neighbourhoods in the heart of the city, as well as *zonas nobres*, or upper-class neighbourhoods like Copacabana and Ipanema in the South Zone and Barra da Tijuca in the West Zone of the city.

Although these rebranding projects based on identity politics are strategic, the identities avowed are nevertheless truly felt. Their anti-eviction efforts are grounded in the conviction that favelas '*não são tijolos; são historias*'—that favelas are more than a collection of bricks; they have histories and stories to tell.[5]

This project is situated in debates found in urban sociology and political sociology surrounding forced eviction of informal settlements and the necessary steps that those threatened with eviction must take in order to save their homes. My research uncovers the lack of academic attention paid to land type in discussions on preventing forced evictions, considering that informal settlements on public land have fewer and weaker protections against eviction. This project supports the argument that land and housing titles are not only useful for preventing forced eviction, but that obtaining these titles is a fundamental goal for activists in the Favela Housing Rights Movement. Furthermore, this research adds to the discourse on identity politics. In this study, I discuss identity politics within the context of rebranding—that is, how favela communities have adopted or emphasised environmental and traditional (i.e. communities of culture, history, and heritage) identities to subvert dominant, negative narratives about favelas to prevent future forced evictions. Specifically, favelas in the movement subvert narratives about favelas harming the environment by adopting environmental discourses and practices and becoming 'ecological favelas'. Similarly, residents reject narratives about favelas being places devoid of culture and history by creating heritage projects through community museums and tourism initiatives. Research on the use of environmentalism and heritage as political strategies by residents of informal settlements is limited and this dissertation provides additional empirical research on the issue. Lastly, this research contributes to the burgeoning literature on intersectional approaches to affective and emotional politics, with attention paid to the race, class, and gender dimensions of organising in the Favela Housing Rights Movement.

Mixed-income and poor neighbourhoods in these Zones as well as in all Zones of Rio. In the metro core, tenements (known as *cortiços* in Portuguese), and some public housing (like Cidade de Deus) have become precarious due to a lack of upkeep and thus have acquired attributes of informality, despite originally considered part of the formal real estate market. In the informal real estate market and still in the metro core, are favelas, *aglomerados subnormais*, *loteamentos clandestinos*, and other types of self-built housing. Rough sleepers are also categorised as a type of insecurity of tenure, who occupy streets in the metro core as well as in the periphery. The peripheral neighbourhoods of Rio (those neighbourhoods of Rio that are further from the city centre) are found in the North Zone of the city as well as in the greater metropolitan region of Rio, including Baixada Fluminense. Similar forms of insecurity of tenure that are found in the metro core are found in the periphery.

[5] From an interview with Ana Frimerman on October 29, 2017.

In 1992 Brazil signed and ratified the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the most important and explicit United Nations document pertaining to adequate housing. The most relevant part of the Covenant, Article 11, explicitly calls on member states to ensure adequate housing for all citizens: 'The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realisation of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international cooperation based on free consent' (United Nations General Assembly 1966, 7).

Several laws and policies at the municipal and federal level echo the principles of adequate housing as expressed in the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.[6] For example, the Lei Orgânica of the city of Rio de Janeiro states in Article 440 that it is:

> *Incumbe ao Poder Público elaborar e executar programas de construção de moradias populares e garantir condições habitacionais e de infraestrutura urbana, em especial as de saneamento básico e transporte.*

> Incumbent on public authorities to elaborate and execute programmes related to the construction of social housing and to guarantee such accommodation and urban infrastructure, especially that of basic sanitation and transportation.

Another piece of legislation that addresses the right to housing is the Estatuto da Cidade, or the City Statute. This federal law was broadly inspired by the concept of the right to the city (Fernandes 2007, 204)—a term first coined in the 1960s by Marxist sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre who called for a new imagining of urban citizenship in which everyone, especially the marginalised, would have equal access to the resources of the city

---

[6] At the federal level, the Federal Public Ministry regulates public land claimed by the *União*, or the national government. Additionally, the Ministry of Cities is responsible for ensuring land and housing rights in urban areas. In the city of Rio, the Municipal Housing Office (Secretaria Municipal de Habitação) and Municipal Fund Management Council for Social Interest Housing (Conselho Gestor do Fundo Municipal de Habitação de Interesse Social) are the institutions tasked with land and housing regulation (Mattos Filho 2014). The Superintendence of National Heritage of Rio de Janeiro (SPU/RJ) also manages federal land in Rio de Janeiro. Depending on their characteristics, favelas must liaise with some or all of these institutions.

(Lefebvre [1968] 1996, 158; Fernandes 2007, 201). Research on the right to the city has been addressed from the standpoint of philosophy and policy, but less so from a legal perspective (Fernandes 2002). This idea gained traction in Latin America where it eventually became enshrined in federal law in Colombia (Law no. 388/1997) and in Brazil (Law no. 10.257/2001) as the City Statute (Fernandes 2007, 204).[7]

In the spirit of the right to the city, the City Statute mandates equal access to the city for all citizens, including equal access to transportation, social services, and housing. The City Statute also provides guidance on adverse possession, or *usucapião*. Adverse possession provides a means for working class and poor Brazilians who occupy private or publicly-owned land to regularise their informally-held property. Article 9, Section 5 of the City Statute outlines the rules regarding adverse possession on urban property:

> *As áreas urbanas com mais de duzentos e cinqüenta metros quadrados, ocupadas por população de baixa renda para sua moradia, por cinco anos, ininterruptamente e sem oposição, onde não for possível identificar os terrenos ocupados por cada possuidor, são susceptíveis de serem usucapidas coletivamente, desde que os possuidores não sejam proprietários de outro imóvel urbano ou rural.*

> Urban areas with more than 250 square meters, occupied by low-income populations for housing purposes, for five years, uninterrupted and without opposition, in cases where it is not possible to identify the land occupied by each occupier, are able to be adversely possessed collectively, as long as the occupiers are not owners of any other urban or rural property.

---

[7] One programme that encapsulates Brazil's embrace of the right to the city is the expansive Minha Casa Minha Vida (My House, My Life) programme that has made Brazil a regional leader in progressive housing policies. Initiated in 2009, Minha Casa Minha Vida is the successor of public housing programmes created in the 1960s, financed by the Banco Nacional de Habitação (National Housing Bank) (Oliveira 2014, 42). Although Minha Casa Minha Vida has seen great success with lifting Brazilians out of poverty, not all residents of informal settlements want to take up housing offered under the programme. During fieldwork, I often heard critiques of the programme from residents involved in the movement for favela housing rights. For example, residents noted that public housing built to replace favelas were often built in the periphery of the city, too far from their jobs and social networks, and that it would cost more to live in public housing than it would be to stay in an informal settlement. Therefore, favela upgrading, and not public housing, is one of the aims of the favela housing rights movement.

The principal idea behind adverse possession is that the unclaimed land, particularly private land, is not serving its so-called social function—a key concept in Brazilian property law.

French legal scholar Léon Duguit first developed the idea of the social function of property in his 1913 *Les transformations du droit public* that later took hold among academic circles throughout Latin America (Ondetti 2016, 30). Ondetti defines the social function of property through the assertion that 'the right of private ownership includes an obligation to use land in ways that benefit society as a whole' (Ondetti 2016, 29) but the social function of property can also refer to public property (Braga Porto and Jahja 2016; Lomeu 2016).[8] However, its applicability to cases on public land has been questioned (Abe 2008). Essentially, upholding the social function of property means making sure that property, including land and real estate, is always serving some public purpose— normally commercial or habitational. Legal scholars of Brazilian property law who support the social function of property find legal justification for it in the Civil Code of 2002, Federal Law 10.406 (Melo 2013) and/or in the City Statute (Rodrigues 2004).

The concept of the social function of property recognises collective rights to property and 'differs from the "classic" or "western" interpretation of property rights based on land markets and disseminated by multilateral international organisations such as the World Bank and USAID' (Macedo 2008, 261). The social function of property is also intended to prevent real estate speculation and the purchase of land without the intention of utilizing the property (Macedo 2008, 261). Therefore, the argument goes, those who occupy underutilised land are carrying out its social function by using the land for housing. It then follows that occupiers should have legal rights to the land after a certain number of years of occupying—in the Brazilian case, after five years (Brakarz 2016, 145).

Assessing whether private land falls under considerations of the social function of property seems relatively straightforward but becomes a more complicated task with public land. For the government, ensuring the social function of public property means making it available (at least ostensibly) to all citizens and their opinion is that housing on public land takes away from this right. For example, in a civil public inquiry dated 24 May 2017, the Federal Public Ministry calls for the removal of the informal settlement of Araçatiba and denounces the SPU/RJ for failing in its mission to '*conhecer, administrar e zelar para que os imóveis da União cumpram a função social e ambiental, em harmonia com os programas*

---

[8] The concept of the 'social function of property' is not legally binding—rather, it is a concept that has been adopted, to varying degrees, into public policies and laws.

estratégicos da Nação [be familiar with, administer, and watch over [federal land] so that the properties of the federal government can fulfil their social and environmental function in harmony with the strategic programmes of the nation]'. The Federal Public Ministry chastises the SPU/RJ for not inspecting federally-held land sufficiently to prevent the construction of informal settlements and for not having the police evict them once they were made aware of housing constructions. On the other hand, detractors believe that it is the neoliberal policies of the government that have led to real estate speculation and the failure of property to live up to its social function. Gondim goes so far as to allege that it was the improper use of real estate that ultimately priced out the poor from the formal housing market, exacerbating the growth of informal settlements not just in cities but in environmentally protected areas of cities as well (2012, 115).

The City Statute, Lei Orgânica, as well as the current policy directives for the city of Rio, namely the 2011 Plano Diretor (Master Plan) and the 2017-2020 Plano Estratégico (Strategic Plan) all consider housing as a universal right and outline strategies for ensuring this right for lower-income people who disproportionately live in favelas. Efforts to address the housing needs of working-class and poor Brazilians living in favelas have led to supporting land regularisation initiatives that are, in practise, about safeguarding the permanence of informal settlements when possible while introducing upgrades to increase standards of living (Fernandes and Pereira 2010, 185). Despite these codified rights existing in all levels of government, these laws and policies often fail to protect favela residents from eviction.

Urban Citizenship and Forced Evictions of Favelas

Much has been written on urban citizenship in Brazil and this research generally relates to the limited rights of the poor and otherwise marginalised. Contemporary work on urban citizenship in Brazil (Brum 2013; Fisher 2014; Fisher 2008; Holston 2008; McCann 2014; Menezes 2015; Perlman 2010; Perry 2013; Soares 2013 of many) almost exclusively uses favelas as the exemplar. In the English-speaking world, Perlman's *The Myth of Marginality* (1976) has strongly influenced researchers to rethink the idea of marginality in favelas, though Valladares notes that Perlman's critique of marginality was not the first (2005, 129). Leeds (1971) predates Perlman with a thorough debunking of the 'culture of poverty'

concept.[9] Accusing the culture of poverty idea of betraying 'an undertone of Social Darwinism or even of a sophisticated social racism' (1971, 278), Leeds attests that no such culture exists, and that the poor are not afflicted with a culture of poverty but instead are victims of abandonment by the State (1971, 269). While Leeds (1971) does not allude to marginality, Leeds and Leeds juxtapose '*marginalidade míticas da favela* [mythical marginality of the favela] (1977, 165) with a 'real marginality' that occurs when desperate situations prevent people from finding work in the formal labour market or in organised crime, in which case they might turn to petty crime (1977, 105). Leeds never published a book on favelas in English (Valladares, Lacerda, and Girão 2018, 1030) [10] and perhaps because of this, Perlman became best known in English-language academia for exposing the myth of marginality.

In her foundational text, Perlman argues against the culture of poverty notion by alleging that the urban poor in Rio are not afflicted with personal deficiencies but instead suffer from structural inequalities:

> It is my contention that the favela residents are not economically and politically marginal, but are exploited and repressed; that they are not socially and culturally marginal, but are stigmatised and excluded from a closed social system. Rather than being passively marginal in terms of their own attitudes and behavior, they are being actively marginalised by the system and by public policy. (1976, 195)

Fernandes (2002) would agree, finding that favelas are the starkest embodiment of inequality and the hypocrisy of Brazilian society while Goldstein posits that Rio's class inequality has meant that democracy is restricted to the middle and upper-classes while the poor must find their own avenues for justice (2003, 201). Later research that takes Perlman's assertions for granted focuses on the agency of the marginalised and subverts the idea of marginality itself. For example, Machado da Silva warns that an insistence on treating favelas as marginal spaces encourages '*paternalista e assistencialista* [patronising and condescending]' public policies that merely reflect the biases, norms, and values of the middle

---

[9] Souto de Oliveira and Marcier explains that the culture of poverty relates to the idea of the 'marginal' favela resident: the *malandro*, the trickster, the *morena faceira* who dances to the rhythms of the *sambista*. Therefore, the very culture of the favela is equated with marginality (Souto de Oliveira and Marcier 2004, 94).

[10] A collection of essays written by Leeds was published posthumously (Leeds and Sanjek 1994).

and upper-classes ([1967] 2011, 699). Moreover, Fischer discusses how in the early years of Rio's history, favelas functioned as alternative spaces in which those who were denied access to resources of the formal city could still manage to obtain the goods and services they needed (2008, 219). This kind of 'insurgent citizenship' (Holston 2008), the insistence on rights to the city, is a reaction against what Holston calls 'differentiated citizenship' (2008, 7), or structures of inequality that maintain the status quo. The differentiated citizenship of the poor has exacerbated their marginalisation and their increased lack of access to affordable housing.

Affordable housing is in short supply in Rio: according to a study conducted by the Pereira Passos Institute, in 2011 Rio had a housing shortfall of 148,000 affordable home. In 2010, the federal government recorded the figure at 220,774. This deficit in affordable housing severely impacts residents of favelas. Favelas expanded at a rate of 28% from 2000-2010 (Catalytic Communities 2016) which has left favela residents with few options for alternative housing if they are forcibly evicted from their homes. Forced evictions of favelas has been a popular topic within Brazilian studies in recent years—seeing peak interest during the mega-events era in Rio de Janeiro when the city hosted the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. Brum has extensively written about the history of forced evictions of favelas in Rio. In Brum (2013), he identifies the rise of the military dictatorship in 1964 as a catalyst for the beginning of widespread favela removal to the outskirts of the city (180). The 1970 removal of Catacumba, for example, was one consequence of anti-favela policies.[11] At the time, purpose-built public housing for the residents of Catacumba was viewed as a viable solution to informal settlements but these housing projects, at least initially, were poorly built, too expensive, too distant from places of employment, and lacked community (Perlman 1976, 230-2)—all issues that continue to characterise public housing for former favela residents.

Later in the 1970s and 1980s during Brazil's re-democratisation, favela removal fell out of political favour, partly due to pressure from favela residents' associations and from pressure from sympathetic non-profits (Brum 2013, 191). Brum, however, argues that because of latent stigma against favelas and favela residents, public opinion reverted in favour of favela expulsion starting in the 1990s and again during the era of mega-events in Brazil. Brum identifies recent arguments for favela removal including: preparations for mega-events, a need to protect the environment from supposedly polluting favelas, as well as due to a need to keep the middle-class safe from poor and working-class people living in informal settlements

---

[11] Catacumba was one of several favelas removed from around Lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas (Rodrigo de Freitas Lagoon), in the South Zone of Rio.

(2013, 191). Other academics have identified additional causes of forced eviction such as real estate speculation; the view that favela residents occupy illegally and therefore do not deserve protection from eviction; believing favelas to breed crime and chaos (Garcia et al. 2015 and Compans 2007, 84) and disrupting other parts of the city; as well as being in areas of risk (Souza 2015).

Although the city government refused to provide official statistics about the number of favela residents expelled or threatened with expulsion because of the World Cup and Olympic Games (Garcia et al. 2015, 420), the Comitê Popular da Copa e das Olimpíadas estimated that in 2014, more than 4,000 families had already been removed and that of these families, 3,500 had been removed directly because of mega-event development projects—projects such as widening avenues, developments around Maracanã stadium (leading to the almost complete removal of the Metrô favela and expulsion of the indigenous squatter settlement, Aldeia Maracanã), and constructing the Olympic Park (leading to the heavily publicised near-total removal of Vila Autódromo) (Garcia and Novaes 2016, 97; Guariento 2015; Freeman 2014).
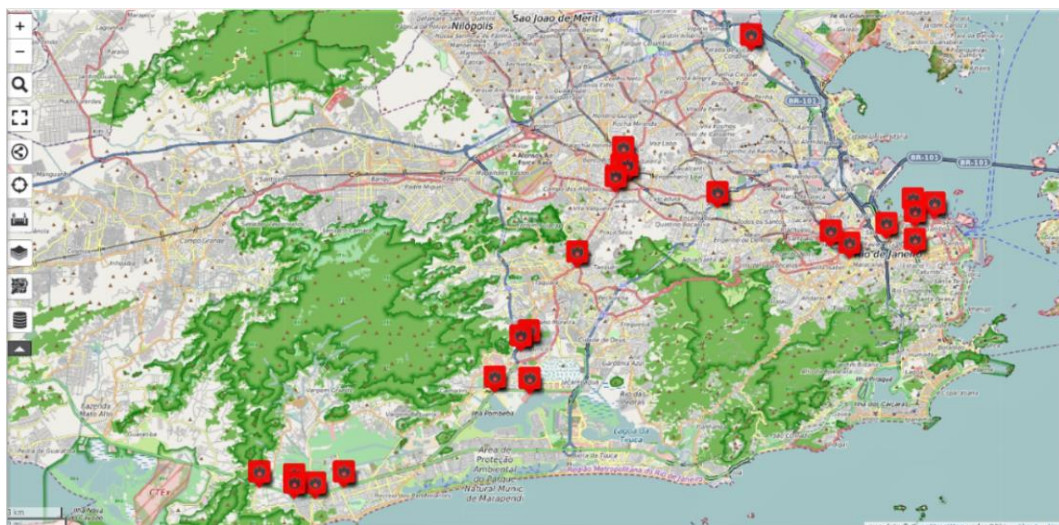
Figure 2. 2014 map of evictions in Rio. Map shows evictions caused by transportation projects, evictions related to Porto Maravilha in the Port Zone, as well as evictions related to mega-events infrastructure projects. Courtesy of Henrich Boll Institute.

The City of Rio, from their perspective, does not engage in forced evictions. The report, *Explicando a Política de Habitação da Prefeitura do Rio* (Explaining the Housing Policies of the City Government of Rio), barely mentions eviction (*remoção*) and instead

frames removals as resettlement (*reassentamento*). When the report references evictions, it is to deny that the City forcibly evicts favela residents:

> *A prefeitura do Rio não utiliza o instrumento de remoção, quando as famílias são retiradas à revelia do imóvel e não são criadas condições de transição para elas.*

> The municipal government of Rio does not use the instrument of eviction, that is, when families are involuntarily removed from a building and alternative housing is not provided for them. (City Government of Rio 2015, 5)

Therefore, according to the report, the City of Rio resettled 22,059 families from 2009-2015. When 'resettled' is interpreted as 'forcibly evicted' (an interpretation that the organisation Terre des Hommes makes), this number translates to 22,059 evicted families in the lead-up to and during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games (Florence 2016, 6).[12]

Many academic studies that emerged at the time catalogued mass favela evictions during Rio's state of exception.[13] This mega-events-induced state of exception led to the marketisation of the city and the 'revitalisation' of urban space in such a way that negatively affected the poor and working class (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013, 143). This state of exception also allowed the municipal government to carry out scores of evictions in the name of preparing the city to host the events. Freeman (2012) details the Olympic state of exception as it relates to the permissive environment of favela forced removal. Freeman's study examines the UPP programme that installed police pacification units in certain favelas to control violence on the eve of the 2014 and 2016 Olympics. In the UPP programme, the city government installed pacification forces in favelas located in areas that were experiencing a growing real estate market and that were near tourist sites (Garcia et al. 2015, 416). Freeman

---

[12] The United Nations defines forced eviction as the 'permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/or communities from the homes and/or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection' (CESCR 1997, 2). Even in cases where families voluntary leave favelas, these can still be classified as forced evictions given that the choice to leave is not always free (i.e. when families are told to accept a pay-out or risk repercussions). Forced eviction is not the only type of eviction; for instance, 'market-driven displacements' generally occur when residents of informal settlements are obliged to relocate once the land underneath their homes has been targeted for real estate development (Durand-Lasserve 2006, 207)

[13] The state of exception is a condition in which the state chooses to disregard its own laws in favor of extra-governmental legal devices such as FIFA law. See Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos (2013); Freeman (2012); Sánchez and Broudehoux (2013); and Vainer (2011) for examples of research on Rio's state of exception.

describes this period as a time during which 'neoliberal governance' predominated and which, due to the state of exception, plans for infrastructural and housing development did not need to follow the normal rules (2012, 97). Freeman testifies that due to the state of exception, major businesses and corporations freely dispossessed favela residents in order to serve their need for accumulating surplus capital— a typical neoliberal economic strategy (2012, 122). In fact, one of the reasons why the lower classes are targeted during these times of exception is because they are viewed as antagonistic to the '*processo de acumulação* [process of accumulation]' (Garcia et al. 2015, 415).

Magalhães (2012) expounds on the Olympic state of exception argument by considering its legal aspects. The Olympic state of exception provided the perfect opportunity to take advantage of the ambiguous legal nature of favela evictions since they are in a grey area between legal and extra-legal actions (Magalhães 2012, 132). The ambivalent legal standing for favela evictions, in practise, results from the fact that favela populations are denied the same citizenship rights as residents in the so-called formal city. So-called because as Perlman correctly points out, the dichotomy of formal/informal city is a false one (2010, 30). Magalhães, identifying favela residents as subaltern, maintains that due to their subalterity, the State is less likely to respect the human rights of this group or to follow its own housing policies, instead favouring their expulsion to the margins of the city (2012, 132). I hesitate to label favela residents 'subaltern'—at least in the way Magalhães uses the word to describe favela residents' relationship with the Brazilian State—because subalternity is not synonymous with working-class oppression and requires the oppressed group to have 'limited or no access to the cultural imperialism' of the colonizing country (Gayatri Spivak qtd. in de Kock 1992, 45). Subalterity defines the experiences of many favela residents but does not characterise all residents. Nevertheless, their marginalisation certainly contributes to the differentiated treatment of favela residents within the context of housing rights.

A large amount of English-language research detailing favela evictions emerged before, during, and shortly after the 2014 and 2016 mega-events.[14] Western academics reached a consensus that as with other mega-events in the past, the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games had few socioeconomic benefits for Brazilians. For example, Sánchez and Broudehoux argue that at the time, 'civic leaders, private entrepreneurs, and local real estate

---

[14] See Freeman (2014) and (2012); Freeman and Burgos (2017); Richmond and Garmany (2016); Sánchez and Broudehoux (2013); Souza (2011); Steinbrink (2013); and Vannuchi and Criekingen (2015) for examples.

interests' took advantage of the atmosphere created by mega-events with the purpose of advancing an agenda of 'state-assisted privatisation and commodification of the urban realm, thus serving the needs of capital while exacerbating socio-spatial segregation, inequality, and social conflicts' (2013, 3). Another study by Freeman (2014) notes how maps were used as a form of social control by the State during the era of the mega-events. These maps name streets and houses in favelas that had not previously been identified by the State. Freeman argues that these mapping projects were undertaken in order to make favelas 'legible' to the State and that this added visibility could have unintended negative consequences, given that the State historically has had an antagonistic relationship with favelas (Freeman 2014, 31). Therefore, any additional visibility could lead to intervention or eviction.

When threatened communities in Rio de Janeiro looked for outside help during the Olympic state of exception, they relied on the Land and Housing Division (NUTH) within the Public Defenders' Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro and on the Conselho Popular—a collection of favela leaders, supported by allies, that meets and organises in the Pastoral de Favelas. The Conselho Popular was active in anti-eviction protests during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics Games as evidenced in Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos (2013), Deminicis (2009), Guariento (2015), and Neto and Lourenço (2009). This groups of favela leaders anchored much of the favela grassroots organising because of their role as a 'centralizador das demandas populares [centralizing force for the demands of the people]', even if on a case-by-case basis (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 148).

The Pastoral de Favelas was created by Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro Eugenio Salles in 1976 during the eve of re-democratisation in Brazil (CNBB 2012). From the mid-1970s until the 1980s, the Pastoral de Favelas was leading the cause for favela rights by managing links between the residents' associations of Rio's favelas (Gay 1999, 56). However, the Pastoral was not the first or only Catholic organisation tasked with supporting favela residents against eviction. In fact, the Catholic Church (inspired by liberation theology) often supported urban social movements throughout the military dictatorship (Gohn 1991, 37). In any case, funding from the Ford Foundation allowed them to become highly structured with a presence in thirty-three favelas.

At the time, the Pastoral supported favela leaders who sought to resist the political influence of former Mayor Chagas Freitas of the former Guanabara State (currently Rio de Janeiro state)— a mayor who had already co-opted several favela residents' associations (Brum 2005, 1-7, 35-41). Towards the end of the 1980s, the Pastoral lost its Ford Foundation

[26]

funding as well as the support of elites within the Catholic Church (Gay 1999, 56). Despite the loss of funding and diminished influence of the Catholic Church as a whole in favelas (Arias and Rodrigues 2008, 61), the Pastoral de Favelas still maintains its role in providing an organisational space for favela leaders involved in the movement for favela housing rights who wish to avoid the influence of corrupt politicians. The Pastoral de Favelas is an important resource for the Favela Housing Rights Movement because they offer a space for the favela leaders and allies who comprise the Conselho Popular to organise. Nevertheless, the staff of the Pastoral assume a more supportive and less central role in the movement.

Studies conducted highlight various human rights abuses generated by preparations for the games, including forced evictions. While many communities fell victim to the city's Olympic state of exception, the community of Vila Autódromo, a favela in the middle of the favela eviction crisis, became emblematic of favela resistance against eviction. Vainer et.al (2016) summarises the struggles of Vila Autódromo as it fought against its planned eviction on the eve of the 2016 Olympic Games—an eviction intended to make room for Olympics-related building projects. Then-Mayor Eduardo Paes sought to evict the entire community and relocate the residents to public housing. This plan was named 'Parque Carioca' which also lends its name to the public housing development intended for their housing after removal. Vila Autódromo was slated for eviction because—as the government saw it— the favela contributed to pollution in the area and other kinds of environmental harm, threatened the security of the Olympic Village, and hindered plans to increase access to sites in the Olympic Park (Vainer et al. 2016, 38). In response, community members designed their own strategic plan for their community that did not require the complete removal of Vila Autódromo.[15] This plan, named the Plano Popular da Vila Autódromo, represented not only a form of insurgent citizenship (Vainer et al. 2016, 37; Holston 2008) but also was a radical, transgressive, and creative example of grassroots urban planning (Miraftab 2009).

Several other authors produced scholarship about Vila Autódromo contemporaneously in the era of mega-events in Rio while others have continued to produce works on Vila Autódromo to either show the legacy of forced evictions in Rio and/or to demonstrate the community's strength in resisting total removal.[16] The likely reason why many researchers

---

[15] See Associação de Moradores (2016).

[16] See Brum (2013); Donaghy (2015); Richmond and Garmany (2016); Sanchez and Broudehoux (2013); and Silvestre and de Oliveira (2012) for examples.

chose Vila Autódromo as a case study is because it is a rare example of an informal community's successful resistance against forced eviction. Although a significant number of residents decided to end their resistance and take up residence in Parque Carioca, others persisted and were ultimately allowed to stay and had their homes upgraded.[17] Moreover, the community's massive efforts against eviction have not only inspired academics concerned with urban social justice but also have given hope to residents of other favelas who experience their own eviction threats.

Although the mega-events era in Rio is over (at least for now), favela evictions still occur and still pose a threat for favela residents who still live under the threat of eviction. Nevertheless, academic attention has turned away from favela evictions in Rio, believing that their greatest impetus, the Olympic Games, is no longer a factor in evictions. However, research on favela evictions is as relevant as ever. In my view, other excuses for favela evictions have simply supplanted the ones used to justify evictions during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. With favelas on public land in mind, the environmental argument for evictions has emerged the primary (though not the sole) justification for evictions of these types of favelas.

***

Is land regularisation necessary?

A key debate not only within academic circles but also among policy institutes, non-profits, and international organisations is whether land regularisation (that is, granting full ownership or simply usage rights of land) is a necessary step towards preventing evictions of informal settlements. The impetus for this debate stems from the nebulous, subjective nature of property as a legal construct. As Bottomley and Lim explain, 'It [property] offers, in fact, a rather interesting series of examples of finding routes by which to assert and defend claims over use, exploitation of, and economic reforms from, objects or activities which, within our cultural traditions and political heritage are given greatest strength if they can be thought and presented as "property rights"' (2007, 6). If property is an ill-defined legal construct variously deployed to defend economic, social, cultural, and political aims, it follows that the necessity of property rights and of legal title would also be rife with debate.

---

[17] Dona Penha, a community activist from Vila Autódromo, informed me during a visit to her home on 31 January 2018 that despite the upgrades, residents were not consulted on how these new houses would be designed. She lamented that the kitchen in her new house lacked sufficient space in which to cook, unlike her bespoke kitchen in her old, informally built house.

The prevailing wisdom among international agencies and organisations like UN-Habitat (2008) and the World Bank (2002) is that ensuring security of tenure through titling programmes is an essential part of improving the lives of the world's poor. However, the initial motivation for encouraging land titles was not purely philanthropic. In the *Mystery of Capital*, de Soto convincingly argues that a lack of land titles in the Global South was one of the driving factors for the apparent failure of capitalism in these countries and so encourages titling as a way to promote capitalism (Gilbert 2002; de Soto 2001). Although the international community seems to have accepted de Soto's argument in favour of land titles, policy-minded scholars continue to debate the usefulness of land titling.

For those against the necessity of titling in informal settlements, the central argument is that titling is an expensive, time-consuming, and confusing process that ultimately results in bolstering real estate speculation, increasing the value of land, and pricing out poor and working-class people. These criticisms also appear in the works of academics who are generally in favour of land titling. Moreover, sceptics of land titling also doubt its usefulness considering that some informal settlements have existed for generations without it. For example, Payne discusses the case of a home in an informal settlement in Mumbai, that was listed for sale at US $15,000 despite not having title deeds (2001, 419). Likewise, in Sub-Saharan Africa, traditional (or customary) lands that have never been regularised have not suffered socioeconomically because of a lack of land titles (Abdulai 2006). Proponents of this viewpoint believe that the perception of security of tenure, not official security of tenure, is adequate for ensuring housing rights.

Academics debating the necessity of land titles in Brazil and elsewhere in the Global South have criticised public policies that favour land titling for informal settlements in the Global South, giving credence to different aspects of the arguments against titling outlined above. According to Davis in *Planet of Slums*, 'Titling…accelerates social differentiation in the slum and does nothing to aid renters, the actual majority of the poor in many cities' (2006, 80).[18] Davis thus implies that the social costs of regularisation outweigh the potential economic benefits for a small group of residents. Of course, as Fischer notes, *Planet of Slums* treats the world's informal settlements as essentially the same when what truly unites them is their 'entrenchment in intensely local dynamics' (2014, 2). *Planet of Slums* lacks this specificity and therefore loses its analytic vigour when applied to local contexts.

---

[18] In Planet of Slum, Davis equates the favelas of Rio with slums (2006, 27).

Furthermore, in his study on why families living in informal settlements continue to upgrade their houses regardless of their titling status, de Souza explains that this behaviour follows the perception of these families that they have de facto land tenure and therefore feel no need to formalise their property. (2001, 484). Handzic makes a similar argument, stating that the 'full regularisation of land tenure' is not a necessary component in the process of incorporating favelas into the formal city (2010, 11). [19] Handzic explains that official security of tenure is optional in a country like Brazil which has 'very strong squatters' rights' (2010, 12) and since 'land regularisation as a policy would not go further beyond what is already available to many *favela* residents, albeit through a sometimes lengthy legal process' (2010, 13). Handzic praises the city of Rio's favela upgrading programme Favela-Bairro for applying its limited resources towards building up infrastructure and increasing the standard of living in favelas instead of towards land regularisation (2010, 16). Moreover, de Souza maintains that residents in informal settlements want public services like water, electricity, and paved roads more than they desire land regularisation (2001, 291). Gilbert is also sceptical of the benefits of land titling and underlines the often-unforeseen costs of regularisation like the introduction of property tax and the rise in rent costs (2002, 7).

Perlman discovered during her survey of favela residents in Rio that there is a sense of security against evictions, since promoting evictions would be disastrous for politicians who rely on the 'million or more' favela residents for their elections (2010, 295-301). Gilbert also mentions the role of 'powerful political patrons' in maintaining the perception of security of tenure and alleviating fears of eviction. Interestingly, Gilbert takes care to include the only exception to this rule: 'Only settlements that threaten powerful vested interests—for example, because of their geographical proximity to elite residential areas—are likely to be removed' (2006, 6) and mentions favela evictions from the centre of Rio de Janeiro as an example. The communities featured in this dissertation constitute the exception to the rule given their location on valuable, public land in mostly affluent areas. Their proximity to wealth and resources thus helps to explain the incessant eviction threats posed to these favelas.

Those in favour of land regularisation in informal settlements in Brazil acknowledge some of its shortcomings but call for a better implementation of land regularisation instead of scrapping the initiative altogether. Academics in support of land regularisation also see it as an essential (though not necessarily a fool proof) way of preventing forced evictions and

---

[19] Handzic considers 'full regularisation' as obtaining ownership of land (posse) and presumably would view usage rights (CUEM) as 'partial regularisation'.

upholding the human rights of favela residents. Fernandes and Pereira recognise the issues surrounding urban land regularisation and lament the process as being long and drawn-out due to complexities within urban, environmental, and civil laws (2010, 185).[20] They also acknowledge the body of research that is sceptical of the need for land titles because of the social contract between favela residents and politicians who rely on their votes, generating in turn the perception of tenure security.

Nevertheless, Fernandes and Pereira underscore that '…*como qualquer pacto, pode mudar, como de fato tem mudado* [like with any pact, it can change and has in fact already changed]' and that because social contracts can break, complete security of tenure only comes with titles and registering property with the government (Fernandes and Pereira 2010, 187-8). The authors further argue that while removal remains a possibility for all favelas, regardless if they have been formalised or not, regularised informal settlements with titles or usage rights are treated differently than those that remain informal (Fernandes and Pereira 2010, 188). These assertions ring true in the case of Vila Autódromo where several families were permitted to stay and received some upgrades (while still awaiting others) after being initially threatened with removal despite having use rights through AEIS. Special Zones of Social Interest, what Saule Junior calls 'one of the most efficient tools adopted to avoid forced evictions' (2002, 147) typically grants an entire favela communal title.

Writing from the perspective of Brazilian legal history, Gonçalves contributes a list of problems with land regularisation in Brazil and blames a poorly functioning judiciary and legal system for the low success rate of applications for land regularisation (2009, 237). Fernandes (2000) similarly blames faulty regularisation programmes for hindering the incorporation of favelas into the formal city. Acknowledging a common critique of titling sceptics, Gonçalves mentions how land regularisation has triggered an increase in real estate speculation as well as an increase in socioeconomic segregation (2009, 238). Nevertheless, Gonçalves also points to the absence of land regularisation in favelas as a common excuse for not introducing public services and forced evictions (2009, 239).

Given that Gonçalves sees land regularisation as necessary for the improvement of favelas, his argument is that the implementation of land regularisation has been flawed. Negative consequences like real estate speculation and socioeconomic segregation can be mitigated, in his view, by creating and/or improving legal instruments used to carry out land

---

[20] The process for collective adverse possession can take seven years in Rio de Janeiro (Fernandes and Pereira 2010, 194).

regularisation to ensure that the process leads to 'sustainable' land regularisation (Gonçalves 2009, 248).[21] Furthermore, he blames a neoliberal approach to land regularisation as the root cause for its failures:

> *A regularização fundiária deve-se concentrar menos sobre uma lógica mercadológica de fluidificação das transações imobiliárias e de alargamento da base fundiária fiscal do município do que sobre a redução da insegurança que afeta as relações fundiárias.*

> Land regularisation should concentrate less on a mercantilist logic of facilitating property transactions and increasing the municipal property tax base and more on reducing tenure insecurity. (Gonçalves 2009, 239)

Finally, Gonçalves considers land regularisation as a fundamental part of ensuring the right to housing and, in turn, ensuring the right to the city (2009, 239).

Academics who insist on the benefits of land regularisation, especially through titling but also through usage rights allotted through initiatives like AEIS and CUEM, are more likely to suggest reform to the process than to advocate for its termination. These academics also appear to have at least some faith in the legal system to prevent evictions and increase the standard of living in informal settlements perhaps because, as Gonçalves notes, although land regularisation cannot guarantee permanent security of tenure or upgrades, it still forces the government to engage with the favelas they have long neglected (2009, 245). On the other hand, those against the usefulness of land regularisation tend to view its limitations as a foregone conclusion and look to longstanding perceived security of tenure in many informal settlements as enough proof that land regularisation is neither necessary nor wanted.

I err on the side of pro-land regularisation though like other researchers, I recognise the problems with land regularisation as it has been carried out not only in the cities of Brazil, but in cities and rural areas in other countries attempting land reform. However, I agree with Fernandes and Pereira that it is incorrect to assume that informal settlements will not need titles or formal usage rights simply because they have existed in perceived security without them. Also, by necessity research that argues against the need for regularisation often does not address specific favelas with immediate eviction threats—instead taking comfort in the fact

---

[21] Sustainable development is, by one definition, 'not only the reasonable management and consumption by the human population of Earth's renewable and non-renewable resources, but also the personal and collective commitment to recognise the value of our common natural and cultural heritage' (de Varine 2006, 225).

that *most* favelas appear to be fine without it. Informal settlements living under the threat of eviction would be best served by employing the strategies that the communities featured in this dissertation use: availing themselves of every legal recourse to prevent eviction while at the same time using other, creative measures to increase their chances of attaining housing rights.

Dissertation Outline

The dissertation is structured into eight chapters with an introductory chapter, a literature review, a methods chapter, four empirical chapters, and a conclusion. The literature review begins with a review of housing rights movements in Brazil in which I show that most of the research on housing movements has been done in São Paulo on political occupations. I also make the case that Rio is experiencing its own favela housing rights movement that had not garnered scholarly attention until now. I then discuss the small number of studies detailing the participation of women in housing rights movements, who tend to be the majority of participants. Next, I discuss the small body of literature that addresses the use of environmentalism and heritage discourses and practices in land and housing rights movements. The politicisation of environmentalism and heritage for the purposes of land rights finds precedent in research on indigenous land rights movements and indigenous identity politics. I then review the limited research that depicts similar phenomena in informal settlements, focusing on the environmentalisation of favelas (the 'ecological favela') as well as the use of heritage as a resistance strategy. The last section of the chapter summarises the burgeoning field of research on the affective and emotional politics of social movement organising, with a focus on literature that also addresses the influence of class, race, and gender on affective/emotional politics and activism.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and includes the research philosophy, key concepts, terminology, research approach, ethical issues, and limitations of the research project. Chapter 4 introduces the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro. Here, I discuss the various reasons why residents decide to fight for land and housing rights and what ideal outcomes of the movement look like. I also go into detail about the religious aspect of the movement since much of the activities of the movement is organised with the help of the Pastoral de Favelas. The following section explores the challenges of organising for favela land and housing rights, including how favela stigma and questions over favela identity complicate the fight for favela housing rights. I end with a discussion on how choosing to participate has led to personal growth for residents and for female residents especially.

Chapter 5 is the first chapter that explores the alternative strategies that residents in the movement use to avoid eviction. I first explain the rise in environmentalist policies in Rio and how environmentalist discourse is being used to justify evictions of informal settlements—charging them with being in 'areas of risk' or, more commonly, of being 'invaders' spoiling the natural habitat of the city. In this chapter, I show how favela communities have responded by re-appropriating the discourse of environmentalism to position and re-brand themselves as conservationists instead of as 'invaders' in order to avoid eviction. Chapter 6 continues the theme of alternative strategies based on re-branding. I begin by outlining another common justification for favela evictions: that favelas are places without culture or history and therefore do not need to be spared from eviction. Again, residents have responded by subverting this narrative by creating favela museums and initiating tourism to prove that their communities have cultures and histories that are worth preserving. I also argue that these rebranding activities based on environmentalism, heritage, and tourism represent a politics of respectability.

Chapter 7 explores the repercussions of these alternative strategies and is a deeper analysis of the identity politics at play in the movement through the lenses of class, gender, and race. This chapter is in two parts: the first section discusses how the largely female leadership use what I call performative vulnerability to shame those who try to evict them and to justify their own leadership and participation. The second section explains how residents reject official explanations for evictions and typically view favela evictions as evidence of classism and racism. However, I found that residents seem more aware of the classist aspects of forced evictions than the racial underpinnings, possibly because of the continued prevalence of ambivalence towards race in Brazil. I conclude in Chapter 8 with an overview of the scholarly and potential policy contributions of this research and provide recommendations for how this research could be beneficial to other informal settlements on public land facing eviction. I end by teasing out other questions that are beyond the scope of this dissertation but that could be developed and addressed in future research.

Conclusion

I began this chapter with an anecdote that demonstrates the continued threat of forced evictions in Rio—despite the end of the Olympic state of exception. I then provided a brief overview of relevant federal, state, and municipal housing policies that are designed to protect the right to the city and the right to housing for all citizens. In practice, these laws and policies do not always enable the realisation of housing rights, especially for the poor and working-

class individuals who live in informal settlements. Urban housing rights and housing rights movements are multidisciplinary topics, drawing interest from various social science fields as well as from public sector professionals. Much of the literature frames housing rights in terms of the right to the city since those who fight for rights do so in response to forces that seek to push poor and working-class residents of informal settlements to the peripheries of cities.

Forced eviction of informal settlements is a worldwide issue that nevertheless mainly occurs in the Global South and much has been written on the subject as it pertains to Brazil. English-language academic literature about forced evictions in Brazil almost singularly highlights evictions that took place in Rio de Janeiro shortly before and during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. At this time, Rio was under a state of exception that allowed for extra-legal evictions. Literature written during and after the era of mega-events also highlights the role of these mega-events in exacerbating evictions and addresses how the narrative of favelas destroying the environment and ruining national heritage contribute to justifications for eviction.

Following the discussion of housing policies and forced eviction, I introduced a key debate in the literature on forced evictions: whether property (i.e. land and housing) titles are necessary in order to prevent forced eviction in informal settlements. While academics seem to agree that forced evictions should be avoided, there is no consensus for whether regularising land in informal communities—whether through being granted individual ownership rights and titles or through collective or individual usage rights for settlements in public land— helps prevent evictions. While I recognise that many informal settlements have existed without formal or de jure land rights and understand that the process of land regularisation is unduly onerous and often expensive, I agree with academics and public policy experts who stress the importance of land regularisation. Moreover, I have found that the difficulties in obtaining land regularisation for informal communities occupying valuable land in or near protected natural areas have compelled these communities to look for alternative ways of asserting their land rights while they wait for their legal processes to conclude.

After providing context for the project, I outlined the research statement and questions and explained how this project contributes to academic research and debates in political and urban sociology on forced eviction of informal settlements, identity politics, and affective politics. Lastly, I provided an outline of the dissertation, explaining the key arguments within the empirical chapters (chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7). The following empirical chapters explain how

[35]

informal settlements have politicised the seemingly non-political, incorporating the concepts of environmentalism and heritage into their political strategies to avoid eviction. In addition, I delve into the class, gender, and racial dynamics of favela housing rights movement.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Urban Anti-Forced Eviction Activism, Identity as Rebranding, and Emotional Politics

Introduction

In this chapter I draw attention to literature detailing housing rights activism in Brazil, relying heavily on knowledge produced in Brazil and/or by Brazilian scholars.[22] Here, I draw attention to literature detailing housing rights activism in Brazil given the relatively large number of studies on housing rights in the country. This literature review encompasses three parts: a literature review of forced evictions of favelas and other informal settlements, a literature review of urban housing rights activism, including a subsection on women's participation in housing rights movements; a review of literature that details the use of environmentalism and Heritage as resistance strategies; and a final section that details literature related to the emotional and affective aspects of social movement organising, through the intersectional lenses of race, class, and gender. While the purpose of this chapter is to compare literature on forced evictions of informal settlements and related activism to prevent them, I also make the case that not enough attention has been paid in English-language literature to favela housing activism as a social movement in its own right.

Sociology of the Excluded: The Fight for Urban Housing Rights

For decades, poor and working-class people around the world have sought to address the lack of affordable housing in cities by building their own unsanctioned housing. After a time, these houses, when grouped together, become known as informal settlements. In Brazil, these informal settlements, favelas, have become a popular topic of study for sociologists, city planners, anthropologists, legal scholars, and urban geographers. While Brazil is particularly well-known for its favelas, urban informal settlements are a predominant feature throughout

---

[22] Much of the research on evictions of informal settlements has taken place in the Global South (Doshi 2013; Massidda 2018; Morrison 2017; and Miraftab and Wills 2005 for example). However, forced evictions not only occur in low and middle-income countries but also take place in the Global North (Brickell, Fernández, and Vasudevan 2017, 2). While true informal settlements are a rarity in the Global North, housing shortages have forced low-income city dwellers to find alternative housing solutions. Desmond's *Evicted* (2016) recounts how the housing-insecure in the ghettos of Detroit lead precarious lives as they cycle through substandard housing. Meanwhile, those priced out of the formal housing market along the West Coast of the United States have taken to constructing tent encampments (Kushel 2018). Throughout Europe and especially in Spain and Germany, activists protest capitalism-fuelled housing shortages by occupying buildings (Squatting Europe Kollective 2013). Indeed, the most direct parallel between the Global South and the Global North regarding housing rights activism is political housing occupations.

the Global South. For example, in Latin America informal settlements are variously known as *campamentos* (Chile), *cantegriles* (Uruguay), *colonias populares* (Mexico) *pueblos jóvenes* (Peru) *tugurios* (Costa Rica), and *villas miseria* (Argentina). In Cuba, self-built housing is coupled with occupations of former luxurious residences that were abandoned after the Cuban Revolution (Del Real and Pertierra 2008, 79). Other countries well-known for their informal settlements in academia include India and South Africa, while field sites like Mongolia seldom appear in research on informal settlements despite the presence of these housing structures in urban centres.[23]

In Brazil, small-scale activism within informal settlements for housing rights (such as the activities of the Conselho Popular) takes place within the context of a broad network of housing rights organisations. For example, Brazil's largest urban housing rights organisation is the MTST (The Homeless Workers' Movement, literally the 'roof-less workers' movement').[24] MTST is an offshoot of the Landless Workers' Movement (MST)—a national organisation founded in 1984 that has pushed for agrarian reform on rural land in Brazil since the late 1970s (Branford and Rocha 2002, 21). MTST itself was founded in 1997 after it became clear that more attention was needed to land issues in urban spaces. Before MTST, the MLNM (National Housing Rights Movement) was pushing for urban housing rights. MLNM began in 1987, a year before the re-democratisation of Brazil, as part of a larger social movement that sought protections for the poor in the not-yet finalised Brazilian Constitution. Members of MLNM pushed for urban reform and assurances that the State would recognise affordable housing as a human right that the State would respect regardless of capitalistic pressures. These assurances were granted in Articles 182 and 183 of the Constitution (Mier 2017). Today, the MLNM continues to fight for urban reform and regularly organises occupations although, as MNLM activist Elizete noted, MNLM's objectives extend beyond housing to include upholding the ideals of the right to the city (fieldnotes, 19 September 2018).

A related group is FIST (International Front of the Homeless) which is, despite its name, an occupation movement local to Rio de Janeiro. FIST is a collective of housing rights activists whose principal goal is to encourage '*as ocupações saiam da política estritamente local, que diz respeito só à comunidade, e passem a trabalhar articuladas com as outras*

---

[23] For an example of research on informal settlements in Mongolia, see Caldieron and Miller (2013).

[24] The Favela Housing Rights Movement differs from homeless movements in that the former calls for property legalisation, land regularisation, and infrastructural improvements in communities.

ocupações, com práticas de solidariedade e apoio mútuo [occupations to leave restrictive local politics, which are only concerned with local communities, and start working with other occupations while being committed to solidarity and mutual support*'* (qtd. in Scherer-Warren 2009, 110). Although organisations like MTST, MNLM, and FIST have been at the forefront of housing struggles in Rio de Janeiro, their remit is generally restricted to occupations and so representatives from these groups only occasionally attend protests and meetings organised by the Conselho Popular.

Outside of Rio, the Alliance of Housing Movements (UMM) organises for housing rights in São Paulo. UMM is also an offshoot of the MST and is a sizable organisation, boasting 50,000 members in São Paulo state and is an umbrella organisation that encourages the occupation of abandoned buildings in São Paulo's city centre (Earle 2012, 106-7, 101). Although the organisation serves all those without housing rights including favela residents, activists largely attempt to help people living in cortiços, the illegal subdivisions that are often overpopulated and unsafe to live in. In fact, much of the research on housing rights activism in São Paulo defines the movement as that of former cortiço residents occupying downtown buildings and, in some cases, forcing the municipal government to turn occupied buildings into social housing (Earle 2012, 101; Levy 2016, 35; Tatagiba, Paterniani, and Trindade 2012, 400).

This cortiço movement inspired researchers who were intrigued to discover why a population that was historically difficult to organise occupied in large numbers— up to 10,000 people between 1997 and 2005 (Levy 2016, 35). Using archives and interviews with leaders of housing rights organisations, Levy argues that the impetus to organise came from new freedoms felt from the re-democratisation of Brazil, coupled with the dire socioeconomic conditions of the city's poor (2016, 35-6). The occupation-oriented housing rights movement has also inspired engagement with social movement theory. For example, Tatagiba, Paterniani, and Trindade use the cortiço movement to apply Tilly's (2008) repertoire of contention (which the authors translate as '*repertório de ação coletiva'* or repertoire of collective action) within the context of Brazil, listing several strategies that constitute UMM's repertoire of contentious politics (Tatagiba, Paterniani, and Trindade 2012, 401-2).

The problem with focusing on large housing rights movements like UMM is that it gives the false impression that the most academically interesting housing rights activity only occurs in well-known, large organisations. Moreover, an overemphasis on cortiço occupations in the literature on Brazilian urban housing rights effectively reduces housing rights to cortiço

rights. For instance, Levy notes how the UMM also ostensibly represents favelas in São Paulo but that historically, the movement has prioritised cortiços and occupation as a key strategy in its repertoire of contention (2016, 35). Moreover, the goals of cortiço residents are not necessarily the same as favela residents. Like cortiço residents, some favela residents would like to be rehoused in adequate public housing, ideally close to the city centre. However, for many favela residents housing rights signifies having the right to stay in favelas and live free from the threat of eviction.

Unsurprisingly, much of the most recent research on social movements and anti-eviction activism in Rio de Janeiro was undertaken during the mega-events era. The scope of research varies, with some authors addressing the anti-eviction actions of specific communities within the context of Rio's Olympic state of exception and the subsequent wave of forced evictions in favelas. For example, Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos (2013) is a critique of how the Olympic state of exception allowed a malignant form of capitalism to adversely affect the longstanding favela communities of Providência, Rocinha, and Morro dos Prazeres, compelling these communities to mobilise. They chronicle a range of intense demonstrations in these favelas between 2009 and 2013—ranging from protests against the evictions planned as part of the Morar Carioca and Porto Maravilha programmes to protests against the deaths of youths that were a result of the military occupation of Providência. This occupation was intended to curb violence in the favela before the start of the World Cup and Olympic Games (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013, 140-6).

The planned eviction of the historic favela Providência along with other negative consequences of the approaching mega-events prompted the creation of the widely influential Comitê Popular da Copa e das Olimpiadas (the People's Committee of the World Cup and Olympic Games). Although the Comitê Popular organised against favela evictions in Providência and in twenty-three other favelas (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013, 148-9), they did so as an organisation whose mission was to resist the ill-effects of Rio hosting the World Cup and Olympic Games. As a result, their activity dwindled once the 2016 Olympic Games ended.

Rocinha, the largest favela in Brazil with an official population of about 69,000 according to the 2010 IGBE national census (Tabak 2011), also dealt with their own eviction threats due to the Olympic state of exception, particularly in the neighbourhood of

Labouriaux.[25] Community organisations like the Residents' Association of Rocinha, SOS Rocinha Saneamento, Rocinha Sem Fronteiras, and the Fórum Cultural da Rocinha organised protests, including a 4,000-person-strong march to then-governor Sérgio Cabral's condominium, and kept residents informed about their rights as well as issues facing the community (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013, 155-6).

By including case studies of how three favela communities organised against eviction during Rio's Olympic state of exception, Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos provide needed insight into the everyday workings of grassroots community organising in favelas—insight that is lost or overlooked in macro-level studies that merely mention specific favelas without conducting fieldwork in communities. These everyday forms of resistance include *mutirões*, which are collective actions organised by community leadership that often involve initiatives such as clearing trash or painting walls (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013, 155). Research on occupations in Rio also includes the importance of the *mutirão* as a form of resistance against state aggression (Deminicis 2009, 52-4) and the word also appears in research on housing movements in São Paulo.[26]

Unique among the reviewed literature is Guariento (2015), which is a first-person account of anti-eviction efforts in the Metrô favela. Metrô underwent a series of evictions in 2010 in preparation for building a parking lot for the Maracanã stadium before the start of the World Cup and Olympics (Guariento 2015, 119). Guariento perhaps most personally identifies with her research subjects of the authors mentioned because she is from a working-class neighbourhood in the city's peripheral North Zone. In the article, Guariento discusses how a coalition of university students and organisations including the Conselho Popular, NUTH, and the Rede de Comunidades e Movimentos Contra Violência (Network of Communities and Movements against Violence), along with a restructured residents' commission mainly run by women, worked to resist the eviction of the favela (Guariento 2015, 119). Through their efforts, they were able to attract the attention of the United Nations' Global Platform for the Right to the City, whose representatives visited Metrô to witness how the World Cup and Olympics had impacted residents (Guariento 2015, 120). Due to immense public pressure and likely spurred by the UN visit to Metrô, additional evictions were stayed. The municipal government also built public housing to resettle those that had been displaced.

---

[25] The Residents' Association of Rocinha disputes this figure, stating that the actual population is somewhere between 180,000 and 220,000 people (Tabak 2011).

[26] See Gohn (1991); Miagusko (2011); and Tatagiba, Paterniani, and Trindade (2012) for examples.

For activists, this was proof of the efficacy of their actions and not a demonstration of the City's philanthropy (Guariento 2015, 121).

Other authors writing about anti-eviction protests in the favelas of Rio provide a macro view of the activities of various, often intertwined social justice organisations and community organising against evictions. Neto and Lourenço summarise social justice activities related to favela rights in Rio de Janeiro and pay close attention to the role of social justice organisations like the Pastoral de Favelas in the continuation of these activities. The authors conclude that favela eviction is not as widespread as it once was during the military dictatorship and that the current struggle in favelas is for upgrading projects and for the end of favela stigma (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 143-4). Now, they argue, a fundamental part of the promotion of favela rights in Rio de Janeiro is '*lutar pelo reconhecimento da favela como parte integrante da cidade, como um lugar onde moram cidadãos plenos de direitos, e que têm formas de sociabilidade que devem ser respeitadas* [to fight for the acknowledgment of the favela as an integral part of the city, as a place where citizens live with full rights, and which have forms of sociability that should be respected]' (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 144).

Neto and Lourenço can be forgiven for not foreshadowing the massive evictions that would plague Rio in the run-up to the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, although the 2007 Pan-American Games in Rio had threatened several favelas with eviction, including Metrô and Vila Autódromo, and in 2009 the media was already covering the expected mass favela evictions for the 2016 Olympics (Nogueira 2009). Despite the insistence that the most pressing issue in favelas was their lack of integration into the formal city, Neto and Lourenço concede that smaller, newer favelas continue to suffer from eviction threats because of the familiar argument used to justify previous mass favela evictions: that favelas are 'the non-city [*a não-cidade*]' (2009, 144).

