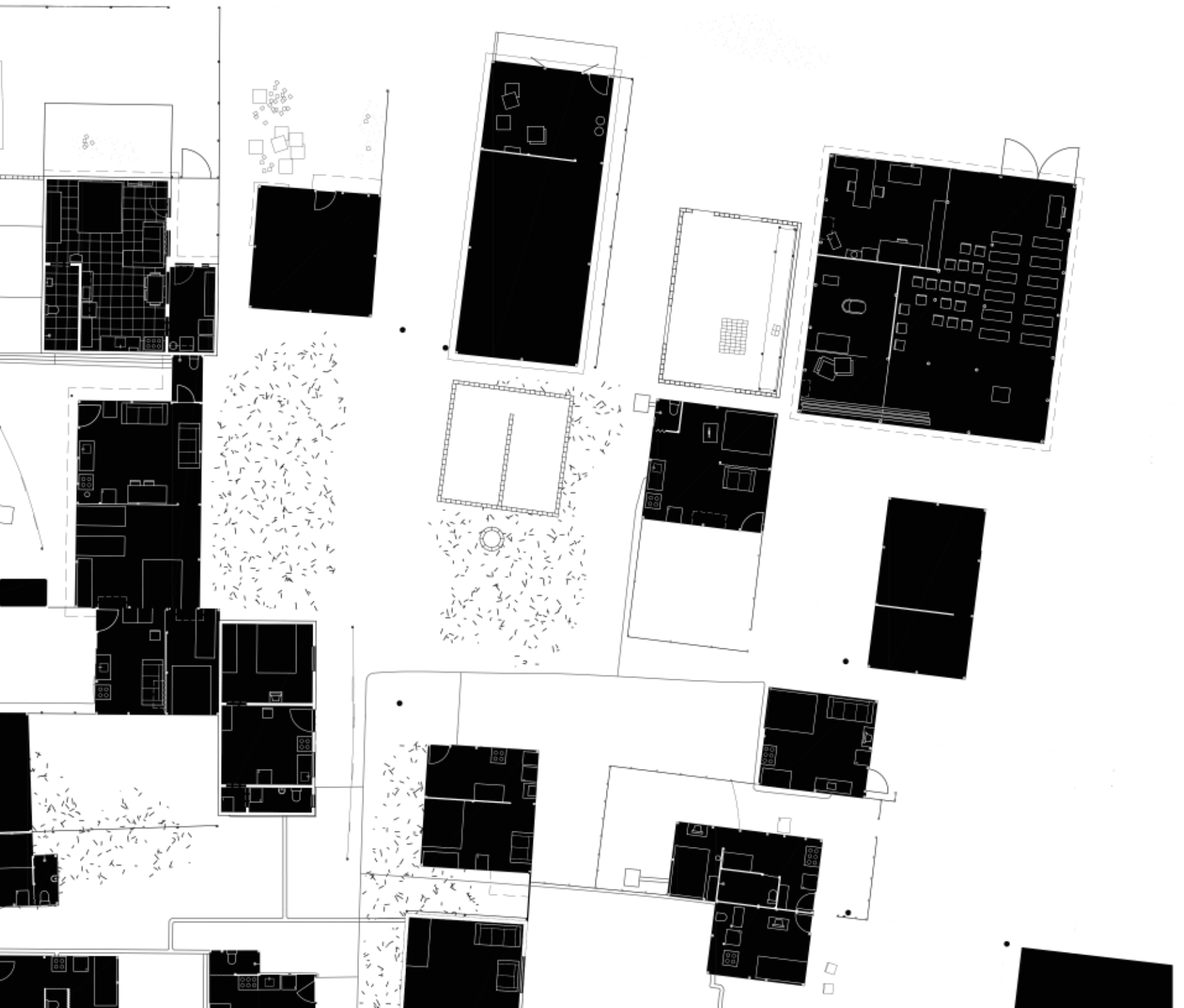


# CITY IN THE MAKING

**FLM AT THE FRONTLINE OF THE HOUSING STRUGGLE  
IN SÃO PAULO**





# CITY IN THE MAKING

## FLM AT THE FRONTLINE OF THE HOUSING STRUGGLE IN SÃO PAULO

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Ken Vervaet

Thesis submitted to obtain the  
degree of Master of Engineering:  
Architecture

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Jeroen Stevens

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Academic Year 2016-2017



***Abstract:***

A strong lack of aspects for decent housing leaves a great part of the population of São Paulo in precarious or without housing conditions. By squatting open interstitial and residual spaces in the rapidly dispersing metropolitan area, urban movements provide shelter for those excluded from formal housing, thereby addressing the housing deficit and claiming citizenship rights. By mobilizing, organizing and supporting settlements on the one hand and by initiating waves of occupations on the other, these movements enforce peculiar urbanization processes by constructing their very own urban environments. However, despite strong autonomous self-organisation, these occupied spaces remain subject to precarious and often hazardous living circumstances, social and economic segregation, poor hygiene and limited spatial planning.

This thesis will interrogate land occupations as spaces continuously interposed between temporality and permanence, inclusiveness and exclusiveness, forecasting and staging, invisibility and exposure, marginality and centrality. Six case studies articulate how urban movement FLM, Frontline in the Struggle for Housing, piecemeal and successively pieces together particular dwelling environments. Every case singles out a distinctive sample from the movement's attempts in fighting for and constructing the right to the city. For each case study, scales alternate between architectural and urban, exploring the mutual iteration between the occupations and the city. This way, the study enquires how urban movements take part in the making of a more inclusive city. The study seeks to translate fieldwork and literature into urban analysis and cartography. The data is interpreted and used to support potential design scenarios. Fieldwork was carried out in close collaboration with the urban movement FLM and its many sub-movements and technical and juridical advisory cooperatives affiliated to the movement. The fieldwork was organized and guided by Jeroen Stevens, and the research project is closely related to his ongoing doctoral research in São Paulo.

Thesis submitted to obtain the degree of Master in Engineering: architecture

*UDC:* 621.3

**I  
BASIC  
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**II  
SHARED  
LIVING**

**III  
OCCUPY!**

**IV  
SELF-  
CONSTRUCTION**

**V  
SPONTANEOUS  
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**VI  
A DERAILED  
MUTIRÃO**

**VII  
DESIGNING  
INCLUSION?**

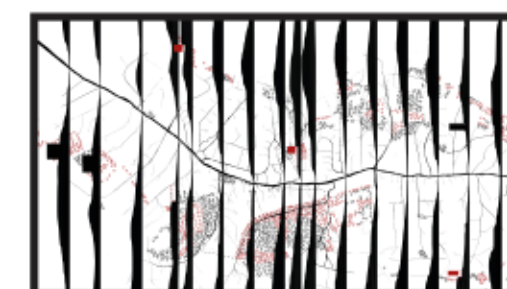
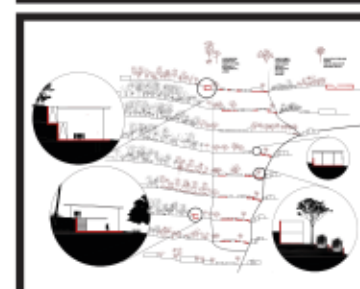
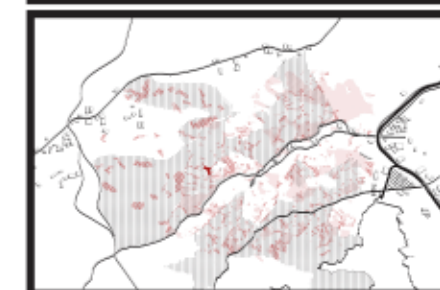
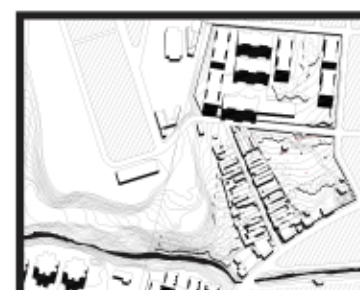
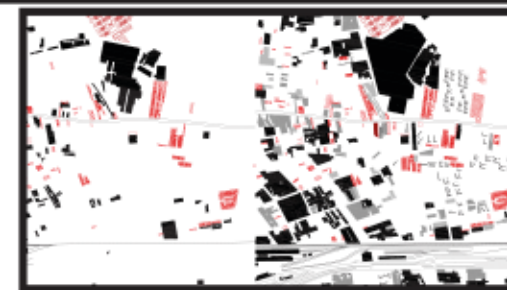
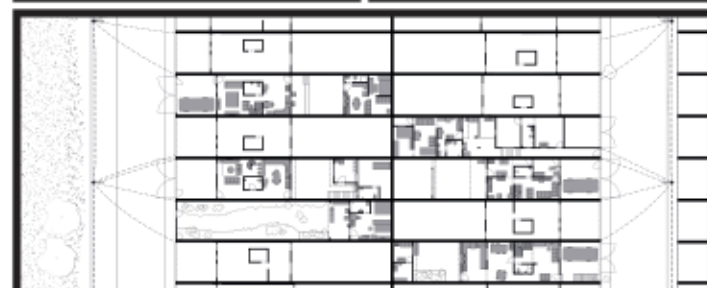
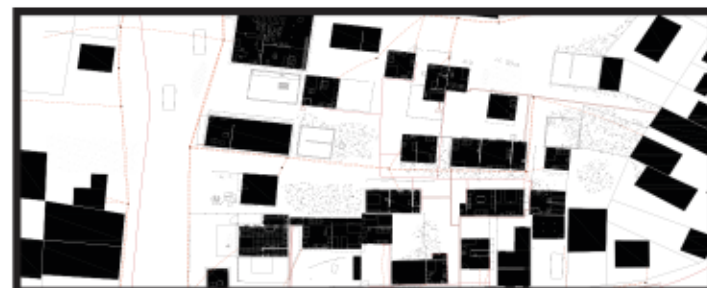
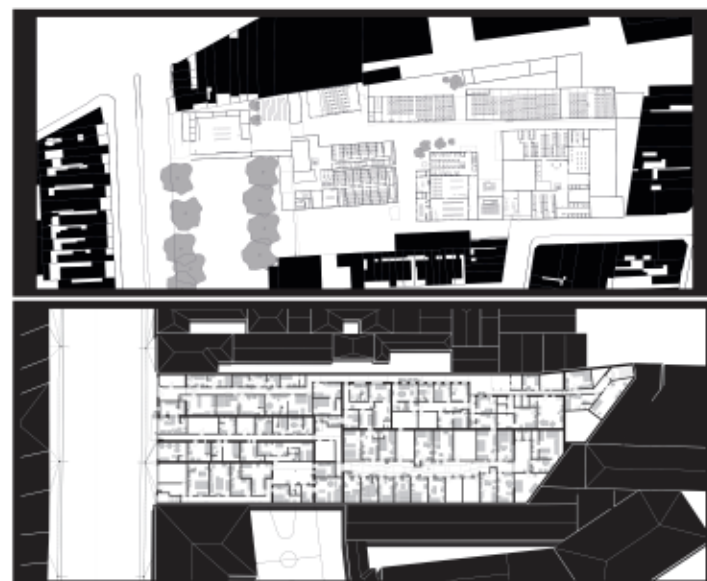
**UNIT**

**CLUSTER**

**LOCALITY**

**URBAN TISSUE**

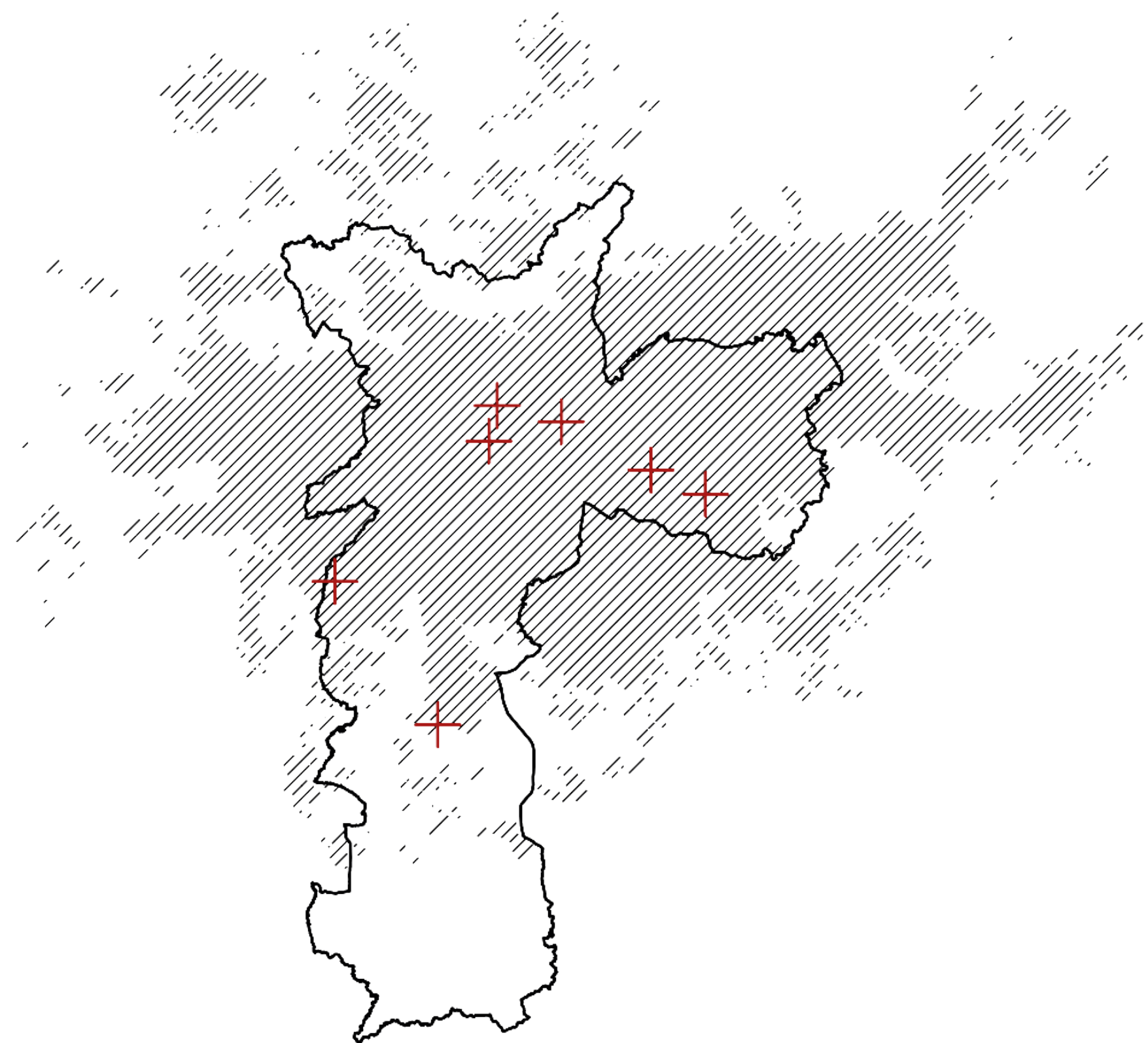
**METROPOLITAN**



**ASPECTS  
OF A CITY  
IN THE  
MAKING**

Six case studies portray several dwelling environments, in several stages organised and supported by FLM, Frontline in the Struggle for Housing. Organised in lemmas, each case study highlights a distinctive aspect of the movement's struggle towards a more inclusive city. A recapitulatory chapter merges several lessons in design explorations. For each lemma, scales alternate between the architectural and the urban. Each recurring scale offers a zoom on how the occupation develops and delineates the mutual iteration with the city.





This research project was preceded by fieldwork over eight weeks in September and October 2016 (2016/09/9 – 2016/11/1). Two occupations – Caguassú Leste and Olga Bernário - were revisited in April 2017. The particular structure of this project, with strong focus on several case studies, underlines the importance of such extensive fieldwork. The several case studies were allocated by the coordinators of the movement, after request on terrain occupations. As a result, the narrative of this research project has been derived by connecting the dots of the distinctive aspects of the appointed case studies, rather than the other way around. Backed by literature study and public data assessment, fieldwork is presented and interpreted in urban analysis and cartography.

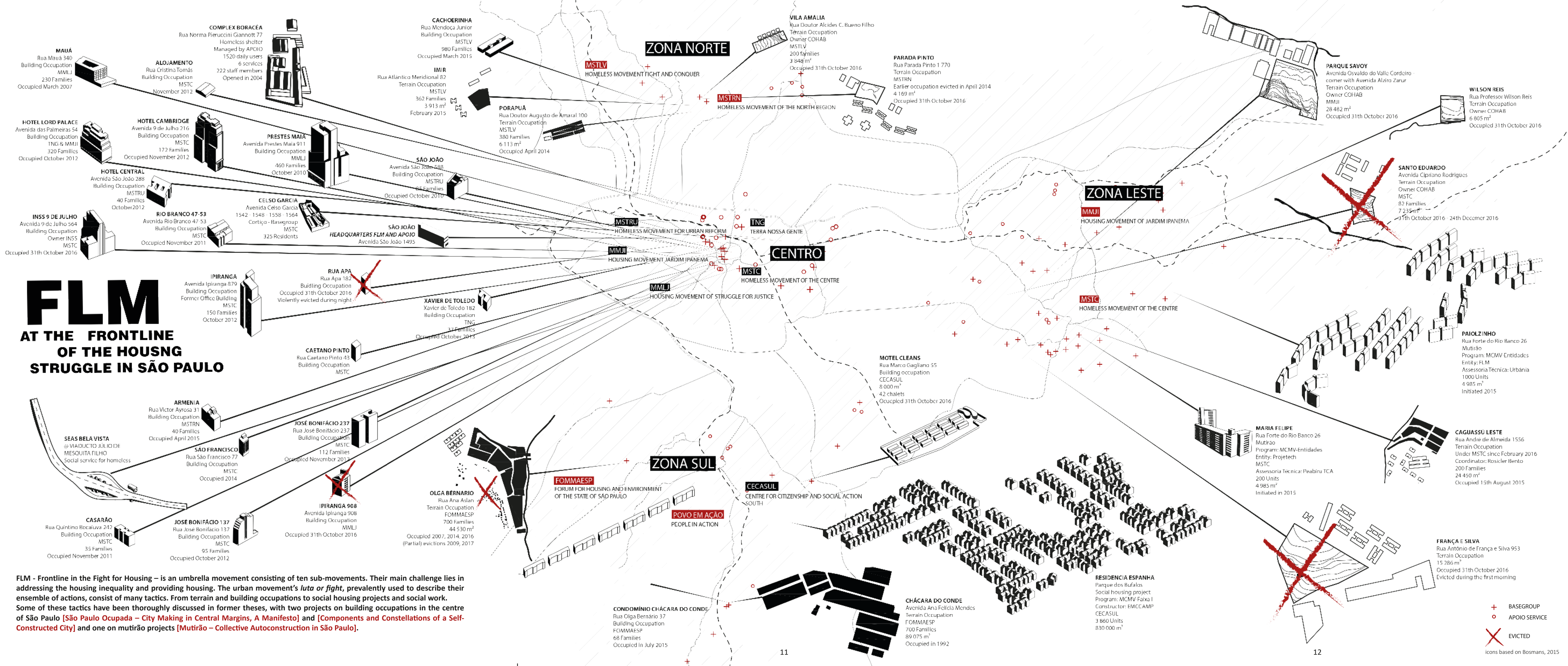
Fieldwork consisted mainly of mapping, allowing for a better understanding of both the inner working of the occupations as the mutual iteration between the occupations and the city. Mapping was supported by participatory observation, interviews both with coordinators and residents of the occupations as well as with people affiliated to the movement - architects, urbanists, politicians and jurists - as well as surveys and ethnographic research. Considering the ‘zoomed in’ - approach of this project, literature consisted of both published sources, as well as articles on the internet, such as (social) media. Interpretations on the bigger scales were based on public data. Photography was made by the authors, unless specified otherwise.

This thesis is embedded in the OSA Research Group on Urbanism and Architecture of the KU Leuven and is related to the ongoing doctoral research project of Jeroen Stevens. As such, this thesis continues on a sequence of former theses on the role of FLM in the housing struggle in São Paulo.

We are thankful for the many people who contributed to this project. To start, we would like to thank prof. Bruno De Meulder for introducing us to the doctoral work of Jeroen Stevens. We are grateful for his educative insights, structure and focus during the many feedback sessions. Also, we owe great gratitude to Jeroen Stevens for proposing the subject and introducing us in the movement, having us profit from his knowledge of the movement and sharing his social network. We are especially grateful for their inexhaustible enthusiasm, powerful support and guidance in content and output, both during the field study and afterwards, challenging us taking the extra step. Also, we want to mention our gratitude towards Debora Sanches, professor at *Centro universitário Belas Artes* in São Paulo, and towards Nadia Somekh, professor at *Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie of São Paulo*, for the assistance and refreshing perspectives during our stay in São Paulo.

We are thankful for the openness and possibilities of the many coordinators of the urban movement FLM and its many sub movements. In this regard, we want to thank Manuel del Rio, main coordinator of FLM and Carmen Silva and Félicia Dias, coordinators of MSTC and FOMMAESP respectively. A special mention to Helô Regina, coordinator of FLM, who introduced us the possible case studies. Also, many thanks to Geni Franco, principal of SEAS Bela Vista, Jeane Silva, resident of *cortiço* Celso Garcia, Rosicler Bento, coordinator of Caguassú Leste, Selenita Ferreira and Eufrasia Jesus, sub coordinators of Olga Bernário and Eliane Oliveira, coordinator of Chacára do Conde. The coordinators aid in offering accommodation and guidance within the occupations was vital for the well going of this research. In extend, we would like to mention Benedito Barbosa, lawyer of UMM and Gaspar Garcia for his insights in the network of several movements active in São Paulo.






FLM - Frontline in the Fight for Housing – is an umbrella movement consisting of ten sub-movements. Their main challenge lies in addressing the housing inequality and providing housing. The urban movement's *luta or fight*, prevalently used to describe their ensemble of actions, consist of many tactics. From terrain and building occupations to social housing projects and social work. Some of these tactics have been thoroughly discussed in former theses, with two projects on building occupations in the centre of São Paulo [São Paulo Ocupada – City Making in Central Margins, A Manifesto] and [Components and Constellations of a Self-Constructed City] and one on mutirão projects [Mutirão – Collective Autoconstruction in São Paulo].

+ BASEGROUP  
○ APOIO SERVICE  
X EVICTED  
icons based on Bosmans, 2015

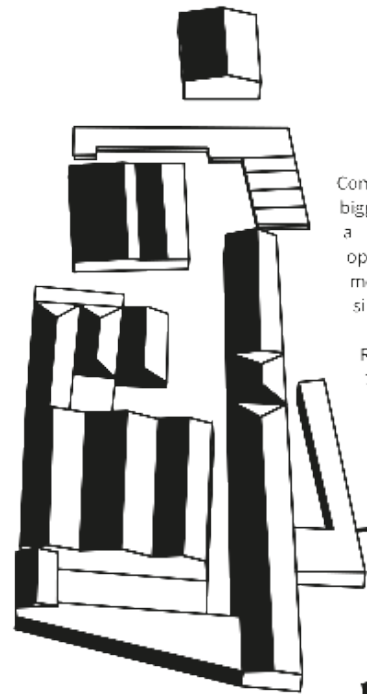




COMPLEX BORACÉA,  
BARRA FUNDA,  
CENTRO  
VIADUCT JULIO DE MESUITA FILHO,  
BELA VISTA,  
CENTRO

**LEMMA I**

**BASIC  
PROVISIONS**



COMPLEX BORACÉA

Complex Boracéia is with about 1.500 daily users the biggest homeless shelter in São Paulo. It is located in a refurbished public bus factory. The complex opened in 2004 as an initiative of the city government and has been under APOIO's management since 2008 (Loeb, 2003 & fieldwork, 2016).

Rua Norma Pieruccini Giannott 77  
1520 daily users  
6 services  
222 staff members

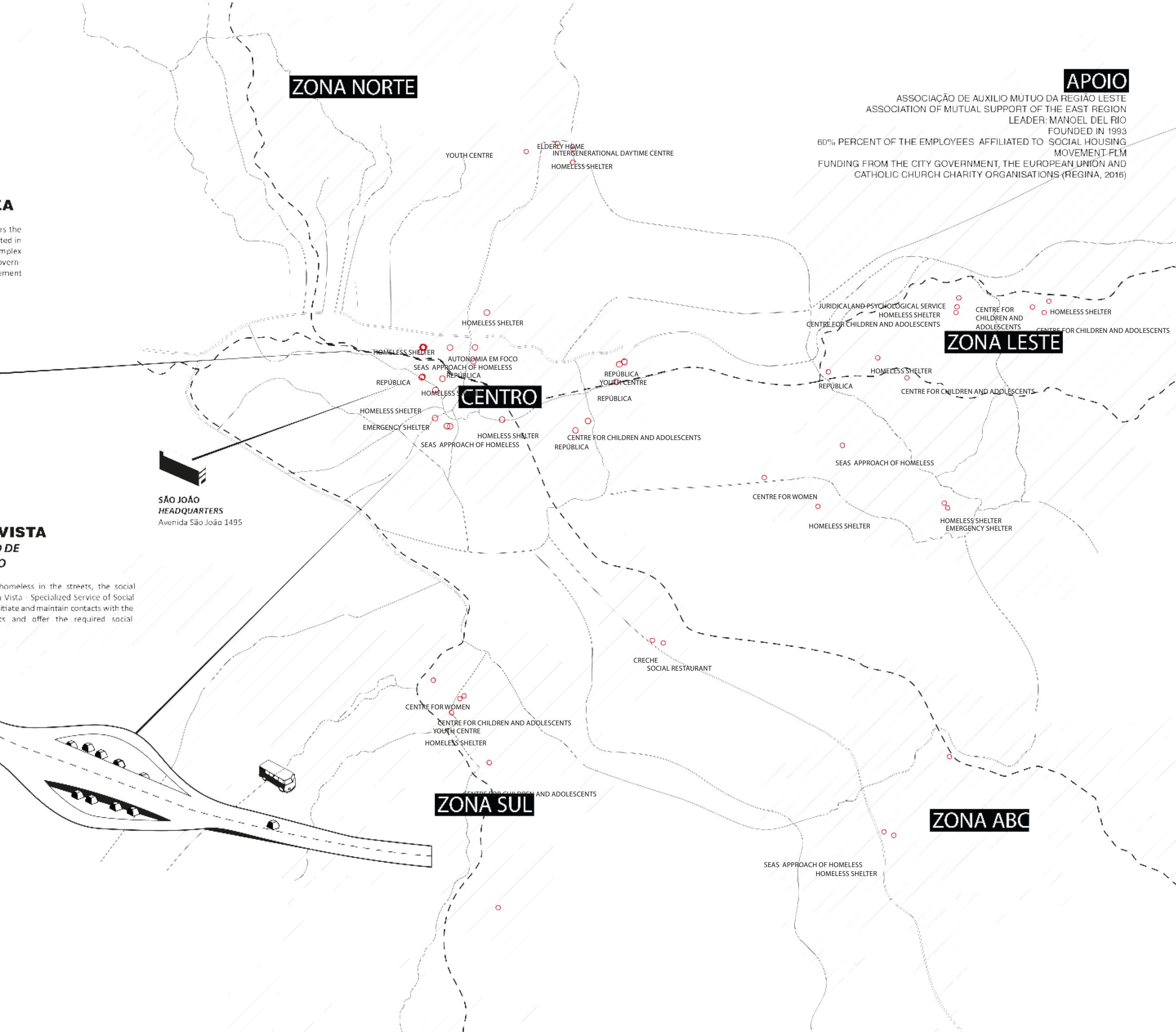
SEAS BELA VISTA  
@ VIADUTO JÚLIO DE MESQUITA FILHO

By approaching the homeless in the streets, the social workers of SEAS Bela Vista - Specialized Service of Social Approach - aim to initiate and maintain contacts with the street's inhabitants and offer the required social assistance.



SÃO JOÃO  
HEADQUARTERS  
Avenida São João 1495

The main objective in the struggle of social movement FLM is to shelter as many people excluded from formal housing as possible. Approaching the urban poor is therefore crucial for the movement's *luta or fight* against the housing inequality. In a first stand, APOIO – Association of Mutual Support of the East Region - the registered branch of FLM, approaches the homeless encampments and provides social facilities and services for the most vulnerable part of São Paulo's population. With an annually growing number of people living in the street, the encampments have been increasingly characterizing the open spaces of São Paulo. (CPMT, 2015). Two of their services are discussed in this lemma: approach unit SEAS Bela Vista - – Specialized Service of Social Approach - and homeless shelter Boracéia.



ASSOCIAÇÃO DE AUXÍLIO MÚTUO DA REGIÃO LESTE  
ASSOCIATION OF MUTUAL SUPPORT OF THE EAST REGION  
LEADER: MANOEL DEL RIO  
FOUNDED IN 1993  
60% PERCENT OF THE EMPLOYEES AFFILIATED TO SOCIAL HOUSING MOVEMENT-FLM  
FUNDING FROM THE CITY GOVERNMENT, THE EUROPEAN UNION AND CATHOLIC CHURCH CHARITY ORGANISATIONS (REGINA, 2016)

ZONA LESTE

ZONA SUL

ZONA ABC





Homeless' encampment under the viaduct *Doutor Plínio de Queiroz* got evicted in January 2017 as part of the governmental *Clean City Program*. The eviction expelled many homeless to other places in the neighbourhood, such as underneath the viaduct *Júlio de Mesquita Filho*.

Despite the long permanence of most homeless - about one third of the people known by SEAS Bela Vista has been living on the street for more than five years (SEAS Bela Vista, fieldwork 2016) - the homeless encampments are of an ephemeral nature. The occupations are characterized by a perpetual moving from and returning to the same locations (Franco, fieldwork 2016).



# CENTRAL REFUGES AND SHELTERS



SEAS

SEAS is the first intermediary between the homeless and the social assistance network. By van, the social workers explore the territory and approach the many homeless encampments.

TE

A DAYTIME LIVING SPACE offers a gathering place for many homeless during the day. Facilities for personal hygiene and laundry are provided. Moreover, social assistants help to arrange documents, to solicitate for jobs or refer to a crèche for the children.

CR

The COMMUNITARIAN RESTAURANTS offer breakfast, lunch and dinner.

RS

Of an estimated 7.180 *pessoas na situação da rua* or *people living in the street* in the centre, about half spend their nights in a REFUGE SHELTER (SMADS, 2015). Organized in big dormitories, they can stay either for 24 or 16 hours, depending on the service. Educators, social assistants, psychologists and medical staff are present and professionalization and cultural activities are organized.

AeF

Families with an income and thus considered having more autonomy can get a private room with bathroom in an *AUTONOMIA EM FOCO* or *Autonomy in focus*. It is considered to be the last step before returning to the regular housing market. However, many go back to the street, often because of drugs or losing their job (SMADS, 2015).

REP

For single men, *RÉPUBLICA* or *republic* is the final phase in the process of social reintegration. One sleeps in small dormitories and share a collective kitchen, bathroom and study room.

**Several services do not only aim at homeless but include vulnerable people and families in general:**

CCA

CENTRE FOR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS offers meals, education and activities.

ELD

Daytime centre for ELDERLY.

DIS

Inclusive residence for DISABLED PEOPLE.

JUR

JURIDICAL assistance and protection.

CREAS

The collective working of all these services – managed by various organisations - is coordinated by CREAS or Specialized Reference Centre of Social Work, an entity of the city government. It directs homeless from one service to another and finances all social services and rents their buildings.

PERSON LIVING ON THE STREET - 15.900 people are considered to *people living on the street*, half of whom is residing in the city centre (SMADS, 2015). Concentrated along avenues, under building canopies and cantilevers or under viaducts, several homeless' encampments of various scale make an inescapable part of the centre's streetscape.

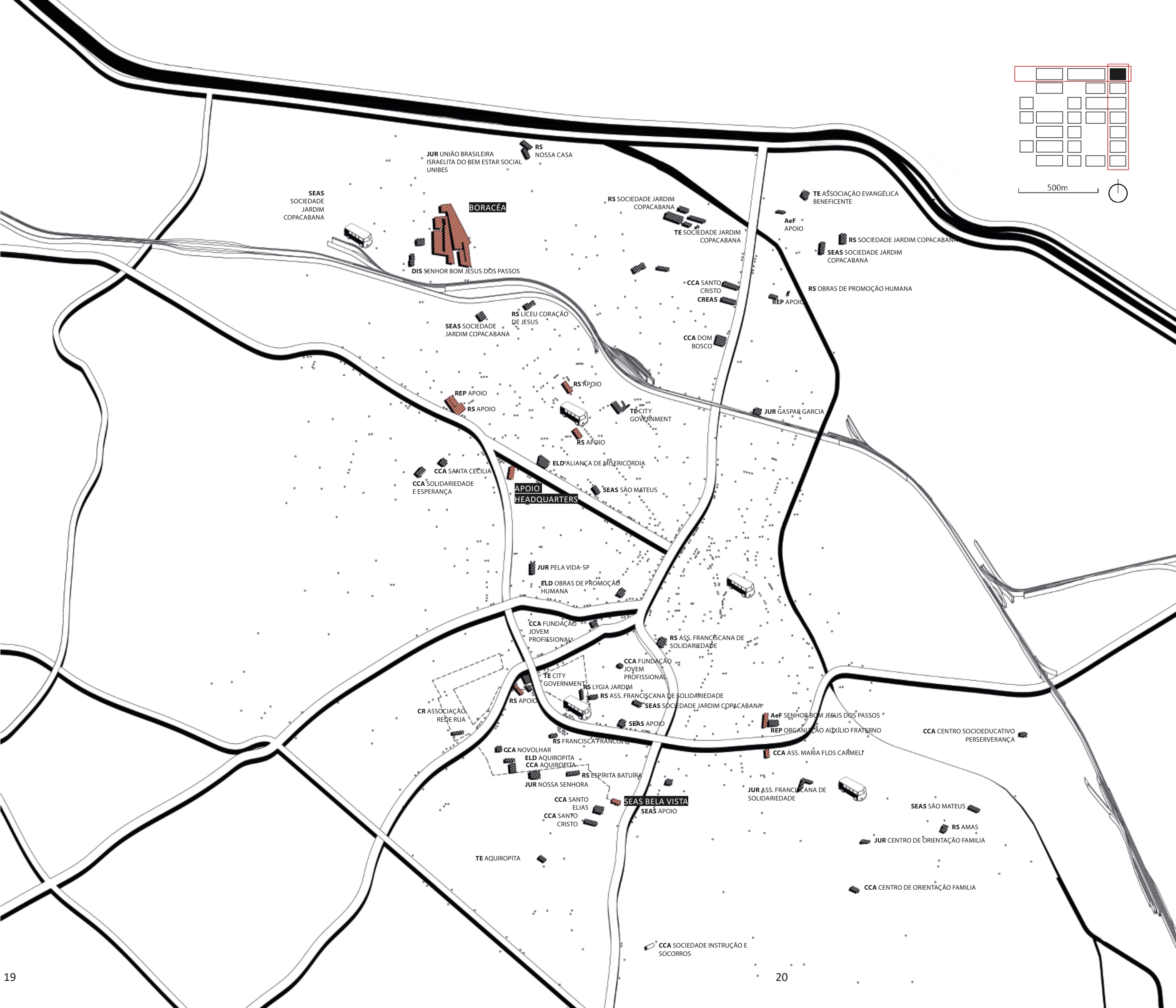


Facilities by APOIO



Facilities by other social movements and city government.

Both the homeless' encampments as the social facilities are commonly situated along or under urban infrastructures, recycling left-over spaces and deteriorated structures.



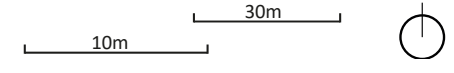
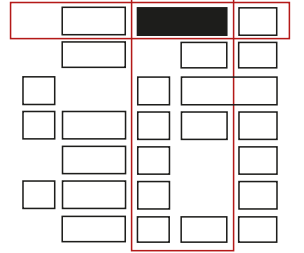




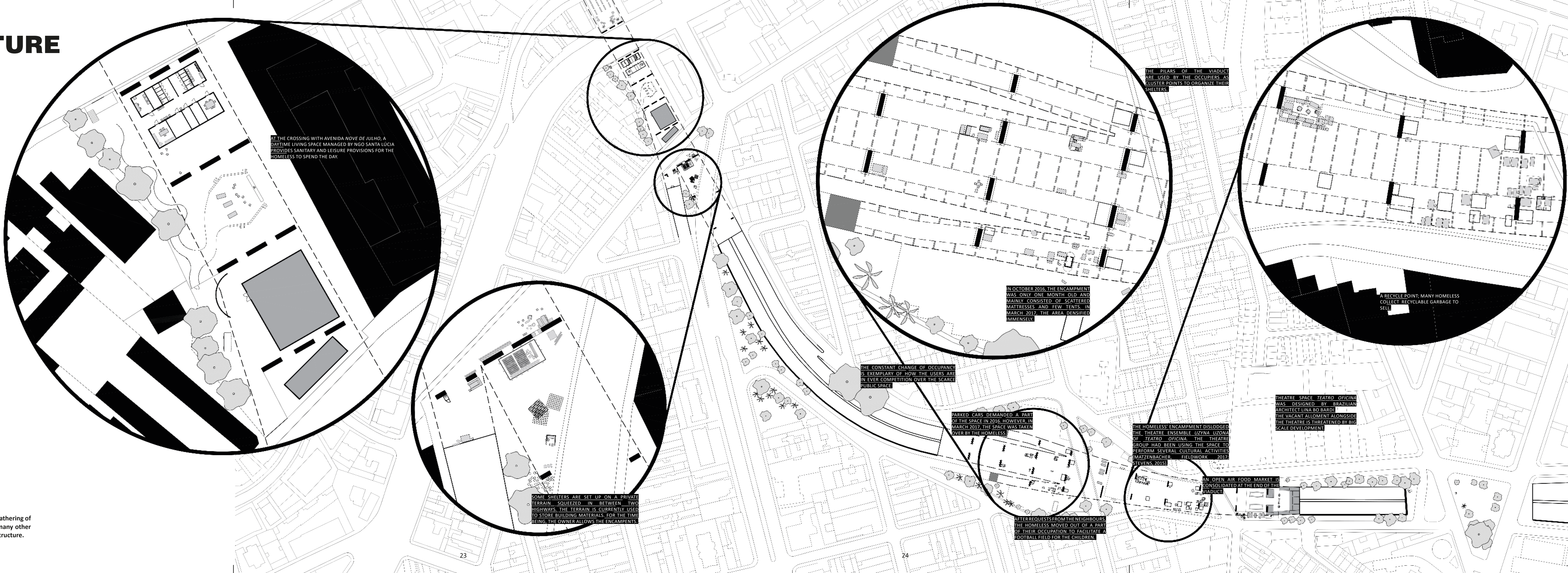
Homeless encampment under the viaduct *Júlio de Mesquita Filho* in Bela Vista in October 2016.  
In recognizable white minivans, APOIO's social workers of SEAS Bela Vista tour in predefined areas. Through regular visits, they gain the confidence of the homeless to communicate the needs and to direct them to other services in the city.



# INFRASTRUCTURE AS REFUGE



The viaduct *Júlio de Mesquita Filho* is one of the major points of gathering of the homeless in Bela Vista. However, besides the encampments, many other users claim the undefined spaces underneath the megalomantic structure.







The heavy concrete structure provides refuge while a configuration of furniture, canvases and boards are used to delimit claimed areas. The columns of the viaduct are adopted as walls offering shelter from the street (Oct. 2016).





By April 2017, the homeless encampment grew to a dense wooden settlement, strongly closed off from the street.





The strictly regulated system of homeless shelter Boracéa makes a big contrast to the freedom and griminess of the street life many are used to. In the vast, open exterior space, some trees and canopies signify an oasis in the concrete surroundings.



# RUDIMENTARY SHELTER

Boracéa - and in extension most social facilities - is located in an old industrial complex. The social infrastructures are - analogue to the occupations - situated in or underneath the residual structures and building stock.







A broad spectrum of individual well being is addressed. The atelier and library, in which the educators organize arts workshops for the different divisions offer culture, leisure and education. A cinema and theatre room complement these leisure spaces.