According to Neto and Lourenço, favela-based social movements in Rio are '*muito fragmentada e decentralizada* [very fragmented and decentralised]' (2009, 137). The authors blame the increased participation of NGOs in favela political activity throughout the 1990s for this fragmentation, as it supported the argument that grassroots social justice organisations in favelas had faltered to the point of no longer functioning. Moreover, community leaders were increasingly gaining employment in government which, in turn, engendered the belief among activists that these organisations had been 'co-opted' (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 142). Furthermore, as the government began to address issues within some favelas, the authors allege that social justice activity began to fade (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 143). Deminicis,

[42]

writing in the same year as Neto and Lourenço, seems to have located the housing rights activity that Neto and Lourenço could not find among the largely self-organised occupations by former favela residents and street dwellers looking for better housing alternatives. Deminicis found that although not all occupations were started by specific social movements, some occupiers saw the subsequent involvement of social movement organisations as a factor that would help prevent their eviction. However, the author doubts the veracity of this belief (2009, 51).

Venturini (2016) is another broad assessment of social movements in Rio de Janeiro during 2013-2014, which saw the infamous June 2013 mass protests against increased transportation fares and the allocation of public funds for mega-events, among other issues. In his PhD dissertation, Venturini uses Murray Bookchin's theoretical model of social ecology to question how social movements in Rio at the time identified the most pressing concerns to address. Likely influenced by the June 2013 protests, Venturini chose large, active social movement organisations (i.e. the Fórum de Lutas Contra o Aumento da Passagem [Forum of Struggles Against Fare Increases] and the Frente Independente Popular [the People's Independent Front]) to research. Not only does Venturini study large social movement organisations to theorise about social movements in Rio, he also seems most drawn to radical, anti-capitalist groups. Venturini's research interests perhaps explain his lack of inclusion of less overtly radical groups campaigning for favela rights like the Pastoral de Favelas, as well as his lack of discussion about times in which auspices of the government like NUTH also support favelas.

Most interestingly, Venturini finds that neither of his case studies considered environmental concerns when planning strategies and remarks that during his fieldwork, he never witnessed in-depth conversations or activities concerning the environment (2016, 162). Venturini explains that even broader discussions about the negative social impacts of hosting mega-events in Rio merely addressed the negative environmental impacts on people—a brown agenda—instead of a green agenda that acknowledges the rights of the environment (2016, 162). Venturini assesses a range of social movement activity in Rio during a time when activists and researchers were single-mindedly concerned with issues surrounding mega-events, the Olympic state of exception, and the contestation of the right to the city. Despite this wide scope on social movements, he missed incidences of small, self-organised favelas that were incorporating environmentalism into their resistance strategies.

There is a severe paucity of research about social movements in Rio post-2016, possibly due to a weak academic interest in smaller movements and/or because of a belief that favela evictions are no longer a pressing threat. Also, it appears that most contemporary literature covering housing rights activism in Rio treats activism as individualised responses to eviction threats or as one of several points on the agenda for large social movement organisations tasked with resisting the Olympic state of exception. It seems that it was difficult for researchers during the mega-events era to conceptualise of housing rights movements in Rio outside of its connection to broader anti-World Cup and Olympic Games protests or without equating housing rights activism with occupation, as literature on housing rights in São Paulo tends to do. Given that favela communities in Rio de Janeiro are still threatened with and mobilizing against eviction, it is imperative to locate and research current favela housing rights activity.

<div align="center">***</div>

Women and housing rights movements

One of the unanticipated aspects of favela housing rights activism that I observed during fieldwork is the predominance of women in the movement in both leadership positions and as participants. In fact, Deminicis mentions that '*em todos os âmbitos de ação nos movimentos de ocupações urbanos as mulheres têm hegemonia* [in every sphere of social movements in urban occupations, women are the majority]' (2009, 63). Part of this involvement stems from the perception of women as being tied to the household and how the absence of housing rights as well as forced evictions often disproportionately complicate the lives of women.

The UN has contributed several reports showing how insecurity of tenure and forced evictions affect women and minority groups. According to the research, women around the world are often excluded from land ownership and constitute a majority of the world's landless population (OHCHR 2012, 21).[27] Since land titles are normally in men's names, this renders women dependent on men for decisions about land (OHCHR and UN-Habitat 2014, 18; OHCHR 2012, 37). Additionally, in cases of collective title women generally are left out of the process for making decisions about land (OHCHR 2012, 37). Moreover, since women are closely associated with the home, they are 'often exposed to violence and intense emotional stress before, during, and after an eviction' (OHCHR and UN-Habitat 2014, 18).

---

[27] 'For every 100 landowners, only 20 are women' (OHCHR 2012, 35).

The report identifies additional risks with living in informal settlements including forced eviction and other forms of 'harassment' (OHCHR and UN-Habitat 2014, 21) and warns that women who move to informal settlements like favelas are at an increased risk of abuse because of a 'lack of shelter and privacy' (OHCHR and UN-Habitat 2014, 18).

Neuhouser (1995) contradicts an aspect of this UN report in his historical analysis on the role of women in favela housing rights efforts in Recife shortly after the re-democratisation of Brazil in 1991. He finds that in the favela, it is the women who are at 'the center of the household economy' and that with this power, they are within their rights to evict men who cannot or will not contribute financially (Neuhouser 1995, 50). Neuhouser, along with Caldeira (1990), also acknowledge the importance of women in housing rights movements in Brazil. In his analysis of the Caranguejo favela in Recife, Neuhouser explains that women organised around issues related to their role as caregivers and their association with the home (as in the implementation of health services, water, electricity, and housing) because, in their view, the men in the community had failed them by not providing as they should (1995, 41, 52) and because women had 'a powerful incentive to risk almost anything to ensure survival' of their household (1995, 52).

Neuhouser also observed that when women organised, they used more 'disruptive tactics' than men like reoccupying after eviction and organised using pre-existing informal exchange networks among women (i.e. sharing food, money, and labour) to share information and rally women into action (Neuhouser 1995, 41, 51). He discovered that this tactic worked better than the formal organisations created by men in the community, which led to women having greater successful outcomes than men (Neuhouser 1995, 41). However, Caldeira adds that part of the appeal of women leaders in social movements is that there are fewer negative repercussions if they fail since the expectations for success are lower than they would be for male leaders (1990, 72).

In Neuhouser's study, the achievements of women's intermittent, informal disruptive actions partially arose, Neuhouser theorises, from the military government's tolerance of women's activism, since the government did not view women's activism as particularly subversive or dangerous. In fact, women who participated in these social justice activities were not necessarily challenging traditional gender roles (but criticised men for their inability to perform their traditional gender roles) nor were they necessarily attempting a political critique. As Caldeira notes, while anti-eviction initiatives started by men were regarded as political, women participants did not view such actions as political (1990, 72). Neuhouser

[45]

explains this apolitical viewpoint as a feeling of duty to 'struggle for the good of family and community' (1995, 54), thereby privileging family over politics.

Neuhouser found that women's activism never led to long-term organising in the community and that the contributions of women's work towards improvements in the community were, after a time, forgotten or minimised in the collective memory (Neuhouser 1995, 53). When attempting to organise with other informal settlements in the city around broader issues, these organisations typically became politicised and dealt less directly with issues affecting the home— consequently becoming male-led (Neuhouser 1995, 54). Additionally, after questioning why women generally participate in greater numbers than men in 'generic' social movements—as in social movements that do not explicitly target one gender—he concludes that social movements in Brazil must be 'gendered' in unexplored ways (Neuhouser 1995, 39).

Research that also questions the predominance of women in social movements in Brazil include Corcoran-Nantes (1990) and Oliveira (2012)—both of whom come to similar and familiar conclusions that women are drawn to participate because of their perceived connection with the home and because women are playing out their gender roles as caregivers by participating in these social movements. Work that goes beyond questioning the preponderance of female participants in social movements includes Carle-Marsan (2013), who posits that an MNLM occupation in downtown Rio led by women signifies not only women's empowerment but also a successful fight for the right to the city. Along the same lines of women's empowerment, Levy, Latendresse, and Carle-Marsan (2017) contend that having women at all levels of participation, including leadership positions, in a housing rights organisation in São Paulo was an important factor in the establishment of gender-specific housing policies in the city.

Given the demographics of Rio's favelas, many of which have significant numbers of African-descended people, Afro-descendant women are important contributors to anti-eviction movements. One of the few studies that extensively examines Afro-descendant female activists in urban housing rights movements is Perry (2013), which follows a network of residents' associations primarily headed by black women called the Articulação de Comunidades em Luta por Moradia (Articulation of Communities in the Struggle for Housing) (Perry 2013, 12). Echoing Neuhouser, Perry states that the predominance of black women leaders was a result of black men being criminalised during the military dictatorship in the late 1970s (2013, 59). Perry chooses to view housing rights activity in Salvador (a city

[46]

famous for its Afro-descendant heritage) through the lens of black politics and argues that these activities prove that a black rights movement exists in Brazil (2013, 24). Despite many of the communities I worked with having significant Afro-descendant populations, only one community, Horto, engaged in an extended discourse surrounding black identity politics and land rights—likely due the fact that of the communities researched, only Horto has a black woman in a leadership position.

Other research that examines the role of Afro-descendant women in housing rights movements includes Perry and Caminha (2008) about the movement towards establishing land regularisation in a fishing community in Salvador, Bahia. Additionally, Macedo Filho (2012) examines the involvement of black women in the *sem-teto* (homeless) housing rights movement in Salvador. Macedo Filho likewise identifies the role of women as caretakers as an impetus for women to join the movement. As evidenced here, essentially all studies about black women and urban housing rights activism take place in Salvador, thus pointing to a need to explore the topic outside of Salvador.

Identity as Rebranding: The Role of Environmentalism and Heritage in Land Rights Struggles

Similarities with indigenous land rights movements

In the Favela Housing Rights Movement, activists adopt and embody the precepts of environmental protection and promote themselves as guardians of a valuable cultural heritage. There is very little research that explores the use of environmental and heritage discourses and practices in the context of informal settlements, which I will discuss later in the section. However, scholars of indigenous land rights movements have long noticed the marriage of environmentalism and heritage as political tactics, especially as tactics intended to protect land rights, in indigenous social movements. There is international support for the land and other resource rights of indigenous communities from institutions like the United Nations (predominantly through its agency, the International Labour Organization), the World Bank, and the Inter-American Development Bank (Hale 2006, 100).[28] These international institutions exert a powerful influence on indigenous rights movements and have shaped current understandings of indigeneity itself through their ability to decide if a community

_____

[28] The catalyst for this support at the international level was the passing of the 1989 International Labour Organization's Convention 169 and its subsequent ratification by numerous countries. Moreover, the UN International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples from 1995-2004 saw increased academic attention being given to questions surrounding the politics of indigeneity (Stocks 2005, 86).

meets their criteria of indigeneity before providing financial support intended for indigenous development projects (Schippers 2010, 226-7).

These preconditions for indigeneity normally include proving a longstanding habitation that pre-dates colonial contact, maintaining a unique culture separate from mainstream culture, and exhibiting close relationships to land (Warren and Jackson 2002, 8-9). With needed financial resources on the line, indigeneity has become something that needs to be proven, or performed (Sullivan 2013, 467). Where there are financial resources available, those indigenous groups that can prove their indigeneity and their need for access to land and other natural resources tend to be rewarded for their efforts, although there continue to be obstacles for realising resource rights for some indigenous groups.[29]

Relevant research on indigenous land rights explores the results of this incentive to identify as indigenous and perform indigeneity for the sake of protecting or acquiring land, property, and other resources. For example, Anderson (2007) examines the case of the afro-indigenous Garifuna and explores how black indigeneity is constructed in Honduras. [30] Black indigeneity is likewise based on the requirement of having a unique culture and longstanding occupation of land, (Anderson 2007, 354-5). Schippers (2010) similarly explores how indigeneity has been employed by the Igorot, an ethnic group living in the Cordillera Highlands, in their pursuit of land rights. According to Schippers, 'The…case suggests that "indigenous peoples" are not necessarily interested in *indigenous* people's rights, but rather in gaining access to land and other resources. Moreover, though the frame of indigenous peoples' rights provides a strategic means to claim land rights, using this frame also involves constraints and risks' (Schippers 2010, 221).

The principle risk identified by Schippers is the 'orientalist' tendency to create a false dichotomy between non-indigenous Filipinos and those who are allegedly indigenous by nature of having preserved a unique cultural heritage that has not been contaminated by mainstream, Spanish-influenced Filipino culture (Schippers 2010, 223). This article reiterates a common argument from cultural critics who study indigenous identity politics about the central role that land plays in the construction and/or performance of indigeneity, albeit in the novel context of the Philippines. Because indigeneity has been equated with land rights and vice versa, groups that feel able to self-identity as indigenous, partially for the purpose of

---

[29] See Stocks (2005) and Scott and Mulrennan (2010) for examples.

[30] The Garifuna are descendants of escaped slaves and indigenous people who formed isolated communities in the hinterlands of Central America.

attaining land rights, do so, although their self-identification as indigenous is sometimes met with criticism. As Schippers argues, the driving force behind self-identifying as indigenous within the context of land struggle is the acquisition of land rights. Likewise, favela activists fighting against eviction have discovered that communities who profess to preserve the environment and that can convincingly promote themselves as having a heritage that sets them apart from other Brazilians (and perhaps other favelas), have a better chance of obtaining land and housing rights.

Claiming indigeneity is, essentially, tantamount to claiming that one is close (physically, emotionally, spiritually, etc.) to the environment and has a unique heritage. Those who cannot claim indigenous identities directly for this purpose might instead try to prove their connection to the environment and to heritage by evoking a past link to a traditional group (see Chapter 6) or will simply promote themselves as environmentalists sharing a unique culture and rich heritage. Both of these tendencies describe the actions of some or all of the communities within the Favela Housing Rights Movement. It is important to note that I do not claim that activists in the Favela Housing Rights Movement have actively sought to copy the political strategies of indigenous land rights movements; rather, I argue that favelas involved in the movement have independently developed these strategies due to the characteristics of their communities that enable them to make these claims (i.e. proximity to environmentally-protected areas and/or a strong sense of a shared culture and history within communities.

***

Housing rights versus environmental protection and environmentalism as strategy in informal settlements

The excuse for using environmental concerns as a justification for favela evictions has its origins in the debate about whether housing rights are more important than environmental rights. On the ground, the actors in this debate are State entities (especially the Federal and State Public Ministries), NGOs, social movements, and low-income residents (Gondim 2012, 115). Throughout the history of favela evictions in Rio de Janeiro and elsewhere in Brazil, environmental concerns have been listed as one of the primary justifications for removing favela communities (Freeman and Burgos 2017, 557) who are sometimes seen as having committed crimes against environmental laws (Polli 2016, 270) and remains one of the reasons for favela eviction today. With most favelas, environmental concerns are tangential

reasons given for eviction; however, they become one of the primary justifications for evictions of settlements in or near nature reserves.[31]

The tensions between housing and the environment are exemplified in the case studies provided by Lacerda and Zancheti (2014); Polli (2016); Gondim (2012); and Compans (2007). In these studies that primarily (but not exclusively) describe favela and other informal settlements in Brazil, these communities faced the prospect of eviction because the government and other concerned parties alleged that they harmed the environment. All the aforementioned authors favour housing rights for the communities they researched and attempt to show how government entities have used the environment as an excuse to justify evictions. Moreover, they demonstrate that the false dichotomy between housing rights and the environment assumes that people and the houses they inhabit are outside of nature. Lacerda and Zancheti assert in their study of Córrego do Balaio, a threatened informal settlement in the Historical National Park of Guararapes in Pernambuco, that informal settlements in nature reserves can and should be considered conservation areas. The authors consider informal settlements like Córrego do Balaio conservation areas because of the cultural importance these communities have for the people who live in them (Lacerda and Zancheti 2014, 325). Lacerda and Zancheti champion land regularisation for communities like Córrego do Balaio because of its symbolic importance to the identity and heritage of the Historical National Park of Guararapes:

---

[31] The issue of housing and land rights and environmental rights extends beyond that of favelas and has characterised the debate over whether human interests trump those of the environment or the planet. For ecologists, conservationists, and those who are concerned with environmental rights, there are distinct rights: 'rights *of* the land' and 'rights *to* the land'—that is, the 'genitive' idea that land itself has rights versus the 'dative' idea of having rights to use land (Chesters 2009, 1-2). Therefore, for conservations and ecologists, the land itself has rights and that to only focus on the utilitarian aspects of land is to ignore that land has 'agency' (Chesters 2009, 2). Conversely, for example, environmental social movements in Rio tend to focus on how to improve the environment for human use instead of on the preservation of nature (Venturini 2016, 161). Yet not everyone believes in the dichotomy of 'rights to' and 'rights of' land. Expounding her own dichotomy of 'land owning the people' and 'people owning the land', Strathern makes a distinction between the first, wherein 'land is perceived as an embracing source not just of livelihood but of life, and not just the life of individuals but the life of society, or at its greatest extent humanity' and the second case, where people make use of land, often in destructive ways (2009, 16). However, Strathern sees beyond this dichotomy, positing that people can be owners of land while land owns people. This ability to be at the same time owners of and owned by land particularly resonates with indigenous philosophies and is likely a sentiment shared by residents of informal settlements in or near protected areas. da Costa (2011) also views housing and land rights versus environmental concerns as a false dichotomy. In his study on sustainable cities in Brazil, da Costa argues that any sustainable city must have adequate housing for the poor and working class but that any urban growth must take environmental protection into account (2011, 26).

A *regularização fundiária das ocupações existentes no Córrego concilie a preservação dos atributos ambientais e culturais, que concorrem para a manutenção da identidade com a permanência desse assentamento*

Land regularisation of the occupations in Córrego leads to environmental and cultural preservation, which in turn leads to the preservation of identity [of the Park] with the permanence of this settlement. (2014, 326)

Implied is that informal settlements can be sustainable housing alternatives for the poor and working class.

Other studies, while still activist research, spend less time grappling with the ontology of housing and the environment and more time describing the eviction threats of certain informal communities and explaining why the threats occur in the first place. Polli (2016) discusses Ilha, an informal settlement in Curitiba slated for eviction because the government considered it to be in an area of risk. The 1965 Código Florestal allows the removal of informal settlements if they are located on slopes, near rivers, canals, lagoons, or streams (Compans 2007, 85). In these situations, it is the environment that is considered to be dangerous but in practise, communities in areas of risk are normally also accused of being harmful to the environment. Souza labels this definition of risk as one in which favelas pose a risk to people who live in them. He expounds another conceptualisation of risk, one in which stigma causes favelas to 'represent' risk to outsiders (Souza 2015, 30). 'Risk', in this case, refers to the stereotype of informal settlements and the people who live in them as violent and prone to crime (Zeiderman 2016). Favelas, in practise, evoke both understandings of the concept of risk. In both senses of the word, the designation of 'area of risk' effectively serves to justify eviction (Souza 2015, 30).

In addition to dismissing 'area of risk' as a social construct, Polli identifies these interventions on the grounds of environmental risk and harm as symbolic violence: '*Além de vítimas do risco objetivamente sentido, eles [moradores] ainda sofrem uma violência que não é física, mas parte de uma subjetividade.* [In addition to being victims of an objectively experienced sense of risk, residents still suffer a kind of violence that is not physical but part of their subjectivities]' (2016, 298). The injustice of these evictions also reveals itself in the arbitrary implementation of laws designed to protect the environment by restricting housing developments. Those with social capital, Polli argues, are the ones who successfully navigate these laws to protect their real estate interests while residents of informal communities

without social capital struggle to negotiate with structures of power. This lack of social capital increases residents' risk of losing their homes (2016, 302).

Gondim (2012) and Compans (2007) further explicate the issues surrounding housing rights and environmental rights. Compans reviews the cases of favelas that have been threatened with or experienced eviction due to environmental reasons. Like Polli, Compans recognises the uneven application of environmental laws, noting that if favelas are located in conservation zones or in areas of risk, the laws protecting housing rights for low-income people enshrined in the Constitution no longer apply (2007, 84). However, while favelas are removed over concerns of environmental damage or due to the belief that they are in areas of risk, in Rio they have sometimes been replaced with luxury condominiums.[32] In these cases, the city government of Rio ignores the potential environmental damage condominiums can cause. Instead, the city government focuses on the perceived negative effects of having an informal settlement in a conservation area because real estate interests have more social capital and therefore more negotiating power than favela residents.

As a way to address the lack of housing rights for low-income favela residents, Gondim suggests that the Federal Public Ministry, the most relevant governmental entity due to its remit to protect '*direitos coletivos* [collective rights]', regulates the cost of land so that low-income residents have access to the formal real estate market. With this access, Gondim opines, there will be less of an incentive to build settlements in protected areas, thus protecting the environment (2012, 128). Gondim makes several assumptions here. First, she disregards the fact that some informal settlements on public land have existed for generations before the existence of these protected areas. Gondim also assumes that informal settlements inherently damage the environment more so than condominiums or other housing bought and sold in the formal real estate market—a position that Lacerda and Zancheti would likely disagree with.

Fuks (1998) and Freitas (2004) approach the environmental rights versus housing rights issue from a Marxist standpoint and unveil the capitalist values hidden within environmental protection. Fuks argues that protecting the environment in Rio de Janeiro is not a pressing concern for the lower classes who must instead make sure their basic needs are met. Additionally, he contends that the benefits as well as burdens of preserving the

---

[32] The wealthy neighbourhood of Lagoa, filled with condominiums, was once home to the largest favela in Rio during the mid-20th century, Praia do Pinto. The favela was removed during the mass eviction campaigns of the late 1960s (Decourt 2012).

environmental are not shared equally and Freitas agrees, stating that the preservation of natural areas mostly benefits the rich (Fuks 1998, 'A dinâmica do meio ambiente,' para. 17; Freitas 2004, 14). For Fuks, the dominant perspective on the environment is that of the elites who have made universal their environmentalist values. Their true desire, then, in conserving the environment is to restore order in a chaotic urban environment (1998, para. 16, 'A dinâmica do meio ambiente', 'A ideologia pura da ordem').

The work of these two authors demonstrates the need for more localised studies on specific favelas. Many favelas that are in or near nature reserves rely on their environment for their daily survival: from selling local produce to providing tours of the picturesque and historical areas of their communities. Environmental protection might mainly be a concern of the upper classes but that does not correlate with apathetic impoverished or working-class communities. In fact, favela communities are some of the most outspoken groups on the importance of environmental protection because they view protecting the environment as inseparable from the fight to protect their right to housing and the fight to preserve their way of life.

Reminiscent of Fuks and Freitas but without the Marxist critique, Lopes observes that since environmentalism gained traction in Brazilian society, environmental protection has become a shared value and the norm is now to behave in ways that protect and conserve nature (2006, 45). What excites Moraes (2013; 2014) is what she sees as the invention of a new cultural identity: that of the ecological favela resident (2013, 459). However, in her research on the Babilônia favela implementing environmental projects and discourses, she stops short of exploring why Babilônia and other favelas like it would be drawn to an identity of being an ecological favela. Some of the benefits seem self-evident like increasing money flows into the community through tourism and promoting the health of residents through healthy eating. Nevertheless, Moraes overlooks the political benefits of an identity based on the ecological favela—a possible task once 'ecological favela' evolves into a legitimate analytical concept. When understood in relation to other social movements, the politics of the ecological favela represents an eco-territorial turn for favela housing rights activism that marries the fight for land as a human right with the rights of nature (Svampa 2010, 36-42).

Research on environmentalism in favelas represents a burgeoning field of somewhat revisionist favela research that seeks to reposition favelas as beneficial to the environment instead of antithetical to it. For instance, Moraes (2013; 2014) speaks of the 'ecological favela' (*favela ecológica*), defining it as a '*união da favela e do meio ambiente/ecologia—na*

elaboração de uma identidade que também se configura como um atrativo turístico [union of the favela with the environment/ecology—in the elaboration of an identity that also serves as a tourist attraction'] (2013, 459). So far, the term has been confined to academic debates and has not been adopted as such by residents of favelas that would qualify as ecological favelas. Moreover, scholars like Light would take issue with the very notion of environmental identities, arguing that a 'gap between the subject and the object' prevents anyone besides deep ecologists from truly engaging in environmental identity politics (2000, 62). Nevertheless, if we acknowledge that one does not need to literally *be* 'nature' in order to identify so strongly with it that nature becomes part of one's identity, then an ecological or environmental identity becomes fathomable.

Although Moraes did not intend to develop the ecological favela as an analytical concept (interview, 25 August 2017), the term accurately describes a growing number of favelas that engage with environmentalism for social, economic, and political reasons. Using the well-known favela Babilônia and neighbouring Chapéu Mangueira as case studies, Moraes describes projects like Favela Orgânica and CoopBabilônia to demonstrate why Babilônia and Chapéu Mangueira are ecological favelas. Favela Orgânica teaches favela residents how to avoid food waste and CoopBabilônia employs residents to reforest areas while also organises ecotours (Moraes 2013; 2014). Like many favelas in Rio, Babilônia received a police pacification unit in 2009 to curb drug-related violence by expelling the gangs that controlled the favela. The hills of Babilônia were also designated Areas of Environmental Protection (Áreas de Proteção Ambiental). Both episodes prompted residents to increase reforestation efforts, begin ecological tours, and formalise the trails that already existed on the hills (Moraes 2013, 463). For Moraes, this turn towards environmentalism by Babilônia is evidence of the process of '*ambientalização*', or environmentalisation (2006, 460).

Elsewhere in Latin America, informal settlements have sought to use environmentalism as a way to prevent forced eviction, though research on these cases is limited. Baron (2017) and Allen et al. (2015) expound on one such example of an informal settlement called El Triángulo in Bogotá seeking to turn itself into an '*ecobarrio*', using participatory planning as a 'a resistance strategy in order to avoid resettlement and as a mechanism to rebuild the social fabric and cohesion' (197). El Triángulo, situated on the slopes of hills on the eastern part of Bogotá, was condemned by the municipal government for

causing environmental harm and for being in an area of environmental risk (Allen et al. 2015, 262).

Originally, 'ecobarrio', as understood by former Mayor Antanas Mockus' administration (2001-2003), meant 'a group or community with a long-term vision that organises itself in order to improve their quality of life and achieve social and environmental welfare in a sustainable urban context' (qtd. in Baron 2017, 12-13) and was part of a broader initiative to promote sustainable living in Bogotá. One of the community leaders of El Triángulo, however, reinterpreted ecobarrio to indicate 'a way of resistance to the process of resettlement and allocation of risk ignoring the community identity and their relation with the territory' (Héctor Álvarez qtd. in Baron 2017, 197). In other words, the activists of El Triángulo subverted the environmental discourses that were justifying the removal of informal settlements by emphasising their own history of sustainable living and identification with the natural environment. Through participatory planning, officials from the municipal government gradually began to view the community as a place of 'historical and cultural heritage' (Allen et al. 2015, 269). Activists within the Favela Housing Rights Movement are likewise responding to and challenging government-sponsored sustainable development initiatives that assume the unsustainability of favelas, thus leading to their removal.

Research on environmentalism as a political strategy against forced evictions in Mexico has produced similar findings. Pezzoli (1998) details the efforts of Los Belvederes to turn themselves into a '*colonia ecológica productiva*' during the mid-1980s. Los Belvederes was an informal settlement built in an ecological reserve in the zone of Ajusco, on the outskirts of Mexico City. Here, he discusses how residents resisted forced eviction besides using 'well-worn strategies of marches and demonstrations' to develop a movement based on developing an identity as an environmental community 'as a countervailing strategy to secure the presence of the families in the zone' (23). Residents insisted that with the help of green technologies, that Los Belvederes and other informal settlements in Ajusco could become sustainable communities. After years of activism, Los Belvederes was eventually regularised, with the municipal government permitting the permanence of Los Belvederes but prohibiting the construction of any other housing in the Ajusco ecological preserve.[33] At this point, environmental activism subsided once the threat of eviction was lifted (Pezzoli 1998, 24-5).

---

[33] Despite the prohibition, housing constructions (by the poor and the rich) continued (Pezzoli 1998, 314).

Pezzoli, like the authors cited above, demonstrates how effective environmental discourses can be for informal settlements who can successfully transform themselves into environmental communities and who can effectively disrupt and repurpose the environmentalist language used to justify forced eviction. Pezzoli also foreshadows a possible outcome of the Favela Housing Rights Movement: if the favelas involved in the movement receive land usage rights, environmental politics might also decline. One favela has scaled back its activism since the community's eviction threat is less immediate than it once was but has continued its ecological projects (Chapter 5). Continuing these ecological projects is a way to not only promote a more sustainable community but is also a necessary part of maintaining the community's environmental identity, which can be politicised again if an eviction threat resurfaces.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Heritage as resistance

As previously evidenced in research on indigenous land right movements, proving a claimant group's unique culture is an essential part of successfully fighting for land rights. Some informal settlements discussed in this study have sought to demonstrate their cultural heritage through museum and tourism projects. There are few examples of research on the concept of heritage as resistance in academic literature—that is, on the use of heritage towards the goal of some political aim. Although heritage tends to refer to the norms and values of the dominant culture at the national level, or the 'preservation of the status quo' (De Cesari 2010, 627), heritage as resistance lends itself to the concept of 'heritage from below' (Robertson 2008). Heritage from below is localised and these types of heritage projects are generally developed and produced by local communities with limited help from professionals (Robertson 2008, 143). Efforts to preserve heritage from below are necessitated by a need to protect sites of memory (Nora 1989) of disappearing local cultures. In the case of favelas threatened with or undergoing eviction, preserving these sites of memory is a fundamental aspect of resistance.

Heritage from below, used as a form of resistance, is a central feature of Sham (2015), which is an exploration of how initiatives to conserve the 'built heritage' of Southeast Asian cities works as counterhegemonic, decolonial projects.[34] In Palestine, heritage preservation

---

[34] Built heritage includes 'architectural heritage, historic monuments, historic buildings, groups of urban buildings, streetscapes, neighborhoods, historic districts, urban and cultural landscapes, settlements, landmarks' (Sham 2015, 16).

has been a way in which Palestinians have been able to maintain a sense of national identity and sovereignty while remaining stateless. Heritage preservation, then, is a 'future-oriented project' and is an act of 'cultural survival and resistance' to statelessness and cultural erasure (De Cesari 2010, 631).

Closer to home, some research on favela museums has noticed a connection between these museums and resistance to eviction. For example, in the Museum of Maré (Museu da Maré), a permanent exhibition has on display a replica of an antiquated shack on stilts that was formerly the typical style of dwelling. The effect of the exhibition is that it 're-signifies the meaning of the hut from the despised symbol of extreme poverty to the symbol of the heroic eras of resistance of the inhabitants against eviction' (Fessler Vaz 2014, 110), thus educating tourists and visitors to the meaning of the museum while promoting pride among the residents of Maré.

Simon and Braathen (2019) also discuss the ways in which the Museum of Evictions (Museu das Remoções) was and is used as a resistance strategy against forced evictions in Vila Autódromo. The museum, founded during the most aggressive wave of evictions in the favela, was envisioned as a way for residents to cope by reimagining their community as a site of memory and, more specifically, as a site of collective struggle against forced eviction. Through the museum, residents are able to 'increase their visibility amongst society, strengthen their presence in front of the government and be true to their cultural identity' (Simon and Braathen 2019, 389). The successes of the Evictions Museum have inspired other informal settlements (including the ones featured in this dissertation) in Rio to increase their visibility and legitimacy through heritage projects. This project is situated in the small field of research that uncovers how activists employ heritage for political purposes. Chapter 6 examines the ways in which residents and activists in the Favela Housing Rights Movement make use of favela museums and favela tourism to resist against forced eviction.

Affective and Emotional Politics in Activism: Race, Class, and Gender

In this dissertation, I investigate the implications of organising for favela housing rights through the lenses of affective and emotional politics. There is a burgeoning field of research on affective and emotion politics as they relate to social movements—a drastic change from twenty years ago when emotions and affect were rarely studied within politics or social movement studies (Jasper 2011, 286). It is largely thanks to feminist scholars and activists who criticised 'Western thought' for 'ignoring, denying, and denigrating the role of emotions in social and political life' that emotions and affect have been able to gain serious

[57]

consideration within and beyond academia (Jasper 2011, 288). Today, researchers of affective and emotional politics explore emotions such as hope (Gould 2012), fear and nerves (Napolitano 1997) and/or the cultural, embodied aspects of emotion (Ahmed 2014). 'Affect' and 'emotion' are oftentimes used interchangeably; however, I follow Clough (2012) in differentiating emotions, or 'consciously experienced feelings such as love, hate, fear, exhilaration etc.' from affect: a 'precognitive bodily disposition' that allows for 'bodies coming together and increasing their capacity to act through interconnection'—an interconnection that forms the basis of a social movement (Clough 2012, 1669). Both emotions, especially feelings of injustice and vulnerability, and affect (the mobilisation of these emotions for the purpose of direct action) underlie the movement for favela housing rights.

Despite the large body of research on affective and emotional politics, few studies examine race, class, and/or gender as interpreted through affective and emotional politics. On racialised emotions, Bonilla-Silva (2019) expounds on 'socially engendered emotions in racialized societies' with a focus on anger as a key emotion related to the feeling of injustice felt by the racially oppressed. Although Bonilla-Silva acknowledges the utility of anger as a motivator to fight for racial equality and for its ability to promote solidarity among racially-oppressed groups, he nevertheless warns that anger can also 'be an all-consuming force that contributes to trauma, leads to depression, and lowers people of color's sense of wellbeing' (2019, 15). I similarly found that anger related to racial injustice—though more so with class injustice—is a unifying force and motivator for favela residents/activists.

On class, Chun (2016) explores the affective politics and activism of the 'precariat'—the working class living in conditions of precarity. In addition to arguing that the tendency to laud historical labour movements in the United States is problematic, given that these movements routinely dismissed women and racial minorities, Chun also contends that research on workers' movements underemphasises the importance of grassroots organising. Chun explains that:

> alternative social movements have sought to challenge the fundamental predicament of liberal democracy – the gap between reality and rhetoric for oppressed and devalued social groups. Only by studying concrete examples of struggles against precaritisation from below can we move beyond a liberal politics of hope to an embodied politics of collective transformation. (2016, 138)

While my research does not address social movement organising among the precariat, it nevertheless presents another example of an alternative, grassroots social movement comprised of poor and working-class people engaged in an 'embodied politics of collective transformation' through affect.

Lastly, Reestorff (2014) provides an example of gender contextualised through media and emotional politics. Reestorff discusses the 'Free Amina' Movement in Tunisia—a movement in support of a young girl who suffered abuse after posting nude photos of herself on social media in support of women's rights. In response, women in support of Amina began posting photos of themselves in poses that suggest vulnerability. For example, in one photo a protesting woman is depicted falling to the ground as a man carrying a gun roughly grabs her right arm. Reestorff identifies this photo as staged and observes:

> Through her protests she makes her body subject for the attack by men—the guards—who are physically superior. By staging her vulnerable body she conducts an attack on the men she encounters both by her body and by anticipating that viewers will respond to her body with sympathy and by condemning those who make her vulnerable. Thus, the protest is staged in order to gain certain responses when the activist imaginary is circulated, specifically, 'she is brave' and 'how can they attack this vulnerable woman?' In that sense, vulnerability becomes strength in the activist imaginary. (2014, 487)

Likewise, for the women activists in the Favela Housing Rights Movement who engage in performative vulnerability (Chapter 7), vulnerability is both a strength and a tool with which to fight for housing rights in their communities. However, performative vulnerability is not 'staged' in the sense of inauthenticity; rather, it is a tactic informed by genuine feelings of vulnerability and strategically employed to 'condemn those who make [them] vulnerable' to forced evictions.

Conclusion

Literature on housing rights movements in Brazil is not extensive but what exists often makes examples out of highly organised and sizable social movement organisations that are primarily concerned with occupations. These occupations are political settlements meant to concurrently make visible the lack of housing rights for poor urban dwellers while at the same time actualizing their housing rights in insurgent ways (Holston 2008). Studies on housing

rights activity in Rio are typically individual case studies of favela resistance and prior research has not found a connection between these individual incidents of housing rights activism. However, during fieldwork I found evidence of such a connection in the Favela Housing Rights Movement.

The demographics of the Favela Housing Rights Movement, and social movements in general in Brazil, are overwhelming female and a considerable number of women are Afro-descendant, though the role of race in housing rights movements in Brazil is not well-documented. Women's participation in social movements in Brazil can be largely attributed to their ascribed and avowed role as caregivers for their families and, by extension, their communities and the nation. In my research I found that this participation produced subtle pressure for women leaders to justify their leadership positions to others and to themselves.

As research on indigenous land rights movements has shown, the right to land is oftentimes dependent on a claimant group's ability to prove a close relationship with land. The claimant group must also demonstrate that it has a unique culture and that the survival of their culture would be threatened with the loss of land rights. To prove a strong relationship with land, activists adopt environmentalist discourses and practices, while demonstrating their culture through heritage projects. In this literature review, I have discussed relevant studies that address the adoption of environmentalist and heritage projects by residents of informal settlements seeking to avoid forced eviction. Research of this type is sparse and this dissertation is a needed addition to the academic literature on the politicisation of environmentalism and heritage discourses outside of the context of indigenous land rights movements.

In this literature review, I also introduced the concepts of emotional and affective politics as they relate to social movements. While there is ample academic interest in emotional and affective politics in social movements, there are fewer examples of research that investigate these concepts with a focus on race, class and/or gender. Here, I have discussed several examples of this small body of research and through this dissertation, further theories related to the race, class, and gender implications of social movement organising by examining the case of the Favela Housing Rights Movement. In chapter 3, I present the methodology that provides the analytic structure for the dissertation and conclude with background information on the informal settlements featured in this dissertation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Philosophy

This research project is grounded in participant observation, supplemented by interviews, and is also dedicated to positionality. Jorgensen (1989) proved instructive for deciding whether participant observation was the most appropriate method for my study. According to Jorgensen, participant observation is appropriate for projects that explore the everyday 'processes, relationships among people and events, the organisation of people and events, communities over time, and patterns, as well as the immediate sociocultural contexts in which human existence unfolds' (1989, 12). While I knew at the beginning of the PhD that my research questions and intended research communities might change (and they did), I felt confident that I would still rely on participant observation as the principal way of gathering data, because overall I was and continue to be interested in the sociocultural contexts in which people and groups organise themselves and the relationships that grow from this. Jorgensen was also instrumental in influencing the kinds of reasoning and logical arguments I made. He states that participant observation requires 'open-ended' inquiry, meaning that researchers do not set out with a series of hypotheses from which to deduce truths but instead look for key concepts and finding out what is 'problematic' while in the field (1989, 23-30). Although I ultimately decided to take a deductive approach when analysing my data, I endeavoured to discover what was 'problematic' while in the field.

I found the most forthcoming advice for how to engage in participant observation in an urban setting in Watson (2014). In his ethnography on the urban indigenous Ainu community in Tokyo, Watson describes his methods as going to Ainu events regularly and gradually getting to know those who formed part of Ainu cultural societies. Watson found that his consistent appearance at events helped him to establish trust and facilitated access to the urban Ainu community (2014, 22). Watson also did not always ask research questions and perhaps partly because of this, was seen more as a 'supporter' than a 'researcher'. This distinction as a supporter made him more accepted than he would have been as solely a researcher (2014, 22). I took this advice to heart and tried to appear at every community event. From the sizable amount of information I managed to gather and with my quiet presence scribbling away in a notebook becoming a running yet light-hearted joke among residents, I believe I succeeded in following Watson.

During the early formations of my research philosophy, I was heavily influenced by the ideals of collaborative, activist research and feminist methodologies. Starting in the 1960s,

fieldworkers began discarding objectivity and emotional distance from their research subjects (Shefner and Gay 2002, 1999). On this more participatory research, Shefner and Gay write:

> Leaving our distance behind confirms that it is, in fact, our commitment to political change that drives us to study those who stand up against oppressive and authoritarian political and social institutions despite overwhelming odds. We hope to contribute to these struggles in even small ways, whether by telling the stories of those we observe, by sharing the stories of other struggles with which we are familiar, or even creating a document of reference for both the movements we study and others. (2002, 200)

Before and during fieldwork, I identified strongly with Shefner and Gay but endeavoured to retain a critical eye while immersing myself in the movement for favela housing rights.

Moreover, in planning my methodology I initially wanted my study to be the result of 'collaborative' methods (Perry and Rappaport 2013). Perry and Rappaport suggest that the best way to achieve 'epistemic decolonisation' is through collaborative research (2013, 32-35). For them, research should be relevant to the peoples and communities who are the subjects of research and the researcher should not assume epistemic authority over the project (2013, 40). However, they caution that truly collaborative research might lead to tensions between academics and activists over who has ownership of the research (2013, 44).

 In the field I found it infeasible to undertake an ideal form of collaborative research—that is, completely sharing control over the project with community members—but nevertheless constructed the project keeping in mind how the research could benefit residents. Also, in the writing of the dissertation I remained conscious of the issue of authority since, as Fox notes, academic writing in the social sciences 'is always…an assertion of power, a claim to "authenticity" that, when successful, becomes an "authorization"' (1991, 6) though adding that 'postmodern critiques' of qualitative methods have chipped away at the notions of the social science researcher as the expert (1991, 6). While I attempt to present positioned, interpreted truths in this dissertation, I am disinterested in presenting myself as more of an expert than the residents and activists that I worked with.

While in the field, I focused on documenting the experiences of women, considering that land and housing deprivation and eviction are more often than not a burden on women (OHCHR 2012, 63) and oftentimes it is women who lead the fight for land rights (Perry 2013, 15). As a report entitled, 'Women and the Right to Adequate Housing' from the Office of the

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights explains, 'In many parts of the world, and especially in rural areas, women's enjoyment of the right to adequate housing continues to be dependent on their access to land and control over land and property' (2012, 36). The report goes on to list groups of women that are especially vulnerable: the very poor and indigenous women, among others (OHCHR 2012, 36).

Although I attempt to amplify the voices of women throughout this dissertation, I have tried to avoid the trap of Visweswaran's (1994) 'feminist trickster'—the female researcher who tries to 'give a voice' to marginalised women and who believes in the universality of women's experiences. Explaining her position, Visweswaran argues, 'for a suspension of the feminist faith that we can ever wholly understand and identify with other women…This requires a trickster figure who 'trips' on, but is not tripped up by, the seductions of a feminism that promises what it may not deliver: full representation on the one hand, and full comprehension on the other' (1994, 100). Feminist critique compels us to not only avoid trying to give a voice to any particular marginalised group but to also question the extent to which social science researchers in general can claim full comprehension of our research subjects.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The primary theoretical framework and inspiration for this project is Hooker's (2005) article, 'Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America'. Hooker's main argument is that indigenous groups that are fighting for land rights in Latin America are often more successful than black groups that are also seeking land rights due to the kind of rhetoric employed. Indigenous rights groups tend to argue from the position of needing land rights in order to preserve their unique cultures and lifeways, while black groups tend to demand land rights on the basis of deserving reparations for racism.

Hooker convincingly suggests that a narrative of racial reparations is doomed to fail in Latin America, where *mestizaje* (*mestiçagem* in Brazil) is seen as making racism a social impossibility. However, many Latin American states have policies that recognise the importance of preserving indigenous cultures and the necessity of land for ensuring this preservation. Analogous to this, Hooker maintains that black groups that adopt a rhetoric of needing land for cultural preservation (assuming that they can also successfully argue that they have unique enough cultures that are worthy of preservation), are likewise more successful than black groups who organise for racial justice. This dissertation provides further

[63]

evidence for the existence of the 'indigenous inclusion/black exclusion' paradigm, though perhaps more accurately called 'indigenous inclusion/favela exclusion' in this case. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, this paradigm ultimately incentivises the use of cultural preservation and environmentalist rhetoric to argue for favela land and housing rights.

The key concepts that inform the theoretical framework are (in)formality and identity politics. Recent research on informal settlements often includes a critique of informality: the belief that building self-help housing and otherwise engaging in unauthorised urban development ultimately keeps the poor impoverished. De Soto rejects the common disregard for informality and lauds those with the ability and ingenuity to provide for themselves:

> …the grimmest picture of the Third World is not the most accurate. Worse, it draws attention away from the arduous achievements of those small entrepreneurs who have triumphed over every imaginable obstacle to create the greater part of the wealth of their society. A truer image would depict a man and a woman who have painstakingly saved to construct a house for themselves and their children, and who are creating enterprises where nobody imagined they could be built. I resent the characterisation of such heroic entrepreneurs as contributors to the problem of global poverty. They are not the problem. They are the solution. (2001, 34)

Roy disparages the hypocrisy that surrounds informality since it is the State that often permits extra-legal land occupations by the wealthy while strongly condemning those of the poor (2005, 149). For Roy, informality indicates 'a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another' (2005, 14) and in Rio, this means that favelas are not isolated and marginal but have always been a part of the city— integrating its economies, politics, and cultures into the formal city (Fischer 2008, 219; Holston 2008, 147). Although I agree that marginality is not an inherited trait and that the favela is an integral part of the city, I stress in this dissertation that continued marginalisation of favela residents and the informality of land tenure contribute to the continuing challenges of favela life.

Another important theory that forms the theoretical framework for this project is identity politics as it relates to strategic essentialism. Identity is a crucial concept in this project because it underlies the rebranding projects that favela residents use to fight for land and housing rights. The ideas underlying strategic essentialism were developed by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and first expressed in an interview with Elizabeth Grosz in the *Post-Colonial Critic* (Ray 2009, 109). However, the concept was most clearly articulated in the

1987 essay, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography' (Ray 2009, 109). The essay serves as a feminist critique (Spivak 1996, 205) of the work of the Subaltern Studies group (a group of which she was a member) who, in her opinion, conceptualised and championed the existence of a global 'subaltern consciousness' (Spivak 1996, 204) for political reasons:

> Reading the work of Subaltern Studies from within but against the grain, I would suggest that elements in their text would warrant a reading of the project to retrieve the subaltern consciousness as the attempt to undo a massive historiographic metalepsis and situate the effect of the subject as subaltern. I would read it, then, as a *strategic* use of positionist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest. (Spivak 1996, 214)

Spivak is careful to note that although she critiques this phenomenon (which she never actually called 'strategic essentialism' as such), she remains supportive of its use (Spivak 1996, 205) and postulates that strategic essentialisms may be unavoidable:

> When I talk about these two oppositions and I say that I am using them strategically, I do so knowing that in general these are essentialist problems that arise when these binary oppositions are used. But it is not possible, within discourse, to escape essentializing somewhere. The moment of essentialism or essentialisation is irreducible. In deconstructive critical practise, you have to be aware that you are going to essentialise anyway. So, then strategically you can look at essentialisms, not as descriptions of the way things are, but as something that one must adopt to produce a critique of anything. (Spivak 1990, 51)

Despite Spivak's pessimistic position towards essentialism, strategic essentialism has become a fundamental theory for those who study identity politics (Ray 2009, 109), though Spivak herself no longer finds strategic essentialism helpful for her form of feminist critique (Ray 2009, 114).

Identity and, by extension, identity politics have come under fierce scrutiny from an analytical viewpoint while continuing to possess political currency in everyday life. Identity entered academic discourse and became a salient unit of analysis in the humanities and social sciences and particularly psychology in the 1950s, spurred by the work of Erik Erikson (Wetherell 2010, 3-6; Meijl 2010, 63). Contemporary deconstructivist critique has rendered identity '…as an open problematic—a site gathering together a wide range of concerns,

[65]

tropes, curiosities, patterns of thoughts, debates around certain binaries and particular kinds of conversations' (Wetherell 2010, 3). It is commonly accepted in academia that the concept of identity is messy and that identities are 'fragmented', 'negotiated', and 'constructed'—what Brubaker calls 'clichéd constructivism' (2004, 38).

Brubaker argues that the so-called softening of identity has rendered it analytically impotent in comparison with 'harder' conceptions of identity which assume identity to be static, clearly defined, and something that everyone has even without being conscious of the fact (i.e. the Marxian notion of false consciousness) (Brubaker 2004, 37-8). However, and perhaps in response to reviewer criticism of his previously published work, Brubaker concedes that the 'reification' of identity in identity politics is a function of social life, albeit 'an intellectual bad habit', and does not judge those 'ethnopolitical entrepreneurs' (never clearly defined by Brubaker) who reify and essentialise identities for some political gain (Brubaker 2004, 10). Nevertheless, Chandra Talpade Mohanty naysays Brubaker when she bemoans the 'hegemony of postmodern scepticism' of identity politics that has convinced intellectuals that identity is '…either naïve or irrelevant, rather than as a source of knowledge and a basis for progressive mobilization' (Mohanty 2003, 6).

I agree with Mohanty that identity and identity politics deserve continued academic attention but acknowledge that treating identity as a process (i.e. 'identification') is essential to preserve the analytical usefulness of identity (Meijl 2010, 71; Brubaker 2004; Hall 1996, 2). Brubaker unwaveringly supports the use of 'identification' and other process-oriented terms over identity but, like Hall, I do not believe that identification is safe from the kinds of 'conceptual difficulties' that have plagued identity (Hall 1996, 2). Therefore, in my project I treat identity and identity politics as processes in order to avoid essentializing or reifying them (Brubaker 2004, 36).

A Note on Terminology

One of the most difficult aspects of writing this dissertation about the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro is the appropriateness of using the word 'favela' to describe the informal settlements that I worked with and researched. In academic literature and in popular media, the favelas of Brazil are routinely referred to as slums and are likened to the socio-economically segregated ghettos of the United States, the townships of South Africa, the *banlieues* of France, and the sprawling urban settlements of the poor in India (Wacquant 2008, 1; Davis 2005). However, there has been pushback both from within and outside of the academy against translating 'favela' into English as 'slum', 'ghetto', or related

terms because of the ensuing stigma that it generates. Valladares explains: 'it seems that the systematic use of such words [banlieue, bidonville, ghetto, slum, *taudis*] ends up stigmatizing neighbourhoods situated at the bottom of the hierarchical system of places that compose the metropolis and it also ends up endorsing the idea of a positive link between territory, identity, and commitment' (2009, 1). As I show throughout this dissertation, the stigma associated with the favela makes the employment of the term a delicate issue.

For those who attempt to distance themselves from this stigmatised word, other more neutral or even positive terms are available. For example, 'self-help housing' has been used to describe informal settlements in a way that highlights the ingenuity of the people who build them (Ward 1982). However, for Ward self-help housing is not a long-term solution to housing needs, stating that only a radical change to a political system that created housing insecurity in the first place can help alleviate poverty and its associated housing issues (1982, 10). For unknown reasons that are worth speculating, self-help housing as a term has not caught on as much as 'informal settlement'. While a commonly used, politically correct term for these kinds of housing complexes, informal settlement as a concept has not been above criticism. One shortcoming of this term is its implicit and erroneous assumption that there is a concrete difference between the informal and the formal city (Perlman 2010, 30).

Although I do not claim to have solved the issue of terminology, I have decided here to default to 'informal settlement' or 'community' but also regularly use 'favela' in my attempt to lessen the stigma attached to the word. However, when referring to some communities like Horto who have had negative experiences with the word 'favela' being weaponised against them, I opt for 'informal settlement' or 'community' instead. Nevertheless, and despite the gravity of the word, I find 'favela' to be an accurate word to describe informal settlements in Brazil and in this dissertation, I use it to emphasise its political power when employed within the context of social movement organising.

Lastly, it is important to note that certain terms including 'ecological favela' and 'favela housing rights movement' are terms that are not used by residents themselves but act as academic heuristics. My intention in providing names or appropriating terms for phenomena that I witnessed in the field was not an effort to establish authenticity, as Visweswaran claims that naming does (1994, 61), but was an attempt to provide clarity. For example, the concept of the ecological favela helps us understand how environmentalism has become part of the identity of certain favelas. The movement for housing rights in favelas, on the other hand, is referred to as 'the movement' by residents and coining the phrase 'Favela

Housing Rights Movement' simply serves to ascribe a more descriptive name to the movement for those who are not familiar with it.

Research Approach and Practise

Fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro lasted for approximately fourteen months between 2016 and 2018, including pre- and post-fieldwork trips. I chose Rio as a field site because of its close association with favelas, the high levels of favela-based political activism in the city, and because of the large amount of research already conducted on favelas in Rio upon which this project builds. Additionally, as a visiting scholar I benefitted from the research being done in Rio's local universities on the themes presented in this dissertation.

Site selection was primary based on whether a favela community is located on public land and whether these communities exhibited environmentalist and heritage discourse and practises, which I then interpreted as political strategies against forced eviction. Additionally, I chose communities without known issues of violence, with active residents' associations, and that had not already been well-researched and could potentially benefit from the exposure.[35] This made some potential favelas ineligible like Morro do Borel, which is on forested public land but is controlled by drug traffickers, and communities like Complexo da Maré, Rocinha and Vila Autódromo, which are both popular case studies. Nevertheless, I visited Maré, Rocinha, and Vila Autódromo and gained insights from these communities.

I also attempted to study favelas in different regions of Rio since much of the research on Rio's favelas is conducted in the South Zone—a generally affluent area frequented by tourists. McCann explains that researchers tend to study favelas in the South Zone because of convenience, notoriety of these favelas due to their reputations for violence as well as the cultural impact that these communities have, and because of outreach programmes organised by favelas in the South Zone (2006, 150). This means that there is a wealth of information on these favelas but a relative paucity of research on, for example, smaller and newer favelas in the West Zone (McCann 2006, 150). The favelas featured in this dissertation are located in the North, South, and West Zones of Rio.

It is important to note that my intention was not to conceptualise the featured communities as case studies because there is too much overlap and interaction between them

---

[35] I acknowledge that research is regularly conducted in favelas infamous for violence. Nevertheless, research in these communities was an added risk that I thought unwise and unnecessary to take, given that my research is not about violence and since I arrived in Brazil without the necessary networks to facilitate access.

within the movement to treat them as independent cases. There is a network of involved favelas although some communities (because of strong leadership, immediacy of eviction threat, or a combination of the two) became more central than others during fieldwork. However, the makeup of the movement is constantly changing as new threats emerge in other informal settlements or leaders of other communities lessen their involvement. However, leaders like Emília from Horto and Maria da Penha Macena (known as Dona Penha) from Vila Autódromo are a constant presence in movement (Chapter 4). In a similar vein, I have chosen not to anonymise the names of residents who offered interviews because everyone that I spoke with has, to varying degrees, a public presence and those who gave interviews did not ask for anonymity. Additionally, the people I interviewed were generally representatives of their communities and because of this, I felt it was appropriate to use their given names when available.

My primary methods for this project were participant observation and interviews. For participant observation, I endeavoured to be a constant presence in spaces inhabited by activists involved in the Favela Housing Rights Movement. This meant attending the meetings of the Conselho Popular, meetings with politicians arranged on behalf of residents, community meetings within favelas, and participating in protests, rallies, marches organised by residents. Additionally, I attended favela community events like an *arraiá* for Festa Junina,[36] capoeira workshops for children and consultancy workshops led by public defenders and law students for residents with eviction notices. Outside of favela communities, I attended academic seminars and debates on topics related to my research topic and interests and closely followed relevant discussions among residents on WhatsApp and Facebook groups.[37] Due to my introverted nature, I admittedly did more observing than participating; I was also anxious about saying anything that might encourage, dissuade, or otherwise influence people's participation in the movement.

I also conducted unstructured interviews, using what I had learned through participant observation to construct questions. I always began interviews with first informing

---

[36]An arraiá is a Festa Junina party.