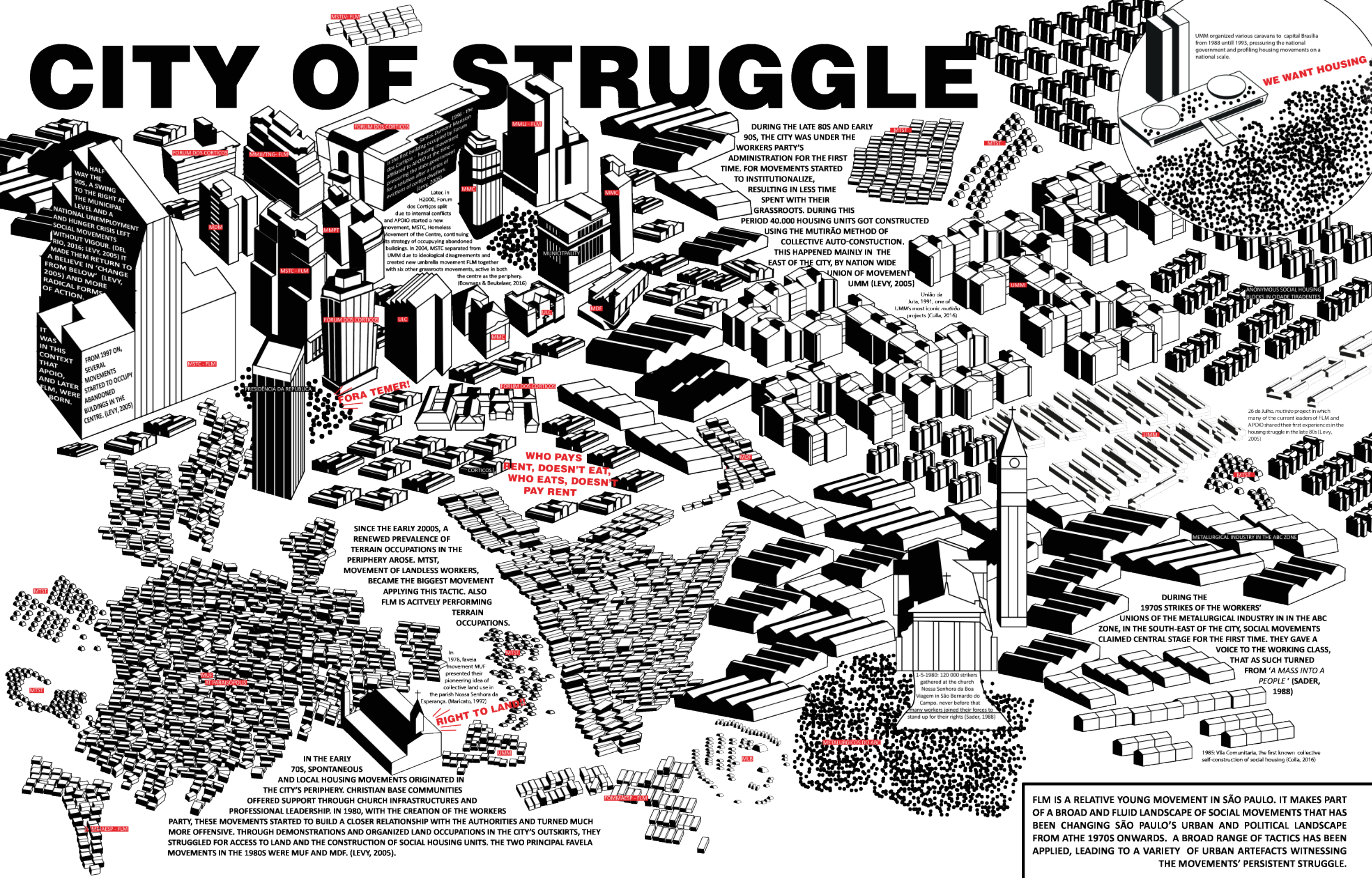




The neatly aligned bunk beds are emphasized by the great depth of the hall and the rhythmic structural trusses. The vast open areas, both in dormitories as in the exterior spaces, allow for an easy control of the users. The institution is set to offer more than just shelter on the one hand, but is on the other hand restricted to the mere anonymous, transitional and rigid barracks. As such the movement compromises between the wishes of the city government of a clean city and their own ideology.



# CITY OF STRUGGLE



UMM organized various caravans to capital Brasilia from 1988 until 1993, pressuring the national government and profiling housing movements on a national scale.

WE WANT HOUSING

DURING THE LATE 80S AND EARLY 90S, THE CITY WAS UNDER THE WORKERS PARTY'S ADMINISTRATION FOR THE FIRST TIME. FOR MOVEMENTS STARTED TO INSTITUTIONALIZE, RESULTING IN LESS TIME SPENT WITH THEIR GRASSROOTS. DURING THIS PERIOD 40.000 HOUSING UNITS GOT CONSTRUCTED USING THE MUTIRÃO METHOD OF COLLECTIVE AUTO-CONSTRUCTION. THIS HAPPENED MAINLY IN THE EAST OF THE CITY, BY NATION WIDE UNION OF MOVEMENT UMM (LEVY, 2005)

União da Jureia, 1991, one of UMM's most iconic mutirão projects (Colla, 2016)

ANONYMOUS SOCIAL HOUSING BLOCKS IN CIDADE TIRADENTES

26 de Julho, mutirão project in which many of the current leaders of FLM and APOIO shared their first experiences in the housing struggle in the late 80s (Levy, 2005)

METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY IN THE ABC ZONE

DURING THE 1970S STRIKES OF THE WORKERS' UNIONS OF THE METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY IN THE ABC ZONE, IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE CITY, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CLAIMED CENTRAL STAGE FOR THE FIRST TIME. THEY GAVE A VOICE TO THE WORKING CLASS, THAT AS SUCH TURNED FROM 'A MASS INTO A PEOPLE' (SADER, 1988)

1-5-1980: 120 000 strikers gathered at the church Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem in São Bernardo do Campo, never before that many workers joined their forces to stand up for their rights (Sader, 1988)

1985: Vila Comunitária, the first known collective self-construction of social housing (Colla, 2016)

FLM IS A RELATIVE YOUNG MOVEMENT IN SÃO PAULO. IT MAKES PART OF A BROAD AND FLUID LANDSCAPE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THAT HAS BEEN CHANGING SÃO PAULO'S URBAN AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE FROM THE 1970S ONWARDS. A BROAD RANGE OF TACTICS HAS BEEN APPLIED, LEADING TO A VARIETY OF URBAN ARTEFACTS WITNESSING THE MOVEMENTS' PERSISTENT STRUGGLE.

HALF WAY THE 90S, A SWING TO THE RIGHT AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL AND A NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND HUNGER CRISIS LEFT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS WITHOUT VIGOUR. (DEL MADE THEM RETURN TO FROM BELOW' (LEVY, 2005) AND MORE RADICAL FORMS OF ACTION.

IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT APOIO, AND LATER FLM, WERE BORN. FROM 1997 ON, SEVERAL MOVEMENTS STARTED TO OCCUPY ABANDONED BUILDINGS IN THE CENTRE. (LEVY, 2005)

1996 - the Santos Dumont Mansion dos Corticos - housing movement affiliated to APOIO at the time - pressuring the state government for a resolution after a series of evictions of cortico dwellers (Levy, 2005)

Later, in H2000, Forum dos Corticos split due to internal conflicts and APOIO started a new movement, MSTC. Homeless Movement of the Centre, continuing its strategy of occupying abandoned buildings. In 2004, MSTC separated from UMM due to ideological disagreements and created new umbrella movement FLM together with six other grassroots movements, active in both the centre as the periphery. (Bosmans & Beukelaar, 2016)

WHO PAYS RENT, DOESN'T EAT, WHO EATS, DOESN'T PAY RENT

SINCE THE EARLY 2000S, A RENEWED PREVALENCE OF TERRAIN OCCUPATIONS IN THE PERIPHERY AROSE. MTST, MOVEMENT OF LANDLESS WORKERS, BECAME THE BIGGEST MOVEMENT APPLYING THIS TACTIC. ALSO FLM IS ACTIVELY PERFORMING TERRAIN OCCUPATIONS.

In 1978, favela movement MUF presented their pioneering idea of collective land use in the parish Nossa Senhora da Esperança. (Maricato, 1992)

RIGHT TO LAND

IN THE EARLY 70S, SPONTANEOUS AND LOCAL HOUSING MOVEMENTS ORIGINATED IN THE CITY'S PERIPHERY. CHRISTIAN BASE COMMUNITIES OFFERED SUPPORT THROUGH CHURCH INFRASTRUCTURES AND PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP. IN 1980, WITH THE CREATION OF THE WORKERS PARTY, THESE MOVEMENTS STARTED TO BUILD A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AUTHORITIES AND TURNED MUCH MORE OFFENSIVE. THROUGH DEMONSTRATIONS AND ORGANIZED LAND OCCUPATIONS IN THE CITY'S OUTSKIRTS, THEY STRUGGLED FOR ACCESS TO LAND AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL HOUSING UNITS. THE TWO PRINCIPAL FAVELA MOVEMENTS IN THE 1980S WERE MUF AND MDF. (LEVY, 2005).



# THE CITY AS A DWELLING

In line of the movement's ideology, APOIO provides facilities and services and as such facilitates the life within the homeless encampments. In doing so, the movement offers more than just shelter, aiming at "social reintegration and revalorisation of the individual" (Loeb, 2003, slide 3).

The social infrastructures situate themselves - analogue to the encampments - in the interstices of the city. The accumulation of all these places dispersed over the city make up the decor of many homeless' daily lives. However, seen the enormous organisational load and the affiliations to the city government aiming at 'cleaning the street', the rigid structures of many services stand in sharp contrast with the life on the street.



BELEM,  
DISTRICT OF MOOCA,  
ZONA SUDESTE

**LEMMA II**

**SHARED LIVING**

Approaching and mobilizing the *sem-teto*, a general term for people without or in precarious housing conditions, and poor communities is essential to the movement's actions. The inhabitants of the complex of *cortiços* Celso Garcia were introduced as base groups in MSTC - Movement for the *Sem Teto* in the Centre. Through these base groups, the movements assemble and mobilize the urban poor. *Cortiços* are subdivided houses formed within deteriorating urban fabric, hiding in abandoned mansions, vacant industrial heritage and deep building blocks. Characterized by a high living density and precarious circumstances, the *cortiço* engenders a specific way of living together.



**ALOJAMENTO**  
Rua Cristina Tomás  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
Occupied in November 2012

**RIO BRANCO 47-53**  
Avenida Rio Branco 47-53  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
Occupied in November 2011

**CASARÃO**  
Rua Quintino Bocaiuva 242  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
35 Families  
Occupied in November 2011

**IPIRANGA**  
Avenida Ipiranga 879  
Building Occupation  
Former Office Building  
MSTC  
150 Families  
Occupied in October 2012

**JOSÉ BONIFÁCIO 237**  
Rua José Bonifácio 237  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
112 Families  
Occupied in November 2012

**JOSÉ BONIFÁCIO 137**  
Rua José Bonifácio 137  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
95 Families  
Occupied in October 2012

**INSS 9 DE JULHO**  
Avenida 9 de Julho 564  
Building Occupation  
Owner INSS  
MSTC  
Occupied in October 2016

**SÃO FRANCISCO**  
Rua São Francisco 77  
Building Occupation  
MSTC  
Occupied in 2014

**CAETANO PINTO**  
Rua Caetano Pinto 43  
Building Occupation  
MSTC

## ZONA LESTE

The cortiços were introduced to the movement after a former resident moved to building occupation José Bonifácio 237. Participating in the movement and working in Boracéia, she presented the cortiços to Carmen Silva Ferreira, the main coordinator of MSTC. The cortiço dwellers hoped to get improvements of their living circumstances and to get listed for a housing project. Meanwhile, the dwellers were mobilized by the movement in actions and for political votes in the elections at that time.

Avenida Celso Garcia  
1542 - 1548 - 1558 - 1564  
Cortico - Basegroup  
MSTC  
325 Residents

**MSTC**  
MOVIMENTO SEM TETO DO CENTRO  
HOMELESS MOVEMENT OF THE CENTRE  
COORDINATOR: CARMEN SILVA FERREIRA  
ENTITY: PROJETECH  
FOUNDED IN 2000  
BUILDING OCCUPATIONS IN CENTRE,  
TERRAIN OCCUPATIONS AND PROJECTS IN EAST  
PERIPHERY

**PAILZINHO**  
Rua Forte do Rio Banco 26  
Mutirão  
Program: MCMV-Entidades  
Entity: FLM  
Assessoria Técnica: Urbânia  
1000 Units from which 208 for  
MSTC and 304 for Projetech  
4 985 m<sup>2</sup>  
Initiated 2015

**MARIA FELIPE**  
Rua Forte do Rio Branco 26  
Mutirão  
Program: MCMV-Entidades  
Entity: Projetch  
MSTC  
Assessoria Técnica: Peabiru TCA  
200 Units  
4 985 m<sup>2</sup>  
Initiated in 2015

**CAGUASSÚ LESTE**  
Rua André de Almeida 1556  
Terrain Occupation  
Under MSTC since February 2016  
Coordinator: Rosicler Bento  
200 Families  
24 450 m<sup>2</sup>  
Occupied on 15th August 2015

**SANTO EDUARDO**  
Avenida Cipriano Rodrigues  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner COHAB  
MSTC  
82 Families  
7 235 m<sup>2</sup>  
31th October 2016 - 24th Decembre 2016

- + BASEGROUP
- APOIO SERVICE
- ~~×~~ EVICTED





The facade of Celso Garcia 1564 barely gives away the many inner city slum settlement hiding behind the gates. In general, *cortiços* are well hidden from the street scene as they form in former mansions or industry buildings in deep building blocks.

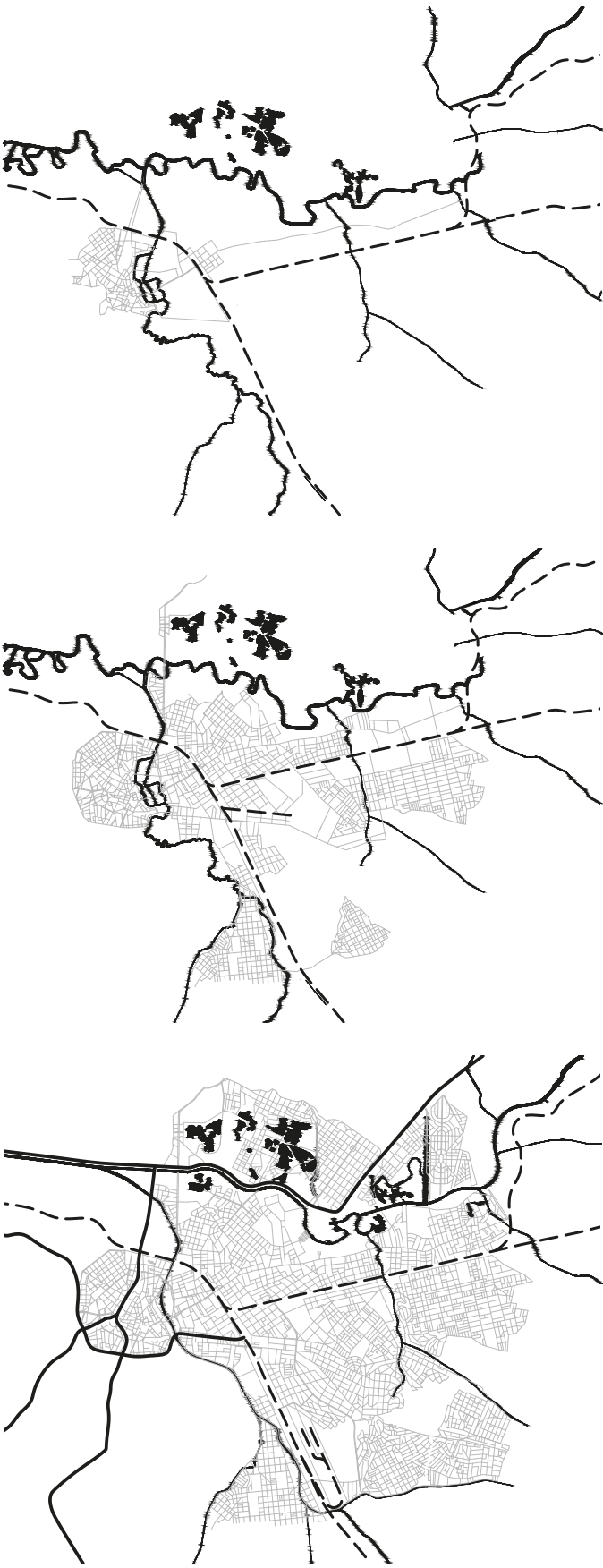


# AN OLD FORM OF SLUM SETTLEMENT

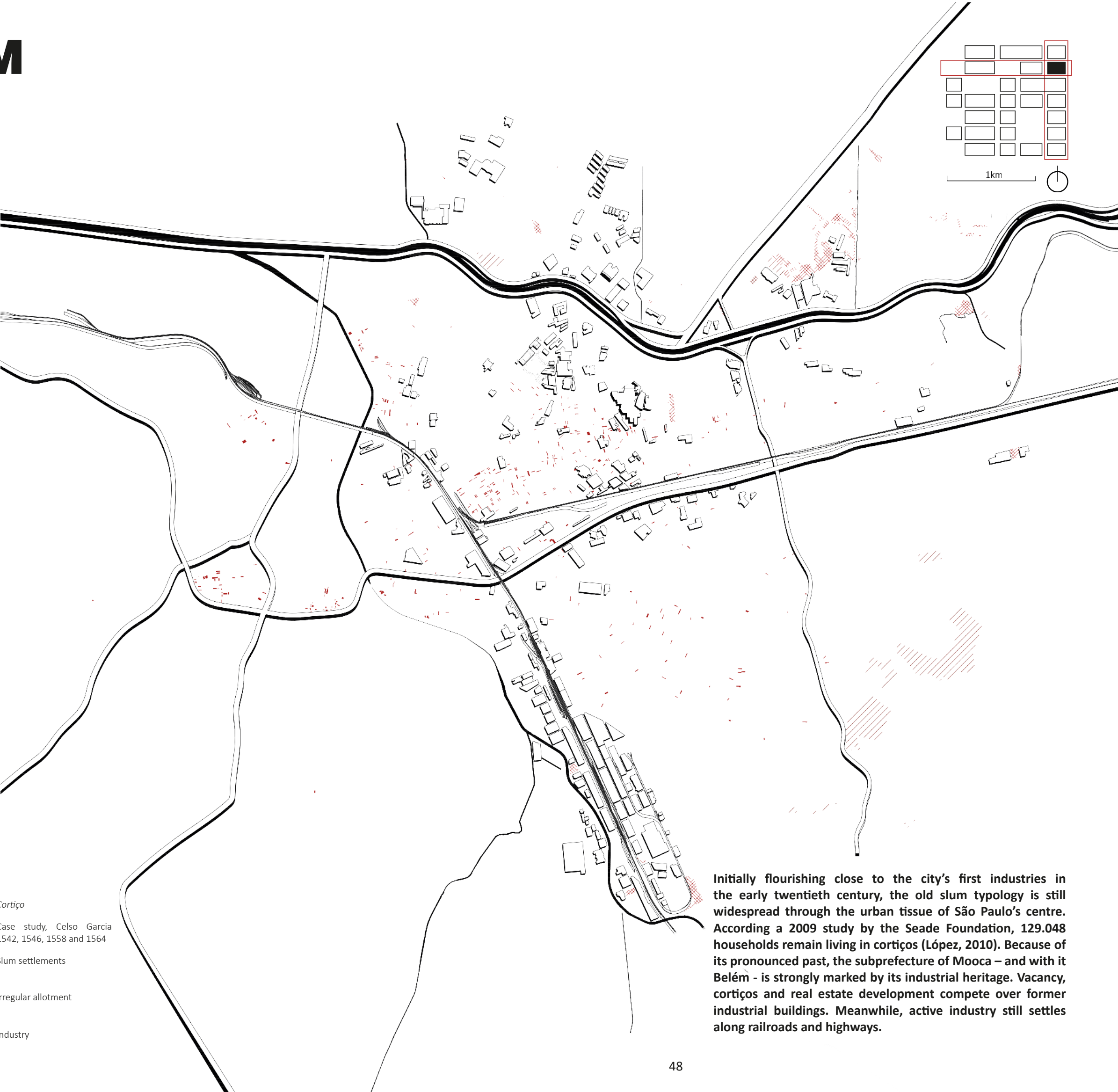
**1880'S: FARMHOUSES AND COUNTRY HOUSES**  
Around the 1880's, at a time of great densification of the old centre, mainly triggered by the great inflow of European immigrants and considerable migrations after the abolition of slavery in 1888, Belém, at the East of the centre, got desired by the rich for its altitude, orchards and clean air. Big estates transformed the area previously known for its trade routes. The foundation of the parish São José de Belém in 1897, to which the forming neighbourhood would later be named, further stimulated and clustered the urban sprawl.

**EARLY 1900'S: RISING INDUSTRY**  
The city's population numbered 238.820 in 1900 and reached one million in 1928. The huge demand in rental housing forced immigrants in precarious living circumstances. Simões argued how "for many of the former slaves and recent arrivals, [the *cortiços*] would provide the only housing option" (Stevens J., 2015; pg. 5). The construction of two railways in 1868 and 1875, connecting São Paulo with the harbour and with Rio de Janeiro respectively, catalysed the development of industry, generally glasswork and weaving, in the early twentieth century. Factory workers found refuge in *cortiços* or *Vilas operárias* or worker's villages, built by industrials to house the more privileged workers.

**1950'S DECAYING INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE**  
Further expansion of the city centre and the transformation of the city from an industrial city to one of commerce and services forced the industry to the periphery and along with it the well-off families and industrialists. Industrial sheds and luxury residences that used to dominate the landscape now laid abandoned and gradually got turned into *cortiços*.



- Cortiço*
- Case study, Celso Garcia 1542, 1546, 1558 and 1564
- Slum settlements
- Irregular allotment
- Industry



Initially flourishing close to the city's first industries in the early twentieth century, the old slum typology is still widespread through the urban tissue of São Paulo's centre. According a 2009 study by the Seade Foundation, 129.048 households remain living in cortiços (López, 2010). Because of its pronounced past, the subprefecture of Mooca – and with it Belém - is strongly marked by its industrial heritage. Vacancy, cortiços and real estate development compete over former industrial buildings. Meanwhile, active industry still settles along railroads and highways.

# INTERSTITIAL TISSUES

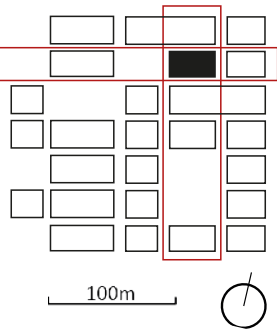
1930

2016

VILA MARIA ZÉLIA WAS ONE OF THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL WORKERS VILLAGES OF BRAZIL. THE VILLAGE WAS INAUGERATED IN 1917 TO OFFER THE WORKERS OF THE 'NATIONAL JUTE FABRIC COMPANY' BETTER LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES THAN IN THE UBIQUITOUS *CORTIÇOS* (NASCIMENTO D., 2012).

AVENUE CELSO GARCIA

NOWADAYS, MARIA IS STILL INHABITED, ALTHOUGH STRONGLY DETERIORATED. THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS - NEARLY ALL PROPERTY OF INSS - ARE ABANDONED AND IN THE BAD SHAPE.



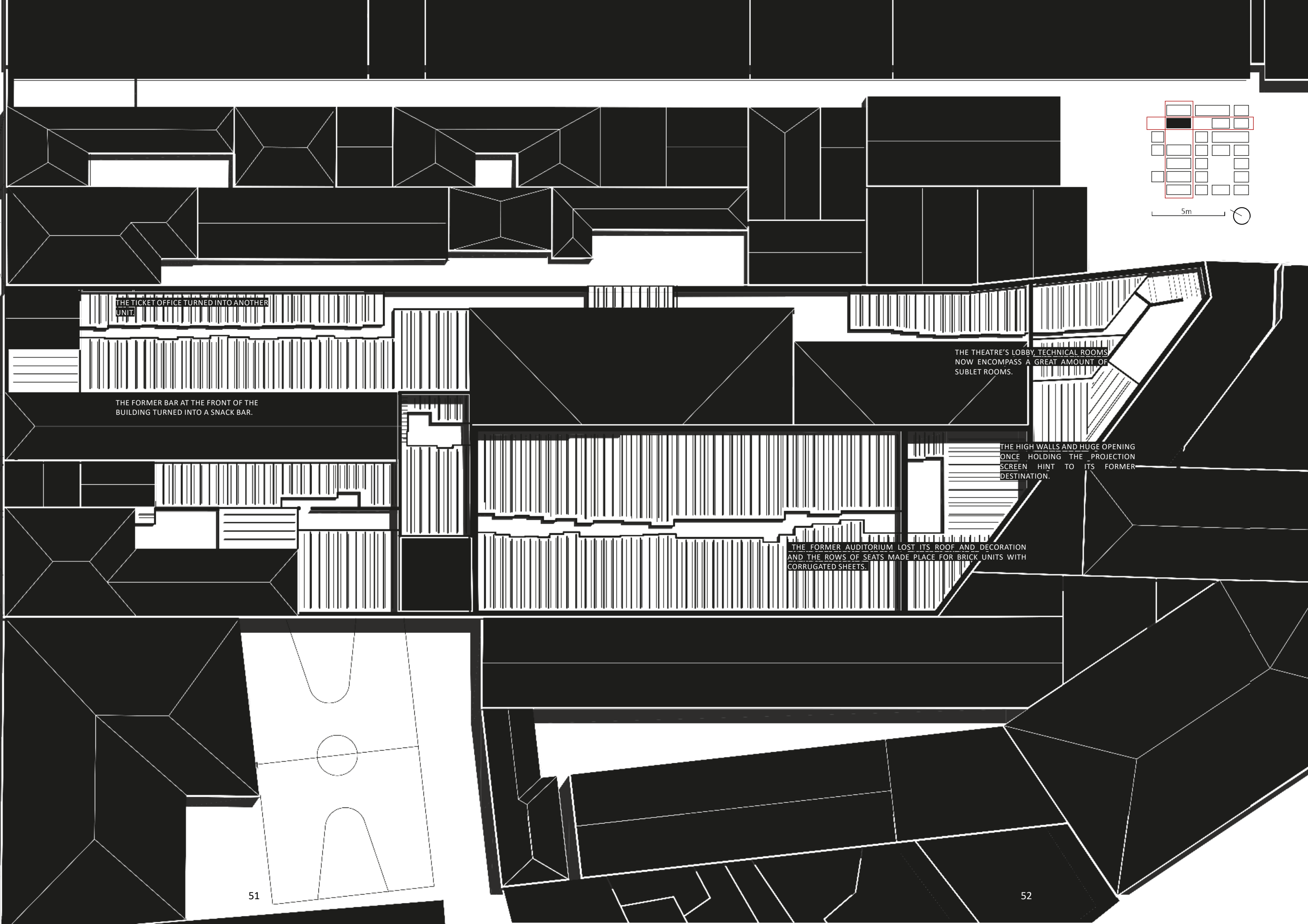
Because of the attraction between industry and workforce, nowadays the cortiço is still inserted in and in between industrial heritage. The urban tissue has developed towards a juxtaposition of residential, commercial and industrial functions. Hidden and obtrusive, small and big, formal and informal in each others vicinity because of perpetual mutual dependence.

-  Favela
-  Vila Operária
-  Vila Particular
-  Cortiço - governmental definition
-  Cortiço - popular knowledge
-  Industry
-  Service - Commerce
-  Empty



# PERMEATING DETERIORATING TISSUES

The cortiço nestles itself in the built tissue. The complex of cortiços used to be a movie theatre owned by Theatre Company Taddeo Ltda. The theatre was inaugurated in the 1930's and accommodated about 700 places (da Silva & Vieira, 2015). In 1959, the cinema closed its doors. Twenty years later, the spaces, both indoors as outdoors, got subdivided into as many sublet rooms possible by an alleged owner.







The interiors of the aged buildings, of which the hallways of Celso Garcia 1546 and 1558 are illustrated, suffer from severe precariousness. Inhabitants are confronted with putrefaction, mould and stink due to moist and water infiltration, lack of direct sunlight and little artificial lighting and very limited to no ventilation. The inadequate living circumstances attract vermin like mice, rats and cockroaches and are cause to little hygienic comfort and numerous diseases.



# SQUATTERED DWELLING CULTURES

The dense units and commonly shared sanitary provisions plug in on a central passage. Sharing the same structures and open space, the dwellers expand their living space to the outside by intensely using parts of the circulation space. This peculiar way of “living together” engenders essential collective organisation.

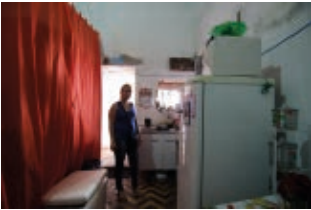
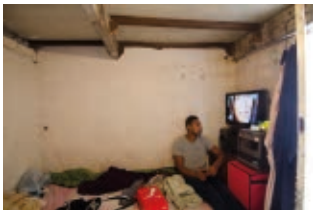
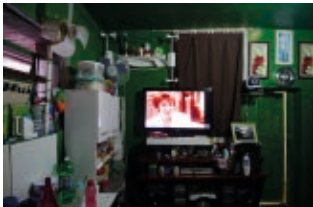
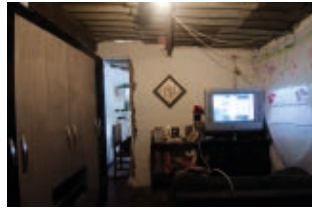
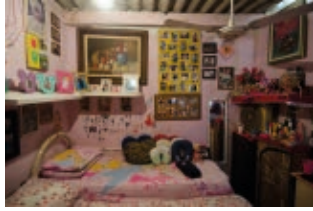
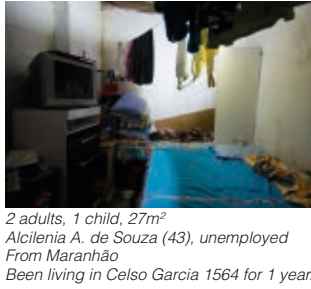






Although the outside has its problems as well - like overheating of the dwellings or flooding of the open, hardened exteriors - the open aired circulation area is used as a common area where people carry out their daily activities; clothes dry in the sun, women flock around washbasins, doing the laundry or washing the dishes, beers are shared after work, dwellers cook, clean or watch TV with open doors while children play around. Heightened doorsteps against flooding serve as benches.

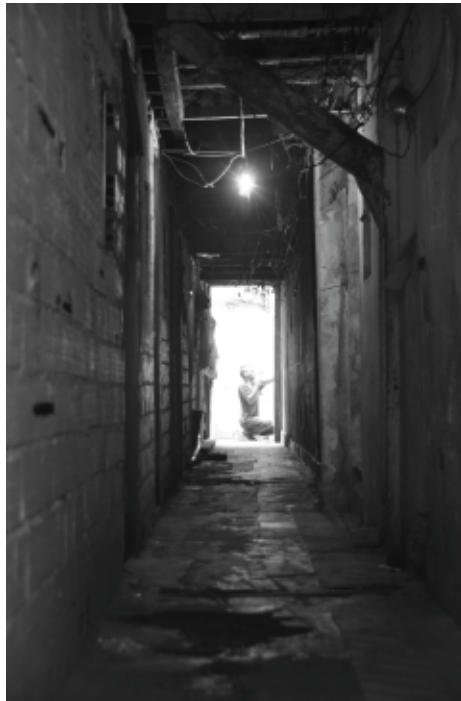












Rather than using the commonly accessible toilets, the *cortiço* dwellers prefer to use the toilet of a befriended family.



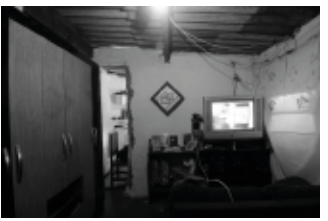
Two men work at the dwelling while a young woman patiently waits with her daughter at the doorstep. The family is the only longer term presence in the hallway.

The *cortiço* dwellers engage in conversations and welcome the new family. However, they keep an obvious scepticism.

The bar provides for snacks and drinks.



A NEW FAMILY OF THREE ARRIVED IN CELSO GARCIA 1558. TOGETHER WITH A FRIEND, THEY PREPARED A VACANT DWELLING.



Jeane spends a lot of time indoors, cooking for her family and for some friends and neighbours.

She keeps the outside space in front of her house clean.

More often than not, the dwellers spend the evenings with neighbours.

Rita ate her lunch on a plastic chair in the circulation space. The lunch was prepared by a friend who - that day anyway - shared with several *cortiço* dwellers.

Regularly, she entered her neighbour's house, even with no one there, to borrow cooking gear.



Rita spends most part of her day doing household tasks at her doorstep. The threshold serves as a bench. She also spends some time repairing clothespins, trampling cabbage and cleaning her handbag.

During empty moments, the *cortiço* dwellers share the latest news, rumors and discuss the organisational.



Being outside most time of the day, Rita always got company of other dwellers.

The dwelling serves primarily as storage of most personal belongings.



Commonly used sanitary is provided for most families do not have a private bathroom.



The sinks are indispensable and used by all the residents of the *cortiços*. The dwellers flock together around the sinks.



Crislene, unemployed, spends most of her time indoors, doing household tasks or taking care of her sons.



The two children of Crislene eat in the hallway opposite the door, using the threshold as a bench.

She buys little accessories in the bar.

Often, Jeane leaves her dwelling to look to buy something small at the bar or to visit her mother in the neighbouring *cortiço* Celso Garcia 1548.



The husband of Jeane spends much time in the bars at the street. The bars add to the street life, bringing together residents of the several *cortiços*. The waiters from both bars live in the *cortiços*. Other few dwellers found a way to sell food or drinks on the street.

STRANGERS INVOLVED WITH THE NEW FAMILY HAVE NO FURTHER AFFILIATIONS WITH CELSO GARCIA 1558.

CRISLENE L. BRITO (23) HAS BEEN LIVING IN CELSO GARCIA 1558 FOR 20 YEARS. UNTIL FEW YEARS AGO, THE UNIT BELONGED TO HER MOTHER, WHO NOW LIVES IN THE NEIGHBOURING DWELLING.

JEANE GOMEZ DA SILVA (30) CONSTRUCTED THE HOUSE HERSELF. HER HUSBAND LIVES SEPARATELY, ALTHOUGH VISITING OFTEN.

AFTER BEING EVICTED FROM HER FORMER RESIDENCE IN A *CORTIÇO*, RITA CORRIERO DO BRITO (50) TURNED TO THE *CORTIÇO* CELSO GARCIA 1558.

RENATA MAULI (29) IS UNEMPLOYED.

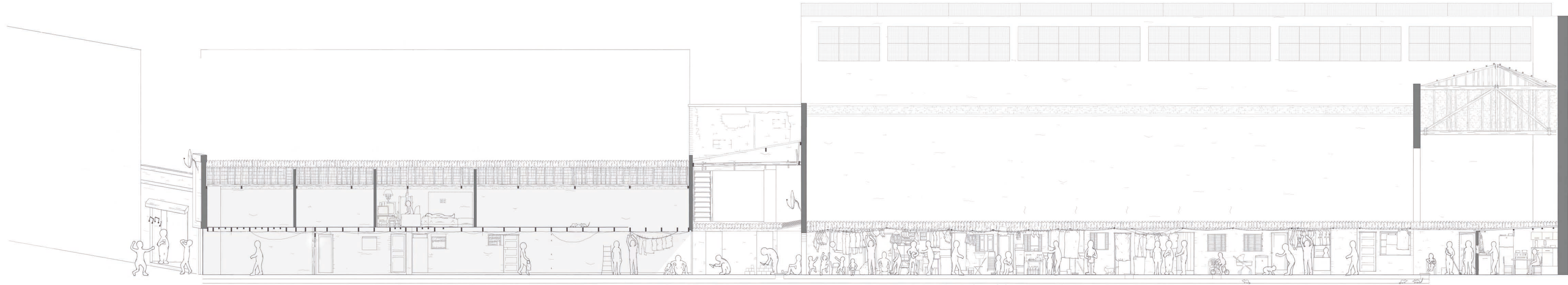
NO LONGER LIVING IN CELSO GARCIA, BUT STILL IN CONTACT WITH THE *CORTIÇO* DWELLERS, THE FORMER HUSBAND OF JEANE REGULARLY VISITS.

The trajectories are based on observations during a sunny Saturday, October 16th, 2016.









Interpretative section through Celso Garcia 1558. The characters are linked to the trajectories as discussed previously.



# A PECULIAR FORM OF LIVING TOGETHER

The *cortiço*'s high density and lack of private space leads to a new way of collective living and sharing open spaces. The precarious form of “living together” and the collective organisation it engenders formed the context in which the social movements - like MSTC and APOIO - emerged in the 1990s, demanding comparable locations for adequate low-income housing. Although it has proven a difficult task for the movements, approaching and mobilizing these communities remains fundamental to the existence and working of the social movements.





**LEMMA III**

**OCCUPY!**



# OUTUBRO VERMELHO

RED OCTOBER

LETS GO HOME PEOPLE!

On the night of the 30th of October 2016, as part of a biannual occupation wave, several urban movements affiliated to FLM occupied seven terrains and four buildings all over São Paulo. One more building in the central district got occupied by the urban movement MMPT - Movement for Housing For All, at times collaborating with FLM. Through these waves of occupations, the movements provide the direct needs of shelter for the poor, while at the same time raising their voices against the housing deficit.

The occupation Santo Eduardo in São Mateus - a terrain invaded that night by MSTC - will illustrate the working and peculiar participatory self-organisation during that *Outubro Vermelho* or *Red October*. The one-year-old occupation Caguassú Leste performed as the base of the organisational and mobilisation. Leading up to *Outubro Vermelho*, the movements' motives and practices of occupying, the preparations and the strong hierarchy structuring the movements become clear.

VIOLENTLY EVICTED DURING THE NIGHT

**RUA APA**  
Rua Apa 182  
Building Occupation  
31th October 2016  
Violently evicted during night

**IPIRANGA 908**  
Avenida Ipiranga 908  
Building Occupation  
MMLJ  
31th October 2016

EVICION SUSPENDED...

PROJECT PROMISED BY CDHU SINCE 2008

**PARQUE DO ENGENHO**  
Rua Ana Aslan  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner CDHU - project since 2008  
FOMMAESP & Povo Em Ação  
40 910 m²  
31th October 2016 - 6th June 2017

ABANDONED FOR OVER 40 YEARS

**VILA AMÁLIA**  
Rua Doutor Alcides C. Bueno Filho  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner COHAB  
MSTLV  
200 families  
3 848 m²  
31th October 2016

ZONA NORTE

CENTRO

ZONA SUL

EARLIER OCCUPATION EVICTED IN APRIL 2014!

**PARADA PINTO**  
Rua Parada Pinto 1 770  
Terrain Occupation  
MSTRN  
4 169 m²  
31th October 2016

OVER ONE MILLION R\$ IN DEBT WITH GOVERNMENT

**DIAS LEMOS**  
Rua Dias Lemos 320  
Building Occupation  
Private owner  
MMTPT  
31th October 2016

ABANDONED FOR TEN YEARS!

**MOTEL CLEANS**  
Rua Marco Gagliano 55  
Building occupation  
CECASUL  
8 000 m²  
42 chalets  
31th October 2016

OWNED BY COHAB, BUT STILL ABANDONED

**PARQUE SAVOY**  
Avenida Osvaldo do Valle Cordeiro - corner with Avenida Alziro Zarur  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner COHAB  
MMJ  
28 482 m²  
31th October 2016

ZONA LESTE

ABANDONED FOR 24 YEARS

**WILSON REIS**  
Rua Professor Wilson Reis  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner COHAB  
6 805 m²  
31th October 2016

OCCUPANTS LEAVE TERRAIN AFTER DEAL WITH COHAB

**SANTO EDUARDO**  
Avenida Cipriano Rodrigues  
Terrain Occupation  
Owner COHAB  
MSTC  
82 Families  
7 235 m²  
31th October 2016 - 24th December 2016

EVICTED IN THE MORNING

**FRANÇA E SILVA**  
Rua Antônio de França e Silva 953  
Terrain Occupation  
15 286 m²  
31th October 2016

- + BASEGROUP
- o APOIO SERVICE
- X EVICTED



## POLICE AND HOMELESS CLASH DURING BUILDING OCCUPATION

2 NOVEMBER 2016

**JORNALISTAS  
LIVRES**

**It's wood, it's stone, but it is the  
beginning of a new chapter for the  
homeless of Vila Antônia**

(2-11-16)



# ESTADÃO

São Paulo, 31 Octobre 2016

**As protest,  
housing movemen  
occupies seven  
properties in S  
Paulo**

**Simultaneous action organi  
Luta por Moradia; Mil  
accompanied and withdrew  
from one of the loc**

# Democratize

31 OCTOBER 2016

## Housing movements occupy abandoned buildings without social function in São Paulo

claimed a series of occupation in abandoned sites without  
Modnay (31) in São Paulo. Amongst them, a terrain in the  
the centre, one in Avenida Ipiranga (occupied by MMLJ -  
and the other in Nove de Julho (occupied by MSTC -  
entre)

## Forum

4 November 2016

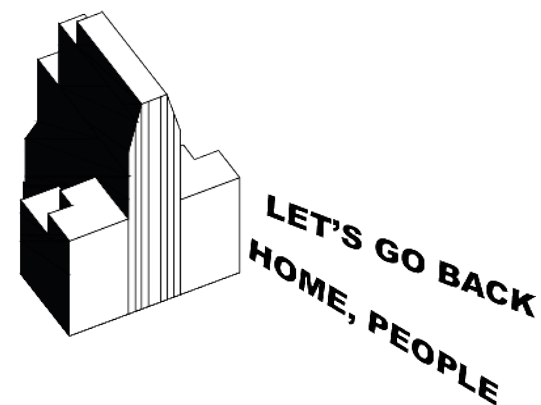
***"Entering a space  
that does not  
fulfill its social  
function because  
it is abandoned,  
is not invading, it  
is occupying"***





# RAISING THE VOICES

## SOCIAL FUNCTION



While a third of the inhabitants of São Paulo is considered *sem teto*, the fast dispersing city is confronted with an abundant vacancy of buildings and terrains. The housing inequality is the main argument for the urban movements in their fight for dignified housing. FLM in peculiar considers occupying of this vacated urban properties as their main instrument to raise the voices against inefficient housing policies.

### CONSTITUTION OF 1988

Although the right to property in Brazil is declared in the Renewed Federal Constitution of 1988, it is not absolute. Indeed, real estate must accomplish a social function, as described in articles 5 and 182 of the constitution (Presidência da República, 2016). This social function is fulfilled when the urban property takes into account society's collective interests and as such enhances the right to the city (Secretaria Municipal de Desenvolvimento Social, 2015). Many of the currently active urban movements contributed to the conception of this clause. Manoel del Rio, coordinator of FLM, legitimates the occupation of urban property as "the transformation of what is abandoned into property with social function" (Manuel del Rio, fieldwork 2016).

### URBAN PARADOXES

The clause on social function gives the government both the power and the duty to perform a land use policy, oriented towards a more inclusive city.