[37] I continued (and still collect) information after my fieldwork trips because, with the help of social media, I have been able to remain connected to the social networks I joined while in Rio. This ability to maintain my networks through technology demonstrates how indistinct 'home' and 'the field' has become (Yamaguchi 2007, 586).

interviewees about the purpose of the interview, the nature of my doctoral research, and confirming that they both understood and consented to be interviewed.[38] I then asked informants to talk about their families, their lives in their communities, and to explain the eviction threat facing them. I did not insist on recording interviews in cases where I believed that it would make informants nervous or, from prior experience, knew that a recording device would make an informant less talkative. I was wary of asking leading questions and made a point to ask broad questions that did not require yes or no answers. This means that what residents declined to talk about became just as important as the topics they chose to discuss—most notably regarding race. Relatedly, I avoided asking about race directly, only doing so if informants had already mentioned it of their own accord because I knew my racial background could influence respondents to answer in ways they thought I might want them to.

Besides interviews with residents, I also conducted expert interviews with Brazilian academics and lawyers. I informally interviewed several taxi and Uber drivers on my way to and from favela communities. I also had many informal conversations with Pastoral de Favela staff during the Conselho Popular monthly meetings and while attending protests and rallies that informed my research.[39] While most of my interviews were conducted in this way, I also undertook eight structured interviews on behalf of the Latin America Bureau (LAB), a London-based non-profit, for their recently-published book, *Voices of Latin America: Social Movements and the New Activism*. For LAB I conducted in-person interviews and solicited responses through email and WhatsApp from a survey provided by the organisation. When I conducted in-person interviews using the LAB survey questions, I used the responses to create additional interview questions—at which point the interviews became less structured. With permission from both LAB and interviewees, I included these interviews in my data analysis. In total, I carried out fifty-six interviews. In addition to participant observation and interviews, I consulted relevant newspaper articles from mainstream media as well as

---

[38] I did not ask anyone to sign consent forms given the cultural importance and associated wariness of signing documents in Brazil. I did, however, record statements of consent.

[39] During fieldwork, I often found it difficult to convince a taxi or Uber driver to take me to a favela from where I was staying in Copacabana, in the South Zone. My solution was to take public transportation to more working-class areas and hail a taxi or Uber from there. In these cases, drivers were also from favelas and were therefore willing to take me to my desired favela community. Sometimes during these trips, I would describe my research to the driver, ask questions, and then take notes on the responses. In these cases, I treated these interactions as informal interviews.

alternative media and newspapers produced in favelas. I also incorporated museum exhibits as secondary sources.

Lastly, I collected the handouts, flyers, booklets, and pamphlets given to me at meetings and protests. For analysis, I took notes on these documents and using thematic analysis (discussed below), looked for themes that matched those that I had found while analysing interviews and fieldnotes. I used photography to document events and include photographs here to provide visual examples of the principal arguments of the dissertation.

For analysing the data collected from interviews and participant observation, I employed a deductive, theoretical approach by way of thematic analysis. My approach was deductive in that I was not trying to develop a new independent theory (through using Grounded Theory, for example) but instead used theoretical constructs from previous related research to help identity themes within the data, answer my research questions, and situate any findings from my research (Vaismoradi, Tarunen, and Bondas 2013, 401; Braun and Clark 2006, 84). In addition to using a deductive approach, I also viewed the data with a constructivist perspective, whereby information supplied by informants, as well as my own documented understandings in the form of fieldnotes, was assessed in the sociocultural context from which they came and was not viewed as objective statements of reality (Braun and Clark 2006, 85).

Thematic analysis is a somewhat nebulous method and the specifics of carrying out thematic analysis are rarely elucidated by researchers who use this approach (Braun and Clark 79-80). However, Braun and Clark helpfully list the general steps for conducting thematic analysis, which include: learning about the data through transcribing, re-reading texts, and taking notes; highlighting any interesting findings that emerge from the data in a systematic and organised way; organising the data into themes; checking the themes for accuracy; fine-tuning and providing names to the themes; and relaying the findings from the research in a report—in this case, a dissertation (Braun and Clark 2006, 87; Vaismoradi, Tarunen, and Bondas 2013, 402).

I did not arrive in Rio de Janeiro with specific themes in mind, though I hypothesised in the early period of my fieldwork that the environment and identity politics might be recurring themes after having prepared a preliminary literature review on indigenous land rights and noticing parallels with informal settlements on public land. In analysing the data for themes, I assigned codes to recorded interviews, notes I took during interviews, as well as to notes from participant observation. I began to identify themes by assigning key words to

each entry and subsequently creating broader categories that would then reveal themes. Although I had already identified most of the most relevant themes during the process of conducting research and looking for themes in real time, systematically organising interviews and fieldnotes into themes and sub-themes helped me to either identify additional themes or add complexity to the ones already detected.

The overarching themes form the basis of Chapters 4-6 and include identity politics as it relates to environmentalism and heritage, as well as the workings and challenges of mobilising for favela housing rights. Other sub-themes found are: access (lack of), empowerment, hypocrisy, informality, (in)visibility, stigma, trust, and differentiated citizenship. These are sub-themes only in the sense that I did not organise them by chapters and instead appear as themes throughout the dissertation.

Access

I arrived in Rio with very few contacts, making access the biggest hurdle during the first few months of fieldwork. To address this, I organised a visiting researcher position at PUC-Rio. I also arranged a research collaboration with Catalytic Communities, an American-registered but Rio-based non-profit that publishes research and news about Rio's favelas and other marginalised communities in its publication, RioOnWatch. RioOnWatch is relatively known among the favelas that the organisation has profiled in the past and those who arrive in favelas as representatives of RioOnWatch (a majority of whom are Western students), tend to be viewed as journalists. Working on behalf of RioOnWatch gave me my first point of entry into informal settlements; I toured communities and wrote short pieces on community events partly as a way of gaining access. However, being labelled as a journalist soon became detrimental. Journalists for mainstream media often portray informal settlements and the people who live in them negatively. Therefore, residents are often wary of journalists.

Even with a supportive publication like RioOnWatch, I noticed that some residents were still wary of talking to me and having their responses recorded, unsure of what I might write. At that point, about four months into fieldwork, I left RioOnWatch. I then observed that residents became more receptive to me as a researcher, helped by my affiliation with a respected, local university. In a small way, I believe my research focus also helped ease access. Every so often, I heard complaints from residents regarding academics who exoticize favela poverty in their research. As a researcher interested in social movements, I could convey that my purpose was not to witness a spectacle of favela poverty but to study organised social action towards the goal of favela housing rights.

As previously mentioned, feminist and other forms of postmodern critique call for reflexivity and understanding one's positionality in relation to the people and groups that we researchers study. I sought to avoid Othering residents (hence my disinclination to refer to residents as 'research subjects'), having been inspired by Ahmed's need for 'closer encounters' between social scientists and the people they work with: 'What I am calling for, against either universalism or cultural relativism, is politics that is premised on closer encounters, on encounters with those who are other than "the other" or "the stranger" ("ourselves undressed")' (2000, 180). Becoming involved and invested in the movement for housing rights certainly led to closer encounters but my background also helped bridge the gap between myself and residents.

Given that higher education and especially graduate school have been largely out of reach for poor and working-class Brazilians until recently, residents regarded me as privileged once they found out that I was in Brazil conducting research for my PhD and was not, as they assumed, Brazilian. Perhaps more relevant than this, I was also understood to have what Bourdieu would call symbolic and cultural capital (Harker, Maher, and Wilkes 1990, 13) for being American. However, once I identified myself as African American or once residents guessed my ethnicity, I was then normally identified as part of a historically disadvantaged minority group, thus mitigating some of the privilege of my Americanness, or at least complicating it. At this point the social space between myself and residents did not seem as great because they rightfully assumed I knew what it was like to be discriminated against. Also, occasionally some residents asked how I was funding my research and if I had a scholarship to be in Brazil—a question I doubted they would have asked white researchers. In these situations, I would explain that I had a fieldwork grant, which interestingly identified me as a *bolsista* or someone in receipt of a scholarship set aside for working-class, black, and/or indigenous Brazilians. I thought it unnecessary to clarify that I was not exactly a bolsista since I do receive financial aid, but nevertheless this misidentification contributed to the perceived lessening of difference between myself and residents.

During a community meeting in Horto (one of the featured communities) after an eviction scare, AMAHOR (the Residents' Association of Horto), President Emerson implored supporters to help disseminate their story. In response, I decided to try to raise the visibility of Horto and the other communities that I was reaching in blog posts based on my research. While on fieldwork, I wrote the following blog posts: 'A Sustainable Favela? How favela

[73]

residents in Rio are fighting back against threats of eviction by forging new identities based on ecological preservation' for NACLA; 'Rio de Janeiro: This land is our land' for the Latin America Bureau; and 'Who's invading whom? The complex battle for Rio de Janeiro's informal settlements on federal land' for the LSE Latin American and Caribbean Centre. These pieces have been translated in Portuguese, Spanish, and Turkish. I also tried to uphold the ideals of ethical research by assisting with English translation of texts produced by a community group based in Horto and by the Conselho Popular of the Pastoral de Favelas.

Research limitations generally stemmed from not feeling comfortable arranging interviews with key figures because of previous experiences of sexual harassment. In 'An Autoethnography of Fieldwork' (Appendix A), I offer glimpses of the kinds of harassment that affected my ability to conduct fieldwork:

> Sex. I'm not having it, but it's affecting my fieldwork. I get scared off from one field site where I'm considering doing my research because a shirtless man hugs me tight and lingers a bit at the end of an interview. I forget about interviewing a well-respected politician who's made a running joke of holding me, kissing me firmly on the cheek, and laughing as I bear it stiffly. The joke is that I'm uncomfortable because I'm foreign and *fria*, or emotionally cold. Another guy, an informant, flirts with me by taking me on tours of his community and incessantly talking about himself. I don't say much in return and he, interpreting my silence as misunderstanding, starts to talk to me in broken Portuguese and chides that I'm not very good at the language. Yet another guy I want to interview, an older man, takes me out to lunch and tells me how attractive he used to be when he was younger. I start telling men like this that I'm a researcher that's serious about her work and that anyway, I'm a loner. It's not you, it's me, I say, but no one pays much attention.

Sexual harassment inhibited my ability to interact closely with certain men but also prompted the shift to emphasising the role of women in the movement. Another access issue I faced was not having complete access to all forms of communication and not being part of all community WhatsApp groups. This thwarted one of my initial plans to research how community leaders make decisions. As distressing as it was at the time to be excluded and to worry about missing important data, Geertz reassures that 'it is not necessary to know everything in order to understand something' (2000 [1973], 20) with regard to qualitative research. Thankfully, with a change in my research plan, total access became unnecessary.

[74]

Although Rio de Janeiro was the only city in which I conducted fieldwork, my research took me to several informal settlements around the city. While each community organised within themselves, they also organised together through the Conselho Popular, a council comprised of favela community leaders and allies. In total, I closely followed the developments and spent the most time in Araçatiba, Horto, Hípica, and Vale Encantado—the featured communities. These four communities fit the criteria for my research design in that they were threatened communities on public land with active residents' associations and had not received extensive academic attention. However, the outlier in this list is Vale Encantado whose activities are rarely organised through its residents' association[40] and which had ceased having an active role in the Conselho Popular during the period of my fieldwork.

I also visited and formed friendships with residents in Barrinha, Maracajás, Rádio Sonda, and Vila Autódromo. I decided not to include Barrinha, the only favela within the affluent Barra da Tijuca neighbourhood in the increasingly developed West Zone of Rio, as a featured community despite experiencing an eviction threat because the community is on private land. Maracajás and Rádio Sonda (merely separated by a wall constructed relatively recently) are on land claimed by Aeronáutica and are located next to Galeão International Airport. Both communities are small and neither has a residents' association. Regardless, some residents take an active part in the organising work of the Conselho Popular and have orchestrated protests near their communities.

Vila Autódromo, emblematic of the fight against eviction during 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, no longer has an immediate eviction threat, having already experienced the loss of hundreds of families. Of the approximately 600 families that formerly lived there, only twenty families remain (de Lima 2018). Nevertheless, Vila Autódromo is a useful example what successful resistance looks like—not only for the purposes of my research but also for other residents who see the women leaders of Vila Autódromo as inspiration for their own struggles. Additionally, their Museu das Remoções (Evictions Museum), which was created at the height of evictions in the community, is an excellent example of how museums have been used in favelas as a tool of resistance to evictions.

---

[40] Hípica is also within the same residents' association as Vale Encantado, the Residents' Association of Alto da Boa Vista.

Despite not being among the featured communities, participant observation and interviews with residents from these communities inform key arguments in the dissertation.

Additionally, I visited and spoke with residents of other favelas in Rio de Janeiro that were not under immediate threat of eviction during fieldwork. I took guided tours of Rocinha and Providência, visited Complexo da Alemão and Complexo da Maré to attend community events, and visited Furnas 866 and Mato Machado to speak with residents. Indiana, Novo Palmares, and Vidigal are favelas that I did not manage to visit but was able to arrange interviews with residents of these communities— all of whom take part in the Conselho Popular.

Lastly, I visited two non-favelas: traditional communities of indigenous Brazilians and descendants of escaped slaves called *quilombolas* (maroons in English). In my master's thesis, I discussed the land rights issues of these communities as exemplified by the indigenous occupation of Aldeia Maracanã and by Quilombo Sacopã in Rio. I argued that an identity politics based on indigeneity and the general acceptance that indigenous people and quilombolas need land for the survival of their cultures and the environment (Hooker 2005) gave these groups more recourse to fight against eviction than favela residents. During fieldwork for my doctoral project, I revisited these communities and was inspired to consider how identity politics, especially one based on heritage preservation and environmentalism, is likewise being used to counter pro-eviction arguments against favelas on public land.

<div align="center">***</div>

Featured communities

Figure 3. Mangrove of Araçatiba

Four communities that are either partially or completely on public land emerged as the most significant informal settlements in the movement for favela housing rights. The first, Araçatiba, is on the Ilha da Guaratiba in the West Zone of Rio. The area lacks the kind of population density that defines the South Zone and is far enough from the city centre that rolling fields and grazing horses are a common sight. Araçatiba is somewhat difficult to reach: I normally travelled thirty minutes on the metro to transfer to the bus rapid transit that was built to accommodate increased traffic during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. After an hour on the bus, I would alight in Guaratiba and would then take a fifteen-minute *mototaxi* (a common form of informal transportation via motorcycle) to the Ilha da Guaratiba and onward to Araçatiba.

A dirt path snakes from the main road to reveal a jumbled assemblage of one-storey houses surrounded by plenty of trees and the remnants of a mangrove. Araçatiba is in a *zona de amortecimento*, or a protected buffer zone, of the Rio de Janeiro State Biological Reserve of Guaratiba. Previously, the land that Araçatiba occupies was owned by the Brazilian Army but was transferred to the Brazilian Navy and is currently managed by the SPU/RJ (Superintendence of National Heritage of Rio de Janeiro). As Ana Frimerman, the former president of the Residents' Association of Araçatiba recalls, this deadening of the mangrove

was not caused by encroaching residents but by the media conglomerate Rede Globo, who picked the area as the site for the late 1970s television show, *Sítio do Picapau Amarelo*. Formerly, residents lived close to the main road but construction for the show's set pushed them farther back into the mangrove. Today, the mangrove serves as a backyard for Araçatiba where residents source fish and crab. After the arrival of Rede Globo, residents began calling their own community 'Globo' and although some residents still refer to it as Globo, Ana insists on the name change in order to distance themselves from Globo, which has published articles denouncing Araçatiba and calling for their eviction (interview, 29 October 2017).

Figure 4. Residents and visitors admiring a blue crab in the mangrove

Another major opponent in the community's housing rights battle is the Federal Public Ministry (MPF), which has penned several 'civil inquiries' (*inquérito civis*) that denounce housing construction in Araçatiba. One civil inquiry signed on May 24, 2017 by the Attorney for the Federal Government Renato de Freitas Souza condemns 'invasions' by people illegally building houses in Araçatiba. From 2011-2012, the SPU/RJ registered houses as part of a project to resettle seventeen families to Araçatiba that were living directly within the mangrove reserve and as an initial step to begin land regularisation. The inquiry alleges that once the rumour spread that Araçatiba was to receive land titling, these so-called invasions sky-rocketed and led to speculation in the informal housing market.

Ana clarified that the housing registration was intended to halt existing construction and prevent future housing from being built—meaning that any house built after 2012 missed

the registration and would be considered illegal (interview, 29 October 2017). The civil inquiry states that on 30 August 2012, the first houses received eviction and demolition notices—homes that were identified as illegal and harmful to the environment in an inspection done by INEA (the Rio de Janeiro State Institute of the Environment). Several evictions were then carried out after the SPU/RJ authorised the *reintegração de posse* of unauthorised homes (literally the 'reintegration of tenure' but closer to the English equivalent of repossession). Later, the Municipal Secretariat of Urbanism (SMU) identified sixty houses built after 2012, gave these families eviction notices, and placed cease and desist notices on houses under construction.

Much of the rationale for evicting residents of Araçatiba is based on the idea that residents are destroying the environment. For example, in the same civil inquiry, the Federal Public Ministry states that the self-built sewage and water supply systems cause '*danos ambientais* [harm to the environment]'. It asserts that these unsanctioned residences have polluted the mangrove and worsened the quality of water, caused the death of native species, and have threatened the well-being of both animals and humans. The inquiry also bemoans the artificial light 'clandestinely' supplied by Light (a privately-owned electric utility) that also supposedly damages the environment.

Another motivation for Araçatiba's eviction, insinuated throughout the inquiry, is the Federal Public Ministry's desire to prevent *favelização*, which is process of becoming a favela. Generally, favelização implies not only increased numbers of housing but also the construction of businesses that serve the community. At the root of the hysteria over preventing favelização is the belief that favelas should not exist and that the people who live in them are criminals. In fact, in response to the judiciary dismissing a civil action that the MPF filed against two residents with the opinion that the poor should have access to housing, the MPF responded in a blog post stating that poverty does not excuse them from blame or criminality (Ministério Público Federal 2017). The dissatisfaction over favelização also means that emergent informal settlements are at a greater risk of eviction than a small group of self-built houses since they are more likely to attract the attention of the authorities. This helps explain why the Federal Public Ministry blamed post-2012 housing construction for forcing them to halt the land regularisation process that would have given Araçatiba residents CUEM. Fears of favelização also potentially explain why some residents of informal settlements reject the label 'favela' and opt for other identifiers.

CUEM does not provide land titles but does grant either individual or collective rights to continue using public land for housing (Fernandes and Pereira 2010, 180) in a system similar to Native American reservations. An earlier civil inquiry against Araçatiba dated 12 December 2016 states that the original seventeen families living in the mangrove near Araçatiba preserved the environment and that the more recent arrivals do not. It is clear that there is an assumed difference in the rights granted to people considered 'traditional' over those who are not (Mota 2014, 54)—the latter government officials consider 'invaders' who cause small clusters of self-built houses to grow into dreaded favelas. Residents of informal settlements have become savvy to this and have adjusted their strategies to challenge eviction accordingly. During fieldwork, Araçatiba had several eviction scares and the Residents' Association worked to mobilise residents against this threat.

Figure 5. Main entrance of Horto. Courtesy of TV Horto.

Horto by far is the largest informal settlement featured, with a population of 620 families. It also has most active residents' association and has been in the fight for housing rights for the longest period. Residents trace their history to the colonial era when the area was home to a royally-chartered sugarcane mill, the Engenho D'El Rey, founded in 1596 (Pires 2018, 43). In a proposal to initiate land regularisation in Horto, the Residents' Association claims that Horto was also the site of the 1785 Fazenda dos Macacos plantation. Evidence of both the sugar mill and houses of enslaved Afro-descendants exists throughout Horto. Between the early 19th and early 20th century, the area surrounding current-day Horto underwent a period of industrialisation which saw the construction of the Fábrica de Pólvora (the Royal Gunpowder Factory) as well as the Real Horto Botânica—later known as the

Jardim Botânico, or the Botanical Garden of Rio de Janeiro, operated by the federal government. During this period, a quilombo was also founded in the modern-day Horto neighbourhood of Morro das Margaridas. The final phase of habitation in the area that now comprises Horto began in 1910 with the construction of the Fábricas de Tecido Carioca and América Fabril factories. These manufacturing works attracted migrants from throughout Brazil and Europe.

In the 1960s, the federal government permitted employees of the Botanical Garden to construct houses next to the Garden in an area that would come to be known as Caxinguelê. Many current residents are directly descended from these workers. The Caxinguelê neighbourhood borders the Botanical Garden and is also the neighbourhood with the highest number of homes with eviction notices. Towards the end of the decade, then-Rio mayor Carlos Lacerda instigated mass evictions of favelas around Lagoa, a wealthy neighbourhood in the South Zone, and relocated some residents to Horto in public housing known today as Balança. For the Residents' Association, the relocation of former favela residents to Horto proves that the area at the time was considered '*distante, pobre e pouco valorizada* [distant, poor, and undervalued]' (fieldnotes, 4 May 2017).

The arrival of the 1980s brought with it a change in the class composition of the neighbourhood. Rede Globo established their headquarters across the street from Horto and gradually the area attracted more upper-class residents who took to calling the area Alto


Figure 6. The Botanical Garden's plans for Horto eviction. Maps indicate location of houses within territory claimed by Botanical Garden. Courtesy of Museu do Horto.

Jardim Botânico (Botanical Garden Heights). According to the Residents' Association, it was during this time that huge swaths of forests were destroyed to build mansions and condominiums like the Parque Canto e Mello condominium—a building overlooking the Horto settlement that has become symbolic of hypocrisy and class inequality. Tensions between the original working-class residents and the newly-arrived wealthy residents who objected to living next to an informal settlement reached a fever pitch in the 2000s.

The 2000s saw the creation of the Research Institute of the Botanical Garden of Rio de Janeiro (IJBRJ) and of a separate residents' association for the wealthier residents (AMAJB). It was also the time during which Horto began the process of applying for land regulation with the help from students and professors from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Horto had been engaged in talks with SPU/RJ about establishing land usage rights for Horto residents but these negotiations fell through in 2011 due to pressure from the Research Institute of the Botanical Garden and an intervention from AMAJB. From that time until now, both IJBRJ and AMAJB (along with other adversaries like Rede Globo) have been pushing for the expulsion of Horto residents. Rationale for expulsion includes accusations that Horto prevents the Botanical Garden from carrying out its 'social function' because private housing on public land effectively renders it private and outside the control of the Botanical Garden. Detractors also allege that residents are invaders who are harming the environment and that newer constructions (strictly prohibited by the federal government) will lead to favelização.

At time of the field research, 215 families had eviction notices. An eviction notice served to six Horto residents initiated by the Research Institute of the Botanical Garden decries Horto as the cause of a myriad of problems:

> *Sustenta a presença de perigo de dano ao patrimônio ambiental, cultural, genético, histórico, artístico e paisagístico relacionado aos deveres e obrigações estabelecidas ao Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro no plano interno e internacional.*

> It is maintained that there is a risk of harm to the environmental, cultural, genetic, historical, artistic, and pastoral heritage related to the established domestic and international duties and obligations of the Botanical Garden.

Residents counter that they are a 200-year-old community that has a storied history of taking care of the environment and that their eviction threat is spurred by real estate speculation and is a result of prejudice against the working class. The Botanical Garden, for its part, believes it

[82]

has a right to the land currently occupied by Horto and hopes to repossess it in order to develop their plant nursery as well as expand the premises of the Research Institute.

The fight for Horto is led by musician and President of the Residents' Association, Emerson de Souza, and Vice-President Emília de Souza (retiree and Emerson's aunt), (both of whom act as unofficial tour guides) along with a directorate. For much of the Residents' Association's history, an association that was founded on 1 July 1986 and certified 'active' by the Federal Public Ministry on 3 November 2005, Emília was at the helm and despite her secondary position, Emília is still largely in charge.[41] The Residents' Commission of Horto, created after disagreements surfaced during an election for the Residents' Association directorate, operates alongside the Residents' Association. While the relationship between the two groups is sometimes fraught, both are equally committed to upholding housing rights for Horto.

Figure 7. Demolished back portion of Luci Rosa's house in Hípica

Deep within the Tijuca Forest National Park, seemingly like a place that can only be found by those who already know where it is, is the infinitesimally small community of Hípica. In the past, the families of twenty-eight park employees established homes there but today only three families and two partially demolished houses remain. Luci Rosa de

---

[41] Information about the Residents' Association of Horto comes from a Federal Public Ministry document dated 8 May 2017.

Alcomtona and Haydée Alves da Silva are retirees who were both raised in the community, maintain their own homes, and are the most active residents in the fight against eviction. Hípica is not the only settlement within the park but has been particularly affected by the actions of the Park's administration, who residents believe is engaging in a passive eviction of Hípica.

The problem began in 2013 when Tijuca National Park renovated their electrical grid. Prior to this point, Hípica had been connected to this power grid but the Park elected to leave Hípica disconnected and the community has been without power since 2014.[42] In May of 2015, the Federal Public Ministry succeeded in obtaining a court-ordered eviction notice for Hípica's residents, who were also required to pay fines for having damaged the environment. No provision was made at the time for their resettlement because of, as park administration explained during a public audience, their '*histórico da ocupação e da renda familiar dos ocupantes* [history of occupation and because of their household income]'. Residents and allies sought to find a solution through mediated meetings, with residents asking for the reestablishment of electricity that they would then be charged for and Park administration attempting to broker a deal in which residents would voluntarily leave. So far, no deal has been reached and residents remain without access to an electrical grid.

For residents and allies, the refusal of the Park to re-establish electricity in Hípica is tantamount to a passive eviction. Residents often point to the Park allowing restaurants to operate and be connected to the electrical grid as proof of hypocrisy and prejudice against informal settlements. However, the Park maintains that all national parks are required by law to have restaurants while permitting housing is not a requirement. Public defenders have filed motions to impede the evictions, which are still being processed in the court system.[43] In the meantime, Haydée uses a gasoline generator sparingly that she shares with Luci Rosa and received two solar panels in early 2018 that allow her to use Wi-Fi. Although from the outside, having a gas generator and solar panels seems sufficient to provide energy, Haydée and Luci Rosa maintain that it is not, especially given that Haydée had been the sole caretaker of her ill and ageing mother who became bedridden after suffering a fall in the poorly-lit house. Both Haydée and Luci Rosa see the re-installation of electricity in Hípica as the only

---

[42] Other informal settlements in the area were either connected to another power grid or had never been connected.

[43] Public defenders are lawyers paid with public funds who represent those who cannot afford private lawyers.

solution and view resettlement elsewhere (likely in a distant region of Rio) as an option of last resort. When they can, Haydée and Luci Rosa attend Conselho Popular meetings in the Pastoral de Favelas and meet with politicians and lawyers, but usually residents of other informal settlements and other allies represent their interests on their behalf.

Figure 8. Vale Encantado overlooking Atlantic Ocean

Vale Encantado is a favela that borders Tijuca National Park (in a different area of the park than Hípica) and is home to twenty-six families and approximately 116 people. Unlike the other featured communities, only a section of Vale Encantado is on public land. According to Otávio Alves Barros, a retired employee of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), the President of the Residents' Association of Alto da Boa Vista, tour guide, and lifelong resident, Vale Encantado has its beginnings in the 1880s-1890s when the three founding families of Carvalho, Barros, and Medeiros first settled the land. These families arrived to work in a nearby coffee plantation but also grew their own produce to sell in Praça XV in the city centre.

Between 1950 and 1960, demand for their wares dropped precipitously—an event Otávio attributes to increased Japanese immigration to São Paulo.[44] After the end of agriculture in Vale Encantado, the Carvalho family turned to floriculture, selling azaleas and ferns in Praça XV until the early 1980s while the Medeiros and Barros families sold granite.

---

[44] Otávio believes that Japanese labourers at the time were able to grow better quality produce with greater yields.

Eventually, the prime source of income in Vale Encantado became granite, given its rarity and high quality, and increased granite production brought more families to the region. Consequently, mining businesses purchased and exploited the granite-rich land. In 1988, the Federal Public Ministry mandated that these mining businesses cease operation as mining the granite was no longer legally permissible. Many families left at that point and, according to Otávio, the remaining families commenced reforestation (interview, 22 August 2017).

Two decades later and and with local residents presumably living in peace in the meantime, the Public Ministry of the State of Rio de Janeiro began denouncing the informal settlements within the Alto da Boa Vista region, explicitly naming Vale Encantado among other favelas. A contemporaneous newspaper article published in 2006 explains that the State Public Ministry had been investigating these informal settlements for two years and concluded that all of them were in environmentally-protected areas or in 'areas of risk'— meaning that the settlements were built in areas whose topographical features do not support housing. A greater threat, however, was the '*crescimento desordenado* [uncontrolled growth]' that would one day, if left unchecked, cause these settlements to grow to rival Rocinha, the largest favela in Rio de Janeiro (O Dia 2006).

With an imminent eviction threat, mobilisation was swift, and they solicited the help of university professors and students as well as public defenders. Experienced lawyers familiar with the deadlock of Brazilian bureaucracy were able to stave off evictions by summarily challenging eviction notices and more than ten years later, these evictions are still being processed. A decade of living with eviction notices without any evictions has desensitised residents to their eviction threat. Otávio is not deeply involved with housing rights organising (although he has aided Hípica with their own eviction threat in his role as President of the Residents' Association) but still describes himself as a member of the Conselho Popular. In Vale Encantado, the project of rebranding their community as an 'ecological favela' has replaced outright protest. However, my interpretation is that the way environmentalism has been instrumentalised in the community is indicative of an identity politics aimed at combating favela stigma with an end goal of rendering their eviction unnecessary and unthinkable.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Literature review of featured communities[45]

Araçatiba, Maracajás, and Rádio Sonda have not yet appeared as case studies in academic literature but have featured in news outlets and blogs such as Mídia Ninja and RioOnWatch, which have reported on their eviction threats. Hípica is mentioned once in Vieira and Cury (2012) about the perceptions of Tijuca National Park as a symbol of Rio's cultural heritage. Barrinha appears as a case study in Caíres and Shinohara's (2010) study comparing the levels of anxiety of children from Barrinha, Dona Marta, and Rocinha, favourably comparing Barrinha and Dona Marta to the latter. Some communities like Horto, Rocinha, and Vila Autódromo have had more academic coverage than the others because of their size, impact on local politics and infamy for violence (Rocinha) [46], or because they were at the centre of the criticism against Rio hosting the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games (Vila Autódromo). Horto has received far less academic attention than Rocinha and Vila Autódromo but is one of the best researched informal settlements in a conservation area due to their outreach efforts.

Research on Horto typically addresses the legal aspects of the right to housing and the environment. For example, Miranda Filho uses Horto as a case study to demonstrate how the law fails Brazilian citizens due to a '*crise do direito* [crisis in the application of laws]' in Brazil (2012, 487). Miranda Filho discusses the problems of the Botanical Garden becoming a cultural heritage site; the institutions involved with the process have been unable to figure out neither the boundaries of this site nor how best to handle the issue of potentially relocating the entire Horto community (2012, 512). Through a legal analysis, Miranda Filho concludes that public institutions do not function well enough to solve or address Brazil's complicated social issues, leading to disjointed action by public institutions that erodes public confidence in the law (Miranda Filho 2012, 487).

Fittipaldi (2006) provides another example of research on Horto from the perspective of legal studies. Through her dissertation, she aims to show that the common belief that there is an inevitable conflict between the ideals of the right to housing and environmental protectionism (Chapter 5) is false and that the true conflict is a '*tensão entre direitos*' or a tension between conflicting laws (Fittipaldi 2006, 14-5). Similarly, Gonçalves (2018) argues

---

[45] I focus on literature that provides extensive analysis and therefore exclude primary sources and research that merely mentions these communities. I make an exception if the reference is the only occurrence of this community appearing in academic literature.

[46] See Alves and Evanson (2011); Lino e Silva (2014); and Robb Larkins (2015) for examples of literature on violence in Rocinha.

that environmentalist arguments and claims about the need to protect national heritage function as excuses to justify the removal of Horto. He goes on to assert that in opposition to these justifications, what he calls the '*discours élitiste de protection du patrimoine historique* [the elitist discourse of protecting historical heritage]', Horto residents have politicised heritage and memory by creating favela community museums like the Museu do Horto (Horto Museum) among others (Gonçalves 2018, 8). Like Gonçalves, I also noticed the use of heritage as a political strategy against eviction during fieldwork. However, in this dissertation I link the politicisation of heritage with the politicisation of environmentalism, since for most of the featured communities their sense of heritage is deeply connected to the natural environment.

Pereira (2012), whose interest in Horto differs from that of the aforementioned authors, conducted a qualitative psycho-sociological study of Horto youths. Her research sought to understand how the Botanical Garden's Programa de Responsabilidade Social (Social Responsibility Programme)—a programme partially motivated by a desire to improve community relations— affected the Botanical Garden's relationship with participants' families as well as with the community of Horto. Her insights came from her position as an instructor in the programme, which offered employment training courses for favela residents (2012, 16, 31). Pereira conducted interviews with her students who were Horto youth preparing to become visitor guides (2012, 17). Pereira found that before taking the classes, the young trainees either had an unfavourable view of the Botanical Garden or were mostly unfamiliar with the park but that afterwards, students reported feeling positive about the relationships that their families and the Horto community had with the Botanical Garden (2012, 69-71). This research is atypical in that it illustrates a more positive relationship between Horto and the Botanical Garden than what has been portrayed in other research and news outlets. The author's position and potential bias towards the Botanical Garden as an employee could be the cause of this abnormality and the positive responses she received from her students.

Horto remains a popular case study and is the subject of recent and ongoing research from Brazilian graduate students. For example, Pires (2018) is a product of her master's research on Horto as an example of black resistance and profiles black women leaders in the community. Pires is the only scholar to my knowledge that analyses the Horto case in terms of environmental racism. I agree with Pires that Horto, namely the leadership of its residents' association, are engaging in a form of black identity politics. However, I am unsure of the

extent to which this black identity politics extends beyond the community's leadership, as the topic of black resistance was only freely mentioned to me, without any prompting, by certain community leaders. Nevertheless, there is a need for more academic discussion about the role of race in anti-eviction activities in not only Horto, but in other informal communities in Rio de Janeiro.

The limited literature describing Vale Encantado in any detail typically portrays the community as an exemplar of an environmentally sustainable favela. Barros and Melo (2011) is co-written by Otávio, the current president of the Residents' Association of Alto da Boa Vista (a region which includes Vale Encantado). The article is part-research article, part-advertisement for the community's ecotourism business; nevertheless, it outlines the history of the favela as well as the genesis of Vale Encantado's ecotourism business. Furthermore, Otávio uses the article to promote the image of Vale Encantado as an ecological favela and the community as a '*guardão da floresta* [guardian of the forest]' of Tijuca National Park (Barros and Melo 2011, 2). As a partial advertisement, the analytical use of the article is limited. However, where it fails in academic rigour, it compensates as a primary resource.

Vale Encantado appears again as a case study in Reginensi (2016), an article that explores the varying emotions felt by street vendors and favela residents threatened with eviction. Reginensi's treatment of affect allows her to compare the experiences of street vendors and favela residents (who are not mutually exclusive) and finds similarities in how the government criminalises both groups for their informality. Similar to Barros and Melo, Reginensi was aware of and interested in promulgating the perception of Vale Encantado as an ecological favela, noting that she chose the favela in order to '*relativizar a imagem negativa da favela carioca* [relativise the negative image of the favelas of Rio]' as violent, drug-filled places (2016, 73). Vale Encantado might be one of the best candidates for this rebranding project of complicating the image of the violent favela because residents regard the community as a favela. In similar communities in or around nature reserves (notably Araçatiba, Hípica, and Horto), the identification as a favela is more contentious and is often situationally and audience-contingent. Nevertheless, as the ideal of the ecological, sustainable favela gains traction, I predict that more literature profiling Vale Encantado will emerge.

Conclusion

Participant observation and interviewing are the principal methods that underpin this research project and form the basis of my research philosophy, which evolved over the course of the project as new challenges emerged. The theoretical framework is grounded in the key

argument found in Hooker (2005), which in turn provides theoretical justification for the use of environmentalism and heritage as resistance strategies as discussed in Chapter 2. (In)formality and identity politics comprise the conceptual framework as key concepts that inform the research project. In this chapter, I offered an explanation for my choice of terminology so as to provide clarity. I then outlined my research approach and described how I decided on site selection. I also provided additional details about how I conducted participant observation and interviews. In the next section I described how I gained access to communities, the limits of this access, and listed the various issues that made fieldwork challenging.

Lastly, I reviewed previous research on the communities that I feature in the dissertation, showing how my research differs in meaningful ways from previous research on these communities. Horto has been the most extensively researched from various angles, though with a typical focus on environmentalism and heritage. The limited academic research on Vale Encantado demonstrates a concerted effort by the community to promote themselves as environmentalists to lessen the stigma against favelas and increase their odds of being allowed to remain. Other featured communities (Araçatiba and Hípica) have not yet been extensively discussed in academic literature and so this dissertation partly serves to make known the histories and struggles of these communities to a wider, English-speaking audience. The next chapter discusses anti-forced eviction activism within these communities as part of the Favela Housing Rights Movement.

Chapter 4: The Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro

Figure 9. 'Memory can't be evicted'. Mural of community leaders from Vila Autódromo. Courtesy of Márcia Bastos.

Introduction: On Favelas

Historically, favelas developed during waves of domestic immigration when people living in the countryside moved to cities in search of better working conditions. Municipal governments, unable to provide affordable housing to these migrants, left the typically poor newcomers to their own devices. At first, residents resided in *cortiços* (illegal subdivisions) and other tenements. In the early 20th century in Rio, the city's policy of tenement clearance led to the growth of informal settlements (Fischer 2008, 17; McCann 2014, 22).[47] The distinction of not only the first favela in Rio but the first favela in Brazil goes to Providência, which formed after the Canudos War in North-eastern Brazil in 1897. Soldiers who participated in this war to quell a millenarian uprising decided to build their own homes on an already-inhabited hill to pressure the Ministry of War to pay their wages (Valladares 2005, 26). The soldiers nicknamed the terrain 'Favela Hill' since a common plant grown on the hill reminded them of a similar plant called 'favela' (Latin name *Cnidoscolus quercifolius*) found during their campaign in the Northeast (Gandra 2017). Later, people who formally lived in cortiços and were evicted came to live on Favela Hill (Valladares 2005, 24). As Providência attracted those who could not find affordable housing in the formal housing market and as the

---

[47] Although popularly associated with turn of the century Rio and assumed to be a relic of the past, cortiços still exist in Rio's city centre (Barreto 2018).

poor and working class began to inhabit other hills around Rio de Janeiro, the word 'favela' became synonymous with informal settlements (Brum 2012, 33-34).

Figure 10. '*Cartogramma da febre amarella (durante o anno de 1895) na cidade do Rio de Janeiro*'. 1896 map of Rio de Janeiro showing Morro da Providência before occupation by Canudos War veterans. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

The exhibition *O Rio do samba: resistência e reinvenção* (The Rio of Samba: Resistance and Reinvention) at the Art Museum of Rio offers a succinct yet rich retelling of the history of Providência and the first favelas of Rio:[48]

> *Em 1893 a perseguição a essas temidas habitações coletivas culminou na demolição do cortiço Cabeça de Porco, localizado próximo à região da Central do Brasil. Duas mil pessoas foram desalojadas em nome da higiene pública. Um grupo de ex-moradores do Cabeça de Porco conseguiu autorização para levar consigo ripas de madeira e caminharam, então, poucos metros até o Morro da Providência, onde levantaram novas moradias. Entre 1893 e 1894, soldados que combateram à Revolta da Armada obtiveram licença do governo para morar no Morro de Santo Antônio, no centro. Pouco*

---

[48] Modern samba has its origins in the favelas of Rio. For more on the soundscapes of favelas, see Oosterbaan (2009).

tempo depois, em 1897, soldados reformados da Guerra de Canudos instalaram-se no já habitado Morro da Providência. Começara assim a história das favelas no Rio de Janeiro.

In 1893, the persecution of these feared collective housing structures [cortiços] led to the demolition of the cortiço Cabeça de Porco, located next to the Central do Brasil area of Rio. Two thousand people were removed in the name of public hygiene. One group of former residents of Cabeça de Porco managed to obtain authorisation to bring with them planks of wood and walk a few meters to the Morro da Providência, where they built new houses. Between 1893 and 1894, soldiers that fought in the Naval Revolts obtained permission from the government to live on Santo Antônio Hill in the city center. A little while later in 1897, retired soldiers from the Canudos War established themselves on the already inhabited Providência Hill. And so began the story of favelas in Rio de Janeiro. (Fieldnotes, 6 September 2018)

From their inception, Rio's favelas have symbolised dogged determination from the city's poor and working-class to address their own housing needs.

Favelas are the heart of Rio and as contentious as it might be to say, Rio would not be Rio without them. Favelas have served as the setting for some of the most famous films to emerge from Brazil (*Black Orpheus*, *City of God*, and *Elite Squad*, for example) that juxtapose favelas as 'dangerous and beautiful, tragic and vibrant' (Angelini 2015, 425). Favelas are also the birthplace of such cultural forms as samba and *baile funk*. Take a stroll through any one of the boutique artisanal shops in the bohemian Santa Teresa neighbourhood or through the popular Hippie Fair in Ipanema and you will find an array of colourful and romantic depictions of favelas. These communities have fascinated academics as well—some of whom have written about the gritty reality of favela life in equally colourful detail.

Making an observation about the current literature on informal communities around the world, Fischer chastises, 'Much of this writing [on slums] is vivid, lustrously repelling, enthralling enough to be termed slum pornography and sweeping enough to articulate theories of universal injustice (2014, 1)'. She goes on to say that 'At first glance, the world's informal cities can seem disconcertingly similar, a 'planet of slums' that share striking physical characteristics and are universally characterised by poverty and subcitizenship…And yet the thing that informal cities around the world hold most in common—what brings the into existence and allows them to survive—is their entrenchment in intensely local dynamics

[93]

(Fisher 2014, 2)'. Her comments are in direct response to the influential book, *Planet of Slums*, in which Davis (2006) conducts a wide-reaching review of the socioeconomic issues facing marginal communities worldwide.

Fischer and Davis represent the two most common interpretations of favelas in what could be known as 'favela studies' (McCann 2006, 151): that of the favela as a universalizing concept that can be used to explain global poverty and housing insecurity, or the favela as a local phenomenon whose analytic possibilities are limited to its local context. There is space for both approaches to favela studies; however, I agree with a Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) professor and former favela resident who attended the ongoing discussion series in the Complexo do Alemão favela, 'Pra que e pra quem serve as pesquisas sobre favelas?' (For What and For Whom Does Favela Research Serve?), that research on favelas oftentimes fails to portray the diversity of Rio's favelas as well as the diversity of experiences within these favelas (fieldnotes, 25 March 2017). Therefore, one of the purposes of this dissertation is to discuss social justice organising in favelas as a way to counter monolithic and generalising depictions of favelas and their residents in academic literature.

Social justice organising within favelas has been a feature of urban life since the mid-20th century. The first residents' associations were created in the 1950s as a project of the city and state governments to curb leftist radicalism within favelas. Paradoxically, these associations became centres of community activism by the early 1960s, spurred by a wave of forced evictions throughout the South Zone of Rio. At a time when party politics was a dangerous activity since the military dictatorship regularly used forced disappearance as a method of repression, the government took little notice of residents' associations and they remained sites of resistance (McCann 2006, 151-3).

Today, when favelas organise they do so to address various social issues that contribute to a lower quality of life in these communities. Paramount among these issues, especially for larger favelas controlled by drug traffickers, is the prevalence of violence. For example, the military intervention in Rio de Janeiro from February 2018 to January 2019 prompted demonstrations against increased police violence against favela residents and their continued criminalisation. The mass evictions of favelas before and during the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games also generated protests in favelas (Bautès, Fernandes, and Burgos 2013; Guariento 2015) and favela residents were also present during the 2013 June protests (Venturini 2016). Other protests address public health issues such as the lack of nearby quality hospitals and open sewers that spread illness. A scarcity of other social

services like schools, creches, and public transportation in some favela communities also compels residents to mobilise. Oftentimes, favela residents mobilise to address all these social issues, in addition to housing rights.

In this chapter, I discuss the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro and present an empirical chapter discussing the characteristics of a specific social movement that I have termed the Favela Housing Rights Movement.[49] This is a small, grassroots movement that organises independently of NGOs and eschews political clientelism. Here, I offer a discussion of the aspects of the movement before expounding on the movement's alternative political strategies in the empirical chapters that follow (Chapters 5-7).

This movement is organised by leaders of small informal settlements on public land who are threatened by the spectre of eviction. I also offer several key assertions. The first relates to the merits of naming and researching the Favela Housing Rights Movement. Compared with literature that addresses public health or violence in favelas, there has been much less academic attention on housing rights activism in favelas. In fact, to my knowledge there is no research in English or Portuguese about a 'favela housing rights movement'. Moreover, the little that is written about housing rights in both languages tends to be about the MTST and their urban occupations. The difference between the MTST and what I have identified as the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio is that MTST activists organise nationally using occupations as a strategy to force city governments to recognise land and housing rights. Through occupation, MTST demarcates land and then politicises it, thereby fashioning land as a symbol of resistance. On the other hand, the residents participating in the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio did not create informal settlements for the solely for the purpose of highlighting the issue of inadequate housing. These differences in strategy and

---

[49] There is no singular definition of 'social movement' within social movement theory. Some definitions focus on the type and scale of organisation or the existence of collective action and contentious politics, while others contend that explicit goals need to be present—typically with the amelioration of specific issues in mind (Opp 2009, 36-7). Snow and Oliver (1995) contend that, 'social movements are marked by collective actions that occur with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional channels with the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order of which they are a part' (1995, 571; Opp 2009). The Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro adheres to most, if not all these criteria. The movement is small but comprises hundreds of favela residents living under the threat of eviction as well as their supporters. The movement is also relatively informal, but the most organised aspect of it is the Conselho Popular, which could be considered a social movement organisation. Activists regularly engage in collective action and often contentious politics when they occupy government buildings or block roads in protest of evictions. Also, residents have long mobilised against eviction in their communities—often enlisting the help of other threatened or previously threatened communities. Perhaps most importantly, residents consider themselves as part of a social movement.

intention call for dedicated research on favela housing rights movements undoubtedly happening not only in Rio but in cities throughout Brazil.

Secondly, I have found that one of the main sources of tension between residents and government officials is the differing and opposing viewpoints on the concept of the social function of property. In Brazilian legal literature on housing policy, the social function of property is a recurring theme because it forms the basis of adverse possession claims. Additionally, the social function of property is meant to uphold the ideal of the right to the city and ensure that all real estate serves the needs of citizens and not, for example, as investments. Residents and government officials disagree about the extent to which the social function of property guarantees housing rights for people living in informal settlements. This impasse in interpretation has provided one of the catalysts for mobilisation.

Thirdly, and regarding the characteristics of the movement, many residents aspire to keep their activism apolitical (or at least non-partisan) and there was an overarching theme of wariness of politicians and politics in interviews and informal discussions with movement participants. Instead of relying on help from politicians, residents prefer to place their trust with the Catholic Church and use the Pastoral de Favelas as the unofficial headquarters of the movement. This antipathy towards politics may be attributed to the predominantly female make-up of the movement and could possibly explain why residents have opted to soften the politics of the movement by focusing on environmental sustainability and cultural preservation.[50] Nevertheless, I contend that ultimately, employing environmentalism and cultural preservation as strategies against eviction politicises both.

Regarding the difficulties of favela organising, I offer a fourth assertion that the ambiguity surrounding the definition of 'favela' for residents and academics alike hampers organising for favela rights in a coherent way. Much of this confusion stems from favela stigma and the desire for some residents to distance themselves from the word. At the same time, other residents find use in the term as an identity marker around which to organise. Finally, I discuss the ways in which deciding to participate has benefitted participants.

---

[50] At meetings and protests women always outnumbered men. Moreover, the leadership of the communities researched during the period of fieldwork (Araçatiba, Barrinha, Hípica, Horto, Maracajás, Rádio Sonda, Vale Encantado, and Vila Autódromo) was also predominately female. Only in Vale Encantado and Maracajás did men outnumber women in leadership positions.

Figure 11. 'Aqui não vai ser hostel'. Botafogo, RJ. Courtesy of Museu das Remoções.

    The movement for the right to housing in favelas is a struggle against differentiated citizenship for the urban poor and working-class. This differentiated citizenship permits insecure tenure for the sake of economic development or political expediency. Furthermore, the failure to recognise the rights of poor and working-class individuals to land and housing generates conditions wherein these groups suffer property losses due to real estate speculation while ensuing gentrification leads to 'a symbolic reassertion of middle-class authority' over urban spaces (Jones and Varley 1999, 1563). Favela housing rights activists also challenge political corruption and their inability to access the judiciary (who have the final say in whether they will be granted housing rights) as well as others in positions of power. For example, when asked about the major setbacks for Maracajás, resident Anderson Pereira explained:

> *Minhas derrotas estão sendo junto ao judiciário corrupto que estão dando liminar atrás de liminar, para que possam remover os moradores. Mas estamos conseguindo resistir e impedir que essas liminares tenham efeito.*

[97]

My setbacks are being caused by a corrupt judiciary that is granting injunction after injunction so that they can evict residents. But we are managing to resist and impede these injunctions having any effect. (Personal communication, 30 January 2018)

With biased political and judicial systems, residents often find it difficult to depend on the political establishment or politicians in general and so they choose to place their trust in select officials that consistently prove their trustworthiness. For instance, some residents like Emília of Horto tried to impress upon the others the need to '*sensibilizar a justiça*' (fieldnotes, 6 October 2017) and of creating a '*pacto federativo*' (fieldnotes, 11 December 2017), meaning finding unimpeachable judges and politicians who can be swayed into supporting communities under threat of eviction.

Besides corruption within the government and the judiciary, residents must also struggle against marginalisation and informality—both of which have led to a lack of access to power and to difficult living conditions. Marginalisation explains why, for example, activists only managed a meeting with Mayor Crivella after almost a year of direct action and numerous broken promises from his staff. Moreover, informality informs daily life in favelas. As Colombian academic and current Bogotá Secretary of Habitat María Mercedes Maldonado explained, informality can lead to higher costs for utilities like water and electricity in informal settlements than would be found in the formal market (fieldnotes, 13 December 2017). Exploitation like this is a direct result of an absence of consumer protections in the informal real estate market.

In addition to the multiple issues that residents are fighting against, activists are also mobilising for various rights and freedoms. Foremost among them are land regularisation; access to public services like hospitals, schools, and public transportation; freedom from police brutality in some favelas; access to recreational spaces for their children; and a call for the re-interpretation of the social function of property. The social function of property is a key concept that underpins much of the debate around housing rights for informal settlements and the disagreement about its meaning and implications is one of the primary sources of tension between residents and government officials.

A handout made by Horto leadership that was given to participants of a 4 May 2017 public assembly in City Hall demonstrates how Horto leaders comprehend the social function of property:

[98]

*A Câmara Municipal do Rio de Janeiro tem o **dever legal** de assegurar os direitos dos moradores das vilas históricas e populares do Horto, Contribuindo para a regularização, preservação e ordenamento de uma área de incontestável interesse e valor **histórico e cultural da cidade**... A responsabilidade desta Casa é estabelecida não só pela Constituição Federal como pelo Estatuo da Cidade (Lei nº 10.257, de 10 julho de 2001) e pelo Regimento Interno da Secretaria do Patrimônio da União/SPU, que delegam aos municípios a responsabilidade pelo desenvolvimento de políticas urbanas de moradia e, especialmente os dois últimos, avançam na compreensão de que o patrimônio público deve cumprir essa função social.*

The City Hall of Rio de Janeiro has the **legal obligation** ensure the rights of the residents of the historical and modern homes of Horto and should contribute to the regularisation, preservation, and the planning of an area of undisputed **historical and cultural interest and value** in the city… The responsibility of City Hall [to ensure housing rights] is established not only in the Federal Constitution through the City Statute (Law no. 10.257 of July 10, 2001) and through the Internal Regiment of the Secretariat of National Heritage of the Union (SPU) that delegates to cities the responsibility of developing urban public policy for housing and, especially for the last two, the responsibility of advancing the understanding that sites of public heritage should comply with this social function.

Horto residents believe they uphold the social function of property by occupying land for housing purposes. This forms the basis of their legal argument against eviction. Moreover, residents feel that by not acknowledging the right of Horto to occupy land, the city government is illegally prohibiting land from being used for the public's good—as in, for the use of housing by lower-income people. In this sense, residents view their own homes as social housing that simply needs to be regularised by the government.

However, the perspective of the government (which has so far been upheld in the court system) is that treating land as a public good does not mean automatically granting individual or collective property rights for those occupying public land without formal title. Instead, upholding the social function of public land is about ensuring that all members of the public have equal access to public land—something that would be impossible if a parcel of public land were occupied by private housing. The administration of Tijuca National Park has this

[99]

perspective with Hípica, whose residents and supporters sharply questioned Park employees about the seeming hypocrisy of the Park allowing restaurants to operate within the reserve during a meeting intended to calm tensions between residents and the Park. Park employees responded to this criticism via a PowerPoint presentation in which they alleged that their mandate as a public park was to guarantee the positive experiences of guests by providing restaurants, not housing:

> *Ao contrário de moradias particulares, a ocupação dos restaurantes é compatível com a finalidade de um Parque Nacional, estabelecida em lei.*
>
> Unlike private housing, the occupation of restaurants is compatible with the goals of a National Park, established by law. (Fieldnotes, 23 May 2017)

This opinion that the social function of public land means equal access to land is expressed in the decision of the 21st *vara*, or court, of the Regional Federal Tribunal dated 1 February 2018 which granted the Botanical Garden's request to evict six Horto residents:[51]

> *Alega que a área irregularmente ocupada caracteriza-se como bem de uso comum do povo e de uso especial, sendo inalienáveis; que a ocupação é clandestina eis que não amparada em qualquer título jurídico; que é cabível o despejo dos ocupantes com base no art. 71 do Decreto-Lei nº 9.760/46 e que a ocupação irregular caracteriza-se como mera detenção e não gera efeitos possessórios.*
>
> It is alleged that the area that is occupied irregularly is characterised as a public good of the people and only for special use, being inalienable, that the occupation is unlawful and that is not supported by any legal title; that the removal of occupants is appropriate with a basis in Article 71 of the Decree-Law 9.760/46 and that the irregular occupation is characterised as a mere collection of unregularized houses and does not generate possessory effects.

This court rejected Horto's claims to land ownership via occupation and so also tacitly rejected claims of adverse possession because of a fundamental difference in the understanding of the social function of public property. From this perspective, the Botanical

---

[51] This eviction has not yet been carried out, having been appealed by public defenders.

Garden and the administration of Tijuca National Park can and do argue just as fiercely as residents that they are ensuring the social function of property by calling for the removal of informal settlements from public land within Tijuca National Park and the Botanical Garden.

Legal Options for Preventing Eviction and Ideal Outcomes of the Movement

The aim of every strategy used by residents in the movement is toward legally-recognised housing rights. For informal settlements, the most viable options towards getting the right to occupy land is either through CUEM and/or through AEIS. Another possible option is to convert public land into private land that could then be given or sold at a reasonable price to residents of an informal settlement. The latest version of the national law regarding rural and urban land, Law no. 13465/2017, allows the federal government to sell land into private ownership. Some municipalities like São Paulo already allow for land '*do uso do povo comum* [for the use of common people]' to convert to '*terras de bens…dominiais*'—that is, land still belonging to the federal, state, or municipal government but available for private use (Spinazzola 2008, 57).

There is a precedent for the exchange of federal land to private favela ownership in Rio as well where, through the 2005 federal land regularisation programme Papel Passado, several informal settlements on public land along Guanabara Bay were selected to receive land titles. Two favelas, Quinta do Caju and Parque Royal, have benefitted from this programme in which the federal government transferred the land to the city government of Rio, who then transferred ownership to favela residents (Gonçalves 2014, 136). Despite the programme's successes, Papel Passado appears to be defunct due to a lack of funding (Silva and Muniz Caldas 2015, 25).

The possibility of transferring public land into private hands (having been enabled again by the newest iteration of the federal land regularisation law) has excited some residents and supporters who see the law as an opportunity to achieve land rights by creating community land trusts. With a community land trust (CLT), tracts of land are owned by a non-profit corporation comprised of residents, experts, and investors that then sells land at affordable prices for the purpose of building housing. A community land trust is similar to AEIS and CUEM in that it is designed to provide individual housing titles to lower-income residents. Differently from the two programmes, however, is that the CLT maintains the rights to the land underneath houses and that residents within CLTs are permitted to re-sell their houses with prices set by the CLT. (Davis 2014, 5).

The CLT model has seen success in England (Thompson 2015), the United States (Davis 2014), Kenya (Bassett and Jacobs 1997), and elsewhere. Researchers attached to Catalytic Communities have championed the CLT model for Rio's favelas as a solution for insecure tenure (Reist 2016; Lincoln Land Policy 2017). With the implementation of the new land regularisation law, community land trusts might become a more viable option for favela residents with insecure tenure. Admittedly, residents themselves have not engaged much with the idea of CLTs and most of the support for the CLT model has come from outside organisations like Catalytic Communities. This is perhaps because while a CLT could help prevent gentrification, it does not come with the upgrading initiatives that CUEM and AEIS provide and many favelas need both land regularisation and the water, sewage, infrastructural, and other improvements that come with upgrading. Nevertheless, the creation of a CLT in Rio is one possible outcome of successful anti-eviction activity.

Structure of the Movement: Faith over Politics

The movement for housing rights in Rio's informal settlements has a contentious relationship with politics and politicians, due to a pervasive mistrust in government cultivated through years of dealing with corrupt politicians and judges. For some favela activists, the Catholic Church via the Pastoral de Favelas acts as a perfect intermediary between residents and the government and allows them to 'do politics' without having to engage too much with the political establishment or having to engage with them in unsavoury ways. Political corruption was commonly cited among favela activists to explain their wariness of getting 'too political' or involving politicians too deeply in the movement. For example, Otávio from Vale Encantado maintained that he does not want any help from politicians and would prefer to solicit financial support from environmentalist NGOs in the United States (interview, 22 August 2017). Furthermore, Emília of Horto relayed to members of a WhatsApp group the disappointing outcome of a City Hall meeting organised by City Council Member Reimont that was poorly attended by city council members, even those from the far-left PSOL (Socialism and Liberty Party). Emília lamented that, '*só temos decepção com a grande maioria de parlamentares em todas as instâncias* [we can only expect deception from the vast majority of parliamentarians in every instance]', concluding that they can only rely on Reimont (fieldnotes, 9 May 2017).[52] Lastly, Ana of Araçatiba scoffed with other residents during a 11 December 2017 community meeting at the idea proposed by an aide of politician

---

[52] Reimont is only one of several politicians that support anti-eviction mobilisation in favelas but is perhaps the most dedicated supporter among local politicians.

Brizola Neto, who suggested that Araçatiba needed a *padrinho* (literally, a father-in-law)— in this case meaning a bribed politician who would support their cause. Ana, in disgust, responded out of earshot of the aide that Reimont had never asked for money in exchange for support, and mentioned that padrinhos are not trustworthy since they promise improvements that never come to fruition. Very few politicians apart from City Council Member Reimont— who was a virtually constant figure at meetings and protests—had won the trust and support of activists.

Besides being distrustful of politicians, some residents are also cautious about injecting too much politics in the movement by associating themselves with political parties:

> *Muryel: Mas temos que ter cuidado para que os nossos atos e junções a esses sindicatos oficialmente não pareça que estamos fazendo política partidária, que ao meu ver não estamos e não é isso...Pois sabemos que sindicatos são partidarizados.*[53]
>
> ...
>
> *Jaqueline: a gente tem alguns mandatos também que, apesar de ao meu ver, o nosso grupo não ter assim, o objetivo diretamente político, assim... eu não quero porque eu acho que isso divide muito o movimento.*[54]
>
> Muyrel: But we have to be careful that our protests and alliances with these labour unions don't make it seem like we are engaging in party politics, since in my view we aren't…since we know that unions are politicised. (Personal communication, 17 January 2018)
>
> ...
>
> Jaqueline: We have support from some politicians despite, in my view, that the objective of our group isn't exactly to be political. I don't want [to get political] because I think that this would divide the movement a lot. (Interview, 23 January 2018)

---

[53] Muryel is a resident of Rocinha.

[54] Jaqueline is a resident of Barrinha.

Residents, in short, want to mobilise on their own terms without being beholden to corrupt politicians who would ask for compensation in return for support. Therefore, residents have turned to the Pastoral de Favelas that has for decades provided a space for favela residents to mobilise against various issues afflicting informal settlements. Today the Conselho Popular regularly meets in the Pastoral de Favelas to organise around housing rights.[55] The Conselho Popular was first founded in 2007 by an initiative of religious figures and public defenders from NUTH to organise favela residents (Pontes 2013). Over the course of my fieldwork, I attended the Conselho Popular meetings that were generally (but not always) held monthly. The following excerpts from my fieldnotes illustrate typical discussions during these two to three-hour meetings:

> This meeting's about organizing the *ato grande contra remoção nas favelas* [mass protest against eviction in favelas]. Right now, Sérgio Ricardo [an environmental activist] is talking about needing a *carro de som*[56] and how to mobilise among favelas…Sérgio warns that the government will try to divide ('*temos que finalizer o que é que queremos*')…Emília says that the protest is about housing but will also be about health, education, and other issues that affect favelas. (Fieldnotes, 31 October 2017)

> A woman from a community next to Complexo do Alemão talks about a new eviction threat and says that twenty to thirty families live there. A representative from NUTH says that they need to do a technical survey with documents because NUTH only helps communities with at least ten families. Di says they're on their last legs in Rádio Sonda and and Maracajás and that they've had many meetings without any response. They have another meeting planned with the head of Aeronaútica but Di thinks they don't have a chance. (Fieldnotes, 26 September 2018)

---

[55] The Conselho Popular is similar to a pressure group in that its members engage in lobbying and attempt to change public opinion about favelas. Nevertheless, the Conselho Popular fundamentally differs from pressure groups because they do not have 'routine representation in, and access to, the government' (or the access they have is very limited) and its members use 'noninstitutionalized tactics' such as road-blocking that are largely absent in pressure groups (Useem and Zald [1987] 2005, 273). Moreover, the main activity of the Conselho Popular is not lobbying but maintaining an infrastructure that can respond quickly to eviction threats while raising awareness about forced eviction and demanding change through protest and other measures.

[56] A *carro de som* is a car with an attached loudspeaker used during protests.

Thus, the Conselho Popular functions as both the organisational apparatus for the Favela Housing Rights Movement as well as a space in which residents of favelas newly threatened with eviction can receive expert advice and commiserate with residents of other favelas facing similar issues.

The centrality of the Pastoral de Favelas in the Favela Housing Rights Movement is largely due to the general antipathy towards politics and politicians. The Pastoral is highly regarded as an unbiased, constant supporter of favela rights and residents view the Pastoral as an essential figure in providing support for anti-eviction efforts:

> *Marcello: O Nuth e a Pastoral de Favelas são órgãos que contribuíram, e contribuem, essencialmente, para a luta contra as remoções na Indiana e em outras comunidades.*
>
> *...*
>
> *Anderson: Me envolvi quando descobri que havia a pastoral de favelas dando o suporte e todo o apoio, para que a comunidade pudesse se organizar e reagir a tal injustiça.*
>
> Marcello: NUTH and the Pastoral de Favelas are organisations that have contributed and continue to contribute in essential ways to the fight against eviction in Indiana and in other communities. (Personal communication, 18 December 2017)
>
> …
>
> Anderson: I got involved when I discovered that the Pastoral de Favelas was helping out and giving their full support so that the community could organise itself to react against such injustice. (Personal communication, 30 January 2018)

Residents find the strength and inspiration to organise through the Pastoral de Favelas and often speak about the importance of trusting God to deliver justice when success seems elusive. For example, when asked about what she has learned from participating in the movement, Di Cunha from Rádio Sonda (a particularly religious resident) stated, '*Aprendi a lutar pelo nosso direito, a não desistir, a perseverar, a confiar cada vez mais em Deus e não nos homens* [I learned to fight for our rights, to not give up, to persevere, to trust even more in God and not in men]' (personal communication, 25 February 2018). Elisabete Bezerra from

[105]

Novo Palmares also found strength and assurances from her Christian faith: '*O meu aprendizado mais importante foi que; quando Jesus nos dá uma missão, Ele é poderoso pra nos guardar e livrar, e é Ele quem abre as portas* [The most important thing I learned was that when Jesus gives us a mission, He is powerful enough to keep and deliver us. And it is He that opens doors]' (personal communication, 30 March 2018).

The Pastoral de Favelas also considers itself an important feature of the Favela Housing Rights Movement, as evidenced by the large symposium they held entitled, 'Pastoral de Favelas: 40 *anos em defesa do direito de morar*' (Pastoral de Favelas: 40 Years in Defence of the Right to Housing) that attracted an audience of religious figures, residents of favelas that had been helped by the Pastoral, politicians, as well as students and researchers of favela studies. Here, well-known public figures like City Council Member Reimont and Maria Lúcia de Pontes, a public defender from NUTH, spoke about the importance of religion (namely the Catholic Church) to uphold human rights like housing. During fieldwork, I often witnessed both defend favela housing rights and land regularisation for informal settlements in various settings but never within the context of religion before this event. Pontes explained her reticence about discussing the connection between religion and housing rights by stating that legally, they had to refrain from mentioning religion when talking about housing rights publicly, which was a task she found difficult to do (fieldnotes, 28 October 2017).

It was during this symposium that I began to wonder whether locating the Favela Housing Rights Movement within the Pastoral de Favelas in some way alienated non-Catholics and especially evangelicals—a growing demographic within favelas that has led to contestations over space, power, and influence between Catholics and evangelicals (Birman and Lehmann 1999; Oosterbaan 2009). Reimont, seemingly anticipating my thoughts, assured the evangelicals in the room that Catholics were unified with evangelicals since they worshipped the same God. I saw little evidence of exclusion besides the occasional remark about evangelicals becoming too powerful, evangelical residents within favelas favouring eviction, and evangelicals being responsible for electing the unpopular Mayor Crivella, himself evangelical. Nevertheless, and for now, the Pastoral de Favelas can claim to be the moral heart of the Favela Housing Rights Movement, the '*centralizador das demandas populares* [centralizing force that united the demands of the masses]' that represents the interests of the average favela resident living without security of tenure (Neto and Lourenço 2009, 148).

Representation is only one of the difficulties inherent to mobilizing around favela housing rights. Other challenges arise from interpersonal conflicts within and among communities. For instance, not all residents support making the movement apolitical and some are more amenable than others to the idea of involving political parties and other partisan movements. Additionally, it is difficult to organise from a marginalised place without much access to governmental or judicial channels. Supporters like the Pastoral de Favelas and sympathetic lawyers and politicians help open these channels of communication, but this still signifies that favela residents must rely on these outside supporters to be heard by those in power. The constant need to increase their visibility drives the continued organisation of rallies and protests.

Furthermore, like with any other movement, there are often challenges to power in communities. For favelas, this sometimes translates into tensions between residents' associations and residents' commissions who vie for the authority to represent a given community. Since every informal settlement is entitled to form a residents' association that must be registered with the government, residents' commissions normally form if a residents' association becomes defunct (since they cannot register with the same name) or if a rival group of residents decides to organise separately. Reasons for establishing a rival residents' association vary between feeling to need to establish another group that has not been infiltrated by either politicians or drug cartels or because a group of residents does not feel that the residents' association adequately represents the interests of themselves or other residents.[57] Nevertheless, there is an acute awareness that showing fragmentation within a community weakens their ability to decisively negotiate with the government. So, when a community has both a residents' association and a residents' commission, members of both are careful about not presenting both groups as oppositional.

One of the biggest and heretofore unmentioned challenges to favela housing rights activism, and favela rights activism more generally, is lingering favela stigma: 'the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance' (Goffman [1963] 1990, 9). Stigma is one of the main drivers of favela eviction (Brum 2013, 191) and a contributor to the challenges of articulating a favela identity. Perhaps the root of this difficulty lies in the fact

---

[57] From interview with Emília on 29 January 2018.

that there is no official definition of 'favela' (Campos 2005, 73).[58] The closest official definition comes from IBGE, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, which defines '*aglomerados subnormais*' (subnormal housing clusters) as:

> *o conjunto constituído por 51 ou mais unidades habitacionais caracterizadas por ausência de título de propriedade e pelo menos uma das características abaixo: - irregularidade das vias de circulação e do tamanho e forma dos lotes e/ou - carência de serviços públicos essenciais (como coleta de lixo, rede de esgoto, rede de água, energia elétrica e iluminação pública).*

> A housing settlement constituted by 51 or more housing units characterised by the absence of property titles and at least one of the following characteristics: unregulated paths and roads, unregulated land plots and/or a lack of public services (such as garbage collection, sewage systems, water system, electricity, and street lights.) (IGBE 2013, 2)

---

[58] Relevant considerations when defining favelas include: the existence of land titles and vulnerability to forced eviction; official status (i.e. informal 'favela' vs formalised '*bairro*', or neighbourhood); formalised, sanctioned infrastructure; existence and quality of public services (i.e. health care, education, security, banking); and existence of community organisations.

'Aglomerados subnormais' are synonymous with what are popularly known in various areas of Brazil as favelas, *vilas*, *comunidades*, *mocambos*, and *grotões*. However, *cariocas* (Rio locals) do not always conflate favelas with vilas or comunidades. Yet at other times, terms like vila, *morro*, and comunidade are used by the populace as euphemisms for the favela (Perlman 2010, 28). This means that while someone might purposefully identify themselves as a vila resident, others might infer that this person lives in a favela. While the IGBE has offered a quasi-official definition that serves the purposes of census-taking (Brum 2012, 34), academics have taken it upon themselves to parse through meanings of the term in order to
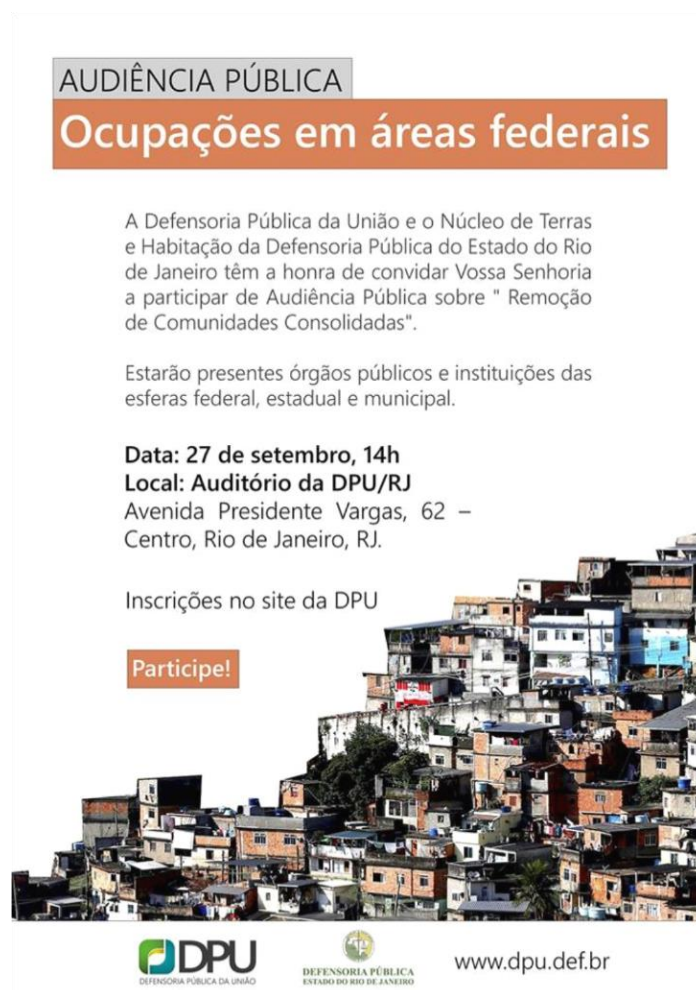

Figure 12. Flyer advertising a 2017 public audience with residents of affected communities in the Federal Public Defenders' Office. The flyer refers to 'occupations' in federal areas and to 'evictions of consolidated communities' (probably meaning pre-existing communities) but features an image commonly used to evoke the favela. Courtesy of Conselho Popular.

.

approach a definition that better encapsulates the lived experiences of those who live (or do not live) in favelas.

For example, McCann contends that favelas are not squatter settlements but are, above all else, communities where most people do not have formal property title (2014, 23). He adds that it is informality that distinguishes favelas from other kinds of housing settlements (2014, 26). Fernandes also affirms that the absence of formal land and housing titles is what legally distinguishes favelas from illegal subdivisions and other types of informal housing (2000, 167). My own definition of favela most closely aligns with that of McCann and Fernandes. For Perlman, on the other hand, the longstanding criteria for favelas no longer apply. They cannot be considered illegally occupied spaces since many favelas now have unofficial land tenure. They are no longer necessarily dangerous, disconnected, unlinked to public services, or even poor, since 'not all of the people living in favelas are poor, and not all of the urban poor live in favelas' (Perlman 2010, 31). The only remaining attribute that unites favelas, then, is the continued stigmatisation of these communities (Perlman 2010, 310).

Brum has at least two definitions of favela: one that appears in *Cidade Alta* (2012) and another he espoused during a personal interview. In his book, Brum theorises that the favela at its core '*é estigma, pois aponta uma área urbana onde existem os sinais do que não deveria haver numa cidade que se queria moderna e/ou civilizada* [is stigma, since it indicates an urban area that signifies what you should not have in a city that wants to be modern and/or civilised]' (2012, 40). Being so, the favela resident is '*sempre o outro* [always the Other]' (2012, 47). Brum seems to have moved away from his conception of the favela as a place symbolic of stigma and Otherness. After admitting during the interview my wariness about calling Horto a favela despite residents themselves sometimes using the term to describe the area, Brum informed me that what makes a favela is that it is aesthetically different from the formal housing units that surround it. Thus, Brum assured me, Horto was not a favela. This second definition is not completely dissimilar from the first since both consider the factors of Otherness, although his second conceptualisation takes a more literal approach (i.e. differences between housing styles and building materials).

Gonçalves is also wary of calling Horto a favela because of his familiarity with how the term has been used by media outlets such as Globo to demean the community (2018, 6). He defends Horto not being a favela and contends that the community occupies some space between the informal and the formal city—or what Brum would call the non-favela (2012)— and disputes the assertion that Horto is going through *favelização*, the process of becoming a

[110]

favela. Gonçalves cites a letter from former Mayor Cesar Maia written in support of Horto in which Maia refers to Horto as a 'vila': an historical community without drug trafficking or violence and therefore—most importantly—not a favela. For Maia, the only issues affecting Horto are informality (i.e. not being regularised) and stigma. Perhaps unwittingly, Maia implies that favelas are violent, drug-infested places and so contributes to the further stigmatisation of favelas. While Gonçalves references this letter to demonstrate the differing ways that politicians and mainstream media have referred to Horto, he carefully adds that he does not intend to expound any definition of what a favela is (2018, 6).

Academics have generally eschewed concrete definitions of the favela and instead choose to highlight how favelas have become synonymous with Otherness and stigma. They are also cautious about referring to any specific community as a favela because of this stigma. This wariness likely comes from interactions with residents who neither always agree with each other about what defines a favela nor about whether their community counts as one. Regarding Horto, leaders have used the words comunidade (community), *ocupação* (occupation), and favela to describe it. During my first tour of Horto the President of the Residents' Association, Emerson, informed me that Horto is not a favela but a traditional community (owing to its quilombo heritage) that was undergoing favelização and becoming a favela because of new constructions of self-built housing taking place (fieldnotes, 12 May 2017).

Luiz Fernando Lagame, a fellow resident of Horto, agrees that Horto is not a favela because for him, favelas are places in which houses are stacked on top of each other; are populated by poor immigrants from North-eastern Brazil; operate under a '*bagunça organizada*', or controlled chaos; do not have any community ties; and are places without history. Luiz dislikes the use of the word comunidade since he believes the word has become a euphemism for favelas. Luiz prefers the more technical term, '*comunidade irregular* [unregulated community]' because it is not yet synonymous with 'favela' (interview, 4 September 2017). With such a negative view of favelas, it is no wonder that Luiz distances himself and Horto from the idea of the favela.

As Gonçalves (2018) explains, the word 'favela' has been weaponised against Horto to turn public opinion against the community for the purpose of justifying evictions. For example, a young anonymous diarist living through the most intense days of eviction in Horto describes how Horto rhetorically became a favela:

Diário: 14 de março de 2010: Jamais eu tinha ouvido alguém chamar o Horto de favela. É estranho, porque essa palavra virou politicamente incorreta há muito tempo, os jornais e a TV sempre se referem à Rocinha, ao Vidigal, à Mangueira como 'comunidades'. Agora toda hora falam 'favela do Horto', quando aqui nunca foi chamado assim antes.

Diary: March 14, 2010: Never before have I ever heard anyone call Horto a favela. It's strange, because this word became politically incorrect a while ago. Newspapers and on TV they always refer to Rocinha, Vidigal, Mangueira as 'communities'. Now, all day they say 'favela of Horto' when around here no one ever called it that before. (F.L.J. 2010, 22)

In the author's confusion, her parents explained to her that the media had taken to calling them a favela as a way to justify evictions. Brum and Perlman would likely suggest that unprecedented stigma transformed Horto into a favela. It is thus understandable that some residents have a troubled relationship with the word.

Horto residents are not the only ones who disavow a favela identity. When describing to me the difficulties of getting support for Hípica's cause, Luci Rosa of Hípica (sometimes known as Vila Hípica) recounted that emissaries from the Pastoral de Favelas visited the community, saw that it was not a favela, and then declined to help them further. Luci Rosa also maintained that residents of Hípica do not have same the rights as favela residents, who she believes could not have their power supply disengaged by governmental authorities. She also insisted that Park administration does not allow Hípica residents to call themselves favela residents because that would equate Tijuca National Park to a favela (interview, 27 October 2017).

Débora of Maracajás informed me as we walked down a highway we and others were blocking off in protest of eviction notices given to fourteen Maracajás families that the small settlement, with about one hundred residents, is not a favela but a community (comunidade). What makes Maracajás a comunidade and not a favela is its more than one hundred years of occupation (read: heritage) and community ties that supposedly do not exist in favelas (fieldnotes, 4 October 2017).

Ana, the former president of Araçatiba's residents' association reached out shortly after the publication of a blog post of mine profiling Horto, Vale Encantado, and Araçatiba to tell me that I was incorrect to refer to Araçatiba as a favela or an irregular settlement and that

she prefers the word 'ocupação'. Emília has on occasion called Horto an occupation, as she did during the launch in City Hall of the Frente Popular—a group formed from the Conselho Popular which organised and continues to organise a series of *jornadas* (major protests) against evictions throughout Rio. These incidences communicated to me that ocupação may be gaining currency over comunidade as a potentially more affirming word that does not conjure images of favelas in the way that comunidade does.

Residents distancing themselves from the word favela is a rational decision as it likely helps them maintain their dignity whenever adversaries call their communities favelas and malign residents as *favelados*—a term with fateful connotations that serves to irrevocably essentialise people to their living conditions. Cosme Felippsen, who grew up in Providência and now operates a favela tour company, describes the meaning of the slur: '*Quando saí da favela senti o estigma de ser Favelado. Favelado era sinônimo de barraqueiro*[59]*, maconheiro, vagabundo, traficante e outros mais* [When I left the favela, I felt the stigma of being a favelado. Favelado was synonymous with informal labour, selling cannabis, being a vagabond, a drug dealer, and other things]' (qtd. in Bruno 2018). Cosme now goes by Cosme O Favelado (Cosme the Favelado), likely as an act of resistance.

At the same time, however, the confusion over the correct Portuguese terminology to refer to informal settlements makes creating alliances and organising with other established favelas more difficult. There are certainly difficulties inherent in uniting under various banners, so to speak, but the overarching issue is that the other options for labels like comunidade, comunidade irregular, vila, or aglomerados subnormais do not have the same kind of political currency as favela because they act as euphemisms. Moreover, while the related term 'ocupação' has weight politically, it cannot function as an adequate substitution for 'favela' because occupations begin as political spaces (Deminicis 2009) while favelas do not typically form as a protest against insufficient affordable urban housing and normally only become politicised after a threat like eviction surfaces in a community.

Despite lingering negative undertones, 'favela' is still a powerful word that not only evokes a type of urban experience but also inspires visions of perseverance in the face of government neglect, resistance in the face of organised crime and state violence, and dedication to kin and community. Perhaps it is because of this fundamental understanding of

---

[59] Translation note: a barraqueiro is someone who operates a *barraca*, or a stall. In Rio, barraqueiros sell a variety of goods in street markets, on beaches, and in other public places. They are typically unregulated and therefore constitute part of the informal economy.

the organising potential of the word 'favela' that Emília, speaking to a large crowd of Horto residents to rally them for an upcoming protest, assured the audience that the 'favela of Horto' was in alliance with other favelas with immediate eviction threats, naming Rio das Pedras (a well-known favela that had recently begun to organise against their own eviction threats), Indiana, and Hípica (fieldnotes, 13 September 2017). Nevertheless, the temptation to disavow the favela is strong because of stigma and because symbolic violence leads residents to believe that the stereotypes and prejudices of favelas are warranted and based on truth.

In Rio, favela stigma is pervasive. As I noted in my fieldwork journal during a contemplative Sunday:

> Favela stigma affects everyone. At least it affects me. I find myself not telling Uber or taxi drivers where I'm going, or I'll try to get a taxi/Uber driver close to a favela so that I'll have a better chance of getting a driver who lives in a favela and doesn't have a problem going. I also feel more comfortable talking to *moradores* [favela residents] about my research than non-moradores, who normally just warn me about how dangerous favelas are. (Fieldnotes, 15 October 2017)

'Favelado' is still used as a slur and I witnessed this first-hand when a suited man hurled abuse at a female passenger on the Metro who was challenging his presence in one of the cars reserved for women during rush hour:

> Today, a man stood in the boundary between the women's only car and the regular car, apparently to argue that gender labels don't matter…so the women complained and the man moved away a bit but still stayed in the entryway. An older man then entered the car, exasperating one of the other women. A security guard was already there to ask him to move along but the exasperated woman told him, 'dude, this is the women-only car!' and asked him to move, thanking him for obliging…Things got heated when a man in a business suit addressed the exasperated woman, since he thought she didn't show enough respect to the older man. When the exasperated woman's stop came, the business man yelled after her to 'go back to her favela' and called her a favelada. (Fieldnotes, 12 April 2017)

[114]

Although the word still appears in academic writing and some residents, perhaps as a way to rehabilitate the word, proudly proclaim themselves as favelados, when used as a slur the word is still painful.

Favela stigma and the rationalisation of this stigma by residents who then attempt to dissociate themselves from the favela through euphemisms result in fraught mobilisation. The impetus to disassociate from the favela is perhaps partly explained by Perlman, who believes that residents who lack pride in living in a favela and who disavow the term favelado do so out of a desire to 'mimic middle-class patterns'—a tendency she finds among the favelas of the largely affluent South Zone versus those of the more working-class North Zone of Rio (1976, 33). Furthermore, favela stigma is likely the root cause for why there are several terms for labelling informal settlements in Portuguese: the vila, the comunidade, the ocupação are all the 'non-favela'. Nevertheless, embracing the favela (whether or not that includes reclaiming the slur 'favelado', as Cosme Felippsen has done) would make residents more legible to outsiders since although there is a negative narrative of favelas, there also exists a concept of favela rights. Moreover, calling their communities favelas would give residents access to support from the Pastoral de Favelas. While I found Luci Rosa's account of the Pastoral declining to help surprising, it is true that the coordinator of the Pastoral, Monsignor Luis Antônio Pereira Lopes, dislikes euphemisms like comunidade and prefers that residents use the term favela so that the Pastoral de Favelas can make certain that these informal settlements fall within their remit (fieldnotes, 28 October 2017).[60]

It is time to begin thinking about how to rehabilitate the favela—at least in academic writing—and about how to address the concerns of Valladares who finds that '*a representação social dominante só reconhece ou trata a favela como um tipo no singular e não na sua diversidade* [the prevailing representation of the favela in society only recognises or treats it as a singular type and not in its diversity]' (2005, 152). As a preliminary attempt to achieve these two goals, I propose that researchers rethink the dichotomy of the favela/non-favela, favela/*asfalto* and, by extension, the formal/informal city and instead think of *types* of

---

[60] Mario Brum, a Brazilian historian and expert on the history of the Pastoral de Favelas, explains why the name of the institution uses the word 'favela': '*A Igreja Católica tem várias pastorais: da criança, carcerária, etc... Quando a Pastoral das Favelas foi criada, o termo 'comunidade' não era amplamente usado para descrever favelas... Então acho que a opção foi chamar pelo nome que de fato era o mais conhecido* [The Catholic Church has various *pastorais*: related to children's issues, imprisonment, etc. When the Pastoral de Favelas was created, the term 'community' was not widely used to describe favelas. So I think that, at the time, the only option was to call the institution by the most widely known name]' (personal communication, 10 May 2019).

favelas in a similar fashion to Irving's (2004) typology of cities. For example, there is the favela-city (favelas like Rocinha whose large populations afford them sub-city status), the ecological favela (Chapter 5), the dying favela (of which Hípica would be an example), and dichotomies like the established/emerging favela and the gang-controlled favela/the pacified favela. In this way, academics can address Valladares' concerns by offering a multifaceted way of looking at favelas, which would ideally help to mitigate some of the associated stigma of the word favela and preserve the use of favela as a useful label for organising.

The Benefits of Organising

For favela residents, deciding to participate in the movement for housing rights has helped them understand their rights as citizens, has empowered them to stand up for themselves and others to actualise these rights, and has in some cases caused residents to newly appreciate their favela communities. Residents reported learning more about relevant housing policies and laws as a result of becoming involved in the movement. They also recognise the importance of having this knowledge to advocate for themselves and others and want to educate fellow residents who are not aware of their rights. Anderson of Maracajás, for example, who only began mobilising when his community faced its first eviction threat in March 2017, wants to use what he has learned in the future:

> *Ajudar com minha experiência outras pessoas e comunidades, tentar promover eventos para o esclarecimento das pessoas sobre direitos e deveres. Conscientizando assim uma população de luta e decide seu caminho.*

> To help, using my experience, other people and communities, to try to promote events that will help clarify for people their rights and responsibilities. Making an entire population aware of the fight and deciding their path. (Personal communication, 30 January 2018)

Veteran activist Emília also went through a learning process when she was first asked to be president of Horto's residents' association in the late 1990s during a time when residents were disinterested in getting involved in political matters. Without having had any previous leadership experience, she found the task daunting due to apathy among Horto residents. Twenty years later, Emília reflects on what she has learned from being involved in the movement for housing rights:

> *Emília: Aprendi muita coisa. Aprendi principalmente na questão da cidadania. Que nós temos a obrigação de entender um pouco. De entender minimamente,*

[116]

né? De que nós temos direito e lutar por esse direito por obrigação. De que a gente tem que enfrentar o inimigo e independente da posição social desse inimigo, a gente tem que tá sempre olhando nos olhos dele e tratando de igual por igual. Então é assim, eu aprendi e aprendo, ainda estou aprendendo muita coisa que, ainda tem muito que aprender... Enquanto a vida gente está na luta, na vida a gente está aprendendo no dia a dia. Seu aprendizado que eu quero estar sempre, enquanto Deus me permitir, está sempre aprimorando cada vez mais.

Emília: I learned a lot. I learned mainly about citizenship. That we have the obligation to understand a little. To understand minimally, you know? That we have rights and to fight for these rights by obligation. That we must confront the enemy and, regardless of the social position of this enemy, that we have to always look the enemy in the eye, treating each other equally. So, I learned and I learn, I'm still learning and there is much to learn, much more to understand. As long as we're alive, we're in the fight. In life we're learning every day. By learning, I want, as long as God allows me, to always keep improving each time. (Interview, 29 January 2018)

By comparison, Janine, a resident of Barrinha, was able to give the perspective of someone who had joined the movement more recently. For Janine, joining the Conselho Popular in 2016 was likewise intimidating because of her lack of familiarity with policy jargon and therefore found herself unable to understand conversations during meetings with politicians. However, instead of despairing she decided to commit herself to filling the gaps in her knowledge by participating more in the movement. This was for Janine, who has learned to fight, to speak in front of crowds, to see herself as a *guerreira*, a warrior, to know more deeply that her community has value and that she has rights (interview, 22 January 2018).

The benefits of participating in the movement seem more apparent for the women, who comprise the majority of regular attendees of Conselho Popular meetings and demonstrations. Jaqueline, the president of Barrinha's residents' association, (whose mother was also president in the mid-1990s) best encapsulated this when she spoke about the importance of women leaders inspiring her to lead in her own community. Jaqueline singled out Dona Penha of Vila Autódromo as being especially inspiring and held back tears recounting how Dona Penha exemplified resistance to forced eviction:

Jaqueline: Eu conheci esse povo tão maravilhoso das outras comunidades. Alguns que são novas na luta como eu, outros que já estão muitos anos na luta. Outros que ganharam, outros que perderam...essa luta me deixou mais forte, muito mais forte do que eu era, entendeu? Porque vejo lideranças, outras lideranças. E eu me espelha até muito mais as mais antigas. E algumas recentes também são muito fortes, sabe, que para mim são espelhos, mesmo. Não vou nem citar um nome dos espelhos porque são tantos, tantos mesmo. Mas, eu acho que dar pra citar um nome, porque esse nome que eu vou citar, ela...ela é unanime. É o osso das outras lideranças. Ela representa as outras todas porque ela passou por aqui tudo e ela resistiu e ela continua lá. Então assim, hoje eu vejo a Dona Penha como uma...

Jennifer: Guerreira?

Jaqueline: Ela é uma pessoa assim...é história viva. É uma pessoa que resistiu, lutou, e conseguiu o objetivo dela... essa história que a Dona Penha tem é muito comovente. Mas em certa forma dá ânimo pra gente que é mais novo.

Jaqueline: I've met such wonderful people from other communities. Some are newer to the fight like me, others have been in the fight for years. Others that have won, others that have lost…this fight has made me stronger, much stronger than I was, you know? Because I see leaders, other leaders. And I mirror myself more after the oldest leaders. And some of the newest leaders are also strong and are also role models for me. I'm not going to name any of my role models because there are many. But, I think it makes sense to name one of them, because this name that I'm going to mention, she is…a unifier. She is the backbone of the other leaders. She represents the others because she's been through it all and she's resisted, and she's still there. So, today I see Dona Penha as a…[falters]

Jennifer: Warrior?

Jaqueline: She is like...living history. She is a person that resisted, fought, and accomplished her objectives. This history that Dona Penha has is really heart-warming. But, in a way, encourages those of us that are newer [to the movement].

Although Jaqueline is wary of politics in a fashion similar to other women who do not view their housing rights activism in political terms (Caldeira 1990), she also feels that she has become empowered with the help of the other, more experienced women in the movement. Jaqueline's comments are a testament to how Dona Penha and women like her have inspired Jaqueline and others to participate and, in some cases, become leaders in the movement for favela housing rights in Rio. It is no surprise that women like Jaqueline, Janine, and Dona Penha have involved themselves in anti-eviction activism, given the long history of women's involvement in housing rights movements in Brazil (Neuhouser 1995) and throughout Latin America (Lehmann 1999). Although the movement is not exclusively comprised of women, it is women-led, thus ensuring that issues affecting women remain of principal concern in the movement. The importance of women in the movement and social movements generally in Brazil cannot be overstressed and is a topic I return to in Chapter 7.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to introduce the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro, beginning with a short history of favelas in Rio. I then described the essential aims of the movement—land and housing rights being first among the key goals—and listed possible ways in which land and housing rights for threatened favelas could be realised. I then dedicated a section to discussing how activists have largely forsaken traditional alliances with political parties and other politics-inclined organisations to organise with the help of the Catholic Church and the Pastoral de Favelas. The last two sections describe the challenges of movement activists, who must confront favela stigma among other challenges, as well as how participating in the movement has empowered favela residents and female residents in particular.

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, literature on housing rights movements in Brazil, both in Portuguese and in English, tends to only analyse activities organised by movements such as the MTST that predominantly use occupations as a principal strategy. This has meant that academics have neglected to consider housing rights efforts in the favelas of Rio as constitutive of a social movement, despite clearly being considered one by favela residents-turned-activists who live in a perpetual state of resistance against eviction. Therefore, it is imperative that academics and other stakeholders begin to see housing rights activism in favelas not as individualised actions but as interconnected efforts that amount to a small-scale, grassroots social movement.

Although the movement is small, some leaders are currently attempting to expand their numbers by inviting participation from other relevant movements, such as Povo Sem Medo and MTST. This will likely lead to increase tensions between participants who want to stay apolitical and those who are more amenable to forming stronger bonds with movements that have ties to political parties. Another possible factor that could add to the difficulties of organising is the role of religion in the movement since residents currently rely on Catholic institutions like the Pastoral de Favelas. Although the Pastoral is ostensibly open to evangelicals, it nevertheless may dissuade potential evangelical participants who may not feel comfortable associating with the Catholic Church. Given the importance of religion for inspiring residents to organise, there is a comparable anti-eviction support system among leftist protestant and evangelicals, like the Frente de Evangélicos pelo Estado de Direito (Front of Evangelicals for the Rule of Law) which organises human rights events throughout the country. Further research that includes anti-eviction efforts from the evangelical perspective is necessary in order give a richer account of favela housing rights activism.

As for the term 'favela', I have attempted to clarify tensions surrounding the use of the word and argue for its rehabilitation. 'Favela' has political currency which neither exists for the many euphemisms for the word in Portuguese nor for English-language translations like the neutral term 'informal settlement' or the more contentious 'slum' and 'shantytown'—both of which arguably stigmatise the places they refer to. Admittedly, 'favela' will likely prove to be a polemical word until residents decide to reclaim it—if they decide to at all. Despite the uncertainties and difficulties of participating in the Favela Housing Rights Movement, the lessons learned, and personal benefits gained outweigh the disadvantages, especially for female participants who have empowered themselves through the movement. In the next two chapters, I explore the creative strategies that participants in the movement for favela housing rights have developed to fight against eviction. These strategies involve a subversion of environmentalism and heritage, which traditionally have been used to justify evictions but have now been repurposed to defend housing rights in favelas.

Chapter 5: Where the Favela Meets the Forest: Environmentalism as Political Strategy

*Introduction***:** *Greening Rio*

The city of Rio de Janeiro, which boasts the largest urban forest in the world (Silva Matos, Santos, and Chevalier 2002, 151), along with a stunning array of native and foreign flora and fauna, has only recently concerned itself with conserving its iconic natural environment.[61] The environmental movement that began during the 1970s with the first UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (Moraes 2014, 2) also had its impact in Brazil (Gondim 2012, 115). In fact, Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the Earth Summit in 1992 that gathered representatives from social movements, NGOs, governmental organisations, and political parties (Gondim 2012, 117). The city has gone on to host the 2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development, or Rio + 20, alongside other recent mega-events such as the 2010 5th World Urban Forum, 2011 World Economic Forum on Latin America, as well as the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games—serving to increase the global standing of the city (de la Rocque and Shelton-Zumpano 2014, 3). The municipal and state governments of Rio de Janeiro have continued to work towards the goal of environmentally-friendly urban living and Rio has earned the accolade as 'one of the leaders of local governments in the global South for discussions on sustainable development' (de la Rocque and Shelton-Zumpano 2014, 2).

One of the ways in which Rio hopes to distinguish itself as a world-class metropolis is by becoming one of the world's first truly sustainable cities. The municipal government has tasked itself with lowering inequality through sustainable development projects as evinced in the 2013-2016 Strategic Plan as well as in the current 2017-2020 Strategic Plan. It appears the city government has been inspired by the directives outlined in 2010 UN Sustainability Goals and reiterated in Rio +20, which among other things sees sustainable development as a means to eliminate poverty (City Government of Rio 2017, 34; de la Rocque and Shelton-Zumpano 2014, 2).

The newest version of the Strategic Plan for the city is a combination of short-term plans based on the UN Sustainability Goals along with longer-term and more Rio-specific goals found in the Sustainable Development Plan of the City of Rio de Janeiro and the Master Plan of Urban Sustainable Development (City Government of Rio 2017, 34). Perhaps not surprisingly, sustainable development is at the core of the next iteration of the Strategic Plan.

---

[61] The claim that Tijuca Forest is the largest urban forest is contested.

Specifically, the municipal government wants to encourage sustainable development by increasing economic opportunities, improving healthcare, increasing literacy, combating crime, making Rio '*verde, limpo, e saudável* [green, clean, and healthy]' and increasing transparency in government while concomitantly lessening bureaucracy and making government more accessible to the people (City Government of Rio 2017, 11).

Much of the plan is dedicated to goals related to sustainable living and development in the city. Proposed environmental programmes include conservation projects and tracking both endangered and invasive species through the Rio + Verde (Rio + Green) programme; promoting local agricultural in the Programa Fazenda Urbana (Urban Farm Programme); planting trees in public spaces as part of the Programa de Arborização da Cidade (City Forestation Programme); and supporting environmental education and providing incentives for the construction of green buildings in the Rio + Sustentável (Rio + Sustainable) initiative (City Government of Rio 2017, 132). Of the several policy objectives of the plan, two speak to the city's policies regarding the environment:

1. *Garantir a valorização da paisagem como um ativo da cidade nas propostas de ocupação do território, promovendo-a e preservando-a como identidade cultural e ambiental nos diferentes bairros.*

   To guarantee the appreciation of the natural surroundings as an asset of the city in proposals for land occupation, promoting and preserving it as a form of cultural and environmental identity in the city's neighbourhoods.

2. *Garantir a preservação e a conservação das áreas naturais e de relevante interesse ambiental (Parques Urbanos e demais áreas verdes).*

   To guarantee the preservation and conservation of natural areas and related environmental areas (Urban Parks and other green areas). (City Government of Rio 2017, 120)

The municipal government hopes to strengthen Rio de Janeiro's brand as a lush destination city and appears to recognise the need to convince cariocas that Rio's natural environment forms part of who they are and that the environment has economic potential.

[122]
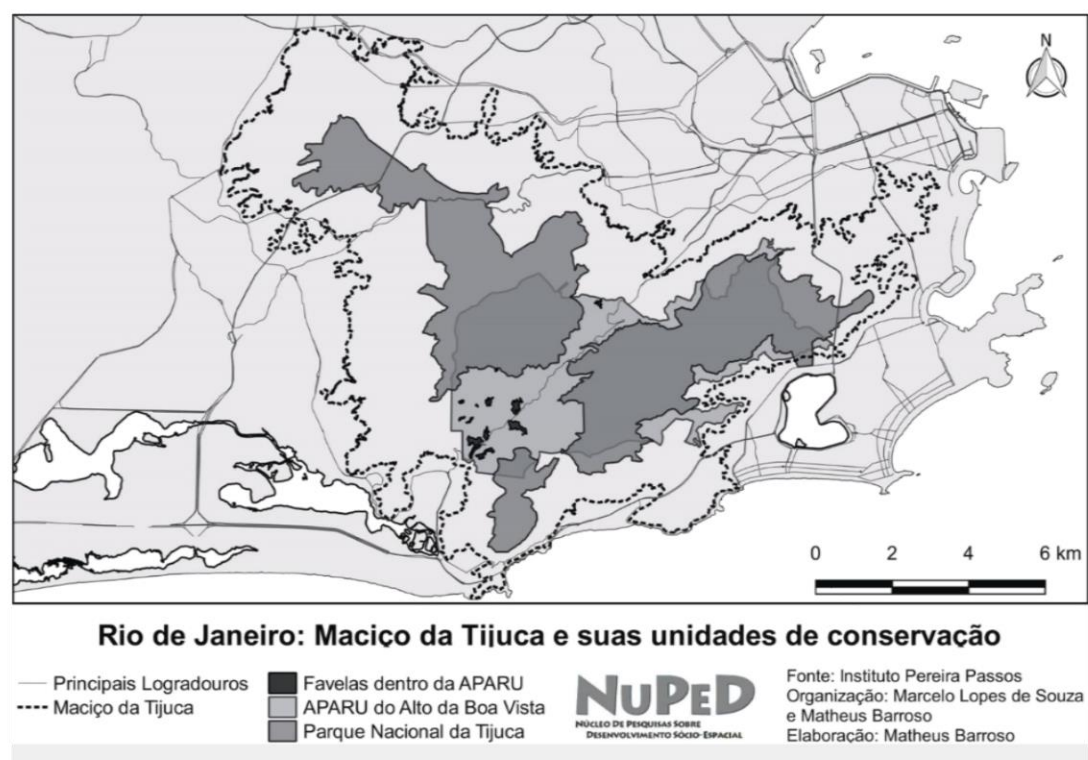
Figure 13. Favelas within Tijuca National Park and in environmentally-protected areas, represented in black (Souza 2015).

The 2017-2020 Strategic Plan barely mentions favelas, dedicating just one page to 'high risk' favelas like Complexo do Alemão which are situated on hill slopes, and makes a passing reference to plans for urbanizing select favelas (City Government of Rio 2017, 156). Nevertheless, the City manages to convey their stance on favelas in the plan, noting:

> *Na [Zona Oeste] … existe uma grande carência de parques e espaços de lazer, ao mesmo tempo em que grandes áreas, muitas vezes ameaçadas por pressão imobiliária irregular, são ambientalmente frágeis e demandam um olhar mais cuidadoso em relação a sua utilização.*
>
> In the West Zone, there is a significant lack of parks and leisure areas, while at the same time large areas, oftentimes threatened by pressure from informal housing, are environmentally fragile and require more careful consideration in relation to their use. (City Government of Rio 2017, 122)

On the surface, these speculative plans for environmentally-friendly sustainable development in the city seem to be good news for the environment and for the residents of Rio, who are poised to enjoy scores of new parks and other green spaces, especially in the

more newly-developed western zone of the city (City Government of Rio 2017, 122). However, as Freitas attests, environmental preservation projects in cities primarily benefit wealthier neighbourhoods (2004, 14) and low-income residents of Rio's favelas, understand these projects increase their likelihood of being evicted. The city has zealously taken on the role of protector of Rio's natural areas and as a result has threatened and carried out evictions of favelas that they believe threaten the environment, vilifying residents of these informal settlements as invaders wreaking havoc on the natural environment.

Although a prime motivator of favela evictions in Brazil, environmentalist rhetoric as a catalyst for revanchist deterritorialisation (Gillespie 2016) occurs elsewhere in the Global South. For instance, Morrison notes that in Accra, 'reconciling the need for environmental projection [sic, likely 'protection'] with citizens' social rights and interests is difficult to resolve, particularly where the State is able to use environmental arguments selectively as a tool with which to oppress the marginalised poor and reclaim centrally located sites within the city' (2007, 37). This arbitrary implementation of environmental policies in ways that prejudice the housing-insecure has compelled favela residents to mobilise for land and housing rights.

In this chapter, I describe how residents of these threatened favelas resist calls for their eviction, often being accused of being 'invaders', by subverting this invader narrative by repositioning themselves as environmentalists. Evoking a kind of insurgent citizenship (Holston, 2008) and reminiscent of strategies found in indigenous land rights movements (Anderson 2007; Hooker 2005; Schippers 2010), residents promote their communities as ecological favelas (Moraes, 2013) whose environmental projects contribute to urban sustainability—thus providing justification for their right to remain.

This use of environmentalism as a political strategy to prevent eviction is one of the strategies employed by activists in the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro. The movement is, among other things, a socioterritorial movement. While research on socioterritorial movements tends to emphasise the acquisition of territory, or the 'space appropriated through the ideas and practices of any actor in pursuit of their political project' (Halvorsen, Fernandes, and Torres 2019, 5), here I take a less literal interpretation of 'appropriation' whereby the appropriation of land is not literal but symbolic. It is symbolic because the land is already occupied by activists who have re-signified their community as a political space (Porto-Gonçalves 2006, 21). Understanding the Favela Housing Rights Movement as a socioterritorial movement helps to elucidate how favela lands become

politicised and favelas become political—especially given that favelas are not known for political activity (Perlman, 1976). Moreover, viewing this movement as a socioterritorial movement shows that the appropriation of land, key to socioterritorial movements, need not be literally appropriated—only requiring a radical shift in people's relationship to territory.

The chapter beings with a discussion of the concept of 'invaders', demonstrating how the word has been used to justify evictions of favelas in or near protected areas an introduction of the case studies. I then proceed to outline the academic and policy debate between housing rights and environmental protection in which favelas are either demonised for harming the environment or viewed as sustainable solutions to inadequate housing. This then leads to accounts of how informal settlements have adopted an environmental identity and the role that NGOs play in the promulgation of environmentalism in informal settlements in Rio.

Who's Invading Whom?

Favelas in Rio de Janeiro have long been viewed as being antagonistic to the natural environment by those who can afford to rent and buy property in the formal real estate market (Moraes 2014, 5), though Fuks points to the gubernatorial administration of César Maia (1993-1996) as the time in which connections between favelas and ecological degradation intensified (Fuks 1998, 'A poluição da pobreza', 46 para.). A common grievance of those who lament the existence of favelas is that favelas threaten the environment. In fact, favela residents are often called 'invaders' by news outlets and the government and are therefore likened to an invasive species that serves in part to deny them their humanity. As Bega dos Santos explains:

> *Há um termo muito empregado pela grande empresa e pelo poder público: 'invasão'. Os participantes dos movimentos populares se autodenominam* ocupantes *e não* invasores. *A diferença não é simplesmente semântica. No uso do termo* invasão *estão implícitas a ilegalidade e a violência da ação: invadir a privacidade ou a propriedade de outrem...O Termo* ocupação *relaciona-se à conquista de um direito: ocupa-se o que é de direito.*

> There is a term that is often used by mainstream media and by the State: 'invasion'. The participants of the popular movement refer to themselves as occupiers and not invaders. The difference is not simply semantic. Implied in the use of the term is the illegality and violence of the action: to invade the

privacy or the property of someone else…The term 'occupation' connotes the conquest of a right: occupying what is owed by right. (2004, 132)

The residents with whom I spoke similarly rejected the 'invader' label, choosing instead to frame themselves as the rightful occupants of the land. Nevertheless, the widespread use of a word that suggests illegality and violence serves to justify favela evictions.

I first became aware of the invader accusation during a rally in support of Vila Hípica, a small informal settlement within the boundaries of Tijuca National Park who have been living without access to the electrical grid for the past four years. Leaders of other informal settlements attended the rally to offer their support, share their experiences of also being called invaders, and to affirm their position that informal settlements are the true owners of the occupied land and are not invaders (fieldnotes, 25 March 2017). It became clear early on that the 'invader' label had been used to describe nearly every community that I encountered and appeared to be employed with relative frequency when denouncing favelas in or around nature reserves.

Residents identified government officials and journalists from mainstream media as the ones who began accusing these communities of being invaders. Ana of Araçatiba recounted:

> *Após de 2012, após do cadastro, ainda em 2012 mesmo, eles tinham como objetivo não deixar mais uma casa entrar. Só que logo após o cadastro, um tempinho depois, é a primeira casa que dessa área que as pessoas chamam de invasão. Mas na realidade não somos invasores. Não somos aqui, mesmo. E a primeira casa que é a minha, é que aqui eu moro.*

> After 2012, after the registration of houses, still in 2012 actually, they had as an objective to not let any more houses enter [into Araçatiba]. A little while after that was the first time they accused a house of being an invasion in the area. But they meant that we were all invaders. We're not invaders here at all. And that first house was mine, where I live here. (Interview, 29 October 2017)

The Federal Public Ministry (a common adversary of favelas on public land threatened with eviction) continues to lobby for the expulsion of Araçatiba on the grounds that they are the result of an illegal invasion. In a civil inquiry dated 24 May 2017, the Federal Public Ministry protests:

A RBG vem sofrendo fortes impactos de origem antrópica, devido às construções erguidas no entorno imediato. As novas invasões em Araçatiba é caracterizada por construções de baixa renda desprovidas de sistema de saneamento. Muitas dessas casas despejam o esgoto in natura *dentro dos limites da RBG. Para construção das casas, os invasores promovem o desmatamento, aterramento do solo, promovendo sua impermeabilização, alterando o fluxo de água doce até o mangue. Dessa forma, a característica desse ecossistema vem sendo alterada de forma constante, afetando toda dinâmica do ambiente e consequentemente a fauna e flora.*

The RBG [Biological State Reserve of Guaratiba] is suffering from strong impacts of human origin, owing to constructions erected around the immediate area. The new invasions in Araçatiba are characterised by constructions for low-income families which lack a sanitation system. Many of these houses expel their waste *in natura* within the limits of the RBG. In order to construct houses the invaders cause deforestation, the piling up of soil (thus making the soil impermeable) and have changed the direction of fresh water to the mangrove. In this way, the features of this ecosystem are being altered constantly, affecting every dynamic of the environment and consequentially the fauna and flora.

The Botanical Garden of Rio de Janeiro levels similar accusations against Horto. An eviction notice dated 1 February 2018 from the Federal Tribunal of Rio de Janeiro demonstrates the court's support for the Botanical Garden's eviction claims:

Afirma que ao longo dos anos porção relevante do terreno do Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro foi invadida, totalizando mais de 500 ocupações irregulares que obstam os avanços institucionais do JBRJ para expansão e integração das atividades de conservação.

...

Sustenta a presença de perigo de dano ao patrimônio ambiental, cultural, genético, histórico, artístico e paisagístico relacionado aos deveres e obrigações estabelecidas ao Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro no plano interno e internacional.

It is affirmed that over the years, the portion relevant to the territory of the Botanical Garden of Rio de Janeiro was invaded, totaling more than 500 irregular occupations that impede the institutional advances of the Botanical Garden for the expansion and integration of the activities of conservation.

…

It is maintained that there is a risk of harm to the environmental, cultural, genetic, historical, artistic, and pastoral heritage related to the established domestic and international duties and obligations of the Botanical Garden.

Figure 14. 'I help with the conservation of the park'

Although these environmental justifications for favelas are not new, they are finding new life as Rio seeks to promote its image as an environmental city—a vision that does not tolerate the permanence of favelas, regardless of how intrinsically tied favelas are to the history and culture of Rio.

Modelo Favela Sustentável*: The Making of an Ecological Favela*

My own research on the relationship between favelas and the environment is mainly focused in the favelas of Horto and Vale Encantado, in the Alto da Boa Vista region of Rio de

Janeiro. In many ways, Horto and Vale Encantado are opposites. Horto is situated in a well-off area neighbouring the Botanical Garden and is a fifteen-minute walk from the headquarters of Rede Globo, the largest media conglomerate in Latin America (*The Economist* 2014). Ubers and taxis can rarely find it but if you decide to walk there from the nearest Metrobus stop, approximately a kilometre or so away, you will be greeted with several professionally made signs alerting passers-by to the presence of the community. A memorable sign greets residents and visitors with 'this is this *true* boundary between Horto and the Botanical Garden'. Signs and murals surround Horto and give the impression of an embattled yet tight knit and supportive community.