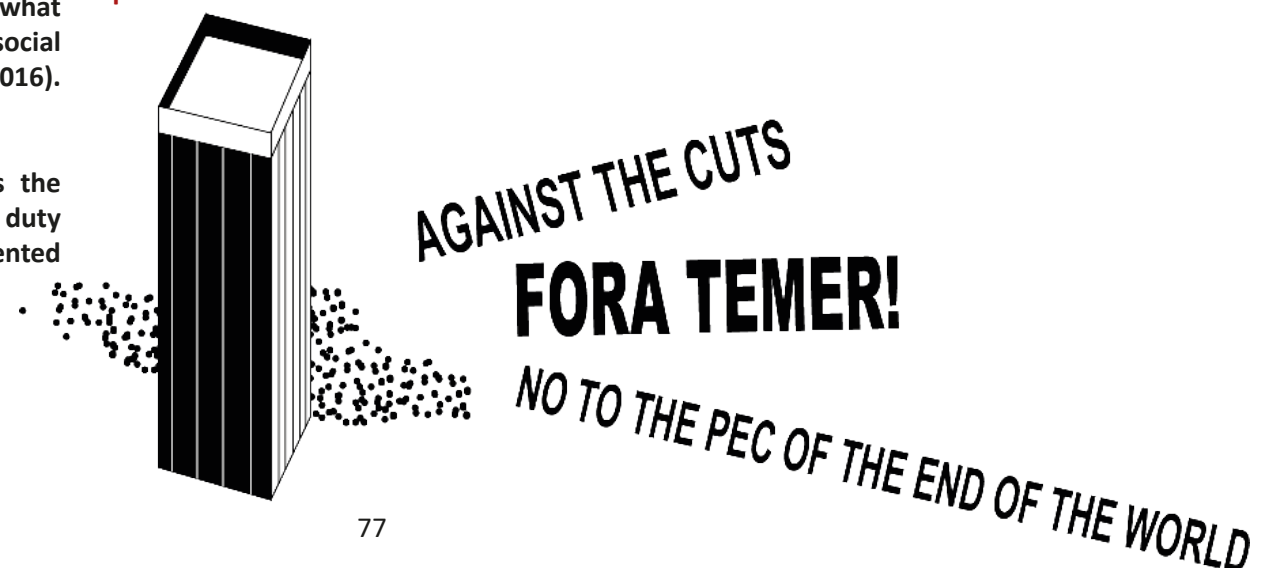
In case a building is abandoned, the municipality can impose taxes, resulting in many buildings to become government's possession with annihilation of the accumulated debts (Carvalho, CS., Rossbach, A., et al., 2010). Paradoxically, also many buildings owned by the government remain empty. In 2016 two million square meters of empty or underused buildings and terrains had been notified (Pereira, 2016). At the same time, article 6 of the Constitution declares the right to housing, contrasting to the enormous housing deficit São Paulo is currently being confronted with (Presidência da República, 2016).

### ACTION

The movement sees the occupations of long term abandoned buildings and terrains as a double enforcement of the constitution. On the one hand, the un-proper properties are reintegrated in the social fabric of the city, on the other hand, the unconstitutional homelessness is tackled. On *Outubro Vermelho*, MSTC reoccupied a federal art deco building at *Nove de Julho* 570 - for the first time occupied in 1997. Many occupations followed and *INSS Nove de Julho* has become an emblem for the fight for decent housing in the centre (Briers, 2015)

## PEC 241

Besides raising the issue of the housing inequality and inefficient housing policies, the action is generally propagated to respond to a recent political or economic development. This *Outubro Vermelho* reacted to the new treaty PEC 241 introduced by Michel Temer, the right wing interim successor of the impeached president Dilma Rousseff.



### PEC OF THE END OF THE WORLD

PEC 241, an abbreviation for Proposed Amendment to the Constitution, limits government spending over twenty years. The treaty would result in restricted budgets for health care, social security, education and (social) housing. Moreover, the annual adjustment of the minimal income to economic growth will be drastically limited. Consequently, the proposal provoked many reactions and condemnation from its proposal on. The treaty is branded *PEC do fim do mundo* or *PEC of the end of the world* by activists.

Several *atos* or *actions* were organized in the streets of Brazil's main cities. *Povo Sem Medo* or *lit. People Without Fear* - a movement representing over thirty sub movements - mobilised a demonstration on *Avenida Paulista* on the 25th of October 2016, the day the treaty got approved. After gathering at the famous MASP, the São Paulo Museum of Art, the crowd marched towards the office of the Presidency of the Republic.

To enforce their condemnation, the movements organized actions in the new occupations to emphasise education, health and culture. Examples of these initiatives include a nursery and a health post, inclusion of a theatre and a dance group and the integration of minority groups like LGBT (Carmen Silva, fieldwork 2016).

To communicate their actions to the public, several occupations were covered by alternative media and spread through their websites and social media.

## SPACES FOR THE ORGANISATIONAL



Throughout the movement's hierarchical structure, several spaces host meetings and reunions for the members to communicate the organisational, prepare for actions, discuss the political agenda and to educate the members and newcomers on their urban rights and internal working of the movement.

### BASE GROUPS

Base groups introduce people willing to participate in the movement. They aim to prepare the participants to the organisation of life within the occupation, with focus on participation and equality of its members. Besides informing them on the movement's internal rules, the base groups opt to rise awareness towards the workers' rights by educating them on their constitutional and civic rights (cfr. Concientization; Freire, 1998). The base groups denote the precarious living circumstances of many of the poor as not constitutional, let alone tolerable.

As the movements raise their cry, it is for a great part the base groups that offer the manpower for the movement's activities. Base groups are organised all across São Paulo, territorially demarcated in sub movements. Specific to the festa, the night of action for new occupations, ground rules and organisation are discussed, like internal regulations, specifically on alcohol and drugs, the supply of food and materials, guidelines in case of police intervention et cetera. Although the rules are imposed from above, each coordination and base group makes its own interpretations.

### MEETINGS

The sede, the headquarters of FLM and rented by APOIO, hosts *assembleias* or *meetings* on a daily basis. During the meetings, the organizational is shared and discussed throughout the hierarchal structure from the coordination of FLM to the coordinations of the submovements. During these meetings, the *atos* take shape. Debates on the political agenda and the education and formation of the movement's coordinators take place here as well.

The submovements on their part also organize *assembleias* regarding their movement in their considered headquarters - as is for example Hotel Cambridge for MSTC. The basegroups serve a double purpose, namely popular education and popular mobilization.

### PARTICIPATION

Participation is fundamental in the movement's *luta*. Participation of the families is stimulated, if not enforced, by a punctuation system "according the duration and measure of the participation" (Regulamento dos núcleos do empreendimento, fieldwork 2016). For the weekly reunions one point is granted, while participation in activities like manifestations, occupations, public hearings and encampments, three points can be earned (Regulamento dos núcleos do empreendimento, fieldwork 2016). When a place in a social housing project or in a favoured occupation becomes available, the members with the highest quotation theoretically get the first picks.

## TECHNICAL AND JURIDICAL ADVISORY



The many strategies as discussed in the first lemma require much preceding organisation. Although the movements organise most autonomously, they often work in collaboration with technical advisory cooperatives.

### TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - PEABIRU

Peabiru Community and Environmental Work, is an *Assessória Técnica* or specialized architecture cooperative offering spatial and architectural advice. With the organisation originating from work in *mutirão* projects, a particular form of collective autoconstruction, it offers technical support in the self management of housing projects. Peabiru describes its contribution as a fight for Decent Housing through the "construction and implementation of public policies and technical advice aimed at vulnerable populations and popular and social organizations" (Peabiru, sd).

The approach of Peabiru goes beyond the structural. For that, the organisation consists of and invokes on professionals and assistance from different fields, spanning from architects and urbanists and engineers to sociologists, lawyers, psychologists et cetera. Peabiru has not been working in urban development that long, with its first project completed in 2003, but has already an extended influence in urbanization project in the periphery of São Paulo and the ABC region - a heavily industrialised metropolitan area in state São Paulo.

### GASPAR GARCIA

*Centro Gaspar Garcia de Direitos Humanos* or *Gaspar Garcia Centre for Human Rights* is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation set up parallel with UMM and APOIO for defending homeless and *cortiço* dwellers in the centre. The members of the organisation - professionals and people with political background - work with people of low income of whose rights, according to the NGO, have been violated. As Gaspar Garcia describes best, "the program acts directly in the protection of the constitutional right to housing through legal assistance to families living in substandard housing in eviction, repossession, urban misappropriation and other situations where human rights are being violated" (Gaspar Garcia, 2016).

Thus, through legal assistance and community formation, the organisation aims for better living circumstances for *cortiços* and precarious buildings in the central region of São Paulo.

The organisation understands the importance of the role of the urban movements in their fight for decent housing and right for the city and thus emphasizes their "partnership" with the movements (Gaspar Garcia, 2016).

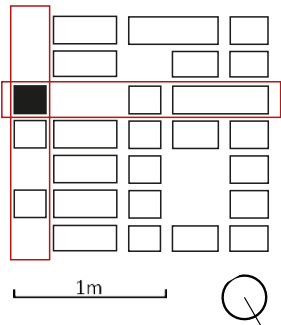
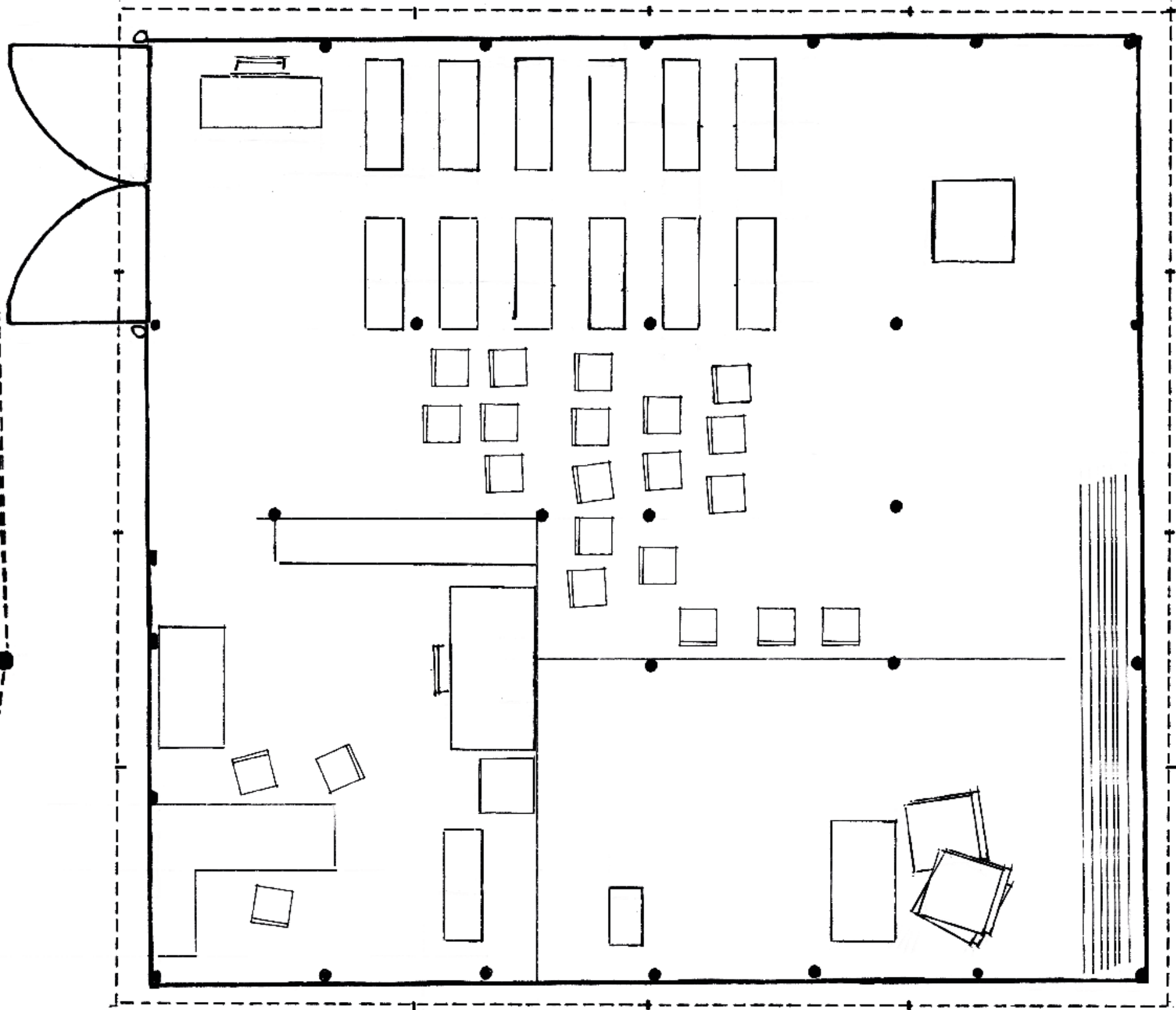


# PUBLIC SHELTER

The *barraca pública* or *public shelter* offers the space for discussion between coordination and the members. Aiming to establish and maintain an internal democracy, by including the entire occupation in decision making, weekly reunions offer the time for communication, discussion, informing and planning. The public shelter generally encloses the main office of the coordination and serves as a polyvalent space, hosting religious assemblies, festivities concerning the entire occupation, political meetings or health assistance, et cetera. Also the base groups are organised in the public shelter. Seen the importance of the *barraca* for the organisation within the occupation, it is generally the first structure to be built during the occupations.



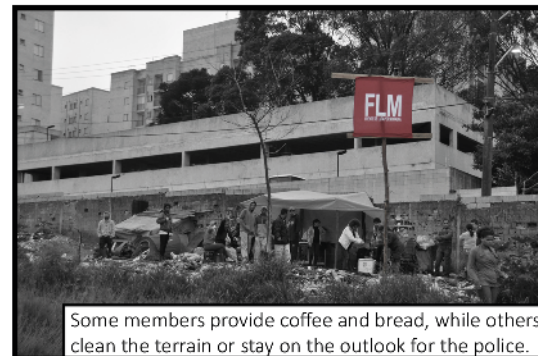
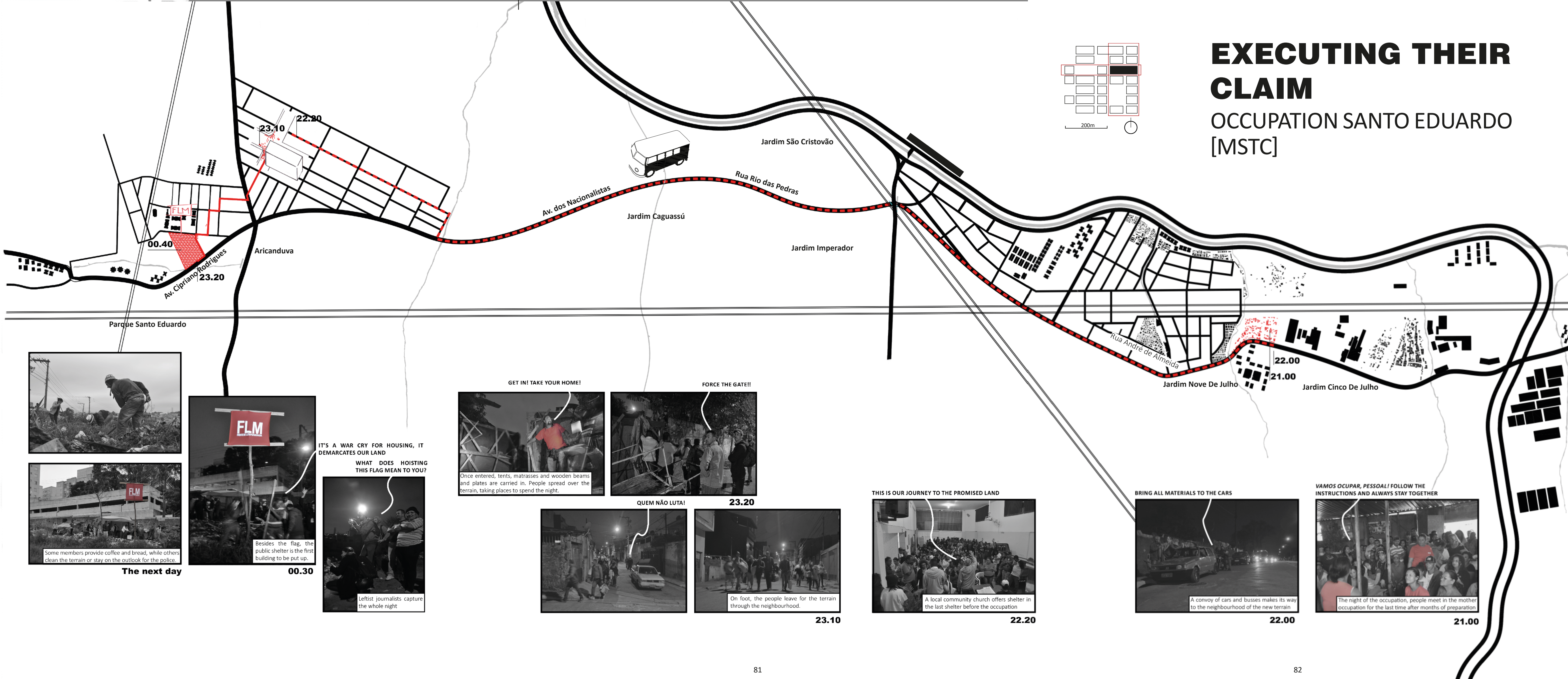
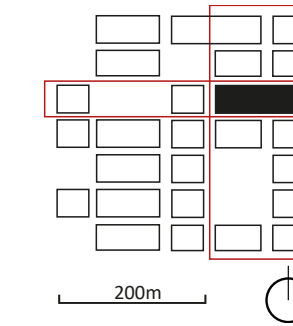
The public shelter hosts activities and assemblies concerning the entire occupation. Floorplan and photo from Caguassú Leste [MSTC]





# EXECUTING THEIR CLAIM

## OCCUPATION SANTO EDUARDO [MSTC]



Some members provide coffee and bread, while others clean the terrain or stay on the outlook for the police.

The next day



IT'S A WAR CRY FOR HOUSING, IT DEMARCATES OUR LAND

WHAT DOES HOISTING THIS FLAG MEAN TO YOU?

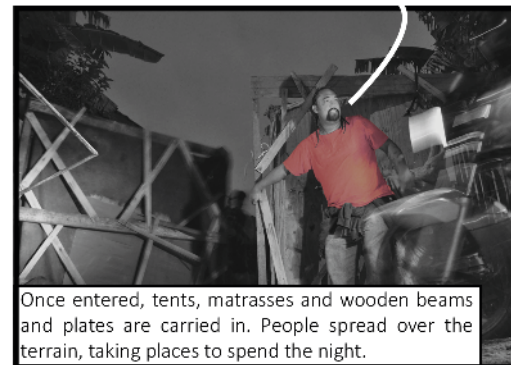
Besides the flag, the public shelter is the first building to be put up.

00.30



Leftist journalists capture the whole night

GET IN! TAKE YOUR HOME!



Once entered, tents, mattresses and wooden beams and plates are carried in. People spread over the terrain, taking places to spend the night.

FORCE THE GATE!!



QUEM NÃO LUTA!

23.20



23.10



On foot, the people leave for the terrain through the neighbourhood.

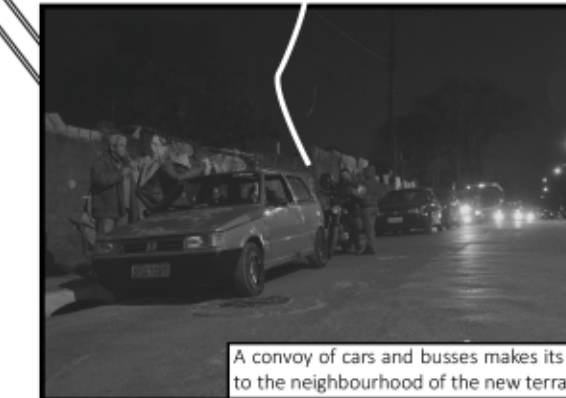
THIS IS OUR JOURNEY TO THE PROMISED LAND



A local community church offers shelter in the last shelter before the occupation

22.20

BRING ALL MATERIALS TO THE CARS



A convoy of cars and busses makes its way to the neighbourhood of the new terrain

22.00

VAMOS OCUPAR, PESSOAL! FOLLOW THE INSTRUCTIONS AND ALWAYS STAY TOGETHER

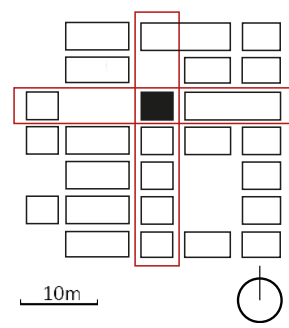


The night of the occupation, people meet in the mother occupation for the last time after months of preparation

21.00



# BUILDING THE INTERSTICES



To communicate their fight against housing inequality and augment the chance of staying, long time abandoned property is selected. As such, most terrains studied in the following case studies locate themselves in the ‘left-overs’ of the urban tissue. The occupations often reside in between high-rise condominiums, non-residential buildings and alongside infrastructures or waterbodies. They are generally strongly defined by a pronounced topography and walled off from the surroundings.