During a tour of Horto, Emerson, the current president of the Residents' Association, revealed that the name 'Horto' (meaning 'garden' in Portuguese) refers to the large garden within the informal settlement. Residents formerly sold plants but now donate them to research institutions and schools. Emerson, who is a musician by trade, conducts many of these tours in his free time. While on the tour, I watched the other visitors (Brazilians for the most part) confront their own preconceptions of what a favela looks like. In truth, Horto looks just like a garden, only with self-built houses interspersed throughout. Their environmentalist identity as an ecological favela is reinforced through social media where some residents post reminders about recycling or share pictures of tree felling done by the Botanical Garden's administration. Elsewhere, plaques interspersed throughout Horto read, '*Eu ajudo com a conservação do parque* [I help with the conservation of the park]'. Perhaps intentionally, signs like these blur the lines between Horto, the Botanical Garden, and the Tijuca National Park administration—all of whom claim land in and around the locale. In these ways, Horto residents demonstrate that they are fulfilling the social function of property while asserting itself as a legitimate custodian of the rehabilitated area.

On tours, Emerson (sometimes accompanied by Emília) often peppered his explanations with critiques of the Botanical Garden. For instance, during my first tour he suggested that the Botanical Garden, not residents, creates waste that pollutes the Kubitschek elementary school and surrounding houses in the Caxinguelê neighbourhood. We were sometimes shown parts of Horto that the government had identified as areas of risk, but our

tour guides would quickly highlight the hypocrisy of these claims by recounting how elites had been constructing neearby in areas of risk.

Figure 15. Fallen tree in the Clube dos Macacos. Courtesy of Emília de Souza.

For instance, the Parque Canto e Mello condominium was often alluded to in order to back up this argument. The condominium, perched on the edge of a cliff above Horto on federal land and built without governmental approval, was charged with environmental degradation by the State Public Ministry. Residents were ordered to reforest the area and pay fines in return for the right to stay. For Assistant Attorney Cláudia Alves de Oliveira, the decision to penalise residents of the condominium proves that the wealthy are not above environmental laws:

> *A importância dessa decisão é afastar a tese de que são toleráveis os danos ambientais causados pela construção de casas de alto padrão e com tratamento paisagístico, sob a alegação de que estariam impedindo um mal maior com a invasão da área por favelas.*
>
> The importance of this decision is to do away with the idea that environmental damages caused by luxury homes are tolerated, under the presupposition that these homes would be impeding the invasion of favelas in the area. (qtd. in Borges 2012)

[130]

Nonetheless, Horto residents argue that the permanence of Canto e Mello is an example of differentiated citizenship and that the building endangers residents living below it. Additionally, the Clube dos Macacos, a private club located next to Horto, suffered the effects of erosion when a large tree fell on two swimmers. On the accident, Emília commented, '*A natureza faz cobrança justa e demonstra que A CIDADE É UM DIREITO DE TODOS!!! Felizmente ninguém foi atingido, e somente a linda árvore se foi*. [Nature ensures justice and shows that the right to the city is for everyone! Fortunately, no one was hurt and only the tree is gone]' (Facebook post, 27 December 2017).

One self-professed custodian named Rogério, a lifelong resident of Horto, took it upon himself fifteen years ago to counter the negative coverage of the community while also promoting environmental education among Horto youth by starting reforestation projects in the community. Surrounded by dozens of saplings in his garden, Rogério explained to me why he began his environmental projects:

> *Eu estava fazendo o que estava fazendo para a natureza... nunca me deparei com essa situação de hoje...a pressão do Jardim Botânico, nós moradores... As vezes a fala do...Globo, chama da gente de invasor. O jardim botânico coloca muito dato para a gente que a gente somos invasores, que a gente destrói, que estamos cortando...para construir casas e que na verdade nada disso está acontecendo.*

> I was doing what I was doing for nature… I've never seen this kind of situation I see today—pressure from the Botanical Garden on us residents. Sometimes, Globo calls us invaders. The Botanical Garden puts out a lot of information saying that we're invaders, that we destroy, that we cut down [trees] in order to build houses and in reality, none of this is happening. (Interview, 13 July 2017)

Rogério revealed that he is unsure whether to make improvements to his house—built in the 1940s and where three generations of his family live— because of the looming threat of being evicted at any time. At the end of the interview, he admitted that he suspected that I was working for the Botanical Garden or for the hostile newspaper Globo but after being reassured by Emerson, he invited me to their next planting session, and suggested that I take pictures to spread the word about the environmental initiatives in Horto.

Roberto's reforesting projects and the signage promoting environmentalism show that Horto is actively attempting to promote themselves as an ecological favela. While understood within the context of socioterritorial mobilisation, becoming an ecological favela is one of the processes by which Horto re-signifies the land as territory infused with political importance. This process is crucial for the politicisation of the community because it re-creates Horto as a site of resistance—a transition that is necessary before mounting a socioterrorial movement to protect the community from eviction.

Up a long, winding two-lane road that begins near the Botanical Garden and meanders its way up the hills of Tijuca National Park lies a much smaller favela of about twenty families in the Alto da Boa Vista neighbourhood. This favela, Vale Encantado, is even more difficult to find than Horto and takes more resolve to reach, given its location in an isolated, forested area in the north zone of Rio which itself is not well-connected to other parts of the city. Brightly coloured toucans are a common feature and every so often thick clouds dissipate to reveal a stunning view of the Atlantic Ocean below. The whole area has an Edenic quality to it. Much of the time it is deathly quiet save for the tour group that is inevitably passing through and the kennel-full of dogs that seem to belong to the whole community. Vale Encantado runs an ecotourism cooperative that offers nature hikes and a home-cooked lunch made from locally grown produce. Their tour guides are professionally trained thanks to funding from a Dutch organisation along with additional funding from the local Instituto Moleque Mateiro de Educação Ambiental (Moleque Mateiro Institute of Environmental Education).

Figure 16. Vale Encantado

Of principal concern for tour guide Otávio is increasing ecotourism to the area in a sustainable way. I spoke with Otávio at his home in Vale Encantado about his efforts to raise money for his ecotourism cooperative and which projects he would finance if he had sufficient funding. His immediate goal is to finish constructing an industrial kitchen in the headquarters of the ecotourism business that would ideally increase the output of locally made goods. Another plan is to construct a greenhouse full of native plants to reforest parts of the community. Otávio blames a rock slide that occurred several years ago that disconnected some houses from their sewage system on soil erosion caused by scarcity of plants. He envisions connecting the greenhouse to the tourism business as a way to educate about local flora. In the long term, Otávio is looking to fund repairs to the sewage system and hopes to purchase environmentally-friendly generators (interview, 22 August 2017).

Otávio is familiar with the State's environmental arguments against favelas but rejects these claims and remains adamant that Vale Encantado and neighbouring favelas have never damaged the environment:

> *Ao contrário da denúncia do ministério público federal dizendo que todas as comunidades estavam degradando o meio ambiente, estavam poluindo os rios, estavam invadindo a floresta. A gente conseguiu—junto com defensores públicos da cidade e várias pessoas ligadas aos órgãos ambientais— fazer um*

[133]

relatório que...não era bem assim, entendeu? Que as comunidades não
estavam degradando nada.

Contrary to the denouncement of the Federal Public Ministry saying that all of
the communities were damageing the environment, that they were polluting the
rivers, that they were invading the forest. We managed—with the help of city
public defenders and various people connected to environmental agencies—to
write a counter-report that…it wasn't exactly like that, understand? That these
communities weren't degrading anything. (Interview, 22 August 2017)

It is my view that the various environmental projects within the community are part of a
larger project of identity politics to rebrand Vale Encantado as an 'ecological favela'. This
form of identity politics has replaced outright protest when the lack of immediacy would
make concerted mobilisation difficult, despite the State's ever-present desire to deterritorialise
the lands of Vale Encantado. Furthermore, the instrumentalisation of environmentalism in the
community is an attempt to combat favela stigma by engaging in respectability politics
(Chapter 6) with an end goal of rendering their eviction unnecessary and unthinkable.

Local non-profits have played a role in disseminating the concept of ecological favelas
to show that favelas are sustainable housing solutions to inadequate housing in cities. In fact,
according to Moraes the term 'ecological favela' originated with a now forgotten NGO that
began referring to Babilônia as such and the moniker stuck (interview, 25 August 2017).
Moreover, the idea of a '*modelo favela sustentável*' (sustainable favela model) from this
section's title comes from a non-profit called Catalytic Communities which runs an English
and Portuguese-language newswire that covers favelas and other communities of resistance in
Rio de Janeiro. The director of the non-profit, Theresa Williamson, coined the term to
challenge the idea that favelas destroy the environment and wanted to present them instead as
models of sustainable urban development.[62] The suggestion that favelas are a creative solution
to a lack of affordable urban housing is not new. In fact, the supposition that favelas
contribute to affordable housing surged in the 1960s with the help of the Catholic Church
which sought to combat favela stigma by highlighting positive aspects of favelas (Valladares
2005, 133). Nevertheless, Catalytic Communities goes further to actively change minds

---

[62] Although Catalytic Communities coined the phrase 'modelo favela sustenável', the rebranding of
favela communities into ecological favelas is not an invention of the non-profit.

[134]

through their Rede Favela Sustentável (Sustainable Favelas Network) initiative to identify and support favelas that organise environmental projects.

For the first four months of my fieldwork in Rio, I volunteered at Catalytic Communities, or CatComm for short, as a research collaborator. During one of our team meetings, Theresa disclosed that the NGO received R$ 20,000 in funding from the Heinrich Böll Foundation for the Rede Favela Sustentável project that has so far created an interactive map of ecologically-minded favelas and organised collaborative workshops for favela residents in the network (Goodenough and Cho 2018). Initiatives like Rede Favela Sustentável demonstrate how popular environmentalist projects are for non-profits and the foundations who fund them.

CatComm is not the only Rio-based organisation focusing on environmental issues; other non-profits or institutions besides those named above include CESAC Educação Ambiental, CEDAC, Haveté Sustentabilidade, Uma Gota no Oceano, and FASE, some of whom also operate in favelas. These organisations do important work in raising awareness about sustainable living in Rio and they are certainly assisting in helping make Rio known as an environmental city. They also, perhaps unintentionally, communicate to favelas like Vale Encantado and Horto that they can find support, visibility, and funding from non-profits if they also adopt environmental or eco-discourses.

Conclusion

In Rio de Janeiro, an ostensible interest in environmental projects from the municipal government has exacerbated the longstanding tension between favelas and the so-called formal city. As the administration promotes environmental projects, it does so at the expense of the city's housing-insecure population living in favelas. These favelas, especially those within or near nature reserves, are labelled invaders whose presence wreaks havoc on the environment. Given this perspective, entities like the State and Federal Public Ministries feel obligated to mitigate this threat to the environment by calling for the eviction of favela communities. However, these vilified communities counter their stigmatisation by mounting a socioterritorial movement to protect favela housing rights. Favela activists within these vulnerable communities want to prove that favelas can exist harmoniously with nature and do so by promoting themselves as ecological favelas.

Environmentalism as a resistance strategy appears in informal settlements on public lands throughout Latin America, in the form of ecological favelas, ecobarrios, and colonias

ecológicas populares, although their ubiquity is not yet represented in the available academic research, thus obscuring the real potential of environmental discourse and practice as a political strategy for informal settlements faced with forced eviction. However, this strategy is most likely only to be useful for informal settlements like Horto and Vale Encantado that are situated in or near environmentally protected areas. Favelas that lack these topographical characteristics will face a tougher, though not impossible, challenge in promoting themselves as ecological favelas.

I have shown in this chapter that although there is an intense theoretical debate about the need to protect housing rights versus the need to protect environmental rights, these rights need not be mutually exclusive. It is possible, albeit difficult in some circumstances, for informal settlements to be sustainable communities. It is important to acknowledge the potential for sustainability in informal settlements so that environmentalism can cease being used as a ploy to deny housing rights for poor and working-class people. Additionally, I have reinterpreted socioterritorial movements by discussing a case in which the acquisition of land for a political purpose becomes a symbolic acquisition—a re-interpretation of land that serves to unite and embolden residents in the struggle for land and housing rights.

So, what does this new turn towards environmentalism mean for favela rights activism? Is environmentalism even important among social movements in Rio, counter that what I have tried to show above? Fuks would likely say no, given his contention that environmental preservation is a social cause of the upper classes. However, I have attempted to show here that the environment can also be a concern of the working class, especially if they are the ones suffering the brunt of environmental risks due to climate change or, as in this case, are living in forested areas. Moreover, the language of environmentalism presents an opportunity for favela activists who, by inhabiting the habitus of environmentalism, learn to speak the language of the elites but also subvert it when they argue that favelas in and around nature reserves are a part of the natural environment and are not invasive.

Venturini would also disagree that environmentalism is a relevant feature of social activism in Rio, since he found no evidence that the environment was of importance during his own PhD fieldwork on social movements in Rio (2006, 159). Venturini seems to have set out to disprove the importance of environmentalism while I have sought such a connection— potentially betraying an agenda on both of our parts. Nevertheless, a case can be made for its growing significance, especially in light of Rio's strategic plans for a more sustainable Rio. Venturini researched movements at the national level and did not research smaller, more

localised movements coming from favelas. In the spirit of Perry's request for readers to recognise small scale projects and organisations as proof of a black rights movement in Brazil (2013, 24), I would invite Venturini and other sceptics like him to consider the small yet growing number of environmental projects in favelas and similar communities as evidence of the adoption of environmentalist values within the Favela Housing Rights Movement. It is impossible to tell what kind of impact environmentalism will have on favela rights at present, but it seems as though environmentalism has great potential to reverse the stigma of favelas while at the same time improving the environmental and economic conditions of these communities.

Chapter 6: *Memória Não Se Remove*: Heritage as Political Strategy

Introduction

One of the prevailing challenges that favela residents face is stigma. Oftentimes, this stigma is at the root of mass favela evictions in cities throughout Brazil. One of the ways in which favela stigma manifests is through the widespread belief that in addition to supposedly being places rife with crime, violence, and pollution, favelas are places without heritage or memory. Thus, being without heritage or memory, it becomes easier to justify evicting these communities given that, as research on indigenous land rights movements demonstrates, land rights are often restricted to so-called traditional groups who need land to preserve their cultures.

Memory and heritage are intertwined concepts, with heritage being an 'inheritance' of valued collective memories, cultures, and lifeways that are passed down throughout the generations (Nuryanti 1996, 249). On memory, a permanent exhibit in Rio's Museum of Tomorrow defines it as:

> *a dimensão fundamental de todas as culturas. É utilizando a memória em linguagem que ensinamos e aprendemos. Grupos e sociedades passam, de uma geração a outra, seus saberes e estilos de vida, seus modos de ser, estar, e agir o mundo. A todo momento, registrarmos, recordamos e renovamos nossos atos. A preservação da memória em monumentos, bibliotecas e museus, por exemplo, tem papel indispensável na conservação e difusão das experiências culturais. São lembranças dos lugares que nos fazem recordar os acontecimentos e guiam o futuro de cada um de nós.*

> the fundamental dimension in all cultures. It is by using memory in language that we teach and learn. Groups and societies pass, from one generation to another, their knowledge and ways of life, their ways of being and acting in the world. At all times we register, remember, and revamp our actions. The preservation of memory in monuments, libraries, and museums, for example, has an indispensable role in the conservation and diffusion of cultural experiences. They are memories of places that make us remember events of the past and guide the futures of each one of us. (Fieldnotes, 6 September 2018)

The mission of museums like the Museum of Tomorrow is to collect and preserve tangible aspects of a group's collective memory, their heritage, for the benefit of people alive now and

for future generations. Favela activists and their supporters are aware of how the assumed lack of culture, heritage, and memory have contributed to the perception of the favela as disposable and have led to increased evictions. In response, some communities have taken to documenting their heritage—a heritage from below (Robertson 2008)—and preserving community memory by creating museums and promoting their narratives through community-based tourism. In this chapter, I detail the efforts of Horto and Vale Encantado to subvert dominant ideas about heritage (i.e. what or who has heritage) and use heritage, through museums and tourism projects, as an alternative strategy in the fight against forced eviction.

Horto, the largest and oldest of the communities featured in this study, has both community-based tourism and a community museum, called the Museu do Horto. Despite Emerson, president of AMAHOR, informing me that the tours of Horto were purely historical, not ecological, while exhibiting some distain for ecotourism (fieldnotes, 12 May 2017), he often offered information on local flora and fauna during tours. In my view, Horto heritage tours exhibit characteristics common in ecotourism, influenced by the aspiration of some residents to promote themselves as environmentalists. Horto tours are a part of the community's heritage kinaesthetics (Savova 2009) to give tangible form to Horto's open-air museum. Compared to the other featured communities, Horto has mobilised heritage as a resistance strategy to the greatest extent as they are the only community so far with a dedicated museum. Horto is also better equipped to engage in heritage projects because of the historical research that has already been done for the community,[63] as well as the community's comparatively long history.

Vale Encantado, on the other hand, does not have a museum or archive of local history but has an ecotourism cooperative. Nevertheless, while tours in Vale Encantado focus on the natural aspects of the community, given its location on the boundaries of Tijuca National Park, Otávio also regularly incorporates community history in these tours to provide visitors context, thereby making these tours part-heritage tour/part-ecotour. As with environmentalism, community museums and tourism have a dual effect of instilling pride within communities, helping residents to see themselves as inheritors of rich local heritage, while at the same time troubling the idea that favelas are places without heritage or memory that can be easily removed. Therefore, by engaging in these environmental, museum, and

---

[63] See Pires 2018 and Souza 2018 for examples.

tourism projects, residents seek to prove that favela communities have a culture that is worth preserving in a way that evokes 'respectability politics' (Higginbotham 1993).

The Politics of Respectability

Respectability politics is a concept often utilised within African American studies to describe black politics and especially black women's sexual politics.[64] Higginbotham first articulated the politics of respectability in her historical account of the Women's Council, a black Baptist women's organisation operating during the late 19th century and early 20th century. Their activities were broadly centred on combating anti-black prejudice. While members engaged in the mainstays of protest, including 'petitions, boycotts, and verbal appeals to justice', black women also encouraged each other to comport themselves in Christian, upstanding ways that Higginbotham deems 'both conservative and radical' (1993, 187). Indeed, respectability politics for the Women's Council was about promoting positive images of African Americans (and African American women in particular) in order to counter the barrage of negative stereotypes of African Americans in the early 20th century (Higginbothan 1993, 191). Besides advocating for the subversion of negative stereotypes of black women, the Women's Council also challenged the symbolic violence that had caused them to doubt their own virtue by reminding each other that 'self-esteem and self-determination were independent of contexts of race and income' (Higginbothan 1993, 191). Higginbotham calls this uplift work 'racial self-help' whereby African American women in the Council sought to empower themselves by behaving in morally superior ways to the whites who were oppressing them (Higginbotham 1993, 195).

Respectability politics has influenced all aspects of African American studies and has appeared in work detailing urban housing activism among African Americans (Williams 2004). Here, I extend the concept beyond African American studies to claim that those active in the Favela Housing Rights Movement share similarities with the Women's Council. Like the Women's Council, activists within the movement use traditional forms of protest. However, they are also engaged in a battle to restore dignity to themselves and others who live in informal settlements by using heritage and environmentalism to assert themselves as morally superior to those who seek to evict them. Moreover, the appeals to heritage and environmental stewardship are also partly-conservative and partly-radical political tactics as

---

[64] See Harris (2014), Harris (2003), and Morgan (2015) for examples.

they do not attempt to challenge the authority of those in power who desire their removal but nevertheless subvert their narratives and discourses used to justify favela evictions.

Favela Tourism: A Rebranding Strategy

Although in this chapter I discuss community-based favela tourism (that is, when the tourism enterprise is owned and operated by residents of the informal settlement), that is by no means the only form of favela tourism. The standard image of favela tourism is that of intrepid Western travellers eschewing the comforts of sun, sand, and surf to view a grittier, more authentic portrait of Rio. Favelas like Rocinha, Providência, and Babilônia are common favela tourist sites though each caters to different audiences.[65] For example, those interested in visiting an archetypical favela might opt for Rocinha, the largest and most visited favela in Rio (Frenzel 2016, 65) while tours in Providência attracts tourists who are interested in favela history. Meanwhile, tourists eager to have an ecotour experience might visit Babilônia.[66]

Favela tourism, or more broadly 'slum tourism', gained popularity in the early 1990s, namely in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro and in the townships of South Africa (Frenzel 2016, 1). In fact, Frenzel and Koens identify the 1992 Earth Summit and the subsequent surge of requests to visit favelas by attendees and 'politically-minded tourists' as the catalyst for specially designed favela tours (2012, 197-9).[67] Initial research on slum tourism centred on Brazil and South Africa though India has emerged as a popular field site (Frenzel and Koens 2012, 196-7). In Rio, favela tourism is largely embraced by policymakers who believe that tourism is a passive (and likely economical) option to 'pacify' favelas, or curb the violence within them, as well as a way to create more employment within favelas or, alternatively, gentrify them. (Frenzel 2016, 2; Menezes 2015, 141). In reality, favela residents do not generally receive much economic benefit from tourism (Freire-Medeiros 2013, 155) but some see it as an opportunity to lessen favela stigma. For example, in Freire-Medeiros' study of 178 survey respondents from Rocinha, 80% of residents said they were wholly in favour of tourism in the favela because tourism meant that Rocinha has a valuable commodity to offer

---

[65] Cummings (2015) identifies this 'touristification' of Rio's favelas, particularly those near beaches in the South Zone, as a form of gentrification.

[66] Favela tourist attractions also include artistic depictions of favelas, like the model city of Morrinho. Morrinho, which 'revels in the very stereotypes of favelas that it is often purported to challenge' (Angelini 2016, 45) is an attempt by favela youths to challenge the marginalisation and invisibility of favelas (Angelini 2015).

[67] I use 'favela tourism' within the context of Brazil and 'slum tourism' for tourism that occurs in other countries as per academic convention.

outsiders. Additionally, residents saw tourism as an opportunity to counter negative images of Rocinha as a violent place and (mistakenly) believed that tourism significantly boosts Rocinha's economy (Freire-Medeiros 2013, 153-5).

Although few studies on slum tourism capture residents' perspectives (Frenzel and Koens 2012, 210) the research that does exist matches Freire-Medeiros' findings. For instance, residents of Kibera in Kenya reported a general disregard for slum tourism but most thought tourism could improve economic conditions in the community (Kieti 2013, 49). In Mexico and Jamaica, residents of informal settlements viewed tourism as a means to challenge unfavourable perceptions of their neighbourhoods: 'In both cases, the tours engage with globally and nationally circulating spatial imaginaries of the neighbourhood, drawing on positive images of local cultural achievements in music, art, and religious practise to combat the stigma of poverty' (Dürr and Jaffe 2012, 120). In order for residents to project a positive image of their communities through tourism, they must not only fully participate in the management of tourism but must also attract tourists who are committed to the political project of valorising informal settlements as valid tourist sites (Kieti 2013, 55).

Frenzel, writing about Rio de Janeiro, identifies this subversive form of tourism as 'disruptive valorization' in which tourists, by ascribing value to favelas by spending money to visit them, ignore the rhetoric of the 'local value regime' that says these communities are shameful and should be ostracised (2016, 98-123). In this way, tourists signal the worth of favelas by making them more visible and by 'actively contributing to their development and transformation' (Frenzel 2016, 63)—though Freire-Medeiros might take issue with the overemphasis on the transformative impact of tourists in the lives of favela residents in Rio's favelas. Nevertheless, Frenzel cautions that increased visibility is not always advisable since it could attract attention from detractors who would rather see favelas disappear. Therefore, activists campaigning for favela rights should not only strive towards increased visibility but should also make demands for improved infrastructure and creating 'shared spaces' (Frenzel 2016, 173, 192).

Frenzel attempts to disprove various myths about what he terms slum tourism: that tourists who visit these communities are necessarily voyeuristic leeches who enjoy consuming images of poverty and despair, and that those who visit favelas without the sole purpose of sightseeing are not tourists. Frenzel and Koens found that most slum tourism research indicates that tourists primarily consume poverty. However, the authors argue that what is actually consumed is a 'transformative experience of poverty'—one in which 'the tourist's

[143]

knowledge and understanding of urban poverty' expand, and/or when 'the actual conditions of poverty' improve if tourism manages to foster economic opportunities in communities (Frenzel and Koens 2012, 199, 209). This view, of course, requires a perfect application of slum tourism that is both economically beneficial to residents and conducted in such a way that tourists gain insight on poverty.

One of the ways that Frenzel attempts to rehabilitate the image of the slum tourist is by emphasizing the power slum tourists have to disruptively valorise certain favelas. To prove his point, Frenzel references a 2003 city government-run project to turn Providência into a 'cultural corridor', living museum (*museu vivo*), and tourist attraction that failed because of resistance from residents (Savova 2005; Frenzel 2016 125-6). The initiative also flopped because, as Frenzel insists, tourists had not yet identified Providência as a must-see attraction and so no disruptive valorisation had taken place (2016, 125-6). While tourists, especially from Europe and North America, indeed have the power to challenge favela stigma by visiting favelas, Frenzel has overlooked how favelas with community-based tourism participate in disruptive valorisation on their own behalf.

My own introduction to Rio began with type of community-based tour of Providência. This tour series, called the Rolé dos Favelados is run by Cosme Felippsen, a professional tour guide of eight years who is originally from Providência. The following excerpt from 'Disruptive Valorisation: The Ethics of Sightseeing in Favela Tourism' (Appendix B) illustrates the pedagogical nature of the Rolé dos Favelados:

> As we stood at the base of a solitary tree on a pedestrian island at the base of the community [Providência], Cosme asked us to describe what we felt to be the defining characteristics of a favela. Are the towering mini houses made of red brick *tijolos* what define the landscape of a favela? Or is it something more abstract? A definition Brazilians know, but one which is ineffable, for the sake of political correctness? Some in the group think they know the definition but stay quiet, eager to not offend. The conversation and teaching exercise that follow have the effect of priming us: self-conscious, asked to face our own biases, and ready to be appreciative, well-behaved tourists.

In (re)educating us about favelas, Cosme obliges us to disabuse ourselves of our biases and prejudices—our belief in the 'otherness' of the favela (Durr, Jaffe, and Jones 2019)— before being allowed into the community.

[144]

In an interview with the grassroots newspaper, *A Voz da Favela*, Cosme explains the purpose of these tours:

> *O Rolé não é só mostrar visualmente a favela, mas também discutir e debater sobre a cidade, o que é favela, segurança, turismo e ativismo.*

> The Rolé isn't only about visually showing the favela, but is also about discussing and debating the city, what makes a favela, as well as issues of security, tourism, and activism. (qtd. in Bruno 2018)

Cosme began the Role dos Favelados to not only tackle favela stigma but to also involve tourists (many of whom are Brazilian) in the dismantling of this stigma by asking them to question their own presuppositions about favelas and urban citizenship (fieldnotes, 18 February 2017).

Apart from the Rolé, most of my introductions to the communities featured in this research project occurred through tours organised by residents. Typically, the other tourists besides myself were either students or researchers linked to local universities who had been invited to a community as part of an outreach scheme. We received firsthand experience of the favela that we could then use in the write-up of our papers and theses, and residents-cum-tour guides in return were able to disseminate their own narratives about their communities that often countered what had been said about them in the mainstream media.

Some might take issue with my characterising research visits in the same vein as tourism; yet Frenzel makes a compelling argument against viewing researchers in a different light than other tourists. He calls this desire for differentiation 'anti-tourism': 'often an attempt at distinction, at expressing one's class position in specific forms of cultural consumption that are valued more highly than others' (2016, 9). Frenzel criticises this tendency, alleging that it needlessly muddles the definition of tourism and maintains that interpreting 'research, activism, and volunteering' as tourism activities creates new opportunities for these actors to engage with residents in radical ways (2016, 15). He goes on to single out Rio as the 'Mecca of research tourism', citing the thousands of social scientists who arrive in the city to research favelas (2016, 15). Relatedly, Freire-Medeiros, an expert on favela tourism, admits that it would be hypocritical of her to judge other tourists:

> When I go up Rocinha on board a green jeep with my young team of researchers, what place do I intend to occupy? How can I not pre-judge tourists and guides, how can I establish a sympathetic relationship, without yielding to

[145]

the voyeuristic urge that seems to animate them? Why accuse them of exploiting the favela when we, social scientists, have long used it as a field of experimentation for our intellect? (2009, 587)

Being mindful of this false dichotomy between tourist and researcher allowed me to see these tours through the eyes of a tourist while at the same time being able to scrutinise what I was being shown and being told from the tour guides.

Of the communities featured, Horto and Vale Encantado have the most developed tourism infrastructures. Both are examples of community-based tourism, which Hiwaski understands to mean 'empowerment and ownership, conservation of resources, social/economic development, and quality visitor experience' (2007, 677). This definition perhaps applies more directly to Vale Encantado's tourism cooperative, which charges a fee for its tours.[68] Horto, on the other hand, engages in tourism primarily for educational purposes and to increase its visibility. Throughout my fieldwork, I went on a total of four tours of the Horto community. Three of them were under the auspices of the Museu do Horto and were variably given to researchers and students of local universities. The fourth was a more informal tour led by two residents after I conducted a group interview with them. These two residents offered me a tour of the outer limits of Horto as well as a tour of the Botanical Garden. Generally, tours organised by the Museu do Horto were led by either Emerson, Emília, or the two of them, as leaders of AMAHOR, although the museum is primarily Emerson's project. Occasionally, members of the Residents' Commission would also join tours. It was during my first tour of Horto in May 2017 that I began to notice not only the importance of heritage preservation for Horto but also the political undertones of their rhetoric surrounding heritage.

This tour, like the others that I attended, began in Caxinguelê, the *núcleo* (neighbourhood) closest to the Botanical Garden. Near the entry gate, we were shown the elementary school inaugurated by former president Juscelino Kubitschek and named after his mother, Júlia Kubitschek. According to Emerson, the school serves as the boundary between the Garden and the community, though the Botanical Garden considers the schools to be within the bounds of the Garden. We were then shown the former site of the Clube Caxinguelê, a social club built by residents that formerly housed meetings of the Residents' Association. The club was destroyed after the Garden annexed the property and in its place

---

[68] I was never charged to attend these tours.

the Garden built a small plant nursery. Next, we were taken through a narrow paved road flanked by monumental trees to the neighbourhood Morro das Margaridas (nicknamed 'Morro do Quilombo'), whose name suggests the quilombo heritage of Horto.[69] Emerson informed us about former residents of Horto with known quilombo heritage and insisted that Horto's proximity to Pedra do Sal and Quilombo Sacopã (two federally-recognised quilombos in Rio) is evidence that Horto was also likely home to escaped slaves. On other tours, Emerson showed us a water well that slaves are believed to have used to fetch water as well as a house

Figure 17. Emerson drinking from water source believed to be of slave origin

whose roof is made of parts from the colonial-era sugarcane mill. During one tour, a curious resident left her house to meet us, telling us that the third house from hers has evidence of habitation by enslaved people.

During one tour in June 2017 with eight other women teaching or studying for a professional master's degree in cultural heritage management at the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation, Emerson showed us a transmission tower that the city had built directly in front of a resident's house, exposing this family to the risk of electrocution, and that now marks another boundary of Horto. Emerson also explained that Horto's ancestors were dedicated to

---

[69] Horto residents do not view the community as a quilombo; rather, they consider themselves as inheritors of the area's quilombo heritage.

conserving the environment as we passed ancient trees and medicinal plants presumed to have been planted by the first residents. Treks to evicted houses always accompanied these tours and more than once I heard the story of the last forced eviction in Horto, which took place in November 2016.

Figure 18. Transmission tower with residence in background

Although ostensibly historical tours, it was clear that these excursions were also intended to promote a specific image of Horto that our guides hoped would disassociate Horto from the typical negative image of a favela and that, in doing so, would attract more supporters. Washington, a resident of Horto, confirmed my suspicions when I asked if he supports tourists visiting Horto: '*Sobre os passeios no Horto, eu acho legal, pois é uma forma das pessoas verem que nós Moradores, preservamos a Natureza e o Local* [about the tours in Horto, I think they're great since it's a way for people to see that we residents preserve nature and the local environment]' (interview, 10 September 2018).

On a tour organised by the the Museu do Horto for a group of forty-five law students from PUC-Rio, the State University of Rio de Janeiro, and UFRJ, I began to understand the underlying motive of Horto's tours:

I'm wondering if the tour is designed to show a specific side of Horto. It always starts with showing the school, saying that it is the real boundary of Horto, then the destroyed Caxinguelê social club, then probably the quilombo part and the Solar da Imperatriz.[70] This is a tour of Horto's resistance, which I get, but we're also being treated to a nice view of Horto. We get shown the nice parts and I don't know for sure if there are bad parts, but we don't get a chance to see them on these tours. (Fieldnotes, 2 September 2017)

Figure 19. A typical house featured on Horto tours. Larger homes like this are older housing. Courtesy of TV Horto.

---

[70] The Solar da Imperatriz (meaning 'summer home of the empress' never served as a home. It was founded in 1750 by royal decree and, according to the Botanical Garden, has variously functioned as a gunpowder factory, a trade school for orphans, and today operates as the National School for Tropical Botany (Instituto de Pesquisas n.d.). Although the Botanical Garden claims the property, it lies within the boundaries of Horto.

Figure 20. Newer housing in Horto

Emerson and Emília are aware that tourists (especially Brazilian tourists) have an unfavourable image of informal settlements. Therefore, one goal of the tours is to counter this perception by avoiding evidence of newly-built housing that more aesthetically approximates housing in well-known favelas. Another motive for guiding tourists away from newer houses is that newer housing does not match Horto's goals of presenting itself as a longstanding community with a rich history. For Horto, tourism is not an economic enterprise but public outreach—a project to rehabilitate the image of Horto and establish its residents as respectable citizens by countering allegations that Horto residents are invaders living in a place without history.

Tourism in Vale Encantado is likewise about assuaging fears about favelas but has an additional objective: using tourism as a method for sustainable development. In this way, Vale Encantado provides a useful, gainful service that demonstrates the benefits of allowing the community to remain. In Vale Encantado, I attended one organised tour given to a group of undergraduates from Augustana College in Illinois who travelled to Vale Encantado to receive hands-on experience for their economics and development course. Other tours were less formal and occurred as part of other events, such as after a *muitrão* in which local university students volunteered to help plant shade-giving foliage in the children's playground, and after brainstorming workshops about how to increase tourism to Vale Encantado.

Tours are led by Otávio, president of Vale Encantado's residents' association, under the auspices of the favela's ecotourism cooperative. As such, tours are geared towards

demonstrating the natural resources and ecological history of the community. Otávio, as resident expert and tour guide, took me and the group of American undergraduates to a grove of jackfruit trees and lamented to us about how invasive a species it has become in Rio.[71] But, Otávio maintained, the prolific trees are never cut down, as that would amount to deforestation and would likely lead to rock slides and water pollution. Other trees like the *embaúba* are harbingers of good fortune— that is, of soil that has become fertile again after a fire.

Later, Otávio indicated to us a plant whose leaves have antiseptic properties and a *mamona* tree whose fruit produces biofuel.[72] In Otávio's estimation, these plants were most likely planted by the first settlers of Vale Encantado who may have used them to fuel gas lamps since this species of plant is not native to the Rio area. Sustainable technology prominently featured on tours as well, especially the sewage treatment and food compost systems. Nevertheless, tours were never only about highlighting local plants or exhibiting the technology that was enabling residents to live sustainably. In fact, Otávio often situated these within the context of Vale Encantado's history, as evidenced in the story about the origins of the mamona tree but also within his own family's 104-year history in the community.

Tourism in Vale Encantado is more than the rebranding strategy it is in Horto. In fact, it resembles more traditional forms of favela tourism coupled with the goals of community-based tourism. In this sense, tourism in Vale Encantado is largely about using tourism as a means towards sustainable development. To help achieve this goal, the Global Summit (the fifth of its kind) was held in the headquarters of Vale Encantado's ecotourism cooperative on April 22, 2017. The meeting was attended by Otávio and non-favela resident supporters who all presented their ideas on how to expand tourism. The overarching theme was using tourism to empower the young adults of the favela—most of whom Otávio identified as being unemployed and without easy access to education given the community's isolation.[73]

For Thais Pinheiro Rosa, director of Conectando Territórios (a community tourism agency) community tourism is the perfect antidote to social inequalities and segregation in

---

[71] Jackfruit is originally from India (Love and Paull 2011,1).

[72] Otávio was likely referring to *Ricinus communis*, whose seeds are used to produce castor oil (Foster 2014).

[73] According to Otávio, of the six or seven people in Vale Encantado who have college degrees, three of them are in his family. Otávio, a retired employee of PUC-Rio, has a son, daughter and wife who all received scholarships to study at PUC-Rio (fieldnotes, October 11, 2017).

Rio. During her presentation on the benefits of community tourism in favelas, she was highly critical of traditional favela tourism and displayed an image of Western tourists huddled in a jeep disinterestedly taking in their surroundings. Thais juxtaposed this with community-based tourism which she believes has the power to dismantle prejudices about favelas, promote empathy among tourists, aid in ecological preservation, engage favela residents in tourism, encourage sales of artisanal goods, and preserve local history and memory (fieldnotes, 22 April 2017).

Otávio also believes in the transformative power of community-based tourism and hopes that it will reinvigorate his community by attracting a needed source of income. However, not everyone in the community is supportive of Otávio's efforts or believes in tourism as a panacea. As he recounted to me while walking along a nature trail, most of the community is not very involved in the ecotourism business. If truth be told I found conspicuous the absence of other residents besides Otávio and the three women who prepare the post-tour lunch during tours. Otávio assumes a role as educator to the other residents about the importance of sustainable development and therefore seemingly implies that most residents are either ignorant or disinterested in environmental sustainability.

I only realised later that the absence of other residents was likely due to Vale Encantado, in a similar fashion to Horto, having a designated 'tourist stage' (Desmond 2002), in that there are spaces allocated to the enterprise of tourism which residents can choose to enter or avoid. For the most part, it appears that residents opt for the latter, perhaps due to a disinterest in tourism or because of a disinclination to be gazed upon by tourists. Since tours generally have an ecological focus, the absence of residents is perhaps not an issue, but it does undermine the ideal of community-based tourism.

Favela Museums: Favela as Cultural Artefact

Tourism is just one method that informal settlements advertise themselves in a way that problematises the stigmatisation of favelas as places of no value and places without culture or history. Another related method is to establish community museums that promote the history and legacy of informal settlements. In addition to Horto's community museum, the Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo communities share the Museu de Favela, Rocinha is home to the Museu da Rocinha Sankofa, the Museu da Maré (Fessler Vaz 2014) is based in the Complexo da Maré favela complex, and Vila Autódromo runs the Museu das Remoções, or the Evictions Museum (Simon and Braathen 2019). The Museu das Remoções, whose motto is '*memória não se remove* [memory can't be evicted]', began as the brainchild of

[152]

museologist and activist Thania de Madeiro during the height of evictions in Vila Autódromo. His idea was to galvanise residents to resist by turning the community into a site of memory (Nora 1989) and an open-air museum. Today, the ruins of demolished houses constitute part of the archives of not only the Museu das Remoções, but also those of the National Archives of Brazil (fieldnotes, 23 September 2018).

Favela museums are a result of the project of *museologia social* (social museology), a Brazilian movement among museums that first began developing after the Roundtable of Santiago de Chile in 1972 whose precepts were further outlined in the 1984 Declaration of Quebec (Souza 2018, 25-6).[74] Within the context of favela museums, social museology strives to encourage the idea of (borrowing from Holston 2008) insurgent memory, or what Gouveia calls:

> *Memórias resistentes que afirmam um direito de lembrar, de (re)elaborar suas identidades, de existir e de permanecer em seus territórios...São memórias que combatem preconceitos, discriminações, ciclos da dominação social e que favorecem a diversidade cultural, estimulando e exercitando o direito à diferença.*

> Memories of resistance that affirm the right to remember, to (re)articulate their identities, to exist and stay on their lands…these are memories that combat prejudice, discrimination, cycles of social domination, and that favour cultural differences, encouraging and exercising the right to difference. (2018, 9)

---

[74] An equivalent movement to museologia social in the English-speaking world is new museology.

Figure 21. Caxinguelê Club in 1966. Courtesy of TV Horto.

Community-based museums in informal settlements like the Museu do Horto are a direct product of the social museology movement. In Horto, those involved in the museum have embraced the ideals of insurgent memory and memories of resistance and enthusiastically use their museum to counter stigma and to assert their right to land.

The Museu do Horto, like many community museums in informal settlements, does not have a dedicated building. Instead, Horto itself is considered a living museum, or open-air museum. The project was envisioned by members of AMAHOR who, with support from the Instituto Brasileiro de Museus (Brazilian Institute of Museums), officially launched the museum in November 2010, though archival material had been collected by residents since 2000. The mission of the museum is intrinsically linked to Horto's fighting against eviction:

> *O Horto Florestal é um* lugar de memória *da cidade do Rio de Janeiro e mesmo da história do Brasil, uma vez que a memória social local comporta fragmentos e rastros de um tempo histórico e de uma geografia urbana já inexistentes, ou quase. Laços de solidariedade comunitária e uma* identidade de resistência *(Manuel Castells) corajosa e eficiente dos moradores impedem a remoção da população do Horto e a destruição de sua cultura, frente às ameaças diversas que a comunidade tem sofrido historicamente.*

[154]

> Horto Florestal is a *place of memory* in the city of Rio de Janeiro and in the history of Brazil since local social memory contains fragments and traces of an historical time and an urban geography that almost does not exist anymore. Ties of community solidarity and a courageous and effective *identity of resistance* (Manuel Castells) among residents impedes the eviction of the population of Horto and the destruction of its culture, in the face of the various threats that the community has suffered historically.[75]

The reference to the 'historical time and an urban geography that almost does not exist anymore' refers to the idea that Horto is a traditional community whose material culture evokes a time long past and whose residents have preserved both the cultural and ecological history of Rio. Some of these artefacts include coins, necklaces, personal documents, buildings (i.e. centenarian houses, ruins of slave quarters, the Kubitschek school, and the former social club) and immaterial examples of heritage including festivals, folk medicinal knowledge, Afro-descendant belief systems, and ancestry (Souza 2018, 25). Expanding on the immaterial heritage of Horto, Pires explains that there is evidence of Afro-descendant religious practises taking place in Horto in former times: a pebble-laden path that leads to a towering jequitibá tree sacred to Candomblé (2018, 45).

Emerson, writing about the museum on behalf of AMAHOR, confirms that the mission of the museum is '*marcar a legitimidade da comunidade do Horto Florestal, através das histórias das famílias tradicionais do local, que vivem nas áreas de litígio da região* [to establish the legitimacy of the community of Horto Florestal, through the stories of the traditional families of the area, who live in areas under litigation in the region]' (Souza 2018, 25). Here, he is clear that the function of the museum is to help with their anti-eviction cause by refashioning Horto as a 'non-favela', a 'comunidade' and a traditional community above all. Appeals to tradition serve to emphasise Horto's distinction as a community with a unique culture and heritage. Perhaps unbeknownst to residents, this emphasis on tradition and heritage tend to form the basis of land rights claims of indigenous and certain Afro-Latin peoples throughout the Americas (Hooker 2005). Emerson and Emília, however, are aware of the political currency of heritage and reached out to the United Nations in an attempt to become listed as a site of cultural heritage (interview, 29 January 2018). In September 2018,

---

[75] This text comes from the Museu do Horto website (www.museudohorto.org.br). The website is offline as of January 2019 while AMAHOR looks for additional funding.

Horto received a letter of support from the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) in which the Council denounces potential future evictions in the community.

Through the museum, Horto presents itself as a community steeped in history with a unique culture developed over a long period of time. Lengthiness of time is seen as an important aspect of proving a community's heritage and, by extension, their right to remain. In the case of Horto, residents promulgate the narrative of the community having several origin points (i.e. the era of habitation during colonial times and that of the most recent settlement by workers of the Botanical Garden). Horto residents trace their lineage directly back to the colonial occupation, while those who disagree with Horto's land claims believe the community has more recent origins. Implicit in these positions is an awareness that the longer an informal settlement has existed, the more legitimacy it has as a place of heritage and memory.

The importance of time, or establishing the longevity of an informal settlement, is recognised in other communities. For example, Morro das Andorinhas in Niterói had many of the same characteristics as the informal settlements featured in this dissertation: Morro das Andorinhas is on public land, was threatened with eviction, their eviction was justified on environmentalist grounds and residents were called invaders (Mota 2014). Morro das Andorinhas was ultimately granted land-use rights which they achieved through a successful effort to transform themselves from so-called favelados, (who Mota recognises as being stigmatised and having no inherent rights to property), to more respectable '*tradicionais*', or traditional people due to their role as '*protetores da natureza* [protectors of the environment]' (2014, 49-54). In this way, the community re-branded themselves using '*uma ideia de ancestralidade* [an idea of ancestry]' as a tactic to ensure their land rights (Mota 2014, 42).

According to Mota, much of their case was justified by Lei Ordinária 2393, a 1995 state law that allows native populations that have been living in protected areas within Rio de Janeiro state for at least fifty years to remain (2014, 45). Given that 'native' and 'traditional' are not well-defined legally in Brazil (Vianna 2008, 229), the community saw an opportunity to argue that as a traditional community that has occupied the area for more than fifty years, they counted as indigenous to Rio de Janeiro state. To support this claim, the community had to amass a large amount of empirical evidence that established a '*vinculação temporal dos moradores com seu território* [a temporal link between residents and their territory] (Mota 2014, 45). A sympathetic judge then ruled in their favour, finding that the settlement was not a favela because the community had existed since the late 19th century (Mota 2014, 50). Mota

himself agrees that time is an essential factor in whether an informal community deserves land rights and maintains that there is a distinct difference between '*ocupações irregulares* [informal settlements]' and *'ocupações antigas de moradores* [long-standing communities]'—with only the latter having valid land rights claims (2014, 48).

In Araçatiba, the conflict over land rights has also been articulated through the concept of time. The Federal Public Ministry released a blog post with the headline, '#RetrocessoAmbientalNão: ocupação irregular ameaça remanescente de manguezal em Guaratiba, no Rio de Janeiro [#NoEnvironmentalBacktracking: irregular occupation threatens the remainder of a mangrove in Guaratiba, in Rio de Janeiro]'. In the post, the social media advisor for the Rio office of the Attorney General of Brazil states that the '*intensa e descontrolada* [intense and uncontrolled]' development of new houses within the area have frustrated plans to relocate to the buffer zone of Araçatiba seventeen families who are within the boundaries of the mangrove ecological reserve. These families, the advisor claims, have more rights than recent arrivals already in Araçatiba because they are '*moradores antigos da região que já possuem uma identidade com o local* [long-term residents of the region that already possess an identity with the locale]' (Ministério Público Federal 2017). Lawyers assisting with Araçatiba's case are aware that the State makes concessions for long-term communities on public land who have the status of 'native' or 'traditional'. For instance, a representative of the Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil (OAB, Brazilian Bar Association) suggested to residents during a visit that the residents who had lived in the community for an extended period ought to mention this in dealings with lawyers and politicians, indicating that lengthy occupation helps the cases of those who have eviction notices (fieldnotes, 20 October 2017).

Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have explained how Horto and Vale Encantado have mobilised heritage as a creative strategy to avoid forced eviction. Heritage as a resistance strategy is poorly documented in academic literature outside of indigenous studies, although research on favela museums and favela tourism is more robust. However, I invite a reconceptualization of all favela community-based museums and tourism initiatives as examples of heritage as resistance. I also contend that future research on community-based museums and tourism enterprises in favelas should consider the ways in which heritage has become political as well as the political currency of heritage in land and housing rights movements, especially in social movements of non-indigenous groups.

[157]

Of the featured communities, Horto and Vale Encantado make use of heritage the most, though all the featured communities have suitable conditions to establish themselves as local heritage sites if they chose to do so in the future. I have also shown how amending their image to that of environmentally-minded communities laden with history and culture is a somewhat conservative yet subversive way of fighting for land rights. This tactic has been proven to work for at least one informal settlement in the Rio's metropolitan area (Morro das Andorinhas) but this does not necessarily indicate that the strategy will work for others. However, it does show other leaders of informal settlements that they must engage in the politics of respectability by adopting the language and the cultural values of and ingratiating themselves with the middle and upper-classes who have long harboured prejudices against those living informally in urban spaces.

Becoming respectable is at the heart of the alternative strategies used by residents within the Favela Housing Rights Movement. Gaining respect involves constantly mounting rebranding campaigns to redress a long, difficult history of favela stigmatisation that relates to racial and class stigmatisation. Although this is difficult work with no certainty of success, it is a fundamental part of how communities gain land rights. The fact is, as the Morro das Andorinhas example evinces, that informal communities need a certain amount of respect before they can be guaranteed land and housing rights. The transformation of favelas into heritage sites through tourism and museum projects is one avenue through which respect is gained. Communities labelled as traditional have a better chance of effectively lobbying for land and housing rights. This, as I discussed in Chapter 4, perhaps disincentives rallying around favela rights, or self-identifying as residents of favelas despite existing favela-specific resources that also help communities resist eviction.

In the last three chapters, I outlined the structure of what I have termed the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro and explained the alternative strategies that movement leaders use to guarantee housing and land rights for themselves and other communities. In the next chapter, I explore not only the implications of these alternative strategies but also how the movement itself affects residents. I also go into greater depth into the race, class, and gender ramifications of the movement.

Chapter 7: The Intersectional Emotional and Affective Politics of the Favela Housing Rights Movement[76]

Introduction

Emotional and Affective politics are a major feature of the Favela Housing Rights Movement. For example, community leaders express frustration and anger about their lack of housing rights and consider the absence of these rights as a violation of human rights. In their view, their eviction threats result from who they are as poor or working-class people or, in Horto's case, because of their Afro-descendant heritage. These emotions have had a unifying affect (Bonilla-Silva 2019), have strengthened their identities as working-class and/or Afro-descendants, and have persuaded residents to engage in an 'embodied politics of collective transformation' (Chun 2016, 138) through social movement organising. Community leaders use identity to support land rights claims, whether through the argument that their quilombo heritage ought to grant them land rights (as is the case with Horto) or because as workers, they should be allowed access to land— a sentiment common to all communities. At the same time, women community leaders strive to show how the lack of housing rights are affecting the most vulnerable groups in their communities to shame politicians into action.

All of these positions demonstrate how the emotional and affective politics of social movement organising manifest along the lines of class, race, and gender—the 'holy trinity' within identity studies (Brubaker 2004, 31). Despite the preponderance of race, class, and gender as modes of analysis in identity studies, these identities and their intersections (Crenshaw 1991) receive less attention in research concerning affective and emotional politics in social movements. Therefore, in this chapter I provide examples of the ways in which affective and emotional politics as they relate to race, class, and gender operate within the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro. Given the complexity of the argument, this chapter is in two parts. The first part explores the role of affect in the movement through the lens of gender, since most of the participants and much of the leadership are women. Here, I argue that women leaders engage in what I term performative vulnerability in which they employ pathos to garner sympathy for their cause. Moreover, women leaders perform vulnerability in order to justify their leadership by positioning themselves as leaders-cum-caregivers.

---

[76] I credit the organisers of the Emotional Politics – The Role of Affect in Social Movements and Organizing conference (31 May 2017, Canterbury, UK) for inspiring this chapter.

The second part of the chapter details how activists refuse to accept official legal explanations for favela evictions and instead consider their eviction threats as evidence of classism and racism. Importantly, class discrimination is often (but not always) expressed in classic academic Marxist terms. Those who tend to use this language most often are allied professors, lawyers, and lawyer-professors as well as the leadership of Horto—all of whom critique capitalism, neoliberalism, and how both impinge on the rights of the working class to adequate housing. For community activists using less explicitly Marxist discourse, they are still clear about the classist undertones of forced eviction but instead frame it as acts of legal hypocrisy, wherein certain housing-related laws are applied more often in cases involving low-income individuals.

Race as a theoretical construct to explain forced evictions in favelas is a less salient feature in the Favela Housing Rights Movement than class. In fact, the only community whose leadership discussed race and racism during interviews unprompted was Horto, who also sees itself as part of a broader black consciousness movement. Although Horto leadership voices its frustrations with racial injustice, leaders also express anger with class discrimination and therefore exhibit a race and class consciousness that is unique among the communities researched. In this chapter, I begin to explore why race consciousness is a much less prominent feature than class consciousness in the movement and point to the continued vigour of racial ambivalence in Brazil as a possible explanation.

Performative Vulnerability: Justifying Women's Leadership and Participation

While on fieldwork, I found the multitude of women leaders and participants one of the most striking aspects of the Favela Housing Rights Movement. In truth, I should not have been surprised given the legacy of women's leadership and overwhelming participation in social movements throughout Latin America (Lehmann 1999, 141) and particularly in Brazilian housing rights movements (Neuhouser 1995). The prevailing wisdom is that women participate in housing rights movements because of women's association with the home and because women regard participation as an extension of their role as caregivers of their families and of their communities (Corcoran-Nantes 1990; Neuhouser 1995). However, it is necessary to add nuance to the conventional rationale for women's involvement in housing rights movements. While it is true that women participate in movements that reinforce their prescribed gender roles, we should also consider that these gender roles compel women to rationalise their participation and leadership to themselves and others by stressing that their involvement is based, in a fundamental way, on caregiving.

[160]

The way in which many women in the movement demonstrate caregiving— thus justifying their leadership and participation—is by evoking a gendered, performative vulnerability. This performative vulnerability takes various forms, but the ultimate purpose is to highlight how forced eviction threatens the most vulnerable groups: children and the elderly. While leaders and residents occasionally lament to each other about the added harm that evictions pose to children and the elderly, in public spaces and in interviews this talk becomes inflected with political nuance. In these public spaces, women leaders opt to shame those in power for threatening the well-being of seniors and young children through eviction, thereby creating a relatively emotional and gendered form of protest.

I first began to consider the role of emotions in political mobilisation when visiting the small community of Hípica, within Tijuca National Park. At one time, Hípica was a vibrant community of a few dozen park employees and their families. A handwritten testimony by resident Luci Rosa's late father claims that the Park's director at the time, Francisco Carlos Iglesias, asked workers to move into housing within the Park in the 1960s. These employees were tasked with twenty-four-hour maintenance to manage problems such as forest fires, retrieving lost visitors, clearing obstructed paths, and alerting authorities when corpses were found in the forest. Even in retirement, Manoel Pinheiro continued watching over the park. According to Luci Rosa, the lack of electricity in Hípica led to her father's failing health and eventual passing.

This testimony was in one of several documents that Luci Rosa gave me during an interview about the eviction threat to Hipica on 27 October 2017 in her home. Other shared records include a 1971 certificate of enrolment in a former primary school in the area, light bills paid to the Park in 1986, as well as an energy bill paid to IBAMA, the federal Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources. She keeps these documents ready in a simple folder and occasionally brings them with her to meetings with government officials to prove through documentation the illegality of Hípica's eviction. Luci Rosa showed me her treasured papers with the hope that I would use the information therein to publicise the injustice of Hípica's scheduled eviction; for while Luci Rosa understood that I was a researcher, she primarily saw me as a journalist, owing to my collaboration with the favela news outlet RioOnWatch. Understandably, Luci Rosa sought to sway my sympathies but, unlike other residents, did not only rely on legal or logos-based arguments against eviction but also appealed to pathos in her defence of Hípica's housing rights.

Luci Rosa, with her grandson on her knee and sitting next to her long-time neighbour and friend, Haydée, expressed to me feelings of hopelessness and abandonment:

> Haydée: E agora já tentando os direitos humanos pra esse resolve a situação, mas até agora nada. Então tudo paralisado. Tô pedindo apoio de tudo mundo. Essa é nossa história. Sem certeza de nada. E nem dos direitos humanos. Eu vi lá os direitos humanos da minha mãe. Uma mulher de oitenta e sete anos e idosa, acamada, sem luz, sem energia. Tá ficando na atrofiada porque os aparelhos, para o quê? Pra utilizar, não pode. A gente não tem solução agora.
>
> Luci Rosa: ah meu filho, é tão difícil.
>
> Haydée: And now we're trying for human rights to resolve this situation but there's been no progress yet. So, everything is paralysed. I'm asking for help from everyone. This is our story. Without being sure of anything. Not even of getting human rights. I recognise the human rights of my mother. An elderly, bedridden women of eighty-seven years, without light or electricity. Her muscles are atrophying because the devices that are supposed to work, don't. We don't have any solutions.
>
> Luci Rosa: Oh, my child, it's so difficult.