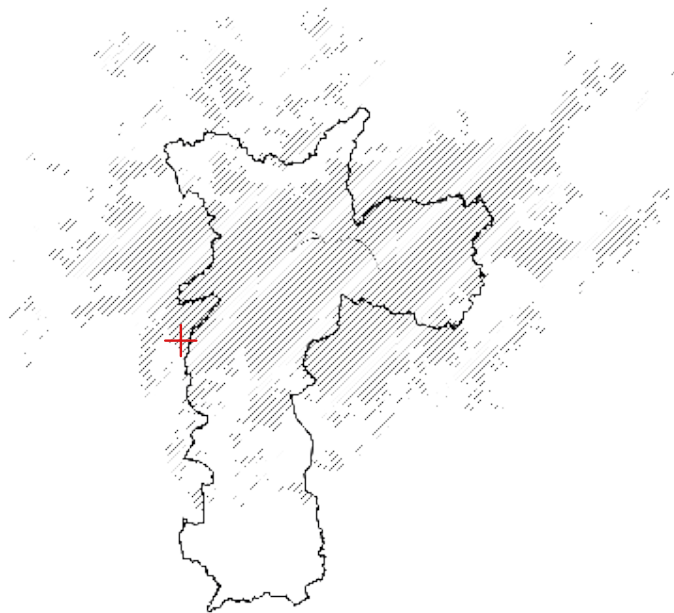
**FLM**  
FRETE DE LUTAPOR MORADIA

Occupying the terrain preludes particular participatory self-organisation. Under proud display of the movement's banner, the squatters start cultivating the - for new - polluted and bewildered terrain.



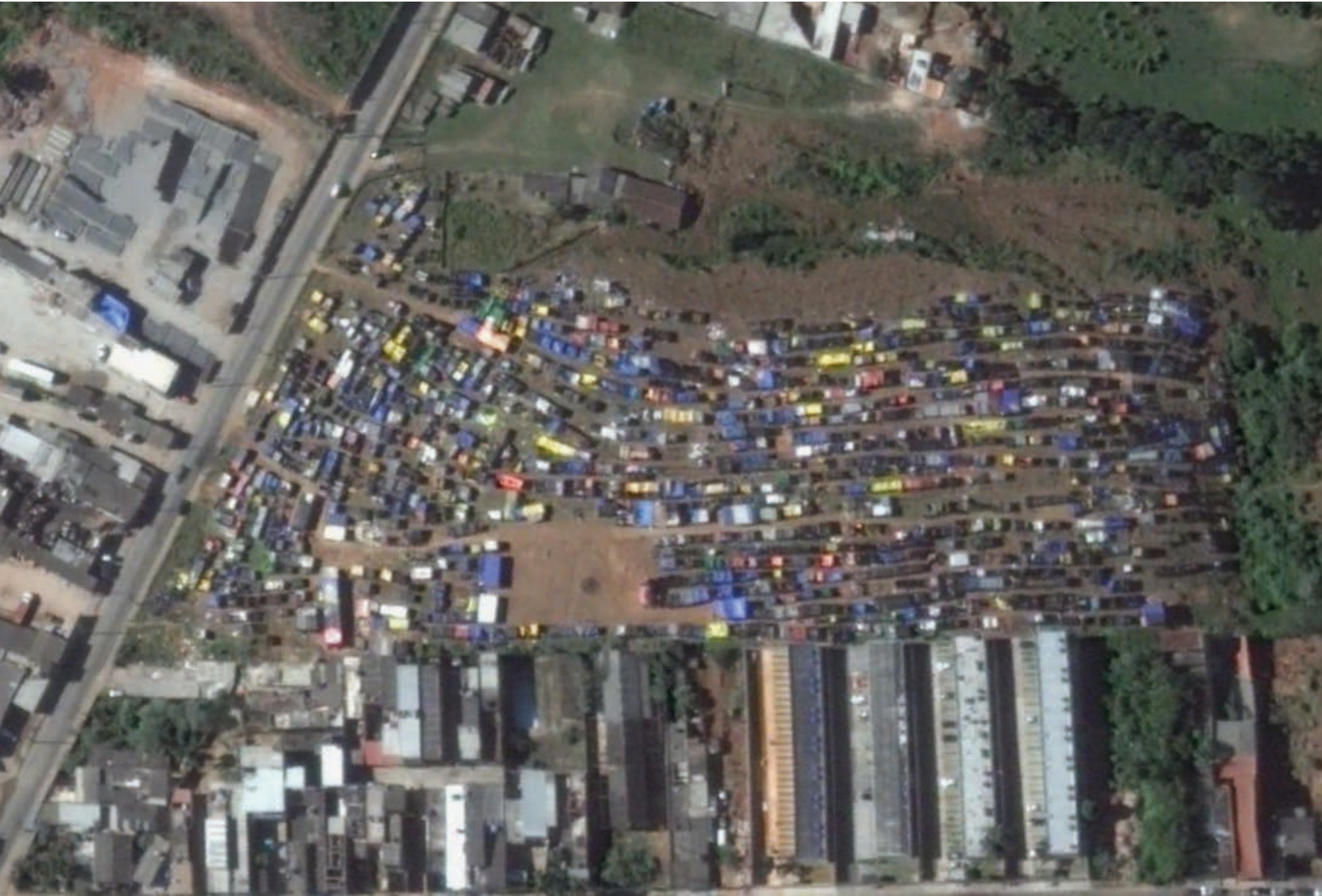
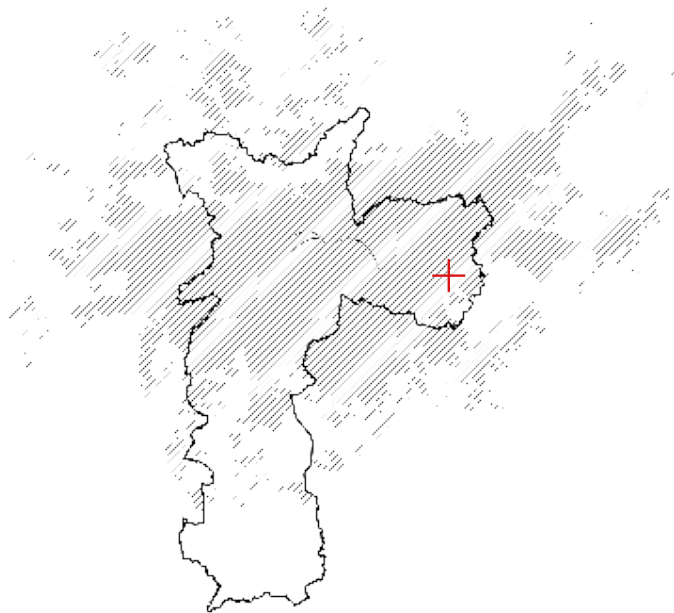
# DIFFERENT STRATEGIES

OLGA BERNÁRIO  
[FOMMAESP]



On Outubro Vermelho, FOMMAESP, a branch of FLM and mainly active on terrain occupations in the South of São Paulo, expanded its terrain occupation Olga Bernário in the district of Capão Redondo. The action intended to put pressure on a promised social housing project by CDHU. The project was meant for 2008 for 300 houses or 720 apartments (Boletim, 2008). Targeting to possibly consolidate the encampment, the coordination- after consultation with technical advisory office Urbania- attempted to structure the encampment in a raster of 4 by 6 sq. meters. The occupation was evicted in June 2016.

ESPERANÇA VERMELHA  
RED HOPE [MTST]



The occupation Esperança Vermelha in Cidade Tiradentes aimed to reactivate a project from CDHU. MTST, Movement for the Workers Without a Roof, claims to have mobilised an estimated 3000 families to occupy the terrain. However, the occupation lasted only eight months, after which the occupation was vacated and the materials recycled to support ten new occupations spread over São Paulo. Despite the ephemeral character, the occupations impress through their the rapidity of mobilisations and quantity of participants. By constructing with only bamboo frames and plastic sheets, but great liberty in disassembling and recuperating the materials, the movement compares its temporary constellations to circus camps (Luciana, fieldwork 2016).



# **OCCUPYING AS PART OF A TACTICAL REPERTOIRE**

The act of occupying is a complex and premediated undertaking. The actions take form over extensively planning and discussions over a strong hierarchy of members and coordinators, if need be in collaboration with specialized advisory cooperatives.

Foremost, by occupying unused property, the tactics of occupying serves as their most important instrument to address the housing inequality. Demarcated by a provisional campsite and through proud display of the movements' banners, the squatters communicate their actions. From start, the structures for common use are built first, enhancing the organisational and representing the communal and democratic values of the movement. In a context of high pressure of evictions, these form the embryonic germs of what could become a dwelling environment.





**LEMMA IV**

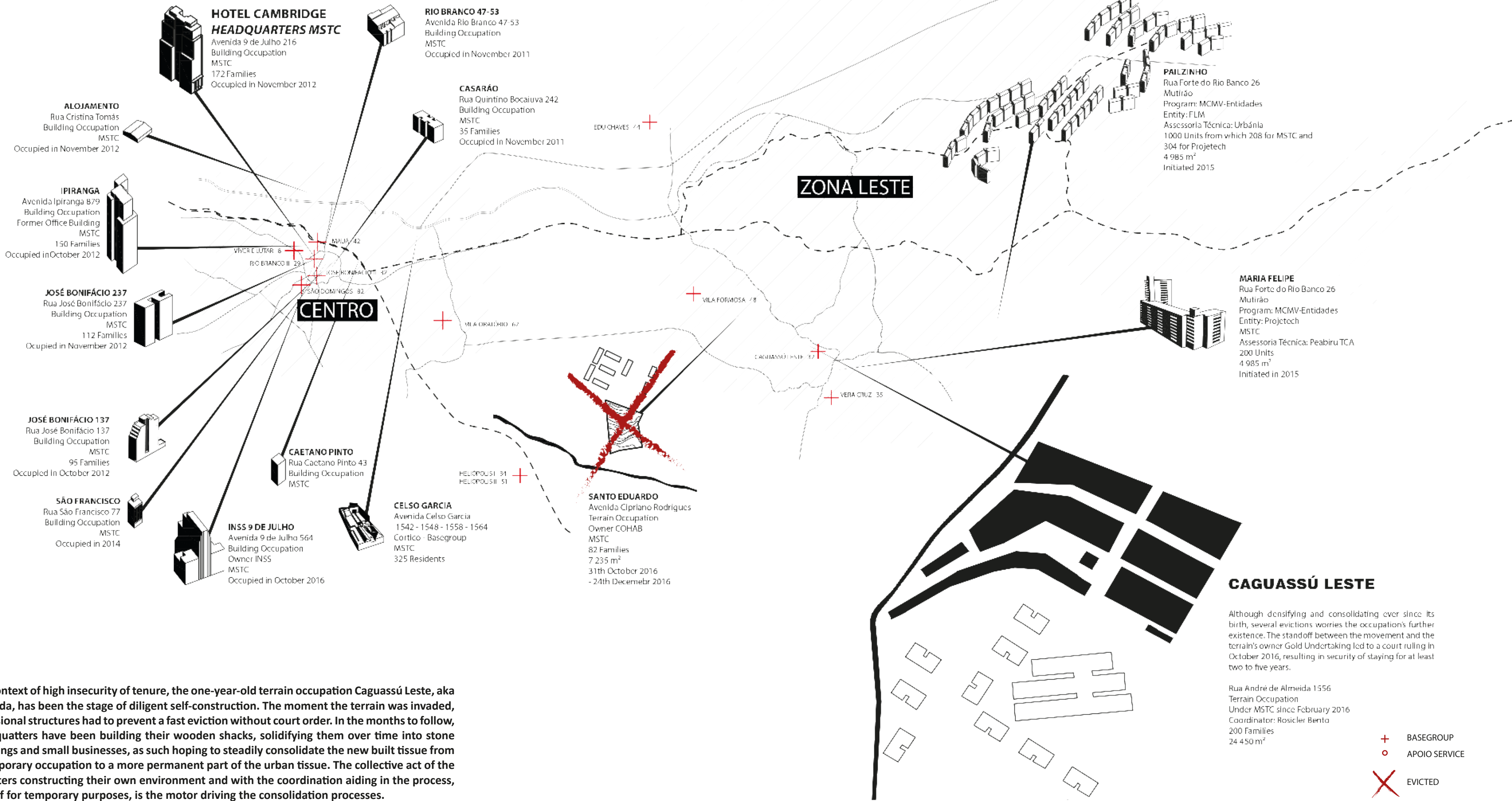
**SELF-  
CONSTRUCTION**



# CAGUASSÚ LESTE

[MSTC]

**MSTC**  
MOVIMENTO SEM TETO DO CENTRO  
HOMELESS MOVEMENT OF THE CENTRE  
COORDINATOR: CARMEN SILVA FERREIRA  
ENTITY: PROJETECH  
FOUNDED IN 2000  
BUILDING OCCUPATIONS IN CENTRE,  
TERRAIN OCCUPATIONS AND PROJECTS IN EAST PERIPHERY



In a context of high insecurity of tenure, the one-year-old terrain occupation Caguassú Leste, aka Almeida, has been the stage of diligent self-construction. The moment the terrain was invaded, provisional structures had to prevent a fast eviction without court order. In the months to follow, the squatters have been building their wooden shacks, solidifying them over time into stone dwellings and small businesses, as such hoping to steadily consolidate the new built tissue from a temporary occupation to a more permanent part of the urban tissue. The collective act of the squatters constructing their own environment and with the coordination aiding in the process, even if for temporary purposes, is the motor driving the consolidation processes.

Although densifying and consolidating ever since its birth, several evictions worries the occupation's further existence. The standoff between the movement and the terrain's owner Gold Undertaking led to a court ruling in October 2016, resulting in security of staying for at least two to five years.





The many construction sites indicate the young character of the occupation. Although the occupation is still characterized by little security of staying, more and more families take the step of building in brick.

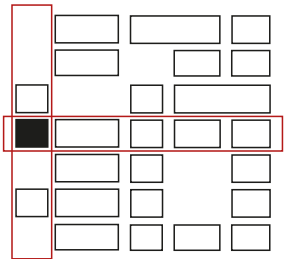




The part of the terrain on the side of the creek is property of the city government and offers as such more security of staying for the squatters. Consequentially, the area along the creek developed first.



# TIMBER, BRICKS, CORRUGATED SHEETS, PIPES AND DUCTS



About a year after the initial occupation, the terrain remains seemingly desolate. Temporary and abandoned structures demarcate (once) claimed areas. Over time however, the temporal and abandoned shelters have ever been replaced by wooden shacks for families to live in. Over half a year, the transformation of the occupation has been astounding. (Photo taken by Jeroen Stevens, March 2016).



**AN AGGREGATION OF SPORADICALLY COLLECTED MATERIALS**

At the time the wooden walls were constructed, a plastic sheet had to offer the inhabitants shelter. With help from Rosicler, the main coordinator, the sheet got replaced by corrugated fibre plates.

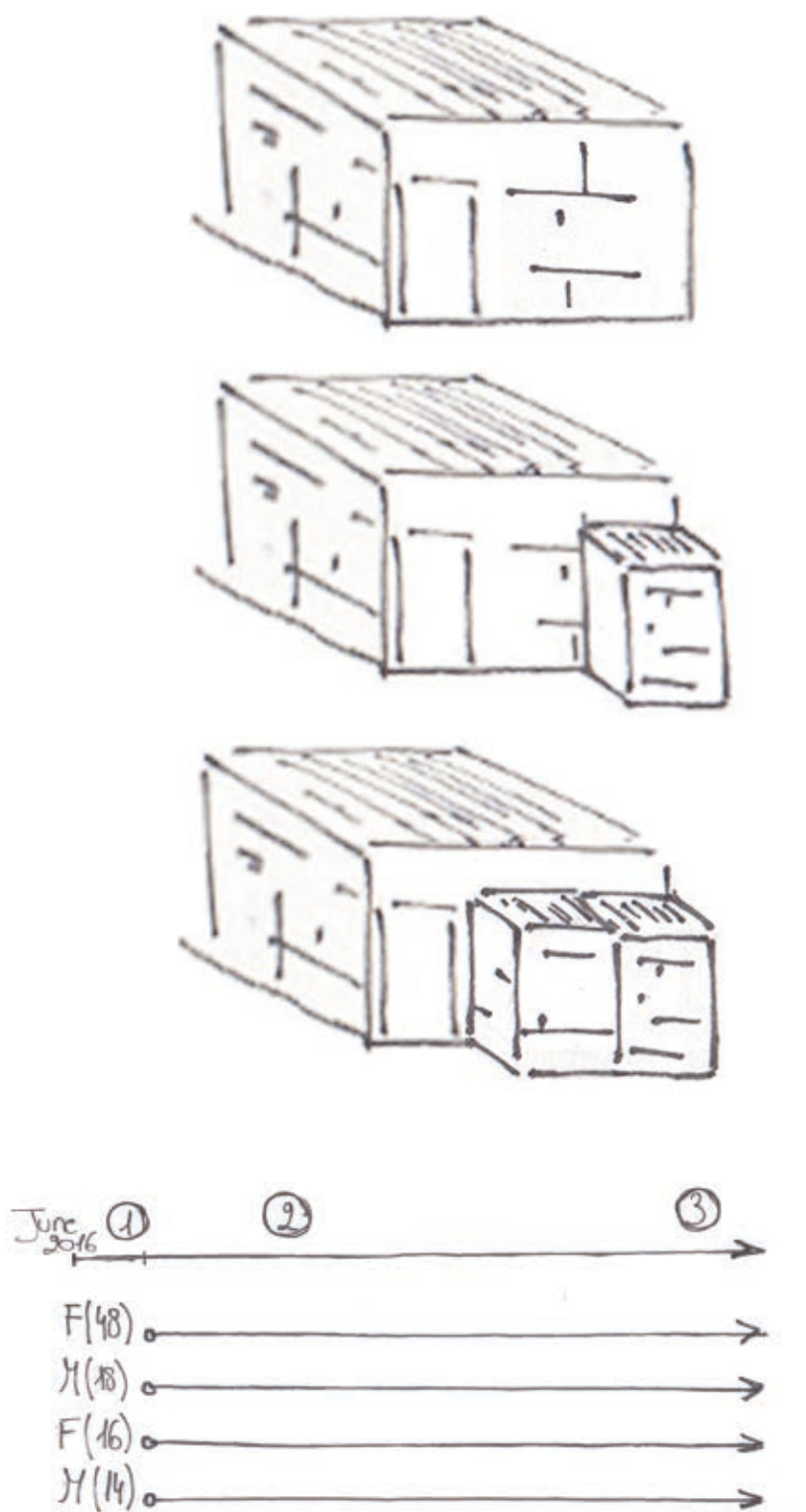
Once the wooden walls and the improvised roof were completed, the dwelling expanded with a bathroom, connected to a self-dug cesspit for waste water disposal.

The cemented floor was poored in by her sons.

Once enough materials were collected, a laundry shed was constructed.

Fatima plans for a sepearte bedroom adjoining the existing dwelling.

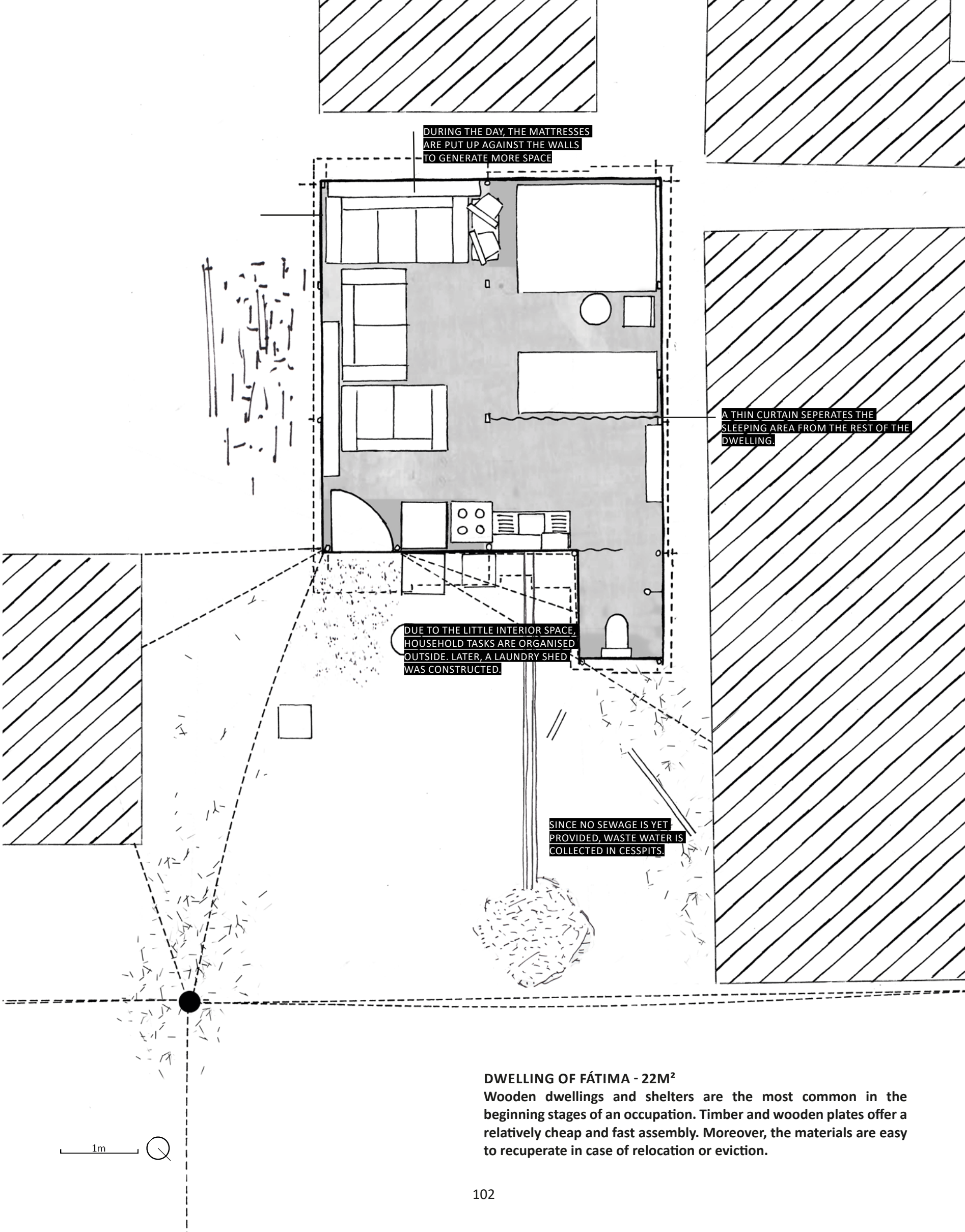
FÁTIMA (48) was born in the interior of the State of São Paulo. After leaving her parents' house, she rented a house in the same neighbourhood. With the rental load too high, she spent four months on the street with three of her children. A daughter who had been living in Caguassú Leste introduced her into the occupation.