Luci Rosa and Haydée were despondent about the lack of support they had received so far, telling me that their retirement benefits are too high to qualify for a public defender—lawyers that play the largest role in mediating between communities and the government. They also told me stories of NGOs that had contacted them to offer help but had disappeared over time. When I asked whether they had university connections, Luci Rosa and Haydée replied that they did not. Hípica lacks important networks that could help the community, for instance, develop a land regularisation plan like academics have been able to do for Horto.

To add to their troubles, Luci Rosa and Haydée affirmed that insufficient access to electricity made their daily lives challenging. For Luci Rosa, the absence of electricity means that she cannot keep a refrigerator and does not have a television, making her feel disconnected and uninformed. To cope, Haydée powers her house with a gas generator that Luci Rosa occasionally borrows, though they explained that they cannot afford to pay for the gas required to keep the generator running constantly. Luci Rosa, whose generator broke

some time ago, also stressed her inability to pay for the parts to fix her broken generator and alleged that the mechanic hired to fix the machine never appeared.

The interview reached a fever pitch when Haydée discussed the precarity of their lives in Hípica and the emotional effects of continually living in fear of eviction:

> *Haydée: Ainda não jogou a gente fora daqui porque a minha mãe ainda está viva, em cima da cama. Ele [Sérgio Suiama] disse que assim que a minha mãe morrer, que ela está presta de morrer, ele toma conta disso aqui.*
>
> *Jennifer: Então, o que acha vai acontecer depois...?*
>
> *Haydée: A gente não sabe mais.*
>
> *...*
>
> *Luci Rosa: Foi uma coisa tão...desumana, do jeito que ele falou. É como se tivesse ele dando com bichos.*
>
> *Haydée: Nem bicho.*
>
> *Luci Rosa: Acho que nem bicho, ele se referiria desse jeito, como se referira à gente, à mãe dela.*
>
> *...*
>
> *Luci Rosa: Eu de vez em quando tenho crise...eu fico nervosa, fico pensando nessas coisas todo. Eu tenho, assim, ansiedade e nervosa. Ansiedade e nervosa que gerou em mim uma... devido esse todo que está acontecendo, uma depressão. Então de vez em quando me dá assim uma crise que eu tenho que [falar] com médico, hospital. Porque tomo depressivo, entendeu? Tomo um monte de depressivo, tomo tudo devido tendo isso. Se tudo resolver-se, ele, ele me melhorar 100%... ele me melhorar 80%, infelizmente.*

Haydée: They haven't thrown us out of here yet because my mother is still alive and bedridden. He [Sérgio Suiama[77]] said that as soon as my mother dies, once she's close to death, that he was going to take care of it.[78]

Jennifer: So, what do you think is going to happen?

Haydée: We don't know.

...

Luci Rosa: It was such an inhumane thing, for him to speak that way. It's as if he thought he was dealing with an animal.

Haydée: Not even an animal.

Luci Rosa: I don't think even an animal, him referring to us like that, how he referred to her mother.

...

Luci Rosa: From time to time I have anxiety attacks... I get nervous, I keep thinking about all of these things. So, I have anxiety and get nervous. Anxiety and nervousness that have caused me, owing to what's been happening, to become depressed. And so, from time to time, this makes me have an anxiety attack which makes me have to go to the doctor, to the hospital. Because I take medicine for depression, you know? I take a lot of medicine; I take everything because of having [this anxiety]. If everything got better, that would make me get 100% better. [Reconsidering…] It would only make me get 80% better, unfortunately.

---

[77] Sérgio Suima is the former attorney for the Federal Public Ministry of the Environment. These comments allegedly were made to City Councilmember Reimont.

[78] Haydée's mother passed away in January 2019.

Figure 22. Luci Rosa holding documents proving longstanding residence in Hípica during meeting with Tijuca Park administration on 23 May 2017

I listened painfully as they recounted the struggles they faced since being disconnected from the power grid. I could tell that Luci Rosa and Haydée felt desperate and alone and attributed this desperation to why they were talking so candidly with me. I also surmised that one of the reasons for the vivid descriptions of their challenging lives in Hípica was to win over my sympathies, in a way reminiscent of other female activities emphasising their vulnerability for a political purpose (Reestorff 2014). In the days after the interview I gradually came to see that while perhaps not intentional, Luci Rosa and Haydée had politicised their emotions for the sake of advancing their housing rights. They had also not only framed their lack of housing rights as a human rights issue, but as an issue that gravely affects vulnerable people like themselves and Haydée's ill and aged mother.

The role of emotions in social movement organising has been covered extensively within social movement studies (Ahmed 2014; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Jasper 2011; Reginensi 2016 for example). Jasper has noted that historically emotions, seemingly originating from the realm of the irrational, have made scholars of social movements uneasy; it has only been within the past twenty years that academics have started to seriously consider how emotions influence social movements (2011, 286). For Luci Rosa, Haydée, and many

[165]

other residents who decide to mobilise, their emotions are what drive their participation. And perhaps in a movement largely comprised of women, there is less pressure to hide their emotions. Some, like Luci Rosa and Haydée, have even found that by sharing their intense feelings with outsiders, they can increase support for their cause by triggering the sympathies of those who have the ability to broadcast their story within Brazil and to an international audience.

Horto leadership has also been vocal about the injustices suffered by the elderly due to eviction threats. Vice-president of AMAHOR Emília regularly lambasts the government for endangering the well-being of elderly residents and views this mistreatment as a human rights violation as well as evidence of the State's failure to uphold the rights of the elderly enshrined in the Brazilian Constitution. It was this mistreatment—as Emília explained to an audience at the Rio de Janeiro State Magistrate School—that would compel other elderly people to join the movement (fieldnotes, 6 October 2017). Nélia of the Residents' Commission also believes that forced eviction prejudices the elderly:

> *Nélia: A gente quer a permanecia da comunidade aqui. Porque é injusto com essas pessoas, com esses idosos, que ajudaram a construir o parque. Hoje receberem de retribuição, né, aí esse trabalho, que tiveram, essa luta que tiveram, a remoção deles daqui. Isso é muito injusto com esses idosos.*

> We want our community to stay here. Because it's unfair for these people, the elderly, who helped construct the park. Today, all they will get from all their hard work, from their struggle, is eviction. This is very unfair for the elderly.

Of course, as retired women, both Nélia and Emília are also partly standing up for themselves when they speak out against forced evictions imperilling older populations. Nevertheless, as able-bodied senior citizens they feel it is their responsibility to stand up for the elderly of Horto.

Children, as another vulnerable group affected by eviction, also feature in condemnations against forced eviction. For instance, Araçatiba residents, almost half of whom were children and having just begun to organise against eviction, arrived at a public audience in City Hall holding placards that denounced forced eviction. The children and these signs became mainstays of public demonstrations and Araçatiba was the only community I witnessed who regularly brought children to meetings and protests. I asked Ana, the intermittent President of the Residents' Association, why women and children from Araçatiba

were strongly represented in the movement. I assumed that Ana would reiterate findings from previous research on women and social movements in Latin America and say that the women of Araçatiba and of the movement in general strongly identify with the home and so are drawn to participate.
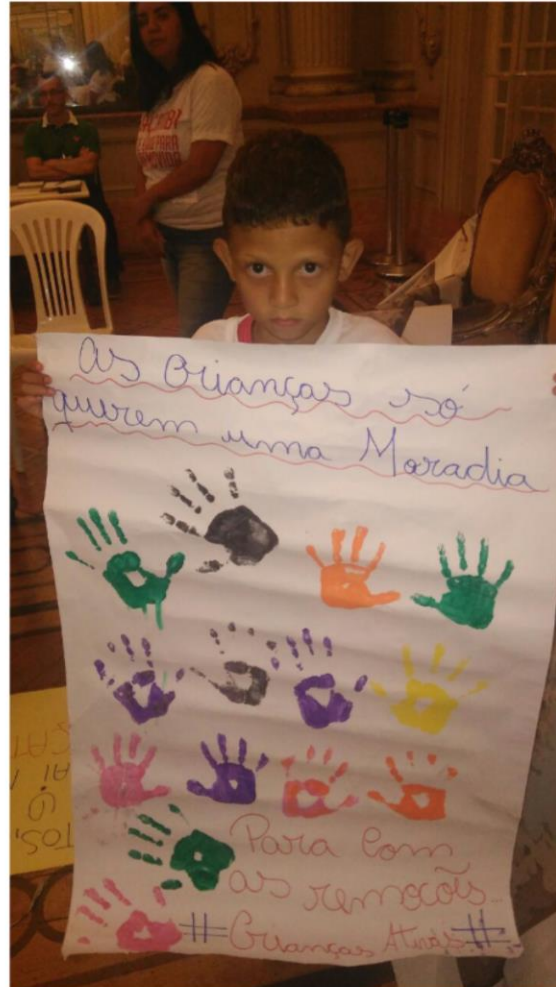
Figure 23. 'Children only want housing. Stop the evictions'. Courtesy of SOS Araçatiba.

This hypothesis was reinforced in comments from residents like Janine Castro, a new participant in the movement from the Barrinha favela, who confided to me as electronic music pumped from loudspeakers on the beach near her food stand, '*eu brigo pela minha comunidade como eu brigasse pelos meus filhos* [I fight for my community as if I were fighting for my children]' (interview, 22 January 2018). Yet the reviewed research on women's participation in Latin American social movements has not included a rationale for why women would involve their children in activism. One of the reasons is surely practical, as it would be easier to bring children to protests than it would be to find an alternative caretaker. However, I speculated, given the language used on some of the children's signs,

that their presence was also intended to embarrass politicians and to provide a sympathetic face to forced eviction.

Figure 24. Women and children of Araçatiba protesting eviction

In her answer, Ana echoed the familiar rationale for women's involvement in social movements, even reiterating romantic notions of women as being attached to the home and to nature. However, she also offered an alternative and poetic explanation of the children's involvement:

> *Jennifer: Você sabe porque mulheres e crianças são mais envolvidas no movimento por moradia aqui?*
>
> *Ana: Acontece. O homem, aqui...é uma sociedade bem machista. Então o homem trabalha para levar comida pra mulher e pro filho. Quem é a alma da casa, o espírito da casa? É a mulher. É a mulher que está ali o dia inteiro. É a mulher que está ali com filho. É a mulher que está levando roupa, fazendo comida, varrendo, cuidando, ajudando as plantas, os bichos. Então ela tem uma identificação maior com a casa do que o homem... então a ligação na*

[168]

mulher com a casa é como eu falei. Não é apenas de tijolo. É um estilo de vida.

...

Então eu acredito que seja a raiz, sabe, dessa fortaleza que as mulheres criam em torno da Araçatiba. E as crianças e a identidade delas e o crescimento, o desenvolvimento, e as brincadeiras, a socialização delas é aqui dentro. Então nada adianta, você leva uma criança pra fora e elas vão gostar, mas é aqui o lugar delas. É aqui que elas vão crescendo. É aqui que elas têm árvore pra subir, lugar pra correr. Então tem essa proteção da alma mesmo, do coração, dentro da Araçatiba.

Jennifer: Do you know why women and children are more involved in the movement here [in Araçatiba]?

Ana: It makes sense. The men here…it's a pretty chauvinistic society. So, men work in order to bring food to their wife and children. Who is the soul of the home, the spirit of the home? It's the woman. It's the woman who is home all day. It's the woman who is there taking care of the children. It's the woman who washes clothes, makes the food, sweeps, takes care of things, takes care of the plants, the pets. So, she has a greater identification with the home than a man does…so the link between women and the home is like I said. It's not just a collection of bricks; it's a way of life.

...

So, I believe that that's the root of it, you know, of this wall of protection that the women of Araçatiba have created. And the children: their identities, their development, the games they play, their socialisation—all of this happens here. And so regardless, even if you take a child out of the community, and they'll certainly enjoy themselves, their home is here. It's here that they'll keep growing up. It's here where they have trees to climb, places to run. So, there's this protection that comes from the soul, from the heart, inside of Araçatiba. (Interview, 29 October 2017)

While the provocative rationale of bringing children to rallies and meetings seemed apparent to me, Ana predictably interpreted the role of children in a less political way. In Ana's

[169]

rationale, she uses the argument of the importance of the home for women as justification for participating in housing rights activism to rationalise the involvement of children. Women are the 'soul of the home'—a home whose four walls allow children to grow up under the protection of their mothers. Therefore, anything that threatens the home, threatens women and children. It follows, then, that both women and children would be involved in housing rights efforts.

Although I do not disregard Ana's explanation for the preponderance of women and children in the movement, I nevertheless maintain that performative vulnerability has developed as another way of justifying women's participation (especially in leadership roles) in the movement—not only to men but to themselves and to other women. Given the wariness about the movement becoming too political from some women participants, it is reasonable that women seek ways to depoliticise their activism; in this case, feminizing it by infusing caregiving into their movement activities. This interpretation channels Caldeira, who notes in her own pivotal study of Brazilian women's participation in social movements that 'For them, this new form of activism found in social movements is considered not to be politics but a new way of experiencing the condition of motherhood' (1990, 72). Although Caldeira was writing during the early years of Brazil's re-democratisation, her findings are still relevant today. There is still a distaste for politics among a significant number of women who participate in housing rights efforts who instead view their participation in gendered terms: as necessary for the good of their families and neighbours.

In another reading, this focus on caregiving could allow female activists (many of whom are new to activism) the ability to assume moral authority over a government which as failed in its caregiving duties towards its citizens. In this scenario, not only would women as supposed natural caregivers have moral superiority, they would also have epistemic privilege cultivated from personal experiences of housing insecurity. After all, who other than women would be best able to articulate the stakes of housing rights? Who else would know the true value of hearth and home? Armed with this knowledge, female activists can face better educated, often male politicians with more confidence in their abilities to defend themselves, their families, and their communities.

Moreover, performative vulnerability may be useful because it permits women to lead through a negotiation of power within gender dynamics known as patriarchal bargaining (Kandiyoti 1988). Female activists who promote themselves as caregivers-cum-leaders do not seek to destabilise gender norms; instead, they find themselves in positions of power because

[170]

no one else was willing to lead (the case with Emília from Horto) or after being inspired by other women leaders (Jaqueline from Barrinha). Lastly, performative vulnerability likely makes women leaders more intelligible and palatable in patriarchal society that would struggle with having women leaders if they were not also acting as a caregiver in some capacity in that role.

Class and Race Consciousness: Perceiving the Injustice of Forced Evictions

Either as a result of participating in the movement or because social movements attract those who are already conscious of social injustice, discussions of forced evictions as emblematic of classism— and to a lesser extent, racism— are commonplace among movement participants and leaders. Accusations of classism were expressed not only by residents directly affected by forced eviction but also by their allies in the professional classes—notably academics and lawyers. Maryane Saisse, a retired, former employee of the Botanical Garden who formerly taught environmental courses in public schools, was a supporter of Horto during her employment there. She supported Horto behind the scenes due to a gag order instituted by the Garden's president at the time who forbade Garden employees from speaking publicly about Horto. Now that Maryane is retired, she felt free to tell me in her comfortable home in Humaitá about the conflicts between the Garden and Horto along with her efforts to support the community. Nevertheless, she tempered her remarks by stating that even though she believes that Horto has the right to stay, she is just as supportive of the Botanical Garden's wish to expand:

> *Vários projetos foram pensados para resolver a situação...ele era legítimo o interesse da instituição em crescer, se organizar, né, ampliar sua área, repensar as suas coleções, enfim, ampliando então.*

> They thought of various projects to resolve the situation…I think the interests of the institution [the Botanical Garden] were legitimate, in wanting to grow, how it wanted to organise itself, growing its area, rethinking its collections. (Interview, 26 October 2017)

Maryane is not alone in supporting favela housing rights while also understanding the position of the party seeking eviction. During a housing policy conference sponsored by the City of Rio, Caixa Bank, and the Lincoln Institute to address recent changes in federal land regularisation law, Sonia Rabello (professor and former city councilmember) stunned and angered residents in attendance with her stance on Horto. Although she agreed with a general

theme that had emerged during the presentations that favelas should be considered solutions to housing shortages, Sonia explicated that with the case of Horto, she does not believe that the community should receive land regularisation because residents are on land rightfully owned by the Botanical Garden. Instead, she favours a solution in which Horto is relocated to nearby uninhabited public land. When pressed by an audience member, Sonia expressed that she does not believe that Horto predates the Botanical Garden and does not support hereditary home ownership. She insisted that the elderly should be allowed to stay in their homes until their passing but that the young should leave home as soon as they come of age like everyone else (fieldnotes, 13 December 2017).

Despite vacillating between defending the Botanical Garden and describing her own efforts to support Horto, Maryane seemed to be more accepting of Horto's land claim than Sonia Rabello because Maryane believes in Horto's version of their own history and not the one that ultimately furthers the goals of the Botanical Garden. When Maryane became most resolute it was to denounce the role of capitalism in creating differentiated citizenship for poor and working-class Brazilians:

> *Maryane: Então é isso, é uma questão mesmo de poder e de interesse, né? Não é que é uma questão de diferença, é uma questão dos pobres, com os pequenos, de vez em quando com os grandes também. Por conta do próprio sistema capitalista que favorece aquele...ele mantém que têm poder econômica e poder político, enfim.*

> *Jennifer: Mas, pro Jardim Botânico, é a mesma coisa, que tá baseado no sistema capitalista?*

> *Maryane: Tudo está. O que tá fora do sistema capitalista? Não tem nada, nada que a gente tá falando está fora desse sistema, certamente.*

> Maryane: So, it's a question of power and interests, isn't it? It's not a problem of difference, but a problem of the poor, with the little guy, and sometimes with the big guys as well. Because the capitalist system favours those…maintains those who have economic and political power.

> Jennifer: But for the case of the Botanical Garden, is it the same thing, that it [Horto's eviction threat] is based on the capitalist system?

[172]

Maryane: Everything is. Tell me something that is outside of the capitalist system. There isn't anything, anything that we're talking about that is outside of this system, that's for sure. (Interview, 26 October 2017)

Maryane is clearly comfortable with Marxist theory and can eloquently explain the role of capitalism in reproducing class inequalities. She is also well-aware of the injustice being done to Horto and knows that community suffers because of insufficient economic and political power.

Other academics and professionals have criticised capitalism in demonstrations of support for informal settlements facing eviction. For example, a panellist at an event in City Hall to discuss the eviction threat facing Quilombo Dona Bilina in the Campo Grande neighbourhood of Rio charged that '*capitalismo verde é besteira!* [green capitalism is nonsense!]' (fieldnotes, 21 September 2017). At another symposium at PUC-Rio in which panellists debated proposed changes to the federal land regularisation Law no. 13.465/2017, Pedro Paulo Cruz of the Institute of Land and Cartography of Rio de Janeiro States (ITERJ) connected the lack of housing rights to a pernicious form of capitalism that is denying access to housing for working-class people (fieldnotes, 30 May 2017). Finally, Carlos Vainer (a noted scholar of favelas based at UFRJ) observed that Rio is undergoing an '*urbanicídio*', meaning that the urban centre, or the spirit of the city, was dying. The murderer in this case is the capitalist class: '*a burguesia neoliberal está matando a cidade* [the neoliberal bourgeoisie is killing the city'] and denying the working class, the oppressed, and the discriminated against to realise the Lefebvrian ideals of equal rights to the city (fieldnotes, 29 August 2017).[79]

Sympathetic academics and professionals seem to best understand the injustice of forced evictions by interpreting it through the lens of class struggle. However, this academisation of forced evictions betrays an underlying distance in the lived experiences of the low-income inhabitants of favelas and the middle-class academics and educated professionals who support them. A speaker alluded to this argument at the discussion series, 'For What and For Whom Does Favela Research Serve?'. The speaker, a resident of the favela Complexo da Alemão and a self-professed member of the communist movement, expressed his exasperation with futile and endless intellectual conversations about Marx that,

---

[79] These comments were made at a debate in City Hall entitled 'Rio de Janeiro: Dos Grandes Eventos à Cidade que Queremos' (Rio de Janeiro: From Mega-events to a City that We Want) about the legacy of mega-events in the city on 29 August 2017.

in the end, have nothing to do with lives and experiences of 'favelados' (fieldnotes, 25 March 2017).

While I also found that many academic discussions about favela rights defaulted to Marxist theory due to an inability to speak from experience, I also found evidence that these theories have influenced the thinking of residents who participate in the movement and have caused them to view their eviction threats as rooted in classism. For example, several activists spoke of real estate speculation in their neighbourhoods and how the resulting gentrification would lead to a City-sanctioned passive eviction. Marcello Deodoro, a resident of the Indiana favela, drew parallels between the implementation of UPP (police pacification units designed to curb violence in selected favelas) and gentrification:

> *A especulação imobiliária, gerada com a implantação da UPP no Borel, produziu a chamada remoção branca, que atingiu as áreas de classe média da região. A alta de preços dos imóveis do entorno é um sintoma/resultado do processo de gentrificação. A remoção da favela Indiana nesse contexto atende aos interesses dos grupos políticos e econômicos que objetivam dar continuidade à 'valorização' do local. É nesse sentido que a implantação da UPP e a ameaça de remoção da Indiana compõem fatores de um projeto de cidade, e não consistem em simples elementos isolados.*

> Real estate speculation, caused by the implementation of the UPP in Borel (a neighbouring favela), has led to a passive eviction that targets middle-class areas [with favelas] in the region. The high prices of buildings in the surrounding area is a symptom/result of the process of gentrification. The eviction of the Indiana favela in this context serves the interests of the political and economic groups that have as an objective to continue the valorisation of the locale. It is in this sense that the implementation of the UPP and the threat of eviction of Indiana amount to an intentional social project devised by the City and are not simply isolated incidents. (Personal communication, 17 December 2018)

Pedro Paulo Marins Maciel, a resident of Horto and member of the community's Residents' Commission spoke of the role of real estate speculation and gentrification in altering the socioeconomic make-up of the neighbourhood (interview, 4 September 2017) while Beto Ferreira, a community activist from Vidigal, told compatriots at a public assembly in Horto

[174]

that his main grievances were not with any specific mayor and his social policies but with the capitalist class in general (fieldnotes, 9 November 2017).

Ana of Araçatiba, and Gilson (Uber driver and friend of Ana's) spoke at length on real estate speculation and how the city government offers extreme amounts of compensation to residents for their self-built houses, only to have these promises of indemnity broken:

> *Ana: ...É uma avaliação loca. Eles inventam lá na mente deles. E aí olha o que há, vou te dar cinco mil pela sua casa e tem que sair.*
>
> *Gilson: Isso chama-se especulação urbana.*
>
> *Ana: Isso.*
>
> *Jennifer: Entendi.*
>
> *Ana: É a forma que eles vão te... indenizar por derrubar a sua casa. Só que a maioria das pessoas... isso é o que está acontecendo: eles [falam] 'ok, eles tá me indenizando e eu mandar'. Assina no papel. A maioria não está pagando. E as pessoas perdem a casa e não têm onde morar. Porque ficam aí no processo, na realidade, de recebimento de aquele dinheiro.*
>
> Ana: It's a crazy evaluation. They make it up in their minds. And then they say, 'look here, I'm going to give you five thousand [*reais*] for your house and you'll have to leave'.
>
> Gilson: This is called urban real estate speculation.
>
> Ana: Exactly.
>
> Jennifer: I understand.
>
> Ana: It's the way that they compensate you for demolishing your house. Only that a majority of people…this is what happens: they [say], 'okay, they're compensating me, and I'll hand over my house'. The resident signs the document. But in a majority of cases, the government isn't paying. And people lose their houses and don't have anywhere to live. Because they're stuck in limbo waiting to receive that money.

Far from being inapplicable to the lives of favela residents, Marxist academic theories have given residents the language to understand the class injustices of what is happening to them

[175]

and provide them the language with which to describe their indignation about these injustices to others—especially to supporters within academia. By being able to use this academic Marxist language, they are able to make intellectuals understand and sympathise with their plight. However, not all favela residents describe their struggles in such sophisticated, Marxist language—that is, by identifying the classist undertones of their eviction threat by alluding to real estate speculation and gentrification as the real impetuses for evictions. For other favela residents, they view class injustices in a less explicit way and tend to view eviction threats not through the paradigm of orthodox Marxism but instead as a series of hypocritical actions that are being used to justify their evictions.

Otávio of Vale Encantado shied away from anything politically radical in his conversations with me and yet was aware of how favela residents were differentially treated because of their lack of economic capital. While he never described these injustices in explicitly Marxist terms, he was clear that the proffered logic behind Vale Encantado's eviction was not internally consistent:

> *Porque que eu tenho que pagar por uma coisa que já...que as pessoas já estão lá? Tirar elas e construir casas em outros lugares? Pra aproveitar um pedaço de terra que não serve pra produzir. Não vai fazer diferença pro meio ambiente.*
>
> Why do I have to pay for something that I already [have]...when people have already been there [on the land]? Remove them to construct new houses elsewhere? To make use of a piece of land that isn't useful for agricultural production? It's not going to make a difference for the environment. (Interview, 22 August 2017)

Sandra of Vila Autódromo was quick to point out the hypocrisy of Hípica's passive eviction during a meeting with the Tijuca Park administration in Parque Lage, a former plantation-turned-art school located at the base of Corcovado and also within Tijuca National Park. Sandra, a strong advocate for other communities facing eviction and a constant feature at anti-eviction meetings and protests, stood up to condemn the hypocrisy of the situation, telling Park administration that they should be ashamed of themselves for their presentation in which they defended the severing of Hípica's electricity. Like other Hípica allies, she underscored that Hípica residents act as stewards of Tijuca Park and that the Park was hypocritical to say that residents harmed the environment when the restaurants located in the Park were, to her, categorically terrible for the natural ecosystem (fieldnotes, 23 May 2017).

[176]

Ana also noted the double standard regarding restaurants during a public debate about creating a zone of environmental protection around Araçatiba. Speaking to an audience of about twenty residents, along with an aide of politician Brizola Neto, Ana protested that the city government does not appear to mind the restaurants that are directly in the mangrove while Araçatiba faces the potential eviction of half of its residents (fieldnotes, 11 December 2017). The accepted appropriate use of land is a point of contention for favela housing rights activists and government officials. From the perspective of the government, favela land is being inappropriately used for housing and—worse still— favela residents do not pay their fair share of taxes on the land. Therefore, removal and possible relocation to public housing in another area ensures that the re-housed pay more in taxes and thus become more productive members of civil society.

Likewise, what amounts to blatant hypocrisy for Ana and Sandra regarding the tolerance of restaurants is a justified and rational move for Park administration and, by extension, federal and municipal governments. Restaurants (unlike housing settlements) generate income. Consequently, the Park justifies having restaurants in the Park by arguing that restaurants are a necessary part of ensuring positive visitor experiences:

> *Ao contrário das moradias particulares, a operação dos restaurantes é compatível com a finalidade de um Parque Nacional, estabelecida em lei…Essa diferença foi explicitada desde a primeira informação sobre a desativação da antiga rede elétrica.*

> Unlike private housing, the operation of restaurants is compatible with the mission of a National Park and is established in law…This difference was explained at the very beginning when the former electrical grid was first deactivated. (Fieldnotes, 23 May 2017)

However, this explanation perhaps intentionally leaves out that the reason restaurants are permitted is because of their economic potential.

Whether residents are well-versed in Marxist discourse or interpret theirs and others' eviction threats in more subtle ways based on their own observations of eviction, they are aware that they are targets for eviction for what academics would call classist reasons. However, favela residents are far less cognizant of the racial factors in favela eviction. An exception to this is Horto whose leadership—roughly half Afro-descendant—were virtually

[177]

the only leaders of the researched communities that consistently spoke about racial injustices among themselves and in public meetings and protests.

Despite a black consciousness movement that originated during the 1980s in Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the denial of racism and a general ambivalence towards race in Brazil persists. The fledging race consciousness that exists in Brazil can be attributed to the increased numbers of Afro-descendants entering university and learning the language to describe their own racial oppression—in similar ways that students learn to see and interpret economic inequalities through the application of Marxist theory. Ricardo, a black professor at UFRJ who opened the debate, 'For What and For Whom Does Favela Research Serve?', spoke to an audience of mostly non-favela residents about the stagnantly small number of Afro-descendant students attending university and voiced his frustrations regarding the lack of political involvement of university graduates from favelas in their communities. There was pushback from another speaker, Debra, who wondered about the usefulness of fixating on race since race creates barriers between people. At any rate, she alleged, it was impossible to assign anyone to a specific racial category with any certainty (fieldnotes, 25 March 2017). Speaking about race in public forums often elicits this kind of response from those who mistakenly believe talking about race and racism reifies both and exacerbates social tensions.

To prevent this, some have chosen to create so-called safe spaces within universities wherein those concerned can discuss race openly while assuming everyone there already acknowledges the problem of racial discrimination in Brazil. One such group is the Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas Intelectuais Negras (Black Women Intellectual Study and Research Group) at UFRJ. During one well-attended meeting of students, professors, as well as non-academics and favela residents, the conversation veered to Brazil's racial quota system. Thais from the tourism agency Conectando Territórios provided nuance to the discussion by noting how colourism is an added hurdle for some Afro-descendants and explained that the black students who benefit from the racial quota system tend to have lighter skin colours (fieldnotes, 21 July 2017). Frank conversations like this about race are rare outside of dedicated spaces.

It seems apparent from informal discussions and observations that for many Afro-descendants, linking their struggle to that of African Americans both helps them to identify and understand black injustice in Brazil by comparing it to black racial issues in the United States. For example, a speaker at 'For What and For Whom Does Favela Research Serve?' imagined that for an African American researcher he knows, the favelas of Rio would look

familiar to her—implying that the favelas of Rio are demographically similar to American ghettos. Emília, the Vice President of AMAHOR, also views the American ghetto[80] as a useful heuristic to understand the injustice of social cleansing: '*Os pretensos detentores da casa grande querem ver os pobres, os pretos, e todos trabalhadores no guetos miseráveis* [the so-called keepers of the plantation house want to see the poor, the blacks, and all workers in miserable ghettos' (Facebook post, 15 September 2017). Here, Emília offers an intersectional (class and race) critique to evoke an emotional response to forced eviction by equating it with slavery.

For AMAHOR leadership, raising race consciousness within Horto and within the larger movement is a priority. In some ways, raising the issue of race through the context of anti-eviction activism has worked for Horto, who has mounted a strong argument that Horto's quilombo heritage both proves the longevity of the community and bolsters land rights claims. However, attempts to raise race consciousness are hampered by the prevalent ambiguity about race and the inclination for many Brazilians to downplay race as a predominant factor in social inequalities. Such equivocation occurred during a rare discussion about race in a Horto community assembly in which AMAHOR president, Emerson, spoke about race as a factor in their eviction threat. In response, some residents quickly added that economic migrants from the Northeast of Brazil face racism as well (fieldnotes, 13 September 2017).

Besides the difficulty of speaking about racial injustice on its own terms, race or a lack of widespread racial consciousness in Horto complicates community organising and partly explains some tension between AMAHOR and the Residents' Commission. As Rafael Soares Gonçalves explained during an interview in his office at PUC-Rio, there is a noticeable geographical and racial element to support for either organisation. According to Gonçalves, the area nearest to the headquarters of AMAHOR, called Solar da Imperatriz where Emília's family lives, has a higher percentage of Afro-descendants than other neighbourhoods in Horto and residents there are strong supporters of AMAHOR. On the other hand, there are fewer black Brazilians in Caxinguelê, the area that borders the Botanical Garden where many in the Residents' Commission live and where residents tend to support the Residents' Commission (interview, 6 September 2017). This geographical and demographical difference explains why the Residents' Commission on the whole stays silent about race while AMAHOR is

---

[80] While the ghetto is not strictly an American phenomenon, black ghettos in the US are often compared with favelas in Brazil with American ghettos being seen as extreme examples of racial and socioeconomic segregation.

intentionally pushing for residents to see Horto as a fundamentally black community. However, it also means that racial identity politics is a strategy only employed by AMAHOR and, as such, may not have widespread acceptance within Horto.

Conclusion

The affective and emotional politics of social movement organising is of growing interest in social movement studies, but how affect and emotion relate to gender, race, and class within social movement organising is less understood. The purpose of this chapter is to add needed empirical research on how emotions and affect, informed by race, class, gender, lead to an embodied political practice and influence the ways in which activists organise. This chapter also builds on theories surrounding women's activism and demonstrates another example of the use of vulnerability as a political tool. Adding the consideration of intersectional identities in research on affective and emotional politics will add depth and complexity to the field of research as well as invites dialogue with scholars of identity studies.

Race, class, and gender are salient features of the Favela Housing Rights Movement in Rio, though with varying levels of consciousness and politicisation. Western feminist tropes were not common during discussions and interviews with female activists and women rarely saw their involvement in political terms—a common theme found in research about women and social movements in Brazil. Instead, women justified their participation and leadership by invoking their traditional role as caretakers, often proving this by engaging in an affective performative vulnerability in their dealings with government employees and the political elite.

While performative vulnerability among women was a relatively common occurrence, demonstrations of anger or frustration about racial injustice were rarer, compared to the ease with which participants voiced their awareness and resentment of classism. A possible explanation for this lack of acknowledgement about racial injustice alongside class injustice is perhaps due to the demographics of the communities that I researched as well as a general ambivalence about race in Brazil. Regardless, the role of race in housing rights movements is an understudied topic that warrants academic attention. However, it may be difficult to conduct this kind of research outside of Bahia, where the few scholars I could identify that studied race in Brazilian housing rights activism in depth located their research. Colloquially known as the 'blackest' region of Brazil, race consciousness in Bahian cities such as Salvador and the broader Recôncavo region of Bahia might be more prevalent than in other areas of the country. Nevertheless, racial identity politics does not yet seem to have as much emotive power as class politics or performative vulnerability in the Favela Housing Rights Movement.

[180]

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Fieldwork has a way of marking you and I felt the effects of this fieldwork as I left Rio:

> I try to hide the few tears falling down my cheek from my seatmate as I crane my neck to take in the last glimpses of Guanabara Bay that the aeroplane wing is increasingly blocking out. I'm surprised at myself. I never thought I would love Rio, my field site. I'm not sure I do, but I feel marked by time spent there. I think others can tell, once I get back to England, how marked I feel by my fieldwork. Maybe that's why I keep bringing up the deep tan I've developed while living in perpetual summertime. I know no one call tell because I had brown skin before but I still bring it up. I want them to know that things happened to me. That I'm marked. (Appendix A)

Nothing could have prepared me for how close, how personal the struggle for favela housing rights would become. As I suppose it is with any closely-followed topic, the more I immersed myself in the movement and the more I got to know Rio— my adopted, temporary home—the less abstract favela evictions became. Forced evictions were not just an injustice, something that I felt intellectually were unjustified. They acquired faces: those of friends, acquaintances, and their families.

Over time, my reaction to forced evictions changed: I began to tear up while reading about half-forgotten mass evictions in the 1960s, Catacumba and Praia do Pinto, and listened in weary trepidation as another resident from yet another favela informed the audience of a Conselho Popular meeting of another eviction threat. These emotions have not left me and have informed the way in which I have written this dissertation. I have attempted to stress the importance of continuing to research forced evictions in Rio because these eviction threats persist, because the friends and acquaintances I have made continue to mobilise against eviction and need to have their stories told. And yet, I did not want to only write about hardship; I wanted to write about anti-eviction activism as a celebration of favela activists whose strength and perseverance inspires me and doubtless others who research the fight for rights in informal settlements.

Dissertation Map

The crux of the introductory chapter is the problem statement: the question of how informal settlements on public land, which are barred from receiving land titles, mobilise against eviction. I have argued that these communities developed alternative strategies, each

of which is discussed in greater detail in dedicated chapters. I outlined federal housing policy in Brazil and discussed the UN Statute on Adequate Housing; Rio's Lei Orgânica do Município; Federal Law no. 13.465/2017 that allows the sale of public land; and Rio's City Statute, influenced by Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city. I then reviewed the available literature on favela evictions. Most of this literature focus on favela evictions prompted by the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics in Rio. I used the section to explain how current research ignores that evictions are still a threat for informal settlements in Rio and that the story of favela housing rights in Rio extends beyond the mega-events era.

Next, I explained how environmental concerns have served to justify evicting informal settlements and summarised the tensions between environmental protection and urban housing rights. This tension is most potently felt in favelas on public land (ecological preserves owned by federal, state, or municipal governments). I then explored the debate about the usefulness of land regularisation (either land titles or land usage rights) to prevent eviction of favelas on both public and private land. Those who believe that land regularisation helps prevent eviction allege that formalizing favelas will make evictions harder to defend. On the other hand, those who doubt the efficacy of land regularisation believe that informal settlements have de facto land rights and that the process of petitioning for formal land rights is taxing and expensive. In the review, I sided with the pro-title camp but underscored that the ideal course of action for favelas with eviction notices is to do what the communities I researched have done: pursue every legal recourse while also developing other, creative strategies to prevent eviction.

Chapter 2 is a literature review of English and Portuguese-language scholarly work on housing rights activism in Brazil, which spans sociology, geography, anthropology, legal studies, and public planning. The chapter began with an assessment of literature on housing rights movements in Brazil and demonstrates movements are dominated by large national housing rights organisations. Perhaps because of this, scholars who research housing rights issues in Rio have not chosen to frame small-scale networks of housing rights activism as social movements. I, however, have proposed that at least in the case of the favelas networked through the Conselho Popular, that a favela housing rights movement exists in Rio. In anticipation of Chapter 7, I discussed the demographics of what I have named the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro, which is largely a movement of women, including a significant number of black women. I also presented a review of the available literature on black and women's participation in housing rights movements with an emphasis

on Brazil. In the following section of the literature review, I provided a review of literature detailing cases in which environmentalism and heritage have been used in land and housing rights movements. I explained that the clearest examples of this appear in research on indigenous land rights movements but also review the small number of studies that describe the politicisation of environmentalism and heritage in informal settlements. I concluded the chapter with a review of the limited research on intersectional emotional and affective politics in social movement organising.

In Chapter 3 I outlined my research philosophy, which is grounded in the methods of participant-observation and interviewing. My research philosophy was inspired by the ideals of activist and collaborative research as well as by feminist methodologies found in anthropology and sociology. I identified Hooker (2005) and indigenous inclusion/black exclusion as providing the theoretical framework for this project and discussed the key concepts of in(formality) and identity politics that comprise my conceptual framework. I also clarified my choice of terminology while observing that word choice was a difficult aspect of the writing-up process. I then described my research approach and explained how I managed collecting and analysing the data. Access to the communities was a key determinant in how much and what kind of data I was able to collect and so I briefly described how I was able to gain access to favelas. I used thematic analysis to examine data gathered from interviews and notes from participant-observation. The next sections detail ethical issues and research limitations. I then narrated the histories of the communities that feature most prominently in the movement for favela housing rights and included a review of literature of research conducted on these communities.

Chapter 4 introduced the Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro. I first dove into the historical context of the Favela Housing Rights Movement by summarising the history of favelas in Rio. I then presented five key arguments in relation to the movement. The first was that despite a lack of academic attention, there is a housing rights movement happening in Rio. Secondly, I maintain that a key driver of housing rights activism, as well as a main factor in disagreements between favela residents and the government, is that residents have a differing viewpoint on the concept of land ownership and have a conflicting understanding of what the social function of property entails. Residents believe they are carrying out the social function of property on public land because they are inhabiting land for housing purposes. However, the government rejects this interpretation, leading them to seek the eviction of residents.

Thirdly, I found that the movement, unlike a typical social movement, is wary of formal organised politics, as well as some forms of contentious politics. I theorised that this disregard for politics is influenced by the largely female membership but ultimately found that the seemingly apolitical strategies that participants use, such as appropriating environmentalism and heritage, end up becoming political by virtue of being employed for political means (i.e. securing land and housing rights). The fourth argument concerns the nature of favela housing rights organising and I contended that there are certain characteristics of favela-based social movements that render organising difficult. Lastly, I argued that participating has generated benefits for residents and for female residents in particular.

Chapter 5 introduced the first of the two alternative strategies that residents in the Favela Housing Rights Movement use to mobilise against eviction. The municipal government of Rio is pushing environmentalist policies, some of which are being used to justify favela evictions. In these scenarios, favelas are blamed for polluting and generally destroying the natural habitat of the city. The residents of favelas, in turn, are labelled as 'invaders', as in an invasive species whose presence destroys the environment. To counter these narratives, residents have appropriated the discourses and practises of environmentalism. In this way, they have attempted to subvert the accusation of being invaders by re-positioning themselves as conservationists.

Chapter 6 explored the second alternative strategy: the instrumentalization of heritage by way of museums and tourism in the fight against favela evictions. Here again, residents must defend themselves against narratives that claim favelas are devoid of culture, history, and heritage and therefore do not need special protections. To prove these detractors wrong and to bolster their own land rights claims, residents of some favelas have created museums and have encouraged tourism into their communities. From my view, these alternative strategies constitute rebranding projects—informed by identity politics and driven by a desire to appear respectable— that aim to dismantle the favela stigma that engenders forced evictions.

Chapter 7 was a deeper exploration of the underlying implications of these alternative strategies of the Favela Housing Rights Movement. In a broad sense, favela residents realise that they face eviction threats because of a marginalisation that manifests through gender, class, and race, albeit in different ways. The chapter is structured in two parts: the first section addressed how gender has influenced anti-eviction activism. Here, I argued that women leaders in the movement feel they must justify their leadership positions and participation by engaging in what I call performative vulnerability. This performative vulnerability doubly

serves to shame those that would wish to evict them but also helps make these women more intelligible as leaders within the social movement. The second section compared the impact of race and class in the movement through the lens of affective and emotional politics. I explained how residents interpret the common justifications for favela removal (i.e. environmental destruction, favelas as places without history) as being truly about classism and— to a lesser extent—racism. I reasoned that the general lack of awareness about the role of racism in favela evictions stems from the lingering ambivalence towards race and the false belief that Afro-descendants do not face discrimination.

Intellectual Contribution

This project is born of political and urban sociology but engages in academic debates that span the cognate social sciences. The primary contribution of this research is to the field of favela studies and broadly to the field of research concerned with forced evictions of informal settlements. While research on favelas, particularly in Rio de Janeiro, is vast, there are far fewer studies that document activism in favelas and fewer still that investigate anti-forced eviction mobilisation. This dissertation is a necessary addition to the extant research on favela evictions and political responses to eviction as it shows that forced eviction was not a temporary phenomenon, linked to the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games, but is a constant threat for small favelas, especially those located in or near nature reserves, and otherwise on public land.

The absence of considerations of land type in research on forced evictions of favelas is another contribution of this research, as I have shown that favelas on public land must find additional strategies to avoid forced eviction given their inability to acquire land titles. The necessity of land titles in preventing forced evictions of informal settlements is a topic of contention but I maintain that a lack of land titles endangers favelas on valuable public lands. I also demonstrate how the inability to rely on titles, or other legal or public policy measures for land regularisation, has compelled favela residents to devise creative, alternative strategies to avoid forced eviction. Furthermore, I add a sociological perspective on the topic of the social function of property by demonstrating how the concept has been used to both justify and condemn forced evictions of informal settlements.

This dissertation also provides a novel investigation into how environmental and heritage discourses and practices have been used as resistance strategies. Hooker (2005) provides the theoretical framework for understanding the underlying rationale for politicising environmentalism and heritage in land rights struggles. Research on the similar strategies

[185]

employed in indigenous land rights movements gives context to the politicisation of environmentalism and heritage in non-indigenous groups mobilising for land rights. Sparse are the examples of informal settlements using these resistance strategies in academic literature and this dissertation is unique in its documentation of environmentalism and heritage used concurrently as political strategies in informal settlements. This research also interprets the use of environmentalism and heritage in activism as a form of respectability politics—a concept generally restricted to African American studies. Respectability politics has the analytical power to explain how favela residents attempt to use environmentalism and heritage discourses to reposition themselves as respectable citizens (instead of stigmatised favela residents) in order to make the removal of their communities outside the realm of possibility or necessity.

On the environment, this research engages in the academic and policy debates on the right to housing versus environmental rights. I provide another argument for the viewpoint that informal settlements are not necessarily antagonistic to the environment by discussing examples of communities, 'ecological favelas' that are committed to sustainable development. Until now, ecological favela has not been used as an analytical concept but here I employ the term to not only describe environmentally-minded favelas but also to signal the political aspects of environmental projects in these communities. Furthermore, research into environmentalism as a political strategy in the Favela Housing Rights Movement thus identifies the movement as a socioterritorial movement. While research on socioterritorial movements emphasises the acquisition of territory, I instead expand the concept to include the symbolic appropriation of land through social movement organising. This reinterpretation and expansion of the concept of socioterritorial movements can help to explain how favela land becomes politicised.

Lastly, this research contributes to the growing literature on affective and emotional politics in social movements. This topic of research is expansive and yet few studies examine the role of emotions and affect through racialised, gendered, and economically-stratified embodied subjects. This research has identified anger and frustration in response to injustice as key unifying emotions that spur residents into activism. I have also uncovered that awareness about class injustice is typically the source of these emotions for residents, who, because of racial ambivalence, are less aware of how racism also drives forced evictions of favelas. Vulnerability is also a key emotion and, through my development of the concept of performative vulnerability, I supplement research on women's activism to show how women

[186]

use vulnerability to justify their participation and leadership in the Favela Housing Rights Movement.

<p align="center">*Policy Significance and Recommendations*</p>

In 2015, the United Nations launched the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, built on the legacy of the Millennium Development Goals. Goal 11, 'sustainable cities and communities', envisions a future with affordable and sustainable housing for all and specifically calls for upgrading projects in informal settlements. These goals are reflected in the Cities Without Slums action plan, developed by the World Bank and UN-Habitat in 1999 and reflected in the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals. Contrary to its name, Cities Without Slums does not call for the removal of the world's informal settlements. Instead, Cities Without Slums seeks to radically improve informal settlements by, among other things, installing infrastructure and ensuring security of tenure (World Bank 2013). The United Nations recognises that informal settlements are a crucial part of ensuring sustainable development in cities and that forced evictions are not necessary for sustainable urban development. This research project affirms that informal settlements can also be sustainable communities and that the prevailing policy of forced evictions in Rio is antithetical to the United Nations' vision for a better, more equitable and sustainable future as outlined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and corresponding Sustainable Development Goals.

Based on this research, I offer several policy recommendations as well as suggestions for how to expand the movement for favela housing rights. First, I advise a reconsideration of informal settlements as social problems. Historically, the view of informal settlements as inherently problematic has been a catalyst for their destruction. In ideal situations, displaced residents are rehoused in public housing; this is, in fact, the ideal policy according to the United Nations. However, there needs to be a more radical shift in how policymakers view informal settlements. Policymakers ought to view informal settlements not as problems but as solutions to housing shortages in cities. Therefore, officials should not focus on preventing a growth in informal settlements as espoused in the Cities Without Slums initiative, but instead must work towards ensuring that those who live in informal settlements can live in dignity with sound infrastructure and access to public services. Characterising informal settlements as social ills instead of addressing the real issues of low wages and unaffordable housing in cities simply adds to stigmatisation of these places which in turn fuels further evictions.

<p align="center">[187]</p>

Regarding the Favela Housing Rights Movement, the lessons learned by residents involved in the movement could be used to help residents of other similar communities facing eviction. Several favelas have independently developed the alternative strategies of using environmentalism and heritage to campaign for favela housing rights without having identified them as political strategies as such. Therefore, this dissertation unites and reinterprets these seemingly disparate and apolitical projects in various favelas to show how they are, in fact, political strategies. In this dissertation, I have elucidated these strategies, which could then be adopted by other favelas facing similar eviction threats. However, it is likely that only favelas that match the characteristics of the featured communities (as in favelas in protected natural areas on public land with a documented history and unique culture) will benefit from employing these alternative strategies.

Future Work

The conclusion of this research presents avenues for future research and invites enquiries into topics that could not be thoroughly explored in the dissertation. In the dissertation, I characterised the movement for favela housing rights in Rio as a small-scale social movement. Unfortunately, it does not appear that small-scale social movements have become a field of study despite calls for more scholarly attention to small movements (Perry 2013). It is my understanding that while 'micromobilisation' would seem to be a term that would describe these movements, the term accurately describes small, often one-off individual acts of activism and does not indicate a small social movement. Perhaps there is no separate field of study on small social movements because many academics simply do not believe that a small social movement can exist, or possibly because small social movements present methodological challenges. Small social movements could be more difficult to study because they are not as visible as larger movements and researchers would not know about these small movements without insider knowledge. Nevertheless, there is a need for a field of dedicated research on small social movements to help establish a more nuanced understanding of social movements.

Another gap in social movement research that this project uncovered but that I was ultimately unable to include is the role of older people in housing rights movements. There are already few examples of research on the participation of senior citizens in social movements with research typically detailing health and pension issues.[1] I could not find

---

[1] See Campbell (2002) and McCarthy and Zald (1977) for examples.

evidence of research that specifically addresses the experiences of older participants in housing-related social movements. Therefore, scholars should examine the role of older participants in housing movements because, as with women, older people are similarly vulnerable to forced evictions (OHCHR 2012, 36). Thus, housing rights are a human rights issue for the elderly, thereby explaining the impetus for some senior citizens and retirees to join the movement for favela housing rights.

A lingering question that this research raised but that I could not address in-depth is the role of religion in the Favela Housing Rights Movement. In Chapter 4 I showed how instrumental the Catholic Church has been in supporting the movement through the auspices of the Pastoral de Favelas and hinted that the tensions between Catholics and Protestant evangelicals in Brazil might impede housing rights activism in the future. During fieldwork, I found evidence of some evangelical churches organising for favela housing rights. Future research could compare anti-eviction activism in Protestant settings with activities at the Pastoral de Favelas and could explore in greater detail how these two religious traditions influence favela housing rights activism.

Chapter 5 most clearly demonstrated the link between the political strategies used by residents of 'ecological favelas' and indigenous land rights claims, as both sets of activists tend to emphasise their role as environmental stewards and assert that this role (along with the need for land to preserve their heritages) should guarantee them land rights. At the beginning of fieldwork, the connection I saw between the political strategies of these favela residents and indigenous land activists drove my investigation. However, as I could not see that residents had been directly influenced by indigenous activism, I decided to change focus. Nevertheless, the similarities in the strategies these two groups use is undeniable and would be worth comparing and analysing in a future study.

Chapter 5 left additional questions. For example, neoliberalism is certainly a feature of the commodification of ecological favelas for ecotourism. How revolutionary, then, could a survival strategy be if it necessarily involves this commodification? Furthermore, the actions of NGOs looking to fund respectable, environmentally-friendly favelas has provided monetary incentives for favelas to become ecological favelas. Do relationships like these with NGOs impinge on the autonomy and self-sufficiency of favela communities? Moreover, if the ecological favela model spreads, will this lead to gentrification? The favela of Babilônia is already dealing with gentrification, with newly-built hostels meant to accommodate tourists looking for an authentic Rio experience in a pacified favela. If this becomes a widespread problem, the task will be to prevent residents from being priced out of their neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, more longitudinal research is needed to understand whether the ecological favela model can truly help favelas avoid eviction, the extent to which other favelas can replicate the model, and if social costs like gentrification can be mitigated or avoided. These and related questions could form the basis for future research on the ecological favela.

Lastly, further research could explore whether informal settlements on public land are more or less at risk of eviction than those on private land. I hypothesise that favelas on public land are more vulnerable to eviction than those on private land because public land oftentimes means environmentally protected areas, which further incentivises favela evictions. However, a qualitative comparative analysis chronicling and analysing the land type of favelas that have been evicted and are at risk of eviction is likely needed to adequately address this question. The Favela Housing Rights Movement of Rio de Janeiro may be small, but its significance is vast. Participants in the movement teach other residents of informal settlements that they can and must fight for a more just future: for the right to remain in peace in affordable, sustainable housing of their own choosing.

References

Abdulai, Raymond Talinbe. 2006. 'Is Land Title Registration the Answer to Insecure and
      Uncertain Property Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa?' *RICS Research Paper Series* 6,
      no. 6: 1-27.
      https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323106054_Is_Land_Title_Registrat
      ion_the_Answer_to_Insecure_and_Uncertain_Property_Rights_in_sub-
      Saharan_Africa.

Abe, Nilma de Castro. 2008. 'Notas sobre a inaplicabilidade da função social à propriedade
      pública'. *Revista Brasileira de Direito Constitucional* 11, no.1: 135-154.
      http://esdc.com.br/seer/index.php/rbdc/article/view/170.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1991. 'Writing Against Culture'. In *Recapturing Anthropology:*
      Working in the Present, edited by Richard G Fox, 137-162. Santa Fe: School of
      American Research Press.

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University
      Press.

—. 2000. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality*. London: Routledge.

Allen, Adriana, Rita Lambert, Alexandre Apsan Frediani, and Tatiana Ome. 2015.
      'Can Participatory Mapping Activate Spatial and Political Practices? Mapping
      Popular Resistance and Dwelling Practices in Bogotá Eastern Hills'. *Area* 47, no. 3:
      261-271. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12187.

Alves, Maria Helena Moreira and Philip Evanson. 2011. *Living in the Crossfire: Favela*
      Residents, Drug Dealers, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro. Philadelphia: Temple
      University Press.

Anderson, Mark. 2007. 'When Afro Becomes (like) Indigenous: Garifuna and Afro-
      Indigenous Politics in Honduras'. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean*
      Anthropology 12, no. 2: 384-413. https://doi.org/10.1525/jlat.2007.12.2.384.

Angelini, Alessandro. 2016. 'Favela in Replica: Iteration and Itineraries of a Miniature City'.
      Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology 21, no. 1: 36–60.
      https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12174.

—. 2015. 'Ludic Maps and Capitalist Spectacle in Rio de Janeiro'. *Geoforum* 65: 421–430. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.01.015.

Arias, Enrique Desmond and Corinne Davis Rodrigues. 2006. 'The Myth of Personal Security: Criminal Gangs, Dispute Resolution, and Identity in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas'. *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, no. 4 (December): 53-81. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2006.tb00365.x.

Associação de Moradores e Pescadores da Vila Autódromo. 2016. 'Plano Popular da Vila Autódromo'. Self-published, https://vivaavilaautodromo.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/ppva_2016web.pdf.

Barreto, Victor. 2018. 'Morar, trabalhar, e (sobre) VIVER no Centro'. *Vozes da Comunidade* (Rio de Janeiro), September 3, 2018.

Barros, Otávio Alves and Maria Emília Melo. 2011. 'Do mito à realidade: a experiência de turismo sustentável na comunidade Do Vale Encantado, Floresta de Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil'. In 'Brazil', edited by Gustavo Costa de Souza. Special issue, *FACTS Reports* 3, no. 1: 1-5. https://journals.openedition.org/factsreports/1154.

Bassett, Ellen M. and Harvey M. Jacobs. 1997. 'Community-based Tenure Reform in Urban Africa: The Community Land Trust Experiment in Voi, Kenya'. *Land Use Policy* 4, no. 3 (July): 215-229. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0264-8377(97)00003-3.

Bautès, Nicolas, Lenise Lima Fernandes, and Marcos David Burgos. 2013. 'Entre confrontes e desafios na construção da legitimidade popular: algumas perspectivas sobre os movimentos de resistências em favelas do Rio de Janeiro'. *Libertas* 13, no. 2 (August-December): 137-173. https://libertas.ufjf.emnuvens.com.br/libertas/article/view/2752/2238.

Bega dos Santos, Regina. 2004. *Movimentos sociais urbanos*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP.

Birman, Patricia, and David Lehmann. 1999. 'Religion and the Media in a Battle for Ideological Hegemony: The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God and TV Globo in Brazil'. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 18, no. 2 (April): 145-64. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3338986.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2019. 'Feeling Race: Theorizing the Racial Economy of Emotions'. *American Sociological Review* 84, no. 1 (February): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418816958.

Borges, Waleska. 2012. 'Casas não sairão de área florestal da Gávea'. *O Globo*, May 14, 2012. https://oglobo.globo.com/rio/casas-nao-sairao-de-area-florestal-da-gavea-4899094.

Bottomley, Anne and Hilary Lim. 2007. 'Feminist Perambulations: Taking the Law for a Walk in Land'. In *Feminist Perspectives on Land Law*, edited by Hilary Lim and Anne Bottomley, 1-30. New York: Routledge Cavendish.

Braga Porto, Daniela de Fátima and Morisa Martins Jajah. 2016. 'A função social da propriedade pública'. *Perquirere* 13, no. 2 (December): 1-20. http://perquirere.unipam.edu.br.

Brakarz, José. 2016. 'Tenure Regularization: Processes and Experiences in Latin America'. In *Slums: How Informal Real Estate Markets Work*, edited by Eugenie L. Birch, Shahana Chattaraj, and Susan M. Wachter, 140-154. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Branford, Sue and Jan Rocha. 2002. *Cutting the Wire: The Story of the Landless Movement in Brazil*. London: Latin America Bureau.

Braun, Virginia and Victoria Clark. 2006. 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology'. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2: 77-101. c10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Brickell, Katherine, Melissa Fernandés Arrigoitia, and Alex Vasudevan. 2017. 'Geographies of Forced Eviction: Dispossession, Violence, Resistance'. In *Geographies of Forced Eviction: Dispossession, Violence, Resistance*, edited by Katherine Brickell, Melissa Fernandés Arrigoitia, and Alex Vasudevan, 1- 23. London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brum, Mário. 2013. 'Favelas e remocionismo entre ontem e hoje: da Ditatura de 1965 aos Grandes Eventos'. *O Social em Questão* 16, no. 29: 197-208. http://osocialemquestao.ser.puc-rio.br/media/8artigo29.pdf.

—. 2012. *Cidade Alta: história, memórias e estigma de favela num conjunto habitacional do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Ponteio.

—. 2005. 'Despertar e incentivar: a Pastoral de Favelas e o movimento comunitário de favelas cariocas na Redemocratização'. *Revista Cantareira* 2, no. 3 (December): 1-48 paragraphs. http://www.historia.uff.br/cantareira.

Bruno, Dionatan 2018. 'Role dos Favelados'. *A Voz da Favela* (Rio de Janeiro), September 2018.

Caíres, Monique Cabral and Helene Shinohara. 2010. 'Transtornos de ansiedade na criança: um olhar nas comunidades'. *Revista Brasileira de Terapias Cognitivas* 6, no. 1 (January-June): 62-84. https://doi.org/10.5935/1808-5687.20100005.

Caldeira, Teresa Pires de Rio. 1990. 'Women, Daily Life and Politics'. In *Women and Social Change in Latin America*, edited by Elizabeth Jelin. London: Zed Books.

Caldieron, Jean and Rick Miller. 2013. 'Residential Satisfaction in the Informal Neighborhoods of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia'. *ENQUIRY: The ARCC Journal*, 7, no. 1 (March): 12-18. https://doi/org/0.17831/enq:arcc.v7i1.73.

Campbell, Andrea Louise. 2002. 'Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens'. *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 3: 565–74. https://doi/org/10.1017/S0003055402000333.

Campos, Andrelino. 2005. *Do quilombo à favela: a produção do 'espaço criminalizado' no Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Betrand Brasil.

Carle-Marsan, Marie-Anne. 2013. 'Luttes de brésiliennes pour le droit à la ville: L'expérience des femmes de l'occupation Manoel Congo à Rio de Janeiro, Brésil'. Master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal. https://archipel.uqam.ca/5592/.

Catalytic Communities. 2016. 'Primary Housing and Property Laws in Brazil'. 17 May 2016. http://catcomm.org/law-housing/.

Chesters, Timothy. 2009. 'Introduction'. In *Land Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2005*, edited by Timothy Chesters, 1-4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chun, Jennifer Jihye. 2016. 'The Affective Politics of the Precariat: Reconsidering Alternative Histories of Grassroots Worker Organizing. *Global Labour Journal* 7, no. 2: 136–147. https://doi.org/10.15173/glj.v7i2.2483.

City Government of Rio de Janeiro. 2017. *2017-2020 plano estratégico da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. http://prefeitura.rio/ebooks/plano-estrategico/html5forpc.html?page=0.

—. 2015. *Explicando a política de habitação da prefeitura do Rio*. https://medium.com/explicando-a-pol%C3%ADtica-de-habita%C3%A7%C3%A3o-da-prefeitura/fa%C3%A7a-aqui-o-download-completo-do-relat%C3%B3rio-d3d2d66069ea.

Clough, Nathan L. 'Emotion at the Center of Radical Politics: On the Affective Structures of Rebellion and Control'. *Antipode* 44: 1667-1686. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01035.x.

Compans, Rose. 2007. 'A cidade contra a favela: a nova ameaça ambiental'. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 9, no. 1 (May): 83-94. https://doi.org/10.22296/2317-1529.2007v9n1p83.

Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil (CNBB). 2012). 'Pastoral das Favelas: 35 anos de história na Arquidiocese do Rio'. 24 September 2012. http://www.cnbb.org.br/pastoral-das-favelas-35-anos-de-historia-na-arquidiocese-do-rio/.

Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne. 1990. 'Women and Popular Urban Social Movements in São Paulo, Brazil'. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 9, no. 2: 249-264. https://doi.org/10.2307/3338472.

da Costa, Antonio Aleixo. 2011. 'A questão da moradia na construção de cidades sustentáveis'. Master's thesis, Catholic University of Santos. http://biblioteca.unisantos.br:8181/handle/tede/83.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color'. *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July): 1241–79. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039.

Cummings, Jake. 2015. 'Confronting Favela Chic: The Gentrification of Informal Settlements in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil'. In *Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement*, edited by Loretta Lees, Hyun B. Shin, and Ernesto López-Morales, 81–100. Bristol: Policy Press.

Davis, John Emmeus. 2014. 'Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States'. Self-published, http://berkshirecommunitylandtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Origins-Evolution-CLT-byJohnDavis.pdf.

Davis, Mike. 2006. *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.

De Cesari, Chiara. 2010. 'Creative Heritage: Palestinian Heritage NGOs and Defiant Arts of Government'. *American Anthropologist* 112: 625-637. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2010.01280.x.

Decourt, Andre. 2012. 'Favela da Praia Do Pinto, visto da Pedra Do Baiano – circa 1938'. *Foi Um Rio Que Passou* (blog), 9 May 2012. http://www.rioquepassou.com.br/2012/05/09/favela-da-praia-do-pinto-visto-da-pedra-do-baiano-circa-1938/.

Del Real, Patricio and Anna Cristina Pertierra. 2008. 'Inventar: Recent Struggles and Inventions in Housing in Two Cuban Cities'. *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 15 (Fall): 78–92. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27804884.

Deminicis, Rafael Borges. 2009. 'Ocupar, resistir, garantir: os movimentos sociais de ocupações urbanas do Rio de Janeiro na construção de uma política autogestionária'. Master's thesis, State University of Northern Rio de Janeiro. http://www.uenf.br/Uenf/Downloads/Pos_Sociologia_8835_1339012195.pdf.

Desmond, Jane C. 2002. *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Desmond, Matthew. 2016. *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. New York: Crown.

Donaghy, Maureen. 2015. 'Resisting Removal: The Impact of Community Mobilization in Rio de Janeiro'. *Latin American Politics and Society* 57, no. 1 (Winter): 74-96. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2015.00288.x.

Doshi, Sapana. 2013. 'The Politics of the Evicted: Redevelopment, Subjectivity, and Difference in Mumbai's Slum Frontier'. *Antipode* 45, no. 4 (September): 844-865. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01023.x.

Duguit, Léon. 1913. *Les transformations du droit public*. Paris: Armand Colin. https://archive.org/details/lestransformati00dugugoog.

Durand-Lasserve, A. 2006. 'Market-driven Evictions and Displacement: Implications for the Perpetuation of Informal Settlements in Developing Cities. In: *Informal Settlements: A Perpetual Challenge?,* edited by Marie Huchzermeyer and Aly Karam, 207-230. Cape Town: UCT Press.

Dürr, Eveline and Rivke Jaffe. 2012. 'Theorizing Slum Tourism: Performing, Negotiating and Transforming Inequality'. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 93 (October): 113-23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23294474.

Dürr, Eveline, Rivke Jaffe, and Gareth A. Jones. 2019. 'Brokers and Tours: The Commodification of Urban poverty and Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean'. *Space and Culture* (in press). http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/100502.

Earle, Lucy. 2017. *Transgressive Citizenship and the Struggle for Social Justice. The Right to the City in São Paulo.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

—. 2012. 'From Insurgent to Transgressive Citizenship: Housing, Social Movements and the Politics of Rights in São Paulo'. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 44, no. 1 (February): 97-126. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X11001118.

The Economist. 2014. 'Globo Domination'. 5 June 2014. https://www.economist.com/business/2014/06/05/globo-domination.

F.L.J. 2012. *Diário de uma invasora*. Rio de Janeiro: Livre Expressão.

Fernandes, Bernardo Mançano. 2000. 'Movimento social como categoria geográfica'. *Revista Terra* 15, no. 1: 59-85. http://www.agb.org.br/publicacoes/index.php/terralivre/article/view/361/343.

Fernandes, Edésio. 2007. 'Constructing the "Right to the City" in Brazil'. *Social & Legal Studies* 16, no. 2: 201-219. https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663907076529.

——. 2002. 'Providing Security of Tenure for the Urban Poor: The Brazilian Experience'. In *Holding Their Ground: Secure Land Tenure for the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*, edited by Alain Durand-Lasserve and Lauren Royston, 101–26. London: Earthscan.

——. 2000. 'The Legalization of Favelas in Brazil: Problems and Prospects'. *Third World Planning Review* 22, no. 2: 167-188. https://doi.org/10.3828/twpr.22.2.f765q34rm4600773.

Fernandes, Edésio and Helena Dolabela Pereira. 2010. 'Legalização das favelas: qual é o problema de Belo Horizonte?' *Planejamento Políticas Públicas* 34, no. 1: 171–199. http://desafios2.ipea.gov.br/ppp/index.php/PPP/article/view/171/184.

Fessler Vaz, Lilian. 2014. 'Cultural facilities in the Opaque Spaces of Brazilian Cities as Instruments of Resistance'. In Reading the Architecture of the Underprivileged Classes, edited by Nnamdi Elleh, 101-118. Surrey: Ashgate.

Filipe, Daniela. 2018. 'Novo governador do Rio nunca foi à Rocinha e diz que não precisa de a conhecer'. *Público* (Lisbon), November 5, 2018. https://www.publico.pt/2018/11/05/mundo/noticia/governador-eleito-rio-janeiro-quer-transformar-rocinha-bairro-matar-criminosos-arma-mao-1850004.

Fischer, Brodwyn. 2014. 'Introduction'. In *Cities from Scratch: Poverty and Informality in Urban Latin America*, edited by Brodwyn Fischer, Bryan McCann, and Javier Augaro, 1-7. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

——. 2008. *A Poverty of Rights: Citizenship and Inequality in Twentieth Century Rio de Janeiro*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Fittipaldi, Mariana. 2006. 'Direito à cidade: diálogo de eqüidade entre o direito à moradia e o direito ao meio ambiente'. Master's thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. http://www.maxwell.vrac.puc-rio.br/9334/9334_1.PDF.

Florence, Andrea. 2016. *Breaking Record: Child Rights Violations During Rio 2016 Olympics*. Cologny, Switzerland: Terre des Hommes International Federation. https://www.childrenwin.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Rio-2016-Briefing-Paper.pdf.

Fortin, Charles J. 2014. *Rights of Way to Brasília Teimosa: The Politics of Squatter Settlement*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Foster, Alison. 2014. 'Ricinus Communis L. (Euphorbiaceae)'. *Oxford University Plants 400*. Accessed 22 December 2018. https://herbaria.plants.ox.ac.uk/bol/plants400/profiles/QR/Ricinuscommunis.

Freeman, James. 2014. 'Raising the Flag over Rio de Janeiro's Favelas: Citizenship and Social Control in the Olympic City'. *Journal of Latin American Geography* 13, no. 1: 7-38. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lag.2014.0016.

—. 2012. 'Neoliberal Accumulation Strategies and the Invisible Hand of Police Pacification in Rio de Janeiro'. *Revista de Estudos Universitários* 38, no. 1: 95-126.

Freeman, James and Marcos Burgos. 2017. 'Accumulation by Forced Removal: The Thinning of Rio de Janeiro's Favelas in Preparation for the Games'. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 49, no. 3 (August): 549-577. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X16001942.

Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. 2013. *Touring Poverty*. New York: Routledge.

—. 2009. 'The Favela and its Touristic Transits'. *Geoforum* 40, no. 4 (July): 580-588. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.10.007.

Freitas, Clarissa F. Sampaio. 2004. 'A produção desequilibrada do meio ambiente urbano de Fortaleza e o papel do movimento ambientalista'. Paper presented at the II Encontro da ANPPAS, Indaiatuba, São Paulo, May 26-29, 2004. http://www.anppas.org.br/encontro_anual/encontro2/GT/GT11/gt11_clarissa_freitas.pdf.

Frenzel, Fabian. 2016. *Slumming It: The Tourist Valorisation of Urban Poverty*. London: Zed Books.

Frenzel, Fabian and Ko Koens. 2012. 'Slum Tourism: Developments in a Young Field of Interdisciplinary Tourism Research'. *Tourism Geographies* 14, no. 2: 195-212. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2012.633222.

Fuks, Mario. 1998. 'Arenas de ação e debate públicos: conflitos ambientais e a emergência do meio ambiente enquanto problema social no Rio de Janeiro'. *Dados* 41, no. 1: 61 para. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0011-52581998000100003.

Gandra, Alana. 2017. 'Exposição traça paralelo entre Morro da Providência e a Guerra de Canudos'. *Agência Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 June 2017. http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/cultura/noticia/2017-06/exposicao-traca-paralelo-entre-morro-da-providencia-e-guerra-de-canudos.

Garcia, Demian Castro and Patricia Ramos Novaes. 2015. 'Copa do Mundo 2014 e os impactos no direito à moradia: uma análise das cidades-sede brasileiras'. In *Brasil: os impactos da Copa do Mundo 2014 e das Olimpíadas 2016*, edited by Orlando Alves dos Santos Junior, Christopher Gaffney, and Luis Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório das Metrópoles. http://www.observatoriodasmetropoles.net/images/abook_file/livro_megaeventos_2015.pdf.

Garcia, Demian Castro, Christopher Gaffney, Patricia Ramos Novaes, Juciano Rodrigues, Carolina Pereira dos Santos, and Orlando Alves dos Santos Junior. 2015. 'O projeto Olímpico da cidade do Rio de Janeiro: reflexões sobre os impactos dos megaeventos esportivos na perspectiva do direito à cidade'. In *Brasil: Os Impactos da Copa do Mundo 2014 e das Olimpíadas 2016*, edited by Orlando Alves dos Santos Junior, Christopher Gaffney, Luis Cesar de Queiroz Ribeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório das Metrópoles. http://www.observatoriodasmetropoles.net/images/abook_file/livro_megaeventos_2015.pdf.

Gay, Robert. 1999. 'The Broker and the Thief: A Parable (Reflections on Popular Politics in Brazil)'. *Luso-Brazilian Review* 36, no.1 (Summer): 49–70. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3513989.

Geertz, Clifford. [1973] 2000. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basil Books.

Gilbert, Alan. 2002. 'On the Mystery of Capital and the Myths of Hernando de Soto: What Difference Does Legal Title Make?' *International Development Planning Review* 24, no. 1: 1-19. https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.24.1.1.

Gillespie, Tom. 2016. 'Accumulation by Urban Dispossession: Struggles over Urban Space in Accra, Ghana'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41 (January): 66-77. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12105.

Goffman, Erving. [1963] 1990. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. London: Penguin Books.

Gohn, Maria da Glória. 1991. *Movimentos sociais e luta pela moradia*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

Goldstein, Donna M. 2003. *Laughter out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*. University of California Press.

Gonçalves, Rafael Soares. 2018. 'Les conflits fonciers à Rio de Janeiro: Les habitants du «Horto Florestal» contre l'administration du Jardin Botanique'. *Urbanités* (February): 1-11. http://www.revue-urbanites.fr/bresil-les-conflits-fonciers-a-rio-de-janeiro-les-habitants-du-horto-florestal-contre-ladministration-du-jardin-botanique/.

—. 2014. 'The Right of the City or the Right to the City?' In *Megacity Slums: Social Exclusion, Space and Urban Policies in Brazil and India*, edited by Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Marie-Caroline, and Frédéric Landy, 121-163. London: Imperial College Press.

—. 2013. 'Porto Maravilha, renovação urbana e o uso da noção de risco: uma confluência perversa no morro da Providência'. *Libertas* 13, no. 2: 1-31. https://libertas.ufjf.emnuvens.com.br/libertas/article/view/2753/1964.

—. 2009. 'Repensar a regularização fundiária como política de integração socioespacial'. *Estudos Avançados* 23, no. 66: 237-250. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40142009000200017.

Gomide, Raphael. 2011. 'Rio de Janeiro x São Paulo: conheça as principais diferenças das favelas'. *Último Segundo* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 December 2011. https://ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/brasil/rio-de-janeiro-x-sao-paulo-conheca-as-principais-diferencas-das/n1597418137849.html.

Gondim, Linda María de Pontes. 2012. 'Meio ambiente urbano e questão social: habitação popular em áreas de preservação ambiental'. *Caderno CRH* 25, no. 64: 115-130. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792012000100009.

Goodenough, Jessica and Marc Cho. 2018. 'Over 130 Emboldened at Launch of Rio de Janeiro's Sustainable Favela Network'. *RioOnWatch*, December 28, 2018. http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=49346.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gould, Deborah. 2012. 'Political Despair'. In *Politics and the Emotions: The Affective Turn in Contemporary Political* Studies, edited by Paul Hoggett and Simon Thompson, 95-114. London: Continuum.

Gouveia, Inês. 2018. 'Rede de Museologia Social do Rio de Janeiro'. In *A Participação das mulheres na construção do território: Rocinha e Horto*, edited by Rede do Museologia Social do Rio de Janeiro, Museu Sankofa Memória e História da Rocinha, and the Museu do Horto, 9-12. Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria de Estado de Cultura.

Graeber, David. 2004. *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Guariento, Suellen. 2015. 'Luta da favela do Metrô: experiência de um processo em curso na cidade'. *Intratextos* 6, no. 1: 109-124. http://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/index.php/intratextos/article/viewFile/17894/15755.

Hale, Charles R. 2006. 'Activist Research v. Cultural Critique: Indigenous Land Rights and the Contradictions of Politically Engaged Anthropology'. *Cultural Anthropology* 21, no. 19 (February): 96-120. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/can.2006.21.1.96.

Hall, Stuart. 1996. 'Introduction: Who Needs Identity?' In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 1-17. London: SAGE Publications.

Halvorsen, Sam, Bernardo Mançano Fernandes, and Fernanda Valeria Torres. 2019. 'Mobilizing Territory: Socioterritorial Movements in Comparative Perspective'. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*: 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2018.1549973.

Handzic, Kenan. 2010. 'Is Legalized Land Tenure Necessary in Slum Upgrading? Learning from Rio's Land Tenure Policies in the Favela Bairro Programme'. *Habitat International* 34, no. 1: 11-17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2009.04.001.

Harker, Richard, Cheleen Maher, and Chris Wilkes, eds. 1990. *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practise of Theory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, Fredrick C. 2014. 'The Rise of Respectability Politics'. *Dissent* 61, no. 1 (Winter): 33-37. *Project MUSE*, https://doi.org/100.1353/dss.2014.0010.

Harris, Paisley Jane. 2003. 'Gatekeeping and Remaking: The Politics of Respectability in African American Women's History and Black Feminism'. *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (Spring): 212-220. *Project MUSE*, https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2003.0025.

Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. 1993. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hiwaski, Lisa. 2007. 'Community-Based Tourism: A Pathway to Sustainability for Japan's Protected Areas'. *Society & Natural Resources* 19, no. 8: 675-692. https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920600801090.

Holston, James. 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hooker, Juliet. 2005. 'Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America'. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37, no. 2: 285–310. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X05009016.

Housing Rights Watch. 2013. 'UN Housing Rights'. 10 October 2013. http://www.housingrightswatch.org/page/un-housing-rights.

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IGBE). 2013. *Aglomerados subnormais: informações territoriais*. Rio de Janeiro: IGBE. https://ww2.ibge.gov.br/home/presidencia/noticias/imprensa/ppts/0000001516481120 2013480105748802.pdf.

Instituto de Pesquisas Jardim Botânico. n.d. 'Solar Da Imperatriz'. Accessed 18 January 2019. https://aplicacoes.jbrj.gov.br/cultura/solar.htm.

Irving, Andrew. 2004. 'Cities: An Anthropological Perspective'. *Anthropology Matters* 6, no. 1: 1-4. https://anthropologymatters.com/index.php/anth_matters/article/view/105.

Jasper, James M. 2011. 'Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 37, no. 1: 285-303. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150015.

Jones, Gareth A. and Varley, Ann. 1999. 'The Reconquest of the Historic Centre: Urban Conservation and Gentrification in Puebla, Mexico'. *Environment and Planning A* 31: 1547-1566. https://doi.org/10.1068/a311547.

Jorgensen, Danny L. 1989. *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1988. 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. In 'Special Issue to Honour Jessie Bernard', edited by Judith Lorber. Special issue, *Gender and Society* 2, no. 3 (September): 274-290. http://www.jstor.org/stable/190357.

Kieti, Damiannah M. 2013. 'The Ethical and Local Resident Perspectives of Slum Tourism in Kenya'. *Advances in Hospitality and Tourism Research* 1, no. 1: 1-21. http://www.ahtrjournal.org/issues/volume1_issue1/37_57.pdf.

de Kock, Leon. 1992. 'Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa'. *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 23, no. 3: 29-47. http://www.markfoster.net/jccc/Gayatri_Chakravorty_Spivak.pdf.

Kushel, Margot. 2018. 'Why There Are So Many Unsheltered Homeless People on the West Coast'. *The Conversation* (blog), 14 June 2018. https://theconversation.com/why-there-are-so-many-unsheltered-homeless-people-on-the-west-coast-96767.

Lacerda, Gonçalves Norma and Sílvio Mendes Zancheti. 2014. 'Conservação urbana e regularização fundiária de assentamentos populares'. *Urbe* 6, no. 3 (September-December): 323-337. http://www.scielo.br/pdf/urbe/v6n3/05.pdf.

Leeds, Anthony. 1971. 'The Concept of the "Culture of Poverty": Conceptual, Logical, and Empirical Problems, with Perspectives from Brazil and Peru'. In *The Culture of Poverty: A Critique*, edited by Eleanor Burke Leacock, 226-284. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Leeds, Anthony and Elizabeth Leeds. 1977. *A sociologia do Brasil urbano*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores.

Leeds, Anthony and Roger Sanjek. 1994. *Cities, Classes, and the Social Order*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Lefebvre, Henri. [1968] 1996. 'Right to the City'. In *Writings on Cities,* edited and translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, 63-181. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Lehmann, David. 1999. 'Social Movements and Religious Change: Introduction'. In 'Social Movements and Religious Change', edited by David Lehmann. Special issue, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 18, no. 2 (April): 139-44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3338985.

Levy, Charmain. 2016. 'Brazilian Urban Popular Movements: The 1997 Mobilization of the Inner-City Slum Movement in São Paulo'. *Studies in Political Economy* 85, no. 1: 35-68. https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2010.11675034.

Levy, Charmain, Anne Latendresse, and Marianne Carle-Marsan. 2017. 'Gendering the Urban Social Movement and Public Housing Policy in São Paulo'. *Latin American Perspectives* 44, no. 3: 9-27. https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X16668317.

Light, Andrew. 2000. 'What is an Ecological Identity?' *Environmental Politics* 9, no. 4 (Winter): 59-81. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644010008414551.

de Lima, Juliana Domingos. 2018. 'O mural no Rio que retrata 3 moradoras da Vila Autódromo'. *Nexo*, 6 November 2018. https://www.nexojornal.com.br/expresso/2018/11/06/O-mural-no-Rio-que-retrata-3-moradoras-da-Vila-Aut%C3%B3dromo.

Lincoln Land Policy. 2017. 'The Potential of Community Land Trusts in Rio's Favelas'. YouTube, 7 December 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1JOkffuPEnU.

Lino e Silva, Moises. 2014. 'The Violence of Structural Violence: Ethical Commitments and an Exceptional Day in a Brazilian Favela'. *Built Environment* 40, no. 3 (Autumn): 314-325. https://doi.org/10.2148/benv.40.3.314.

Lomeu, Gustavo Soares. 2016. 'A função social da propriedade pública e a desafetação de bem público'. *Revista de Direito Urbanístico, Cidade e Alteridade* 2, no. 1:158-178. http://dx.doi.org/10.26668/IndexLawJournals/2525-989X/2016.v2i1.505.

Lopes, José Sérgio Leite. 2006. 'Sobre processos de "ambientalização" dos conflitos e sobre dilemas da participação'. *Horizontes Antropológicos* 12, no. 25 (January-June): 31-64. https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0104-71832006000100003.

Love, Ken and Robert E. Paull. 2011. 'Jackfruit'. *Fruit and Nuts* 19 (June): 1-7. https://www.ctahr.hawaii.edu/oc/freepubs/pdf/F_N-19.pdf.

Luft, Rosângela. 2017. 'Concessão de uso'. In *Enciclopédia jurídica da PUC-SP*, edited by Celso Fernandes Campilongo, Alvaro de Azevedo Gonzaga and André Luiz Freire. 1st ed. São Paulo: Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. https://enciclopediajuridica.pucsp.br/verbete/115/edicao-1/concessao-de-uso.

Macedo, Joseli. 2008. 'Urban Land Policy and New Land Tenure Paradigms: Legitimacy vs. Legality in Brazilian Cities'. *Land Use Policy* 25, no. 2 (April): 259–270. https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2007.08.001.

Macedo Filho, Renato. 2012. 'Onde mora a cidadania? visibilizando a participação das mulheres no movimento sem teto–Salvador/BA'. PhD diss., Federal University of Bahia. http://repositorio.ufba.br/ri/handle/ri/6379.

Machado da Silva, Luis Antônio. [1967] 2011. *Dilemas Revista de Estudos de Conflito e Controle* 4, no. 4 (October-December): 699-716. https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/dilemas/article/view/7275.

Magalhães, Alexandre. 2012. 'Entre o legal e o extralegal: a reatualização da remoção de favelas no Rio de Janeiro'. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais* 14, no. 1 (May): 119-133. https://dx.doi.org/10.22296/2317-1529.2012v14n1p119.

Marcus, Alan. 2011. 'Rethinking Brazil's Place within Latin Americanist Geography'. *Journal of Latin American Geography* 10, no. 1: 131-149. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23209188.

Massidda, Adriana. L. 2018. 'Utopian Visions for Buenos Aires Shantytowns: Collective Imaginaries of Housing Rights, Upgrading and Eviction (1956–2013)'. In 'Possible Worlds: Imagining Utopia in Latin America', edited by Sandra Brunneger. Special issue, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 37, no. 2 (April): 144-159. https://doi.org/10.1111/blar.12559.

Mattos Filho Advogados. 2014. *Primary Housing and Property Laws in Brazil—Rio de Janeiro's Favelas*. Rio de Janeiro: Mattos Filho Advogados. http://catcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Mattos_Filho_Memo_24-01-14_final.pdf.

McCann, Bryan. 2014. *Hard Times in the Marvelous City: From Dictatorship to Democracy in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

—. 2006. 'The Political Evolution of Rio de Janeiro's Favelas: Recent Works'. *Latin American Research Review* 41, no. 3: 149-163. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3874692.

McCarthy, John D. and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory'. *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (May): 1212-1241. https://doi.org/10.1086/226464.

Meijl, Toon van. 2010. 'Anthropological Perspectives on Identity: From Sameness to Difference'. In *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*, edited by Margaret Wetherell and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 63-81. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.

Melo, José Mário Delaiti de. 2013. 'A função social da propriedade'. *O Âmbito Jurídico* 16, no. 108 (January). http://www.ambitojuridico.com.br/site/?n_link=revista_artigos_leitura&artigo_id=12660&revista_caderno=7.

Menezes, Palloma. 2015. 'Favela Modelo: A Study on Housing, Belonging and Civic Engagement in a "Pacified" Favela in Rio de Janeiro'. In *Housing and Belonging in Latin America*, edited by Christien Klaufus and Arij Ouweneel, 123-146. New York: Berghahn.

Miagusko, Edson. 2011. 'Mutirão autogestionário e o contexto da experiência democrática revisitado'. *Caderno CRH* 24, no. 61(January-April): 167-181. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-49792011000100012.

Mier, Brian. 2017. 'Inside the MNLM Squatters Movement'. *Brazil Wire* (blog), December 11, 2017. http://www.brasilwire.com/mnlm-housing-movement-miguel-lobato/.

Ministério Público Federal. 2017. '#RetrocessoAmbientalNão: ocupação irregular ameaça remanescente de manguezal em Guaratiba, no Rio de Janeiro'. 24 May 2017. http://www.mpf.mp.br/rj/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-rj/retrocessoambientalnao-ocupacao-irregular-ameaca-remanescente-de-manguezal-em-guaratiba-no-rio-de-janeiro.

Miraftab, Faranak. 2009. 'Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South'. *Planning Theory* 8, no. 1: 32–50. https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095208099297.

Miraftab, Faranak and Shana Wills. 2005. 'Insurgency and Spaces of Active Citizenship: The Story of Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign in South Africa'. *Journal of Planning*

Education and Research 25, no. 2: 200–217.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X05282182.

Miranda Filho, Armando. 2012. 'Existe solução justa para o caso do Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro?' *Revista Direito GV* 8, no. 2: 485-526. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1808-24322012000200005.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Moraes, Camila 2014. 'A elaboração de favela ecológica: interseções entre turismo e meio em ambiente em favelas cariocas'. Paper presented at the XII Seminário da Associação Nacional Pesquisa e Pós-graduação em Turismo, Fortaleza, September 24-26, 2014. https://www.anptur.org.br/anais/anais/v.10/Anais/DTP4/137.pdf.

—. 2013. 'A invenção da favela ecológica: um olhar sobre turismo e meio ambiente no Morro Babilônia'. *Revista Estudos da Sociologia* 18, no. 35 (July-December): 459-474. http://seer.fclar.unesp.br/estudos/article/view/6464.

Morgan, Joan. 2015. 'Why We Get Off: Moving Towards a Black Feminist Politics of Pleasure'. *The Black Scholar* 45, no. 4: 36-46. https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.2015.1080915.

Morrison, Nicky. 2017. 'Struggling for the Right to be Recognised: The Informal Settlement of Old Fadama, Accra, Ghana'. In *Geographies of Forced Eviction: Dispossession, Violence, Resistance*, edited by Katherine Brickell, Melissa Fernandés Arrigoitia, and Alex Vasudevan, 25-45. London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Mota, Fabrio Reis. 2014. 'O meio-ambiente contra a sociedade? Controvérsias públicas, reconhecimento e cidadania o Brasil'. *Dilemas* 7, no. 1 (January-March): 39-57. http://lemetro.ifcs.ufrj.br/meio_ambiente_contra_a_sociedade.pdf.

Napolitano, Valentina. 1997. 'Becoming a Mujercita: Rituals, Fiestas and Religious Discourses'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3, no. 2 (June): 279-296. https://doi.org/10.2307/3035020.

Neto, Sydenham Lourenço and Ana Cristina de Mello Pimentel Lourenço. 2009. 'A favela ainda não venceu, mas continua lutando. Movimentos sociais de moradores de favelas no Rio de Janeiro'. *Revista OPSIS* 9, no. 13: 136-151. https://doi.org/10.5216/o.v9i13.10124.

Neuhouser, Kevin. 1995. '"Worse than Men": Gendered Mobilization in an Urban Brazilian Squatter Settlement, 1971-91'. *Gender & Society* 9, no. 1: 38-59. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124395009001003.

Nogueira, Italo. 2009. 'Plano olímpico prevê a remoção de favelas'. *Folha de São Paulo*, October 8, 2009. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/esporte/fk0810200906.htm.

Nora, Pierre. 1989. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire'. *Representations*, 26 (Spring): 7-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928520.

Nuryanti, Wiendu. 1996. 'Heritage and Postmodern Tourism'. In 'Heritage and Tourism', edited by Geoffrey Wall, Wiendu Nuryanti. Special issue, *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2: 249-260. https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(95)00062-3.

O Dia. 2006. 'MP pede remoção de favelas do Alto da Boa Vista'. 27 October 2006. http://noticias.terra.com.br/brasil/noticias/0,,OI1214906-EI306,00-MP+pede+remocao+de+favelas+do+Alto+da+Boa+Vista.html.

Oliveira, Nathalia. 2012. 'As mulheres e os movimentos dos sem-teto no Brasil: análise das relações sociais de classes e sexos'. *Lutas Sociais* 29 (July-December): 144-159. http://www.uel.br/grupo-pesquisa/gepal/v2_nathalia_GVII.pdf.

Oliveira, Viviane Fernanda de. 2014. 'Do BNH ao Minha Casa Minha Vida: mudanças e permanências na política habitacional'. *Caminhos de Geografia Uberlândia* 15, no. 50 (June): 36–53. http://www.seer.ufu.br/index.php/caminhosdegeografia/article/view/22937.

Ome, Aura Tatiana Baron. 2017. 'An Ethnography of Bogotá's Ecobarrios: The Construction of Place-based Eco-political Subjects, Subjectivities and Identities'. PhD diss., University College London. http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1571136/1/Ome%20Baron_Final%20version%20PhD%20Thesis%20Tatiana%20Ome%20August%202017.pdf.

Ondetti, Gabriel. 2016. 'The Social Function of Property, Land Rights and Social Welfare in Brazil'. *Land Use Policy* 50 (January): 29-37. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.08.028.

Oosterbaan, Martijn. 2009. 'Sonic Supremacy: Sound, Space and Charisma in a Favela in Rio de Janeiro'. *Critique of Anthropology* 29, no. 1 (March): 81–104. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X08101028.

Opp, Karl-Dieter. 2009. *Theories of Political Protest and Social Movements*. London: Routledge.

Payne, Geoffrey. 2001. 'Urban Land Tenure Policy Options: Titles or Rights?' *Habitat International* 25, no. 3 (September): 415–429. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0197-3975(01)00014-5.

Pereira, Thati. 2012. 'Convergências e limites: discurso dos jovens da comunidade do Horto, integrantes do Programa de Responsabilidade Social do Jardim Botânico do Rio de Janeiro, Sobre Turismo Sustentável'. Master's thesis, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. https://docplayer.com.br/46358715-Universidade-federal-do-rio-de-janeiro-centro-de-filosofia-e-ciencias-humanas-instituto-de-psicologia-programa-eicos.html.

Perlman, Janice. 2010. *Favela: Four Decades of Living on the Edge in Rio de Janeiro*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—. 1976. *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Perry, Keisha-Kahn Y. 2013. *Black Women Against the Land Grab: The Fight for Racial Justice in Brazil*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Perry, Keisha-Khan Y. and Ana Cristina da Silva Caminha. 2008. '"Daqui não saio, daqui ninguém me tira": poder e política na Gamboa de Baixo, Salvador da Bahia'. *Gênero* 9, no.1: 127–153. http://www.revistagenero.uff.br/index.php/revistagenero/article/view/98/74.

Perry, Keisha-Khan Y. and Joanne Rappaport. 2013. 'Making a Case for Collaborative Research with Black and Indigenous Social Movements in Latin America'. In *Otros*

Saberes: Collaborative Research on Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian Cultural Politics, edited by Charles R. Hale and Lynn Stephen, 30-48. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Pezzoli, Keith. 1998. *Human Settlements and Planning for Ecological Sustainability: The Case of Mexico City*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Phillips, Dom. 2018. '"Flowering of Hate": Bitter Election Brings Wave of Political Violence to Brazil'. *The Guardian*. 12 October 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/11/brazil-election-violence-bolsonaro-haddad.

Pires, Carolina Câmara. 2018. 'Comunidade do Horto: lugar de resistência ancestral'. In *A Participação das mulheres na construção do território: Rocinha e Horto*, edited by Rede do Museologia Social do Rio de Janeiro, Museu Sankofa Memória e História da Rocinha, and the Museu do Horto, 41-49. Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria de Estado de Cultura.

Polli, Simone. 2016. 'Moradia e meio ambiente: a resistência dos moradores do assentamento Ilha'. In *Planejamento e conflitos urbanos: experiências de luta*, edited by Fabricio Leal de Oliveira, Fernanda Sánchez, Giselle Tanaka, and Poliana Monteiro, 27-64. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital Editoria.

Pontes, Maria Lúcia. 2013. 'Remoções no Rio: a luta pelo direito à moradia na Defensoria Pública'. Interview by Eduardo Sá. *Fórum Justiça*, 30 August 2013. http://www.forumjustica.com.br/pb/remocoes-no-rio-a-luta-pelo-direito-a-moradia-na-defensoria-publica/.

Porto-Gonçalves, Carlos Walter. 2006. 'A Geograficidade do social: uma contribuição para o debate metodológico para os estudos de conflitos e movimentos sociais na América Latina'. *Revista Eletrônica da Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros* 1, no. 3: 5-26. http://seer.ufms.br/index.php/RevAGB/article/view/1344.

Power, Timothy J. and Matthew M. Taylor. 2011. 'Introduction: Accountability Institutions and Political Corruption in Brazil'. In *Corruption and Democracy in Brazil: The*

Struggle for Accountability, edited by Timothy J. Power and Matthew M. Taylor. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Rabello de Castro, Sonia. 2002. 'Favela Bairro: A Brief Institutional Analysis of the Programme and its Land Aspects'. In *Holding Their Ground: Secure Land Tenure for the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*, edited by Alain Durand-Lasserve and Lauren Royston, 151-161. London: Earthscan.

Ray, Sangeeta. 2009. *Gayatri Chakavorty Spivak: In Other Words*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Reestorff, Camilla M. 2014. 'Mediatised Affective Activism: The Activist Imaginary and the Topless Body in the FEMEN Movement'. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research Into New Media Technologies* 20, no. 4: 478–495. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514541358.

Reginensi, Caterine. 2016. 'Emoções e sentimentos de (in)justiça no processo de mudança/resistência: experiências dos Barraqueiros na praia e de moradores de favelas no Rio de Janeiro'. *Geografares* 22, no. 1 (July-December): 69-78. http://www.publicacoes.ufes.br/geografares/article/view/14751/10841.

Reist, Stephanie. 2016. 'Can the Quilombo Model of Collective Land Titling Work in Rio's Favelas?' Master's thesis, Duke University. https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/12404/StephReist%20Quilombo%20Modeling%20in%20Favelas.pdf%3Bsequence=1.

Richmond, Matthew Aaron and Jeff Garmany. 2016. '"Post-Third-World City" or Neoliberal "City of Exception"? Rio de Janeiro in the Olympic Era'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40, no. 3 (May): 621-639. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12338.

Robb Larkins, Erika. 2015. *The Spectacular Favela: Violence in Modern Brazil*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Robertson, Iain J. M. 2008. 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, edited by Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 143–58. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

de la Rocque, E. and P. Shelton-Zumpano. 2014. 'The Sustainable Development Strategy of the Municipal Government of Rio de Janeiro'. Paper presented at the Citizen Security in Brazil: Progress and Challenges seminar, Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, 28 March 2014. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Paper_ La Rocque and Shelton-Zumpano_2014_0.pdf.

Rodrigues, Arlete Moysés. 2004. 'Estatuto da Cidade: função social da cidade e da propriedade. Alguns aspectos sobre população urbana e espaço'. *Cadernos Metrópole* 12: 9-25. https://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/metropole/article/view/8807.

Roy, Ananya. 2005. 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning'. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71, no. 2: 147-158, https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360508976689.

Sánchez, Fernanda and Anne-Marie Broudehoux. 2013. 'Mega-events and Urban Regeneration in Rio de Janeiro: Planning in a State of Emergency'. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development* 5, no. 2: 132-153. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19463138.2013.839450.

Saule Junior, Nelson. 2002. 'The Right to Housing and the Prevention of Forced Evictions in Brazil'. In *Holding their Ground: Secure Land Tenure for the Urban Poor in Developing Countries*, edited by Alain Durand-Lasserve and Lauren. Royston, 138-150. London: Earthscan.

Savova, Nadezhda Dimitrova. 2009. 'Heritage Kinaesthetics: Local Constructivism and UNESCO's Intangible-Tangible Politics at a Favela Museum'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 82, no. 2: 547–586. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25488282.

Scherer-Warren, Ilse. 2009. 'Redes para a (re)territorialização de espaços de conflito: os casos do MST e MTST no Brasil'. *Interface* 1, no. 1 (January): 105 – 124. http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/interface-issue-1-1-pp105-124-SchererWarren.pdf.

Schippers, Titia. 2010. 'Securing Land Rights Through Indigenousness: A Case from the Philippine Cordillera Highlands'. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 38, no. 2: 220-238. https://doi.org/10.1163/156853110X490917.

Scott, Colin and Monica Mulrennan. 2010. 'Reconfiguring Mare Nullius: Torres Strait Islanders, Indigenous Sea Rights, and the Divergence of Domestic and International Norms'. In *Indigenous Peoples: Insights for a Global Age and Autonomy,* edited by Mario Blaser, Ravi de Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William D. Coleman, 148-178. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Sham, Desmond Hok-Man. 2015. 'Heritage as Resistance: Preservation and Decolonization in Southeast Asian Cities'. PhD diss., Goldsmiths, University of London. http://research.gold.ac.uk/12308/.

Shefner, Jon and Robert Gay. 2002. 'The Politics of Field Research: Lessons from Brazil and Mexico'. *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 27, no. 54: 194-213. https://doi.org/10.1080/08263663.2002.10816823.

Silva, Marcelo Lessa da and Diogo Oliveira Muniz Caldas. 2015. 'Programa Papel Passado: apoio às regularizações fundiárias?' *Revista de Direito Sociais e Políticas Públicas* 1, no. 2: 1-28. http://indexlaw.org/index.php/revistadspp/article/view/417.

Silva Matos, Dalva M., Junius F. Santos, and D. de R. Chevalier. 2002. 'Fire and Restoration of the Largest Urban Forest of the World in Rio de Janeiro City, Brazil'. *Urban Ecosystems* 6, no. 3 (September): 151-161. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1026164427792.

Silvestre, Gabriel and Nelma Gusmão de Oliveira. 2012. 'The Revanchist Logic of Mega-events: Community Displacement in Rio de Janeiro's West End'. In 'Olympics Special Issue', edited by Peter Coles, Caroline Knowles and Darren Newbury. Special issue, *Visual Studies* 27, no. 2: 204-210. https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2012.677506.

Simon, Véronique Karine and Einar Braathen. 2019. 'Collective Heritage and Urban Politics: An Uncertain Future for the Living Culture of Rio de Janeiro?' *International Journal*

of Heritage Studies 25, no. 4: 380-394, https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1493700.

Snow, David A., Oliver Pamela E. 1995. 'Social movements and collective behavior: social psychological dimensions and considerations'. In *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*, edited by Karen S. Cook, Gary A. Fine, and James S. House, 571–99. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

de Soto, Hernando. 2001. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. London: Black Swan.

Souto de Oliveira, Jane and Mara Hortense Marcier. 2004. 'A palavra é favela'. In *Um século de favela*, 4th ed, edited by Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, 61-114. Fundação Getúlio Vargas: Rio de Janeiro.

Souza, Emerson de. 2018. 'O museu do Horto'. In *A Participação das mulheres na construção do território: Rocinha e Horto*, edited by Rede do Museologia Social do Rio de Janeiro, Museu Sankofa Memória e História da Rocinha, and the Museu do Horto, 22-26. Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria de Estado de Cultura.

de Souza, Flávio A.M. 2001. 'The Future of Informal Settlements: Lessons in the Legalisation of Disputed Urban Land in Recife, Brazil'. In 'Urban Brazil', edited by M. Valenca and E. Fernandes. Special issue, *Geoforum* 32, no. 4 (November): 483-492. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0016-7185(01)00014-8.

Souza, Laura Oliveira Carneiro de. 2012. 'Horto Florestal: um lugar de memória da cidade do Rio de Janeiro'. PhD diss., Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro. https://www.maxwell.vrac.puc-rio.br/21757/21757.PDF.

Souza, Marcelo Lopes de. 2015. 'Proteção ambiental *para quem*? A instrumentalização da ecologia contra o direito à moradia'. *Mercator* 14, no. 4 (December): 25-44. https://doi.org/10.4215/RM2015.1404.0003.

—. 2012. '*Panem et Circenses* versus the Right to the City (Centre) in Rio de Janeiro: A Short Report'. *City* 16, no. 5 (October): 563-572. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2012.709725.

Spinazzola, Patricia Cezario Silva. 2008. 'Impactos da regularização fundiária no espaço urbano'. Master's thesis, University of São Paulo. https://doi.org/10.11606/D.16.2008.tde-15012010-102847.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1996. 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography'. In *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, edited by Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean, 203-236. New York: Routledge.

——. 1990. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. New York: Routledge.

——. 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Strathern, Marilyn. 2009. 'Land: Intangible or Tangible Property?' In *Land Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2005*, edited by Timothy Chesters, 13-38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stocks, Anthony. 2005. 'Too Much for Too Few: Problems of Indigenous Land Rights in Latin America'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, no. 1: 85-104. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143844.

Sullivan, LaShandra. 2013. 'Identity, Territory and Land Conflict in Brazil'. *Development and Change* 44, no. 2 (March): 452-471. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/dech.12010.

Squatting Europe Kollective, ed. 2013. *Squatting in Europe: Radical Spaces, Urban Struggles*. New York: Minor Compositions. https://chisineu.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/132280637-squatting-in-europe-radical-%09spaces-urban-strugglestingineurope-web.pdf.

Steinbrink, Malte. 2013. 'Festi*favel*isation: Mega-events, Slums and Strategic City-stageing: The Example of Rio de Janeiro'. *Die Erde: Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin* 144, no. 2: 129-145. https://doi.org/10.12854/erde-144-10.

Svampa, Maristella. 2010. 'Hacia una gramática de las luchas en América Latina: movilización plebeya, demandas de autonomía y giro eco-territorial'. *Revista Internacional de Filosofía Política* 35: 21-46. http://e-

spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv/bibliuned:filopoli-2010-numero35-2020/Documento.pdf.

Tabak, Bernardo. 2011. 'Maior favela do país, Rocinha discorda de dados de população do IBGE'. *Globo*, December 21, 2011. http://g1.globo.com/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2011/12/maior-favela-do-pais-rocinha-discorda-de-dados-de-populacao-do-ibge.html.

Tatagiba, Luciana, Stella Zagatto Paterniani, and Thiago Aparecido Trindade. 2012. 'Ocupar, reivindicar, participar: sobre o repertório de ação do movimento de moradia de São Paulo'. *Opinião Pública* 18, no. 2 (November): 399-426. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0104-62762012000200007.

Thompson, Matthew. 2015. 'Between Boundaries: From Commoning and Guerrilla Gardening to Community Land Trust Development in Liverpool'. *Antipode*, 47 no. 4 (September): 1021–1042. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/anti.12154.

Tilly, Charles. 2008. *Contentious Performances*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR). 1997. *General Comment No. 7: The Right to Adequate Housing (Art.11.1): Forced Evictions,* E/1998/22, New York: UN. https://www.refworld.org/docid/47a70799d.html.

United Nations General Assembly. 1966. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. Treaty Series, vol. 993. New York: UN. https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36c0.html.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR). 2012. *Women and the Right to Adequate Housing*. New York: UN. https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/publications/WomenHousing_HR.PUB.11.2.pdf.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner and United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat). 2014. *The Right to Adequate Housing*. Fact Sheet No. 21/Rev.1. Geneva: UN. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FS21_rev_1_Housing_en.pdf.

United Nations Human Settlements Programme. 2008. *Enhancing Security of Tenure: Policy Directions*. Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 2. London: Earthscan. http://mirror.unhabitat.org/pmss/getElectronicVersion.aspx?nr=2596&alt=1.

Useem, Bert, and Mayer Zald. [1987] 2005. 'From Pressure Group to Social Movement: Efforts to Promote the Use of Nuclear Power'. In *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*, edited by Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, 273–88. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Vainer, Carlos. 2011. 'Cidade de exceção: reflexões a partir do Rio de Janeiro'. Paper presented at the XIV Encontro Nacional da Associação Nacional de Planejamento Urbano (ANPUR). http://memoriadasolimpiadas.rb.gov.br/jspui/handle/123456789/193.

Vainer, Carlos, Regina Bienenstein, Gisele Tanaka, Fabricio Leal de Oliveira, Camilla Lobino, Fernanda Sánchez, and Glauco Bienenstein. 2016. 'O Plano Popular da Vila Autódromo: uma experiência de planejamento conflitual'. In *Planejamento e conflitos urbanos: experiências de luta*, edited by Fabricio Leal de Oliveira, Fernanda Sánchez, Giselle Tanaka, and Poliana Monteiro, 27-64. Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital Editoria.

Valladares, Lícia, Aline Lopes de Lacerda, and Ana Luce Girão. 2018. 'Anthony Leeds: o esquecimento e a memória'. *Sociologia Antropologia* 8, no. 3 (September-December): 1027–1058. https://doi.org/10.1590/2238-38752018v8311.

—. 2009. 'Social Science Representations of Favelas in Rio de Janeiro: A Historical Perspective'. Working paper, 1-31. University of Texas at Austin. http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/vrp/valladares.pdf.

—. 2005. *A invenção da favela: do mito de origem à favela.com*. Rio de Janeiro: FBV Editora.

Vannuchi, Luanda and Mathieu Van Criekingen. 2015. 'Transforming Rio de Janeiro for the Olympics: Another Path to Accumulation by Dispossession?' In 'Tales of the City', edited by Christophe Mager and Laurent Matthey. Special issue, *Articulo: Journal of Urban Research* 7:1-44 paragraphs. https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.2813.

de Varine, Hugues. 2006. 'Ecomuseology and Sustainable Development'. *Museums & Social Issues* 1, no. 2: 225-231. https://doi.org/10.1179/msi.2006.1.2.225.

Venturini, Federico. 2016. 'A Critical Perspective on Social Ecology and Urban Crisis: Learning about, with, and from Urban Social Movements in Rio de Janeiro'. PhD diss., University of Leeds.

Vianna, Lucila Pinsard. 2008. *De invisíveis a protagonistas: populações tradicionais e unidades de conservação*. São Paulo: Annablume.

Vieira, Ana Carolina Maciel and Marília Xavier Cury. 2012. 'Conhecer para preservar: análise de relacionamento de um morador da cidade do Rio de Janeiro com o Parque Nacional da Tijuca'. Paper presented at the Seminário Internacional Patrimônio e Paisagem em espaços lusófonos e hispânicos, Rio de Janeiro. http://www.producao.usp.br/bitstream/handle/BDPI/49600/Mar%C3%ADlia_Xavier_Cury.pdf?sequence=1.

Visweswaran, Kamala. 1994. *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2008. *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity.

Ward, Peter M., ed. 1982. *Self-Help Housing: A Critique*. London: Mansell Publishing Limited.

Warren, Kay B. and Jean E. Jackson. 2002. 'Introduction: Studying Indigenous Activism in Latin America'. In *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*, edited by Kay B. Warren and Jean E. Jackson, 1-46. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Watson, Mark K. 2014. *Japan's Ainu Minority in Tokyo: Diasporic Indigeneity and Urban Politics*. London: Routledge.

Wetherell, Margaret. 2010. 'Introduction: The Field of Identity Studies'. In *The SAGE Handbook of Identities*, edited by Margaret Wetherell and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 3-26. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Williams, Rhonda Y. 2004. *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles Against Urban Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wolford, Wendy. 2010. *This Land Is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

World Bank. 2013. *Cities Alliance for Cities without Slum: Action Plan for Moving Slum Upgrading to Scale*. Washington DC: World Bank. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/961151468181775920/Cities-alliance-for-cities-without-slum-action-plan-for-moving-slum-upgrading-to-scale.

Yamaguchi, Tomomi. 2007. 'Impartial Observation and Partial Participation: Feminist Ethnography in Politically Charged Japan'. *Critical Asian Studies* 39, no. 4: 583-608, https://doi.org/10.1080/14672710701686059.

Zeiderman, Austin. 2016. *Endangered City: The Politics of Security and Risk in Bogota*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Appendix A

An Autoethnography of Fieldwork

It's the beginning in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. I'm in my tiny studio apartment I'm renting for twelve months that I paid too much money for through Airbnb in Copacabana, near Post 3. The walls are white and large painted orange bamboo window blinds partially obscure the building in my immediate view. It's a church that I'll think for months is a Protestant church because on its roof is a giant light brown crucifix— maybe made of oak or maple—with a blood-red cloth draped over it. It reminds me of Presbyterian crucifix necklaces and how the wooden crosses in front of African-American Baptist churches back home look during Easter time. I assume it's a Protestant church even though every day at 6:15 p.m., a recording of chiming bells and a Latin prayer distracts me from whatever I'm doing at the moment. I hope it's a Baptist church and until I learn it's not, it comforts me.

I tape a romantic image of a young male student reading by the river Cam that I tore out of a University of Cambridge magazine to the wall. I then adorn the apartment with the few things I always bring with me since I first left home nine years ago: a Southwest-inspired scented satchel, a fake coconut, a small Ohio flag, a Buddha statuette in the 'gesture of no fear', a praying bunny, a framed picture of a fiery winter sunset from my backyard, and an unframed, professional monochrome photograph of a Cleveland nature trail. My tchotchkes fill up space but as all of them are small and lightweight, none of them suggest permanence. I don't mean to be permanent in Rio, I write in my fieldwork journal. I don't mean to make a life here. It's summer and Carnival season and every day is the hottest day of my life. Rio flows with the urine of a thousand drunk, dehydrated men that through the diffusive properties of the scorched concrete pavement has become the city's perfume. I turn on the air conditioning, shut the shades, make myself a cup of Earl Grey tea, and take a break from acclimating to my new life.

The first few weeks I familiarise myself with the streets immediately surrounding my apartment building. There are two main roads to the right and left of me, both leading to Copacabana Beach in one direction and to Siqueira Campos metro station in the other. My street is also long, probably the length of an avenue, but I never walk more than a few blocks down it and so to me, it's a small side street. Sidewalks are cramped—much too small for the population of Rio, I complain to myself. I balk at smushed cockroaches and repress a yelp when I see live ones scampering away faster than I've ever seen an insect move. I wonder who buys the dusty LPs, outmoded shoes, used alarm clocks, and other random and

oftentimes rough-looking objects for sale along the curb. Someone must, I reason, otherwise they wouldn't be there. Eventually, towards the end, I realise that what seems like chaos is really abundance and that Rio's streets are giving. I come to rely on the streets too, mainly for food, but still wonder about the people who buy the rehabilitated trash.