Wooden plates are added as soon as materials are obtained. With only small investments at a time, due to a little income, the dwelling is in a continuous state of construction.



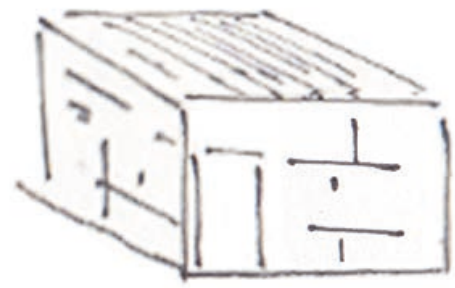
The humid wooden walls, the stale air due to high residential density and the little to none acoustical and thermal insulation, characterize the little possible financial investments.



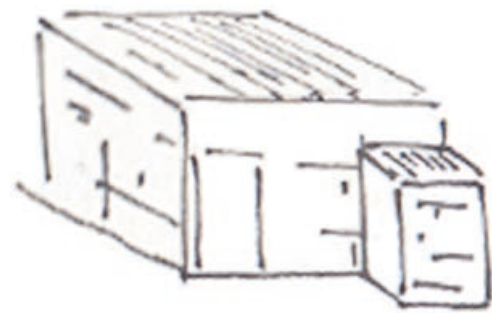
**DWELLING OF FÁTIMA - 22M<sup>2</sup>**  
Wooden dwellings and shelters are the most common in the beginning stages of an occupation. Timber and wooden plates offer a relatively cheap and fast assembly. Moreover, the materials are easy to recuperate in case of relocation or eviction.



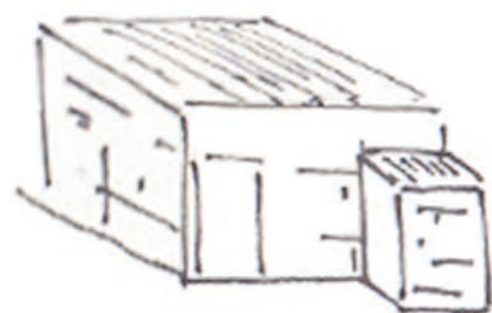
MINIMAL INVESTMENT



The dwelling, built by and for one man, now houses a family of four.



For over a year, only a bathroom has been added. For they do not believe in a long-term residence on the occupation, the family does not want to invest more.

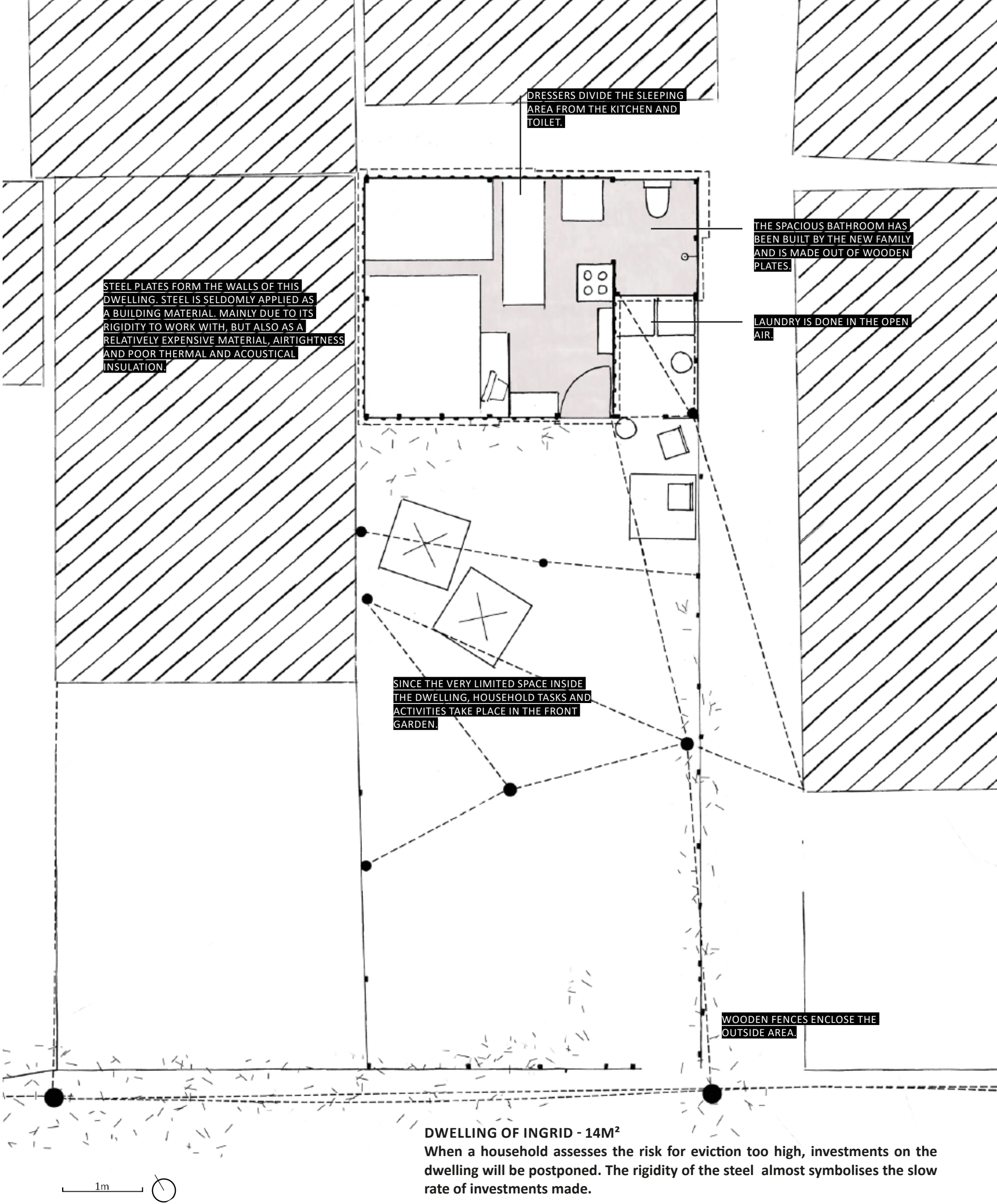


Only after the court order in October 2016 gave more certainty of staying, the family invested in new rooms in front of the dwelling.

**INGRID**  
Born in São Paulo, INGRID (27) never moved great distances. She got married and has now three young children. Until October 2015, she lived in her mother's house in another slum settlement. As she wished to live independently, she moved to the current occupation.



The living area is very limited. While dressers divide the limited room in an area for sleeping and an area for cooking, other activities like washing and drying, doing homework, playing et cetera expand to the outside.



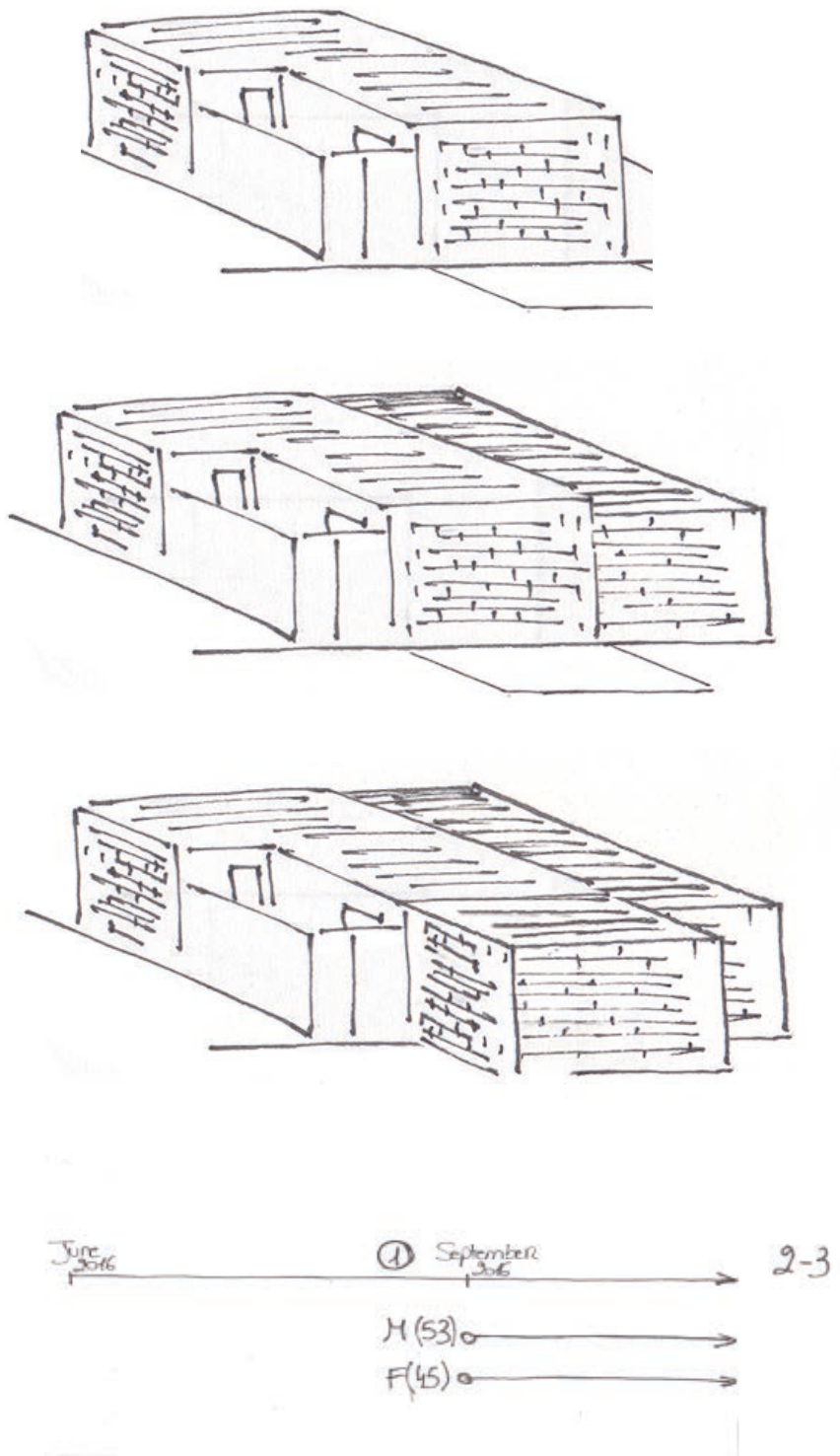


BUILDING IN STONE

The construction took over three months, since the materials and workforce were obtained sporadically.

Further investments are postponed until more security of tenure is obtained. As such, the corrugated roof will some day be replaced by ceramic roof tiles to increase acoustic and thermal insulation. Foundations are prepared to expand the dwelling with a seperate bedroom and a dwelling for their daughter.

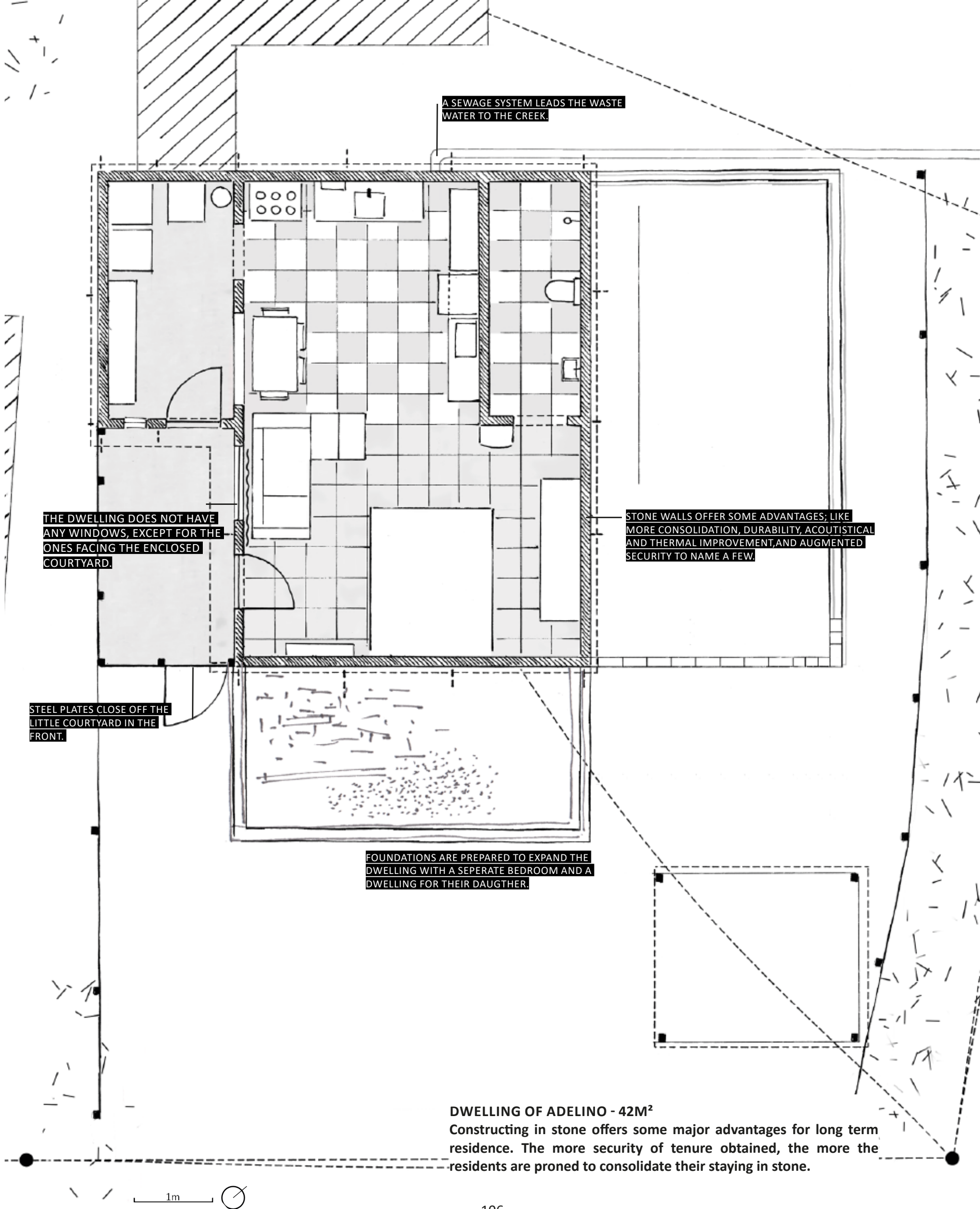
ADELINO (53) has always lived in Zona Leste. After the rental load of his former formally rented houses became unbearable, he and his wife moved to the occupation. With intention to stay, the house was constructed in stone.



The dwelling was constructed by a contractor. The household only moved in from their previous residence once the entire dwelling was finished.



Tiled, spacious and organised on the inside, while only showing raw brick on the outside; the stone dwelling shows its investments on the inside.





# NOMADIC ARCHITECTURE

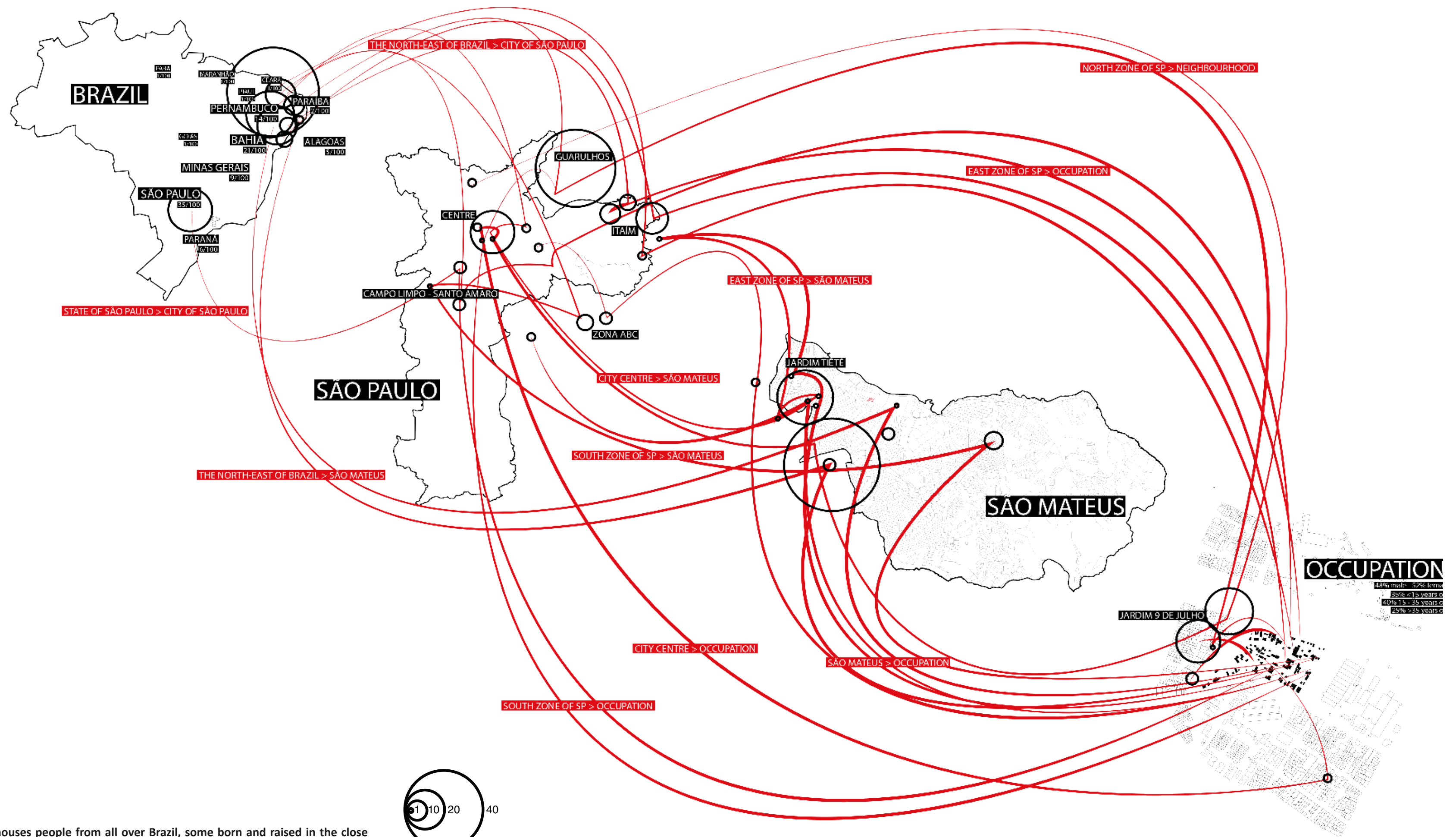
The occupation is subject to a continuous coming and going of families and hence resembles a permanent construction site. The nomadic character of the squatters results from fear of eviction or stumbling across better opportunities and propagates an architecture of constellations that is perpetually under (re)construction. The nomadic architecture is a bricolage of easily demountable materials like timber and wooden or corrugated fibre plates, piecemeal consolidating in more durable materials as time passes by.