Four blocks away from my apartment is the sea. It's really the Atlantic Ocean, but it's all the same to me. I've been in the sea a handful of times, about the same number of times that I've been to Brazil, but it's still unsettling. I'm unused to waves, wind gusts that makes sand sting my legs, sun that could and does burn what Revlon would call my toast-coloured skin. It's pretty, but I don't understand it. I start here on my quest to study the city, getting to know the beach, how the ocean works. On sunny days I and the vendors selling caipirinhas, *cangas*, grilled Minas cheese, and portable radios are the only solitary people walking along the beach. I'm self-conscious about it because I quickly learn that solitude is somewhat taboo in Rio, though I try to arm myself with popular street foods *pão de queijo* and *açaí*. Maybe the tourists will think I'm a local appreciating the beauty of my city while taking a spontaneous snack break. On cold or rainy days when the only people swimming are tourists who paid too much not to go to the beach, I see who must be the only Brazilian loners in Rio. Some sit, some walk, no one talks. It's a relief to be among my kind.

Once Carnival ends and things die down, I develop a lump in my throat. I've been nervous but now there's nothing to distract me from it. I pray every time I leave the apartment that God will prevent anything bad from happening to me. I'm not a disbeliever but it's more of a ritual to avoid *azar*, bad luck. I practise my greeting to whichever porter is working that day as I walk down the stairs. I think it's still afternoon so '*boa tarde*', probably. Boa taaahde, not boa tarde with a rhotic /r/ because I'm in Rio, not São Paulo. I have the most trouble with this sound, this guttural /r/ like a French /r/ and I know it's jarring when I pronounce it wrong. Boa tarde. Sorry, what did you say? The most talkative porter, Miguel, is from the Northeast of Brazil and I have an even harder time understanding him. Miguel feels sorry for me, being alone in Brazil, and suggests that I make Brazilian friends. He also cautions me to be careful; Rio is a dangerous city. I thank him, swallow hard, and brace myself to leave.

The metro train cars are too small and there are too few of them for a city as big as Rio, I think to myself. I blend in and no one stares but I've still got a lump in my throat. I try not to talk because if I do, I'll be found out. Rio is unsafe for foreigners and for solitary women, I've been told. Men sit too close, kiss my hands, compliment me on my loopy English handwriting and I wonder later on if it's because I have a look of someone that's just

arrived in the city. Women are rarely alone and I suppose they want to fix that for me. Really, no one's alone; everyone seems connected. I'm the only one floating but of course no one knows that. When I'm by myself, people gather around me and I assume doing that makes them feel more comfortable.

Sex. I'm not having it, but it's affecting my fieldwork. I get scared off from one field site where I'm considering doing my research because a shirtless man hugs me tight and lingers a bit at the end of an interview. I forget about interviewing a well-respected politician who's made a running joke of holding me, kissing me firmly on the cheek, and laughing as I bear it stiffly. The joke is that I'm uncomfortable because I'm foreign and *fria*, or emotionally cold. Another guy, an informant, flirts with me by taking me on tours of his community and incessantly talking about himself. I don't say much in return and he, interpreting my silence as misunderstanding, starts to talk to me in broken Portuguese and chides that I'm not very good at the language. Yet another guy I want to interview, an older man, takes me out to lunch and tells me how attractive he used to be when he was younger. I start telling men like this that I'm a researcher that's serious about her work and that anyway, I'm a loner. It's not you, it's me, I say, but no one pays much attention.

I can't be any more forceful about saying no because I need insights from these men and I need them to introduce me to other people in their communities. My no's are measured and hesitant and I forget to use them all together when the men pressure me. I forget my no's with my drunk handwriting flatterer and with the Argentinian tourist I met at Leme Beach who was also alone. He buys us coconuts, we talk in Portunhol, and as we walk along the beachfront avenue he asks, '*quieres transar*?', miming the sexual act after I pretend not to understand. I don't say yes but I don't know if they'll act badly if I refuse outright. I normally do my best to appear cheery and say something along the lines of, 'maybe next time'. I write a flurry of things in my fieldnotes journal and in my regular one reminding myself that fieldwork life is still real life—in that the same female survival rules apply— and cursing the day a freshly-minted male anthropology PhD advised me to say yes to everything. It was easy for him, I think over and over again, because saying yes (or not saying no, in my case) had never endangered him in the way that it was endangering me.

'Fieldwork life is still real life' becomes my mantra and gradually comes to replace my prayer to God to keep me safe. I forget to be afraid when I leave but I'm more on guard than I've ever been before and harden after each unpleasant or genuinely dangerous experience. Rio is a really dangerous city, especially for women, I tell any fellow gringo who

asks, and now I feel like I finally understand what everyone was talking about. In an unanticipated way, I feel like I understand *cariocas* and my research better and that I belong. I've got a few of my own stories to share when people start gossiping and lamenting about the lack of security in Rio. I take many Ubers and taxis, like everyone else who can afford to, and I follow the advice that Rio natives tell me, treating it like gospel.

Towards the end, I'm largely still on my own but not so disconnected. I can understand the porter, Miguel, much better now and sometimes we talk so long that my legs cramp and the frozen peas in my grocery bag start melting. There's a network of Brazilians I'm acquainted with because of my research and I've met a few American service members who are used to loose ties like I am. I know some of the friendlier fruit vendors at the weekly farmer's markets where I've spent months learning to say a polite no to aggressive and sometimes dishonest hawkers. I remain slightly intimidated by the insistent tactics but have taught myself to put on a smile, softly decline, and keep walking. I do this with every man who propositions me.

At the eleventh hour I become involved with a Brazilian paddleboard instructor and activist, someone I'd met a few times at protests I was covering for my research. He's wary; he knows I'm a researcher and asks me not to analyse him. I promise him that he won't become a research subject though I'm not sure it's a promise I can keep. I walk along the strip of Copacabana beach near my apartment—a walk that is normally useless for figuring things out as the waves tend to empty my mind—during a crowded Sunday afternoon to process what's happening between us. I realise that he's helped me see things from the perspective of everyone else for a time, from the perspective of a connected person.

I try to hide the few tears falling down my cheek from my seatmate as I crane my neck to take in the last glimpses of Guanabara Bay that the aeroplane wing is increasingly blocking out. I'm surprised at myself. I never thought I would love Rio, my field site. I'm not sure I do, but I feel marked by time spent there. I think others can tell, once I get back to England, how marked I feel by my fieldwork. Maybe that's why I keep bringing up the deep tan I've developed while living in perpetual summertime. I know no one call tell because I had brown skin before but I still bring it up. I want them to know that things happened to me. That I'm marked.

Appendix B

Disruptive Valorisation: The Ethics of Sightseeing in Favela Tourism

How does one tour poor and working-class communities in a remotely ethical way? It was a question that I obsessed over before embarking on my twelve-month-long fieldwork trip to Rio de Janeiro to research land and housing rights in the city. In some ways, the answer could be seen as self-evident: don't gawk, don't be condescending. Nevertheless, I had reservations about the ethics of such tours, known within tourism studies variously as 'ghetto tourism' or 'slum tourism' and, in the case of Brazil, 'favela tourism'. I wondered if these kinds of tours benefit from the exploitation of the lower classes, as a version of poverty porn. At the same time, I wanted to be open to the possibility of going on such a tour, if one was offered. Like many who engage in favela tourism, I was looking for something more authentic than a typical 'sun-surf-sand' tour of Rio;[1] I wanted to see a more complete portrait of the city. Though my intentions were purely based in academic curiosity and driven by a desire to use tourism as a research method, I was aware that despite my differing objectives, the act of sightseeing would make me as much of a tourist as anyone else. So, when the opportunity arose to visit Providência, I prepared myself for my first foray into research-tourism.

Figure 1. Providência. Photo by Paulo Carrano. Source: Flickr

---

[1] For more on this, see: https://theconversation.com/why-tourists-thirst-for-authenticity-and-how-they-can-find-it-68108.

Providência is regarded as Rio's first favela and was formed after the Canudos War in North-eastern Brazil in 1897. Enlisted to quell a millenarian uprising under the auspices of being granted property for their participation, soldiers from Rio returned home to discover that the government had no intention of honouring their agreement. In response, the soldiers appropriated a portion of land on Providência Hill and began constructing their own houses, nicknaming the area 'Favela Hill' in a nod to the plant *favela* (Cnidoscolus quercifolius), encountered during their campaign in the Northeast. Later, people who had formerly lived in *cortiços* (illegal sub-divisions) and were evicted came to live on Favela Hill. These days, Providência is home to a vibrant tourism industry driven by its distinction as a local heritage site.

As a recently-arrived research collaborator with the NGO Catalytic Communities, I was encouraged to attend a well-respected, independently-run tour of Providência. The tour, called *Rolé dos Favelados* ('Stroll of the Favelas')[2], was different from how I imagine most favela tours operate. The tour guides were Gisele, a journalist born in a favela and Cosme, *O Favelado* (the favela resident), whose moniker is an attempt to inject pride into a term that has taken on a pejorative connotation over the years. Neither were from Providência but neither were they outsiders, since Gisele and Cosme are former and current favela residents, respectively.

Quite unexpectedly, the guides (Cosme in particular) asked the mostly Brazilian tourists in our group to confront their own prejudices about favelas before entering Providência. As we stood at the base of a solitary tree on a pedestrian island at the base of the community, Cosme asked us to describe what we felt to be the defining characteristics of a favela. Are the towering mini houses made of red brick *tijolos* what define the landscape of a favela? Or is it something more abstract? A definition Brazilians know, but one which is ineffable, for the sake of political correctness? Some in the group think they know the definition but stay quiet, eager to not offend.

The conversation and teaching exercise that follow have the effect of priming us: self-conscious, asked to face our own biases, and ready to be appreciative, well-behaved tourists. We're no longer quite as certain that we know precisely what a favela *is*, and the group is bristling with sympathetic anger after hearing Cosme's stories of injustice. Our group – self-selected and no doubt self-described as 'open-minded' – has now become certifiably

---

[2] See: http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=34983.

committed to demonstrating to one another the depths of our compassion. We set off on the long ascent to Providência, which sits atop one of the famous hills in the city. We smile brightly, go out of our way to greet passers-by, and comment on the ingenuity of the homegrown sewage system. Two toddlers in diapers waddle past, one with a pacifier in her mouth, and a fellow tourist defensively cries, 'how cute!'. Before long someone in our group has started taking pictures. Unbeknownst to her, another soon commits a grave error by photographing a man without his consent. She's told off by the man and is scolded by Cosme, who warns us not to take pictures of residents without consent.

As Urry famously noted in *The Tourist Gaze*[3] and expanded on in the *Tourist Gaze 3.0*[4], tourists arrive at a tourist site with ideas of what they expect to see and plans for how they intend to interact with the environment. These tourist gazes aren't just about the projection of expectation; they also include an element of the performative. A tourist, hoping to capture a pre-formed, romantic image in real-time will photograph scenes that capture that particular tourist gaze. Perhaps this is why we see so many of the same clichéd images of a given place – proof, mostly self-serving, that we are indeed having an enjoyable, if altogether conventional, experience.

Figure 2. 'Favelas of Rio de Janeiro' by Skypher. Source: Deviant Art

As lay photographers, tourists maintain the symbolic importance of these tourist sites and reproduce tourist gazes. The same principle holds true for favela tourism. Romanticism,

---

[3] Urry, J. (1998). *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

[4] Urry, J. and Larsen, J. (2011). *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.

in this case, can take the form of admiring the ingenuity of the poor, or create the demand for souvenir-artwork that idealizes favela life: a dose of vibrant colours and a freeze-frame of residents enjoying themselves is all that's needed to subvert the image of a miserable, ostracised favela.

Problems arise when some favela tourists, in their quest to commit their gaze to film, transgress the boundaries of the tourist stage set by the community by taking unsolicited photographs which are perceived as objectifying. Transgressions like these seem inevitable when the rules for appropriate behaviour are oftentimes unspoken and vary among cultures. As the gatekeepers to such experiences, favela communities control access while simultaneously providing tourists with the sights and sounds they expect by virtue of a 'staged authenticity'[5].

Both before and after the uncomfortable incident in Providência, I wondered whether an ethics of tourism could prevent a faux pas like the one I witnessed. I thought I would find answers in MacCannell's *The Ethics of Sightseeing*[6], despite being warned by the author that what he is proposing in the book is *not* a how-to for behaving ethically as a tourist, but rather a meditation on the evils of mass tourism and consumerist culture.

MacCannell proposes that tourists have the power to reverse the trend of neoliberal tourism by forsaking the easy pleasures of mass tourism for challenging and potentially enlightening 'dark tourism' locations, such as Holocaust sites and war memorials[7]. In that sense, many tourists are already behaving ethically by visiting the favelas of Brazil's cities, where class and racial inequalities in Brazilian society are the starkest. Frenzel makes this very argument in *Slumming It: The Tourist Valorization of Urban Poverty*.[8] For Frenzel, favela tourism and related tourisms in urban peripheries has the capacity to challenge established norms that dictate which areas are deserving of being deemed tourist sites in the first instance. In this sense, the favela tourist becomes a subversive agent who has chosen to valorise communities that have long been stigmatized and ignored by municipal governments. Normally, tourist valorisation of low-income communities brings with it the risk of

---

[5] MacCannell, D. (1976). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.

[6] MacCannell, D. (2011). *The Ethics of Sightseeing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

[7] MacCannell, 2011; see also Wrobel, D. M. (2013). 'The Ethics of Sightseeing by Dean MacCannell (review)'. *American Studies*, 52, 3: 81-83.

[8] Frenzel, F. (2016). *Slumming It: The Tourist Valorization of Urban Poverty*. London: Zed Books.

gentrification if tourist flows increase. However, Frenzel imagines what he calls 'disruptive valorisation' as the remedy, wherein ethically-minded tourists consume tourist experiences in ways that maintain a community's self-sufficiency and prevent gentrification.

When I first grappled with the possibility of tourism ethics – that is, whether an ethics of favela tourism was possible, or if it was inherently Othering or objectifying—it was before I had set out on my first tour of Providência. Having spent more time in favelas and having gone on multiple community tours, all led by residents, I now realize that to focus on the role of the tourist in developing an ethics of tourism (as MacCannell, Frenzel, and I have all done) is misguided. By placing emphasis on the tourists' ability or duty to proactively initiate a code of ethics would be to remove agency from the community. Instead, any ethics of tourism or sightseeing must be developed by or at least in close collaboration with the community living in the tourist site. After all, shouldn't the community be trusted to know how they would like to interact with tourists in ways that respect their autonomy, their subjecthood, while striving to mitigate the ill-effects of capitalist-driven tourism valorisations that lead to gentrification?

Naturally, such an ethics of sightseeing will be site-specific and informed by local customs, and the appropriate tourist practices in one favela may not carry to another. The onus, then, will be on communities to collectively decide on how they expect tourists to comport themselves and for tour guides to communicate these rules of conduct for visitors. While a project of developing an ethics of favela tourism places the burden of responsibility on favela residents to articulate what they believe constitutes ethical behaviour from tourists, it also has the potential to disrupt the power hierarchy implicit in deciding from the outside what an ethics of favela sightseeing should look like.

Of course, this is not to say that a tourist contemplating a trip to the favelas of Brazil (or to any informal urban settlement) cannot first begin to think of how to behave ethically during a favela tour. It's important to realise that once a tourist enters a favela community, she is on the tourist stage – and while some residents may consent to setting aside a portion of their community to serve as the tourist stage, not everyone will agree to this performance. Nor will everyone consent to being gazed upon or having their likeness immortalised in a photograph to commemorate the gazer's sightseeing experience.

As tourists, we must recognise that the purchase of a guided tour of a favela does not guarantee open access. There are likely limits to our welcome. When in doubt about best practices on favela tours – say, about the appropriateness of photographing residents – tourists should be able to find useful advice from tour guides. As the most ethical option, however,

[231]

tourists should consider patronising community-based favela tourism, to be sure that the tourism is controlled by and directly benefits the favela community.

Interview Notes and Themes

1. Cacique Karubo from Xingu (Aldeia Maracanã, 2 March 2017)

   a. Environmentalism, horticulture, occupation, education, indigenous activism, land rights, reforestation

2. Dário (Aldeia Maracanã, 3 March 2017)

   a. Identity, occupation, indigenous activism, sexual harassment

3. Eduardo (Museu do Índio, 9 March 2017)

   a. Occupation, indigenous activism

4. X'Maya (Museu do Índio, 9 March 2017)

   a. Identity, heritage, occupation, discrimination, relations with state, education, social/cultural alienation, commerce, Globo, sexual harassment

5. Dênis (Uber, 7 March 2017)

   a. Advice on where to find traditional communities, researching West Zone instead of central Rio, sexual harassment

6-10. Adilson, Ricardo, Thalita, José Herculano, and Silvia da Silva (Quilombo do Camorim, 11 March 2017)

   a. Mutirão, heritage, art, education, tourism, environmentalism, horticulture, ecology, reforestation, land disputes, recreational areas, relationships with other communities, religion, commerce, unemployment, community museum

11. Sonia Barroso (UFRJ anthropologist, 16 March 2017)

   a. Said many Brazilian anthropologists write about whether quilombolas have same land rights as indigenous
   b. Criticised research plan at the time because of lack of Brazilian authors cited, thought project sounded strange because was formed out of context with UK/American authors
   c. Urban indigenous people are mixed up, aren't as indigenous as rural indigenous people. There are no urban terras indígenas.

12-15. Haydée, Lucy, Vitor Mariano, and Otávio (25 March 2017, Hípica Ato in Alto da Boa Vista)

a. Passive eviction, bureaucracy, organising, visibility, relationships with government

16. Otávio meeting (17 May 2017, his house in Vale Encantado)

a. Environmental technology, sustainable development, tourism, education, Vale Encantado, NGOs, funding, Hípica, lack of leadership

17. Bettino (23 May 2017, Parque Lage)

a. Relationship between favela residents and non-favela residents

18. Bettino (25 May 2017, PUC-Rio library)

a. Labouriaux, Associação de Moradores de Jardim Botânico, land lease, newspapers, Jardim Botânico

19. Luiz (27 May 2017, mutirão at Vale Encantado)

a. Favela categorisation, wariness on part of informant, favela stigma, favela romanticism

20. Emerson and Rogério (17 July 2017, Rogério's house in Grotão)

a. Pollution, environmental projects, favelas as destructive, counter-narratives, education, invader (jackfruit), environmentalism, Tijuca forest, trees, favela prejudice, Jardim Botânico, hypocrisy, gender roles, self-built house, mansions, classism, evicted favelas, personal struggles (not sure about fixing house because of eviction threat), inequality, wariness on part of informant

21. Otávio (22 August 2017, Vale Encantado)

a. Community history: commerce, agriculture, floriculture, xenophobia, environmental destruction, reforestation, legal processes (processos), mobilisation, invaders, land regularisation, bureaucracy, area of risk, government inefficiency, characteristics of Alto da Boa Vista, public vs. private land (i.e. Horto vs. Vale Encantado), environmentalism (people as part of nature), suggestions to solve conflict, other processos (in Alto da Boa Vista), ICMBio, Bairro Favela, Morar Carioca, taxes, environmental projects, partnerships, funding, NGOs, wariness of politicians, Horto, Pastoral de Favelas

22. Warlesson (23 August 2017, Uber)

    a. Other favelas on nature reserves (Tinguá forest, Baixada Fluminense)

23. Nélia (24 August 2017, vigília in front of portão)

    a. Vigília, eviction, comissão, Jardim Botânico, elderly, land regularisation, suggestions to solve conflict, Globo, (lack of) immediate threat, rejection of rationale for eviction, Jardim Botânico expansion plans, Serpro, area of risk (associação vs. comissão), environmental projects, community projects (recycling, community gardens), mutirão, police, hypocrisy, evangelicals, Crivella, Horto history, house demolition, wariness on part of informant

24. Camila (25 August 2017, UniRio)

    a. Ecological favela

25. Pedro and Luiz and fieldnotes (4 September 2017, vigília in Horto)

    a. Invader, favela stigma, personal history, Kubitschek school, differences with Zona Sul, lack of crime and drugs, elderly, informality of transactions in the past, housing construction, class, gentrification, old maps, register, Associação de Moradores do Jardim Botânico, condominium, area of risk, UFRJ housing project, kinship, renting property, favela identity (isn't a favela), Dilma, processos, terminology, mutirão, Globo, Pastoral de Favelas, Catholicism, pollution, tensions between association and commission, respectability, sexual harassment

26. Rafael Soares Gonçalves (6 September 2017, office in Dept. of Social Service, PUC-Rio)

    a. Tensions between association and commission, race, Eduardo Paes, regularisation, AEIS, Plano Diretor, Strategic Plan, condominiums, Olympics, environmental destruction, Tijuca Park, Emília (and brother), Light, quilombo, current research

27. Inés (13 September 2017, Casa Fluminense in Glória)

    a. Olympics, World Cup, favelas (advocacy), public policy, metro, elections, inequality, South Zone, economic crisis, Strategic Plan, mapping, metropolitan region, environment, religion

28. Gal (14 September 2017)

    a. Drugs, Emília, eviction threat

29. Maria Alice and Patricia (27 September 2018 at Patricia's house in Mata Machado)

    a. Personal history of living in Furnas 866, working in Tijuca park (Maria Alice), personal history (Patricia), lack of transport, lack of recreational areas for children, lack of high school, education (intentional lack of), Tijuaçu, political corruption, Crivella, Cabral, evangelicals, lack of paying public employees, BOPE

30. Ana, Daiana, Pathy (20 October 2017, Araçatiba)

    a. History of Ana's house, history of community, personal challenges (can't finish housing construction), favelização, illegally selling houses and land, problems with former association, community projects, Globo, description of eviction threat (i.e. houses built after 2012 have processos), description of eviction threat, former house demolitions, electricity, creation of new association, environmental projects, INEA inspection, housing document forgery, grelhados

31. Maryane Saisse (26 October 2017, Humaitá)

    a. Her work at Jardim Botânico, Jardim Botanico's plans for Horto land, tensions between Horto and Jardim Botânico, Jardim Botânico's expansion plans as legitimate, position of Instituto de Pesquisas do Jardim Botânico, Jardim Botânico expansion while Horto stays, area of risk, division among Jardim Botânico staff about Horto, staff not permitted to talk about Horto, Horto as conservationists, Jardim Botânico has protected area, not conservation area, UFRJ mapping project, land valorisation, condominiums, capitalism, displaced residents moving to other favelas on protected land, Globo, housing as not most important consideration, education

32. Luci Rosa and Haydée (27 October 2017, both of their houses in Hípica)

    a. Lack of access to judiciary, lack of progress, lack of human rights, lack of electricity, NGOs, care work, problems with living in favela, possible hyperbole and appeals to pathos, public hospitals (SUS), lack of leadership (Otávio), Hípica as better off than Horto, shrinking (dying) community, previous existence of school, increased risk because Hípica is completely within Tijuca park, eviction plans (i.e. once Haydée's mother dies), poor treatment, mental health problems because of eviction threat, wariness on part of informant, slavery, house demolition, buying and selling house restriction, favela identity (i.e. not a favela), lack of help from Pastoral de Favelas, rights of favelas (i.e. right to electricity), risks of setting up electricity illegally (gatos),

processo, government offer to be rehoused (didn't take it), Mata Machado, impasse (neither Park nor city government is taking responsibility), similarities to indigenous people, memories of building houses, Park permitting housing in the past, Fazenda, reluctance to improve house because of eviction threat

33. Luís Cláudio (27 October 2017, Uber)

   a. Mata Machado, deforestation, upgrading, lack of public services, policing in favelas, differences between military police, UPP, and BOPE, violence and the inconvenience it causes (i.e. lack of banks), terminology (i.e. preferring 'community')

34. Ana, Edilene, Gilson (Uber driver who lives in area) (29 October 2017, Edilene's back yard in Araçatiba)

   a. History of community, differences between military and federal government, grelhados, house registration, invaders, Globo (former name of Araçatiba), history of eviction threat, how environmental damage to area caused by Globo, not residents, Eduardo Paes wanting to buy votes, promising no evictions, Guaratiba as last green area of Rio, projeto estrutura urbanização (PEU) that leaves people without homes, housing speculation, taxes, problems with Minha Casa Minha Vida, rules about relocating people (i.e. can't be too far), community having history, INEA, lack of public services, legal support, difficulty of resolving dispute through legislation, difficulty of navigating bureaucracy (i.e. having to liaise with city, state, and federal officials), pollution, risks as a leader, problems with having politicians in social movements, community development plans, women and children involvement in movement, broken promises from government, UFRJ, doubt among residents that eviction threat is real (mostly elderly and men), tensions between association and rival group of residents, Edilene's history and reasons for moving to community, NGOs, reasons for lack of male involvement in movement, importance of home ownership

35. Ionicia (9 November 2017 after Horto meeting, Caxinguelê)

   a. Personal history, involvement in movement, Emília, processo, police, eviction threat

36. José Martins de Oliveira (8 December 2017, during protest in front of Palácio da Cidade)

   a. Rocinha, eviction threat in Labouriaux (Rocinha), lack of healthcare in Rocinha because of hospital strikes, Carnival, Olympics, Eduardo Paes, Crivella, North-easterners

37. Rozneida and Magdalena (1 November 2017, cooperative in Vale Encantado)

    a. Childhood, security, lack of community, isolation, lack of transportation, Mata Machado, wariness on part of informant

38. Mario Brum (5 December 2017, pizza shop in Laranjeiras)

    a. New land regularisation law, favela history, terminology, the formal city

39. Wellington (21 and 28 November and December 5, email)

    a. land regularisation law, Minha Casa Minha Vida, concessão de uso, AEIS, community land trust, real estate speculation in the informal market

40. Marcello (18 December 2017, email)

    a. Personal history, history of favela, rationale for eviction (i.e. to create recreational area), secretária de habitação, taking pictures, UPP, gentrification, real estate speculation, remoção branca, Minha Casa Minha Vida, Morar Carioca, Eduardo Paes, house demolition, Pastoral, Núcleo de Terras e Habitação, Defensoria Pública, differences and tensions between commission and association, government intervention in favela politics, support from academics, religion, support for removal among residents, mental health problems related to eviction, importance of being informed

41. Jaqueline (23 January 2018, Barrinha)

    a. Personal history, house construction in Barrinha, family's involvement in association, details of eviction threat, government as biggest threat to community, government failing to keep promises, lack of tension between commission and association, support from Povo Sem Medo and politicians, wariness of politics, support and involvement of community, solidarity with other favelas, food sustainability, importance of optimism, Dona Penha, importance of community unity

42. Janine (22 January 2018, Praia da Barra)

    a. Personal history, Barrinha, history of eviction threat, desire to understand, kinship, personal rights, valuing the favela, usucapião, lack of communication from government

43. Emília (29 January 2018, her home in Horto)

a. Personal history, history of eviction threat, how she got involved with association, difficulty of mobilizing people, people who want Horto evicted, support from community, land regularisation (i.e only way to prevent eviction), classism, racism, conselho popular, media, raising awareness, CUEM and concessão de uso, citizenship, personal rights, wariness on part of informant, why mandato de segurança was denied, differences between commissions and associations, pushback against Emília's leadership, UN, violence in favelas, police violence, impunity, Lula, populism, Vargas, corruption

44. Anderson (30 January 2018, email)

    a. Personal history, deep roots in community, real estate speculation, false documents, land titles, Pastoral, justiça, military, private industry, self-esteem, importance of optimism, sharing knowledge and experience

45. Renata (1 February 2018, City Hall)

    a. Complexo da Maré, media, journalism

46. Ana (5 February 2018, WhatsApp voice message)

    a. Personal history, history of eviction

47. Di (25 February 2018, WhatsApp text message)

    a. Personal history, house demolition, military, Pastoral, evictions, upgrading, religion

48. Elisabete (30 March 2018, email)

    a. Personal history, Novo Palmares, difficulties with neighbours, dislike of residents' association, Ministério Público, milícia, association impeding land regularisation

49. Emerson (8 September 2018, Horto)

    a. Role of Horto museum, lack of discussion about race

50. Washington (10 September 2018, WhatsApp text message)

    a. Personal history, academics, Horto museum, favela terminology

51. *Antônio Carlos Firmino (23 September 2018, BRT ride)

    a. Sankofa museum, Bolsonaro (elections), Rocinha census, undercounting favela populations

52. Potira (23 September 2018, Aldeia Maracanã)

    a. Personal history, ciclo sagrado

53. Jair Baiano (23 September 2018, Aldeia Maracanã)

    a. FIST

54. Claúdia (house cleaner, 25 September 2018)

    a. Lack of security

55. Haydée (26 September 2018, Hípica)

    a. Lack of energy, lack of support, solar panels

56. Caî Guajajara (4 October 2018, WhatsApp text message)

    a. Personal history, ciclo sagrado, being an indigenous woman in Rio

Fieldnotes and Themes

- Favela tour (18 February 2017)
  - Rolé dos Favelados, Providência, activist tourism, security
- Fieldnotes (2-3 March 2018)
  - Reforestation project in Aldeia Maracanã, updates
- Hípica rally (25 March 2017)
  - Invaders, crime, human rights, grassroots organising, community alliances
- Event: Pra que e pra quem serve as pesquisas sobre favelas? (Complexo do Alemão, 25 March 2017)
  - Criticisms of anthropology, reductive and generalised research, lack of in-depth research, pacification, NGOs, education, UN, military, indigenous activism, giving back to community, race, religion, violence, research ethics, class
- Horto assembly (5 April 2017)
  - Expert advice, processos, AEIS, UN, heritage, land rights, individual vs. personal interests, Brazilianness
- CatComm meeting (10 April 2017)
  - Favela mapping
- Hípica meeting in Alto da Boa Vista (11 April 2017)
  - Gender, metro, community alliances, WhatsApp, politicians, fear, security, Pastoral de Favelas, planning
- Fieldnotes (12 April 2017)
  - Gender, metro, sexism, elder respect, discrimination (favelado name calling), threatened violence against women
- Discussion about indigenous women in Rio, Caixa Cultural (13 April 2017)
  - Indigenous women's activisms, urban indigenous experiences, education, child care, work, identity, costumes
- Facebook post (18 April 2017)
  - Horto, mansions, natural disaster
- Facebook post (19 April 2017)
  - Horto, writ of security, lawyer
- Facebook post (21 April 2017)

- o Horto, Reimont, AEIS, upgrading
- Global Summit event in Vale Encantado (22 April 2017)
  - o Community development, food, empowerment, fake news, media, tourism, sustainability, selling, fundraising, favela museum, environmentalism
- Fieldnotes (27 April 2017)
  - o Social security, indigeneity, protests
- Fieldnotes (29 April 2017)
  - o Protests, violence
- Horto meeting in City Hall (4 May 2017)
  - o Reimont, AEIS, community alliance, respectability, personal struggles, stigma, protest
- Fieldnotes (5 May 2017)
  - o Reimont, legal processes
- Fieldnotes (6 May 2017)
  - o Legal terms, AEIS, Aldeia Maracanã
- Fieldnotes and WhatsApp posts (9 May 2017)
  - o Horto (Emília) City Hall, AEIS, PSOL, lack of faith in politicians, Hípica, media, Otávio, informal city, bureaucracy
- Horto assembly (9 May 2017)
  - o AEIS, bureaucracy, Globo, community projects, Reimont, raising awareness among politicians, conservationism, eviction
- Hípica meeting and fieldnotes (9 May 2017)
  - o House demolition, invaders, Otávio (lack of leadership), wariness of politics, Horto, respectability
- Fieldnotes (10 May 2017)
  - o Legitimacy (AMAHOR)
- Horto tour (12 May 2017)
  - o Invader, community boundaries, pollution, demolition, oral history (museum project), favela identity (is vs. isn't favela), tourism, community museum, land speculation, AEIS, kinship, housing titles vs. land titles
- Horto event (lawyer consultation) and fieldnotes (13 May 2017)
  - o Gentrification, processos, informal agreements, documentation, elderly, economic crisis, insecurity of tenure, eviction rationale, history of evictions in

- Horto, AEIS (regularisation), Olympics, significance of public land, favela stigma
- CatComm meeting (15 May 2017)
  - Informal settlement terminology (AGSN), NGO funding, mapping, Alto da Boa Vista
- Fieldnotes (19 May 2017)
  - Favela museums, Vila Autódromo, protests
- Hípica meeting, Parque Lage (23 May 2017)
  - Relationship with government entities, community alliances, land regularisation, rationale for eviction, land dispute, lack of public services (electricity), human rights, class, personal struggles, destroying the environment, environmental preservation, hypocrisy on part of those in power, Reimont, invaders, justice (lack of), tourism, shame, support from government agencies, lack of access (to park admin, Luci), mansions
- Mutirão in Vale Encantado (27 May 2017)
  - Fundraising (crowdfunding), tourism, food, commerce, community development, description of favela (Vale Encantado), sexism (fieldnotes)
- Fieldnotes (29 May 2017)
  - Tourism (tourist stage), RioOnWatch, mansions
- Debate: Regularização fundiária urbano e rural no Brasil (30 May 2017, PUC-Rio)
  - Eviction, informal settlements, capitalism, housing rights, Globo, privatisation, globalisation
- Facebook event post (30 May 2017)
  - Medida provisória 756
- Facebook post (1 June 2017)
  - Besserman interview (critiqued by TV Horto), rationale for evictions
- Fieldnotes (4 June 2017)
  - CatComm, being viewed as reporter
- WhatsApp post (19 June 2017)
  - Hípica, failure (denial of turning electricity back on), planning meeting
- Fieldnotes (23 June 2017)
  - Ata extraordinária, Hípica, failure (Horto, mandato de segurança), Globo
- Lecture: O direito de laje e outros instrumentos da MP [medidia provisória] 759/2016 (26 June 2017, OAB-RJ)

- Homelessness, Horto, invaders (Jardim Botânico), evangelicals, elderly, natural disaster, hypocrisy, mandato de segurança, Associação de moradores do Jardim Botânico, official data being politicised (i.e. favela demographics), number of favelas, right to the laje
- Horto tour with Fio-cruz (27 June 2017)
  - Support for resistance in community, vertical cemetery, Clube Caxinguelê, heritage (slavery and quilombo), invader, hypocrisy, personal struggles (living next to electrical tower), Horto history
- WhatsApp posts (28 June 2017)
  - Attempted eviction (Horto)
- Horto assembly (29 June 2017)
  - Eviction threat, supporters, police informants, fear, loss of hope
- Facebook posts (29 June 2017)
  - Eviction threat, vigil, fireworks
- Lecture (by UK academic) on the environment and well-being (30 June 2017, Observatório de Favelas)
  - Inequality, autonomy vs. empowerment, access (to parks, green spaces, etc.), gender, seated vs. walking interviews, planned vs. unplanned communities, social capital, natural capital, public vs. private space, class, fear, security, women and indigenous people as being close to nature
- Fieldnotes (17 July 2017)
  - List of interview questions for Emerson
- Grupo de estudos e pesquisas intelectuais negras (21 July 2017, UFRJ)
  - Gender policing, race policing (lack of), diversity, marking space with banners, colourism, favela terminology (i.e. periferia as euphemism for favela)
- Fieldnotes (22 August 2017)
  - List of questions for Otávio, favela prejudice (interaction with Uber driver)
- Event: Favelas the Strategic Plan (26 August 2017, Centro de Artes da Maré)
  - Under-representation of favela residents, plans for public parks in North Zone, lack of recreational areas in favelas, environment, sustainable development
- Debate: Rio de Janeiro: dos grandes eventos à cidade que queremos (August 29, 2017, City Hall)
  - Strategic Plan, Plano Diretor, causes for city and state bankruptcy, class, invited space vs. invented space, sustainability (lack of), Americanisation

- Conselho Popular meeting (30 August 2017)
  - Processos, Rio das Pedras, Vidigal, eviction threats, regularisation, land speculation, Milicia, verticalização, strategic plan, government not wanting public participation, building alliances in government, inequality among favelas, Horto and land titles
- Event—Dilma: o Brasil um ano depois do golpe (31 August 2017)
  - Political chants, women in politics, media, coup, Dilma and PT legacy, inequality, Venezuela, delegitimizing political parties (PT)
- MNLM event, (1 September 2017, Espaço Plínio)
  - New left politics
- Horto tour with lawyers (2 September 2017)
  - Tourist spaces, favela identity, structure of the tour, real estate speculation, quilombo heritage, area of risk, house demolition (history of), processos, condominium, invaders, mansions, environmental conservation and protection, Associação de Moradores do Jardim Botânico, community alliances (Aldeia Maracanã), community history, improvement plans (new social club), success in getting title to avoid eviction (CUEM), importance of women in movement
- Horto assembly (2 September 2017)
  - Processos, lawyer advice, CUEM, Jardim Botânico expansion, mandato de segurança, danger of losing too many legal battles, strategic plan and implicit eviction plans, Globo, government saying situation is resolved but residents not thinking it is, demographics (elderly, women)
- Grito dos excluídos protest and fieldnotes (7 September 2017)
  - Police, unions, political parties, Globo, Portuguese, Independence Day, Emília, freedom, Venezuela
- Fieldnotes (9 and 11September 2017)
  - Identity, marking space, cultural appropriation, baile charme, resistance, capoeira, Leftist politics and anti-Americanism
- Conselho Popular meeting (11 September 2017)
  - Strategic plan (critiques), Rio das Pedras, North-easterners, tourism, religion, academics (critiques), urbanisation (critiques), lack of favela representation in government decisions, meeting dynamics, violence in favelas, evangelicals, regularisation, transparency
- WhatsApp post (12 September 2017)

- o Emília, eviction threat, police, Ibama
- Horto assembly (13 September 2017)
  - o Politicians, documentation, community alliances, terminology, protest, support of allies (students), Associação de Moradores do Jardim Botânico, individual vs. community eviction threat, police, North-easterners, race (lack of black participation), tensions between association and commission, Hípica, outside attention, participation in meetings, free riders
- Horto meeting with PSOL leadership in ALERJ (14 September 2017)
  - o Eviction threat, alliances with politicians, housing rights movement, Globo, social cleansing (poor) from South Zone, tourism, favela culture, environment (as excuse to evict), 'walking the hill', generating support
- Teacher's protest (14 September 2017, Rua da Assembléia in Carioca)
  - o Unions, Temer, police (lack of), class
- Horto tour with Pedro and Luiz (15 September 2017)
  - o Community boundaries, sexual harassment and assault, house demolition, childhood, presidents (housing)
- Facebook post (15 September 2017)
  - o Emília, real estate speculation, Amazon, environmentalism, eviction threat, human rights, class, race
- Horto assembly (17 September 2017)
  - o Connection (social), social media, resistance vs. resilience, Reimont, AEIS, Rio das Pedras, politicians (senator), support
- Fieldnotes (21 September 2017)
  - o Tourism (Horto), research ethics (influencing residents to act), Hípica, Otávio
- Leftist rally (probably PSOL) in front of City Hall (21 September 2017)
  - o International relations, urban development (building new cities), power, privatisation, taxes, capitalism, vendors, children
- Debate about environmental racism in City Hall (21 September 2017)
  - o Quilombo, closeness to nature, conservation (thanks to residents), eviction, sustainable development, Paquetá, urban parks, capitalism
- WhatsApp post (21 September 2017)
  - o Emília, Crime, Rocinha, forest, BOPE
- Research group and fieldnotes (22 September 2017 in UniRio)

- - Ecological favela, Vidigal, Rio +20, favela as solution, environmental projects, violence, Rocinha, Emília
- Conselho Popular meeting (25 September 2017)
  - Horto, politicians (learning about Horto problem), violence, gunfire, public land vs. private land, decree (legal), real estate speculation, prejudice, Globo, Minister of the Environment, alliances with politicians and justiça, tensions between Moacyr and Emília, Reimont, elderly, Hípica, AEIS (how it won't solve all problems), difficulties of politicians standing up against evictions, oldness of Horto's fight, eviction plans (condominium), rights of União (to evict), other legislative options, eviction threat in Ilha Grande (environmental risk), Strategic Plan (number of evictions), power, community alliances, Rio das Pedras, community news, transparency, media campaign
- LEUS seminar about Avenida Brasil (26 September 2017)
  - Class segregation, terminology (periferia vs. subúrbio), subúrbios, class distinctions between different zones of Rio (i.e. Barra is technically in west zone but not considered to be because of class reasons), politics of lack of transportation in poor areas, role of samba schools in defining identities of Rio's neighbourhoods
- Comcat film screening (28 September 2017 at Cine Santa Teresa)
  - Sustainable favelas, Rio +20, green transportation, lack of recreational spaces for children, sewage treatment problems, favelas taking initiative
- Maracajás protest (4 October 2017, Ilha do Governador)
  - (un)peaceful protest, eviction threat, police (negotiation and escort), favela identity (not a favela), invaders, right to the city, how presence of a school proves community-ness for residents, terminology (i.e. not a favela, not a community, just a group of houses), individual evictions
- Fieldnotes (5 October 2017)
  - Maracajás protest, processos, community allies, news coverage, never-ending eviction threats, empathy, elderly, women, reasons for eviction (comparing situation with Demond's *Evicted*), belonging, evangelicals
- Discussion on justice system (5 October 2017, Candido Mendes law school)
  - Lack of diversity (women, Afro-descendants) in Congress, coup (how it wasn't a coup), impunity, Ministério Público, problems with judiciary (is too political, not impartial enough), difficulty of reform

- Discussion about housing and access to justice (6 October 2017, EMERJ)
  - Ministério Público, Otávio, Emília, land regularisation, importance of making justiça aware of problems (sensibilizar), costly-ness of eviction, elderly, how other people (i.e. cyclists) destroy the environment more, community alliances, housing rights vs. posse rights, invaders, favelas as solution, Canal do Anil as success story, problems with posse, US indigenous land laws
- Public audience in Vargem Grande (7 October 2017, headquarters of residents' association of Vargem Grande)
  - Renato Cinco, creating popular plan for Vargens (grande and pequena) in response to government's PEU (projeto de estruturação urbana) plan, PEU as plan for future gentrification, green transportation, eviction as burden for women, water rights, pollution, lack of transportation, lack of recreational areas, lack of schools, support of UFRJ
- 'State of Exception' film screening (8 October 2017, Museum of Modern Art)
  - Forced evictions, mega-events, Aldeia Maracanã, Vila Autódromo, West Zone, police violence, critiques of film (ahistorical, showing infighting among Aldeia Maracanã that feeds into media bias), divisions within community and how it led to downfall (Vila Autódromo), government only consulting a few residents of Vila Autódromo
- Ceramics class (9 October 2017, headquarters of Horto association)
  - Funding and how it can be tied to political obligations, empowerment, beach as democratic space, jeitinho brasileiro
- Vale Encantado tour (11 October 2017)
  - Garbage collection, history of community, invasiveness of jackfruit tree and environmental damage it causes, commerce, immigrants, medicinal leaves, background on sewage treatment project, naturally-occurring bio-fuels, unemployment in community, lack of schools, tourism as community development, tourism as education, tourism cooperation isn't the same thing as the association
- Public audience in Araçatiba (13 October 2017)
  - Community alliances and how it scares government, description of community, tensions between commission and association, water (Guaratiba as the source of Rio's water), lack of electricity, lack of transportation, lack of jobs, quilombos, forced evictions

[248]

- Aldeia Maracanã tour (14 October 2017)
  - Description of community, violence against indigenous people, education, outside support, gender roles, asking for money and donations, sustainability of community
- Fieldnotes (15 October 2017)
  - Favela stigma affecting research, blackness
- Protest in front of Secretaria do Patrimonio da União (SPU) (17 October 2017, Cinelândia)
  - Attempted robbery, handing in documents, trying to get an audience, previous negotiations with SPU, coup, gendered violence
- Facebook post (17 October 2017)
  - Horto, pollution, environmental protection
- LEUS and UN-OHCHR seminar: Serviços públicos coletivos e a luta pelo direito à cidade
  - Water management, Brazil vs. South Africa, water issues in favelas, lack of transportation, lack of public services, favela stigma, PTU (tax)
- Araçatiba tour with OAB-Barra (20 October 2017)
  - Real estate speculation, tour of community, teen pregnancy, military, house demolition, restriction on buying and selling houses, problems with old association, Candomblé, littering, eviction threats bringing people together and creating community identity, wariness of picture taking for registration (eviction), visibility, importance of optimism, registered vs. unregistered houses, importance of organising, people illegally constructing houses, long-term residents vs. new residents, condominium Mello, Globo TV, community newspaper: community projects, sustainability, environmentalism, participation of children, lack of public services (CEDAE)
- Event in ALERJ: Regularização fundiária de interesse social—áreas urbanas públicas, particulares e indefinidas, desafios e perspectivas (25 October 2017, fórum permanente de desenvolvimento estratégico do estado jornalista Roberto Marinho)
  - Housing policy, concerns about changes to federal property law (i.e. how it will affect favelas, quilombos, rural landless, posse, housing registration, land regularisation, Movimento nacional de luta pela moradia (MNLM), housing rights, terminology (i.e. occupation vs. invasion), social interest (housing), favela integration, debureaucratisation (simplifying), grelhados, terminology

[249]

(i.e. assentamento irregular vs. núcleo urbano), military occupation of Brasília, regularização fundiária vs. regularização urbanista, right to the lage, staying informed, access to justice system, non-answers

- Email chain with heading, 'Ações Horto—desdobramentos da reunião de 25/09/2017', 16 and 26 October 2017)
  - Legislation to annul decision to cede Horto land to Jardim Botânico, planning Horto meeting in ALERJ
- Email chain 'Ações Horto' (27 October 2017)
  - Sergio Ricardo, Crivella taking Rio das Pedras eviction out of strategic plan
- Event: Seminário Pastoral de Favelas: 40 anos em defesa do direito de morar (28 October 2017)
  - Not being able to trust government, how everyone in Rio pollutes, religion, belief that Pastoral de Favelas was communist, need for researchers to help tell truth about favelas, favela identity (community vs. vila), favelas on federal land, visibility (lack of compared to bigger, more famous favelas), notes about Hípica interview (pathos, how they have a generator, how they don't attend meetings), evangelicals, role of catholic church in housing rights, Lei Orgânica, IGBE says that most favelas are in North Zone, police, PUC-Rio, concerns about new land regularisation law, race, gender, terminology
- Conselho Popular meeting (31 October 2017)
  - Organising protest, figuring out what objectives are of protest, needing representatives of politicians to be present, broadening purpose of protest to more than housing (i.e. health, education, other favela issues), Movimento Sem Teto, linking to national movements, AEIS, protest logistics
- Horto assembly (9 November 2017)
  - Crivella ato, community alliances, Maciço da Tijuca, arguments against participating in protest, efforts to convince participation, capitalism, Crivella, passive eviction (remoção branca), elderly, persistence, visibility
- Palácio da Cidade protest and meeting in Cidade Nova in Office of Urbanism, Infrastructure, and Housing (8 December 2017)
  - Jornada, difficulty in meeting with government officials, Favela-Bairro and how some favelas on federal land are in the pipeline to get it, difficulty of transferring land to city government, land regularisation plans for Rio das Pedras, terminology (i.e. remoção vs. reassentamento), areas of risk, steps of

land regularisation, terminology (i.e. not liking word 'remoção', Araçatiba (i.e. lack of plans, how registration doesn't mean upgrading, upgrading vs. security from eviction, Barrinha, Rádio Sonda, Maracajás, Horto as already urbanised but still has eviction threat, previous agreement with SPU and Horto, jurisdiction in land disputes (i.e. city can't get involved in disputes involving federal land, upgrading in Labouriaux

- Fieldnotes (9 December 2017)
    - Besserman meeting in Brasília, lack of participation and intimidation by rival faction in Araçatiba (WhatsApp), Ana leadership troubles and asking for loyalty, evangelicals and homophobia, creation of recreational area (eco-park), Wellington's emails explaining community land trusts and concessão de uso, responses to blog posts (i.e. terminology: preferring 'occupation' to favela or irregular settlement, general use of 'occupation', list of events I attended

- Roda de saberes femininos do Alto Xingú (10 December 2017, Parque Lage)
    - Female equality, evangelicals, technology ruining traditions, machismo, pornography, anthropologists, menstruation

- Seminar: Política pública habitacional brasileira (11 December 2017, Sinpro headquarters in Cinelândia)
    - Indiana (is on public land, can't build), urbanisation as eviction, lack of communication between governmental entities, need for government to visit favelas, MTST, Povo Sem Medo, Rio das Pedras, gentrification, social function of property, criminalisation of social movements, Minha Casa Minha Vida, criticisms of responses during Cidade Nova meeting on December 8th, mandato de segurança and hypocrisy, space, Port area, real estate speculation

- Meeting about creating environmental project in Guaratiba (11 December 2017, CIEP school)
    - APARU (área de proteção ambiental e recuperação urbana), bill (legislation), hypocrisy (i.e. restaurants being allowed to stay while talk of evicting Araçatiba), mapping, help from academics, support or lack of support from politicians, grilhagem (making documents look older), AEIS, tensions between association and other faction (creating new commission), patronage from politicians (wariness of politicians) (padrinho)

- LEUS seminar and master's project proposal presentations (12 December 2017)

- Loss of favela identity, evictions, role of women in mobilisation, area of risk, difficulty of working with city government vs. SPU, issue of needing titles or not, informality (i.e. creating own title documents)
- Seminário interamericano de regularização urbanística e fundiária da cidade do Rio de Janeiro (13 December 2017, SulAmérica Convention Centre)
    - Lincoln Institute, regulating urban growth, urban zones (i.e. of mixed-income housing, of different kinds of land use), informality (reducing and preventing it), why informality happens, community land trusts, infrastructure (investing in), urbanisation, high costs of informality (i.e. paying more for social services), how new land regularisation law covers too many distinct topics (i.e. rural land and urban housing policy), favela as solution, influences of Brazilian land policy (France and German and neglecting indigenous and African roots), buying houses without titles, difficulties of people without titles (i.e. hard to ask for improvements), ReUrb, how favelas on public land can't be evicted while land regularisation process is ongoing but can once it's archived, Labouriaux, Indiana, new law saying that only titles (vs. posse) matter, Vila Autódromo and how they were evicted with titles, downsides of titles (i.e. traffickers buying titles from poor people, critiques of AIES: doesn't guarantee protection from eviction, isn't well defined, could end up benefitting drug dealers, argument against Horto (should be resettled), Minha Casa Minha Vida, importance of optimism (believing in political process more)
- WhatsApp post (19 December 2017)
    - Brasília meeting, TCU, AGU, Besserman having difficulties carrying out eviction plans
- Jongo protest (9 January 2018)
    - Disinvestment from cultural forms
- Fieldnotes (12 January 2018)
    - Resettling Hípica
- Fieldnotes (15 January 2018)
    - The chaste ethnographer
- Rocinha tour (16 January 2018)
    - Favela identity, differences between favelas and ghettos, sanitation, people not using or misusing public services
- Rocinha tour additional notes (17 January 2018)

- Violence, Labouriaux, differences between kinds of police, what drug dealers use fireworks for, how to tell the difference between gunshots and fireworks
- WhatsApp post (17 January 2018)
  - Wariness about having political parties involved in movement
- Círculo sagrado feminino (20 January 2018, Aldeia Maracanã)
  - Religious syncretism, pan-indigeneity, tensions between modern indigeneity and new age spiritualism
- Fieldnotes (21 January 2018)
  - Anti-abortion rally, radical discussion circles
- Vila Autódromo tour (31 January 2018)
  - Museu das Remoções, history of community, community divisions, urbanisation, AEIS, loss of community, protest methods, pro-eviction residents, eco-museum
- Conselho popular meeting (31 January 2018)
  - Horto processos, Rio das Pedras, indirect eviction (remoção branca), obligation to improve communities, how ruins of demolished houses create problems
- Fieldnotes (13 February 2018)
  - Horto, notes on mandato authorizing eviction from February 1
- Facebook post (28 April 2018)
  - Negas do Horto, environmental racism
- Blog post from Minstério Público Federal (24 May 2017): '#RetrocessoAmbientalNão: ocupação irregular ameaça remanescente de manguezal em Guaratiba, no Rio de Janeiro'
  - Araçatiba, favelização, environmetal arguments for demolition, State's side of the story, invaders, crime, poverty, prospect of reg. fund. incentivizing 'invasions', older families having more rights that newer people
- Public audience at DPU (3 September 2018)
  - Haydée being open to moving but wants to stay in area, tensions between commission and association, eviction threat in Indiana
- Horto film in PUC (4 September 2018)
  - Film called Recanto, September 2 fire in Museu Nacional, people not knowing about Horto/thinking only rich people live in area, favelização (not happening because of pop. control), validation by French tourists, area of risk hypocrisy,

UOL article detailing plans to move Horto to land next to Museu Nacional and Pedro's response to idea

- Fieldnotes (6 September 2018)
  - Detailed history of Providência from samba exhibit in MAR
- Grito dos excluídos (7 September 2018)
  - Parade route, FIST, Lula, Haddad
- Capoeira Project in Horto (8 September 2018)
  - Horto museum website, info about project, why Horto is good site for cultural projects (is safe, Emerson calls it suburbia da zona sul but has been abandoned), clube caxinguele, Voz da Favela article about favela tourism (role das favelas) as rebranding project, another article about experiences of military intervention, another article about cortiços today
- Fieldnotes (10 September 2018)
  - Election, male socialisation (fights)
- Fieldntoes (11 September 2018)
  - Notes on Washington interview
- Event: Prostutição regulamentar é o melhor para as mulheres? (Casa Pública, 15 September 2018)
  - Prostitution
- Seminar: Racismo ambiental e movimentos sociais (PUC, 17 September 2018)
  - Richer neighbourhoods being cooler, Emerson family history, Minha Casa Minha Vida (don't want it), Horto as traditional community, environmental racism (AM), terreiros as environmentalists, leaflet on murdered indigenous activist
- Seminar: contra o inimigo comum das lutas sociais (UniRio, 19 September 2018)
  - Dona Penha (personal history), Emília (personal history), MNLM, Horto eviction background, condominium, environmental racism, judiciary as enemy, Sérgio Suyaman, women and election, LGBT
- Event: Primavera dos Museus, Museu das Remoções (VA, 23 September 2018)
  - Inauguration tour, plaques, death, culture, importance of church in VA, former residents, why they created museum, housing ruins as part of museum and part of National Archive, tree planting, Cosme Felippsen, importance of flags, Sankofa Museum (Rocinha), Bolsonaro, Rocinha population, undercounting in census, past eviction threat in Rocinha, Ciclo Sagrado, FIST

- Fieldnotes, 24 September 2018
  - Quilombo Sacopã
- Fieldnotes, 25 September 2018
  - Violence in Rio
- Conselho Popular meeting (26 September 2018)
  - Eviction avoided in Barrinha, Hípica visit, new eviction threat (in small favela near Alemão), severe eviction threat in Maracajás, AM terra indígena sign as fake
- Public Audience (DPU, 27 September 2018)
  - 'invasions' stopping regularisation, not being against rich but wanting equality, hypocrisy of having problem with favelização but not minding growth of condominiums, environmental classism/racism, Maria Lúcia empowering woman to talk to politicians, detractor denying eviction and blaming residents for lack of solution, Cosme, complications of regularising Araçatiba, Muzema, solution proposed to give titles first to old houses individually, UNHRC support letter for Horto
- Fieldnotes, 30 September 2018
  - Anti-bolsonaro rally
- WhatsApp, 15 November 2018
  - Maracajás eviction

Appendix E

Latin America Bureau Survey

1. Me conta um pouco de você e de onde você é – seu bairro, comunidade ou cidade.

2. Como começou essa luta? O que aconteceu?

3. Como e quando você se envolveu?

4. Quem são as forças principais contra as quais você teve que lutar?

5. Quem se juntou à sua luta? Quem te ajudou?

6. Todo mundo na sua comunidade te apoia?

7. Quais são os principais eventos, vitorias e derrotas na sua luta?

8. Você já teve algum contato com outras pessoas envolvidas em lutas parecidas na sua cidade, estado, país ou até em outros países?

9. Como você promoveu a sua luta?

10. Que mudanças você já conseguiu?

11. O que você espera realizar no futuro?

12. O que você aprendeu por causa do seu envolvimento nessa luta? Como você poderia ser mais eficaz no futuro?