In the run-up to the court ruling, close to a dozen families left the terrain looking for more security of staying. As such, on the 6th of October, just a couple of days before the ruling, many of the families returned to collect their materials, stripping down their former dwellings and leaving only the foundations and no longer useful construction material. The remaining dwellings and vacated lots would quickly be occupied again by new households, for example from the base groups. It is as Turner described: *“property security’ is a vital function of housing for the ‘consolidating’ masses in cities”* (Turner, 1969; pg. 375)





# ORIGINS



The occupation houses people from all over Brazil, some born and raised in the close vicinity, many coming from distant states. From a survey taken on a hundred people, eighteen personal trajectories are illustrated.

The survey is based on a door to door questionnaire on 91 occupation dwellers. The percentages of the data origins per state are based on 99 residents. The data male- female are based on 266 squatters.



# OCCUPATION AS A MOSAIC OF DWELLINGS








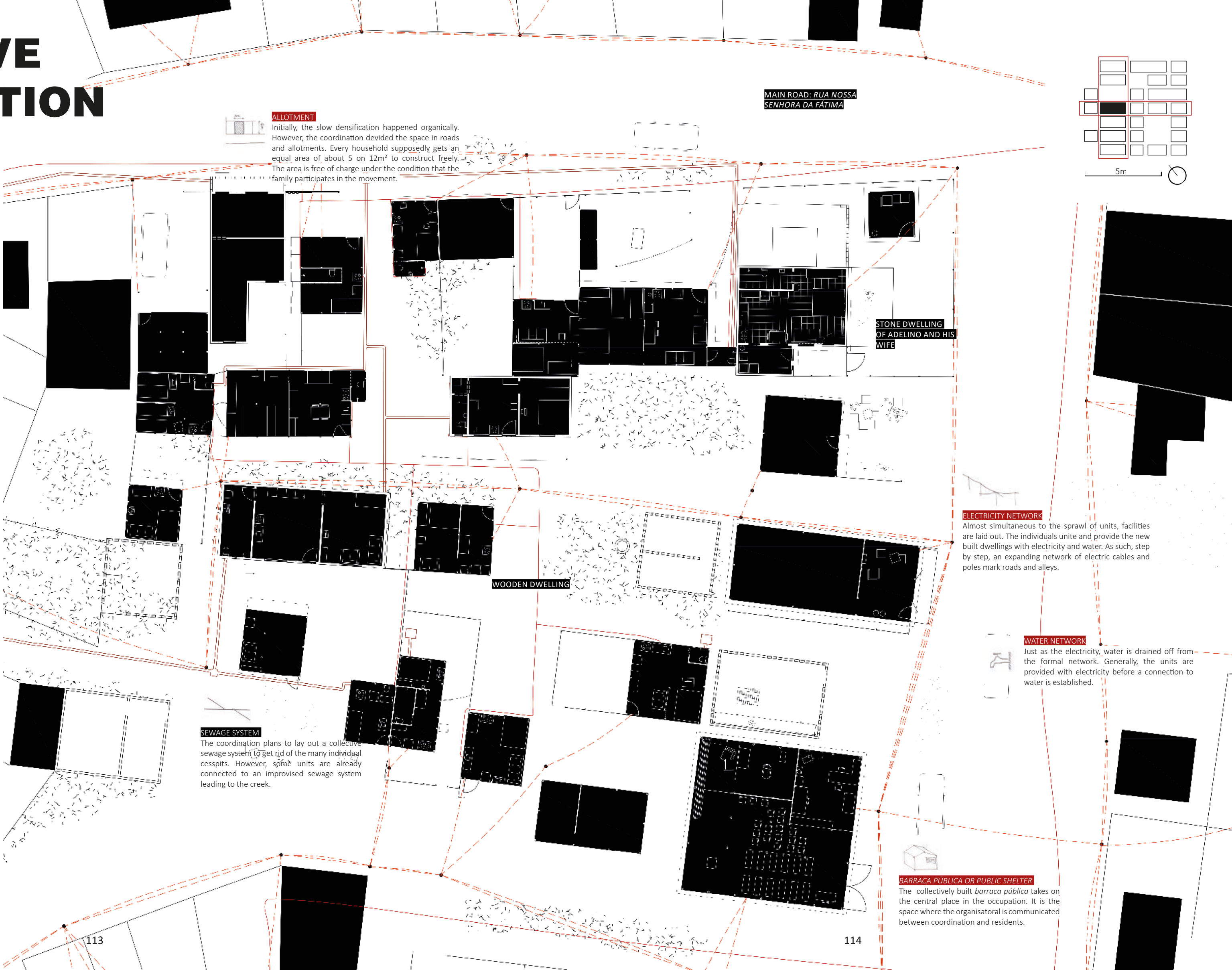
By large, it are families incapable or with difficulty to keep up with rent in the formal and informal market that turn to squatting and construct their proper house. Many construct a dwelling as a step up to the formal market and to gain independence from the parental house or from a broken relationship. Again others piece together a second house until enough security of staying is obtained to move or sell their gained property. By occupying, some squatters hope to obtain a dwelling in a social housing project.

The families spread the investments over time depending on their financial capabilities at hand and whether tenure is secure enough. The individual's family structure, risk assessment, financial capacity and construction knowhow influence greatly the rate of and limit to which he or she can and is willing to invest. Evidently, these several factors lead to an immense variety of typologies.



# COLLECTIVE ORGANISATION

-  PUBLIC SHELTER
-  ALLOTMENT  
TRYING TO ORGANISE THE ORGANIC
-  ELECTRICITY NETWORK
-  WATER NETWORK
-  SEWAGE SYSTEM



**ALLOTMENT**  
Initially, the slow densification happened organically. However, the coordination divided the space in roads and allotments. Every household supposedly gets an equal area of about 5 on 12m<sup>2</sup> to construct freely. The area is free of charge under the condition that the family participates in the movement.

MAIN ROAD: RUA NOSSA  
SENHORA DA FÁTIMA

STONE DWELLING  
OF ADELINO AND HIS  
WIFE

WOODEN DWELLING

**SEWAGE SYSTEM**  
The coordination plans to lay out a collective sewage system to get rid of the many individual cesspits. However, some units are already connected to an improvised sewage system leading to the creek.

**ELECTRICITY NETWORK**  
Almost simultaneous to the sprawl of units, facilities are laid out. The individuals unite and provide the new built dwellings with electricity and water. As such, step by step, an expanding network of electric cables and poles mark roads and alleys.

**WATER NETWORK**  
Just as the electricity, water is drained off from the formal network. Generally, the units are provided with electricity before a connection to water is established.

**BARRACA PÚBLICA OR PUBLIC SHELTER**  
The collectively built *barraca pública* takes on the central place in the occupation. It is the space where the organisational is communicated between coordination and residents.





WATER AND ELECTRICITY ARE TAPPED FROM THE FORMAL NETWORK.

SATELLITE DISHES ARE VERY COMMON AS ALMOST ALL DWELLINGS HAVE A TV.

A CESSPIT COVERED BY CORRUGATED SHEETS.

A STONE CESSPIT IS AWAITING THE COMPLETION OF THE DWELLING. EACH HOUSEHOLD DIGS HIS OWN CESSPIT.

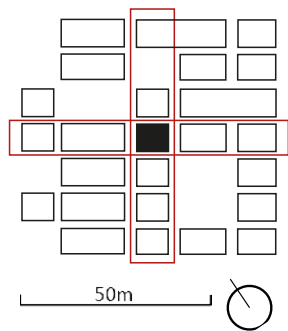
SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE SPRAWL OF UNITS, ELECTRICITY IS LAID OUT.






ONLY A COUPLE OF HOUSES ARE ALREADY CONNECTED TO A SEWAGE LEADING TO THE CREEK.

In the initial phases of the occupation, the coordination intervened little in the sprawl of dwellings. Seemingly random, the wooden shacks plug in on the built tissue. The movement mobilises the occupation for the implementation of a common sewage system instead of the individual fossas or cesspits.

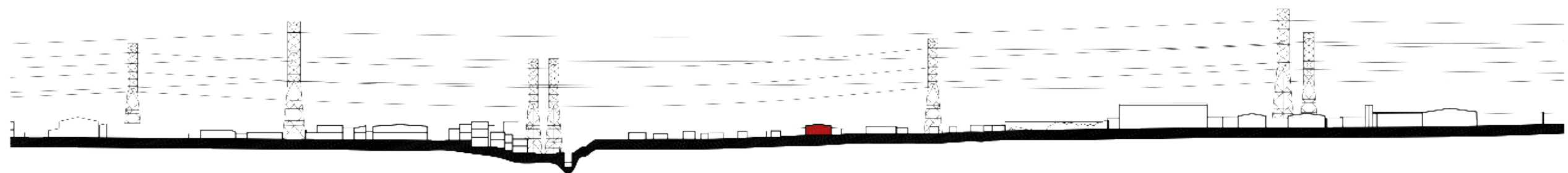


# STRONG BOUNDARIES



-  PUBLIC SHELTER
-  SHOPS AND BARS
-  SCHOOL
-  CHURCH
-  INDUSTRY

The occupation in its initial phases remains well enclosed towards its surroundings. Strong natural and manmade boundaries secure the occupants – even if only for a peace of mind – against evictions or interference from other interest groups. The boundaries however pose themselves as a paradox. While Rua André de Almeida offers easy access to the rest of the city, the wall shields the occupation off from passers-by. This restrained setup is emphasized by the neighbouring industry and the enclosed condominium across the street. Commerce, bars and social infrastructures – like schools and health posts – are indispensable for the occupants. At the same time however, strangers are not welcome in the occupation. This double relation pushes the occupation towards an image of marginality and distrust. The open spaces underneath the high-tension lines are used by few of the occupants to grow some crops, while the creek is used by some households to drain the waste water.





1975



1985



1995



2005



AUGUST  
2015

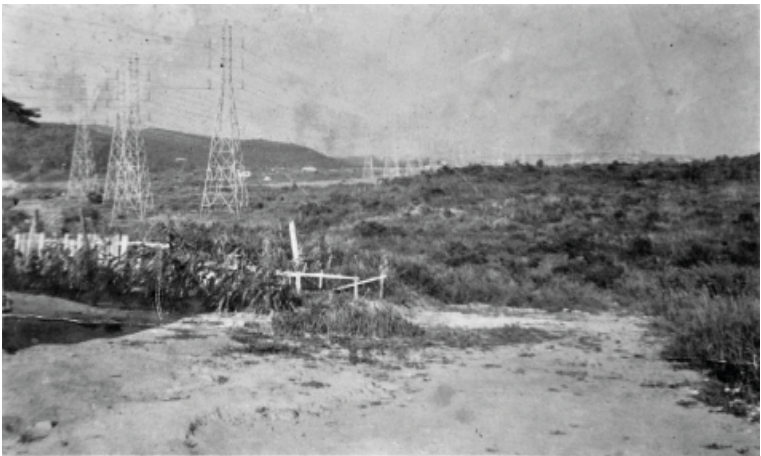


Photo from 1970s showing the high voltage lines crossing the plain fields. (Photo from Rosicler Bento, fieldwork 2016)

In the 1970s, the first inhabitants arrived in the area, that until then only consisted of fallow land. The first few houses were self-constructed – some in wood, others in brick - and grew incrementally, both horizontally as vertically during the 70s and 80s. During the 70s a high voltage line crossing the landscape was engineered.

In the 1990s, a public school was built and a private five-floor condominium popped up in between the informally grown tissue. From the 1980s on, private condominiums for richer classes were developed in more peripheral areas, reducing the strict reduction between centre and periphery (Fix, 2003). Industrial buildings started to fill up the vacant terrains along the high tension lines. The leftover space was used as a storage for car components.

In 2008, the terrain laid abandoned for the major part. In 2010, the last remaining activity left the terrain.

In August 2015, a spontaneous occupation of the terrain was organised by people from the vicinity looking for a place to live. No movement was involved in this initial occupation.



Wooden shacks demarcate claimed land. (Photo taken by Jeroen Stevens, August 2015).

NOVEMBER  
2015

FEBRUARY  
2016

MAY  
2016

AUGUST  
2016

OCTOBER  
2016



Since the part next to the creek is property of the government and thus forms less risk of eviction, it developed first.

After a second *reintegração de posse* or *eviction notice* in February 2016, the urban movement MSTC, part of FLM, took de occupation under its shoulders. For MSTC, normally engaged in building occupations in the centre, Caguassú Leste was the first terrain occupation. Due to the movement's several base groups, the occupation welcomed several new squatters.



Carmen Silva, main leader of MSTC, lays out the first ideas for a street pattern and challenges the occupation to get more organised. (Photo by Jeroen Stevens, August 2015).

By August, the terrain consolidated even more. However, brick dwellings remained an exception. Since the construction firm that owns the terrain asked for an eviction notice, few families dare to invest in a permanent house.

On the 6th of October, the movement had a court hearing with the owner of the terrain. The movement was advised to take the process to higher juridical organs. This would delay the eviction for two to five years.

From this moment on, the occupation knows a steady increase in the number of brick units.

- Self-construction in wood
  - Self-construction in stone
  - Big developments: school, collective housing and condominiums and industry
- (sources: Rosicler Bento, fieldwork 2016).

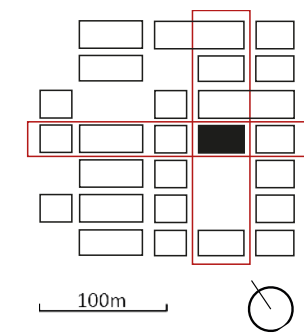




The areas along the creek and the high power lines remain the last to be built. Over time, the wall is opened as improvised shops and garages open up to the street. Little by little, the commerce manages to soften the distant relation between the occupation and its surroundings. However, after a violent eviction of a neighbouring occupation, the wall once again got closed.



# AGGREGATION OF ENCLAVES



*Parque do Carmo* is an environmental protected area. The forest got spared from housing development, largely because of its steep hills.

The terrain of Caguassú Leste, aka Almeida, is strongly subject to infrastructure lines and the topography. The occupation settles in residual spaces such as alluvial plains and in between infrastructure lines.

Industry buildings and highrise condominiums, just like the slum settlements and irregular allotments, can often be situated in left-over spaces.

The settlement *Cinco de Julho* is a strongly consolidated settlement and is characterised by very high density, poor housing quality and poor accessibility.

The joined occupations *Ocupação Colonial* or lit. *Colonial Occupation* emerged simultaneously with Caguassú Leste. The occupations were not organised by any movement. The occupations were evicted in January 2016 under great police presence.

Irregular allotment distincts itself from the formal tissue on a legal basis. Although the built form is very similar to the formal tissue - as well urban as architectural- the land was not intended for housing. Instead, the land was divided and sold by the land owners.

The regular urban fabric comprises commerce and services. For the squatters, the formal urban tissue is essential since it offers services, goods and access to the formal job market and thus indispensable as an attractive occupation site.





# DIFFERENT OUTCOMES

## CINCO DE JULHO



*Jardim* Cinco de Julho, a dense neighbourhood adjoining Caguassú Leste, consolidated from a terrain occupation in the 1970s to a registered part of the urban tissue. However, the consolidated settlement remains a rather peculiar sample in its surroundings, characterized by strong densification and continuous incremental growth.

Initially, the terrain was owned by the municipality. During the administration of Marta Suplicy (2001-2004), the occupation got formalized. The municipality provided the compliant infrastructures such as electricity and water connection, asphalted roads and connection to the sewage network. Despite the security of tenure, some dwellers of *Cinco de Julho* also constructed a (wooden) dwelling on the terrain of Caguassú Leste (fieldwork September 2016).

## OCUPAÇÃO COLONIAL







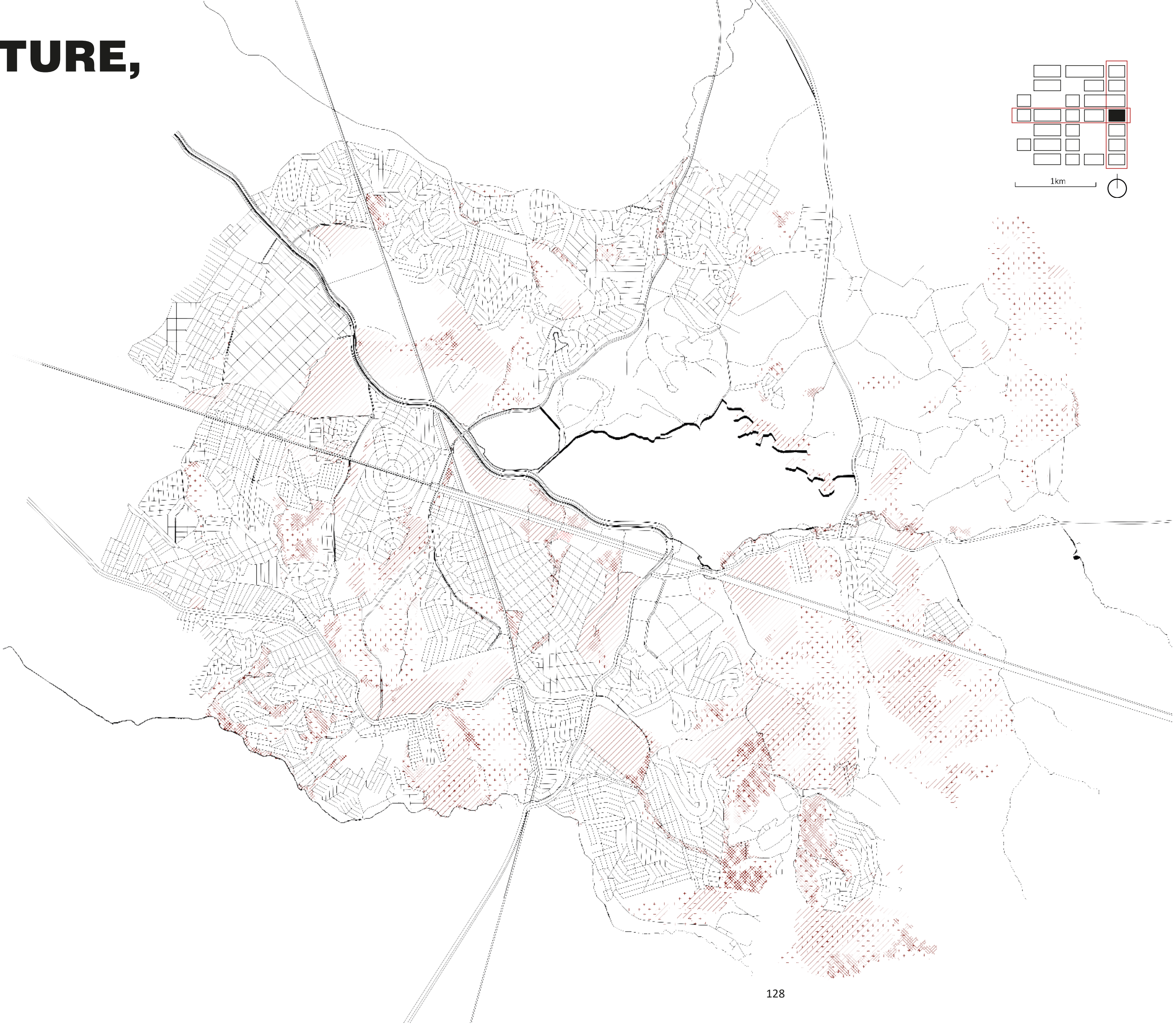
Barricades set up by the inhabitants of Ocupação Colonial block the road. In the morning of the 17th of August 2017, the two-year-old terrain occupation got violently evicted by troops of the military police. At that moment, the occupation near Caguassú Leste housed around 700 families (Fernandes, 2017; and Bernardes, 2017).

After the eviction, the families dispersed to several terrain occupations in the neighbourhood. For example, four families got a place in Caguassú Leste. Also MTST, Movement of Homeless Workers, joined behind the barricades and offered shelter to some families. Another 170 families found shelter in a terrain occupation near terminal Sapopemba, a private terrain under juridical process of eviction (Bernardes, 2017 and Fernandes, 2017). The relocation of these families to other occupations shows the little effectiveness of evictions, only enforcing the nomadic lifestyle of the squatters. (photo taken from G1 São Paulo, 2017).



# STRONG STRUCTURE, WEAK INFILL

-  **IRREGULAR ALLOTMENT**  
Irregular settlements and neighbourhoods are no exceptional phenomenon in São Paulo's peripheries.
-  **SLUM SETTLEMENTS AND NUCLEI**  
The informal settlements take over the open spaces, residing within the urban tissue. The self-constructed city arises often in valleys and alluvial plains along metropolitan infrastructures.
-  **ZEIS- Special Areas of Social Interest**
-  **CASE STUDY - Caguassú Leste**





# **SELF-CONSTRUCTION FOR THE BETTER OR WORSE**

The first months of the occupation are characterized by a rapid, but ever changing, volatile construction of the dwelling environment. Marked by insecurity of staying and uncertainty of long-lasting legal frameworks, the dwelling environment takes the form of an ever changing, perpetually reconstructed building site, adapted to the nomadic-like lifestyle of the squatters. Although seemingly spontaneous and unplanned, the informal tissues are determined by latent planners of topography, metropolitan infrastructures and water currents. The squatted land, initially formed in the interstices of the urban fabric, piecemeal develops germs of cityness.





**LEMMA V**

**SPONTANEOUS  
CULTURE**

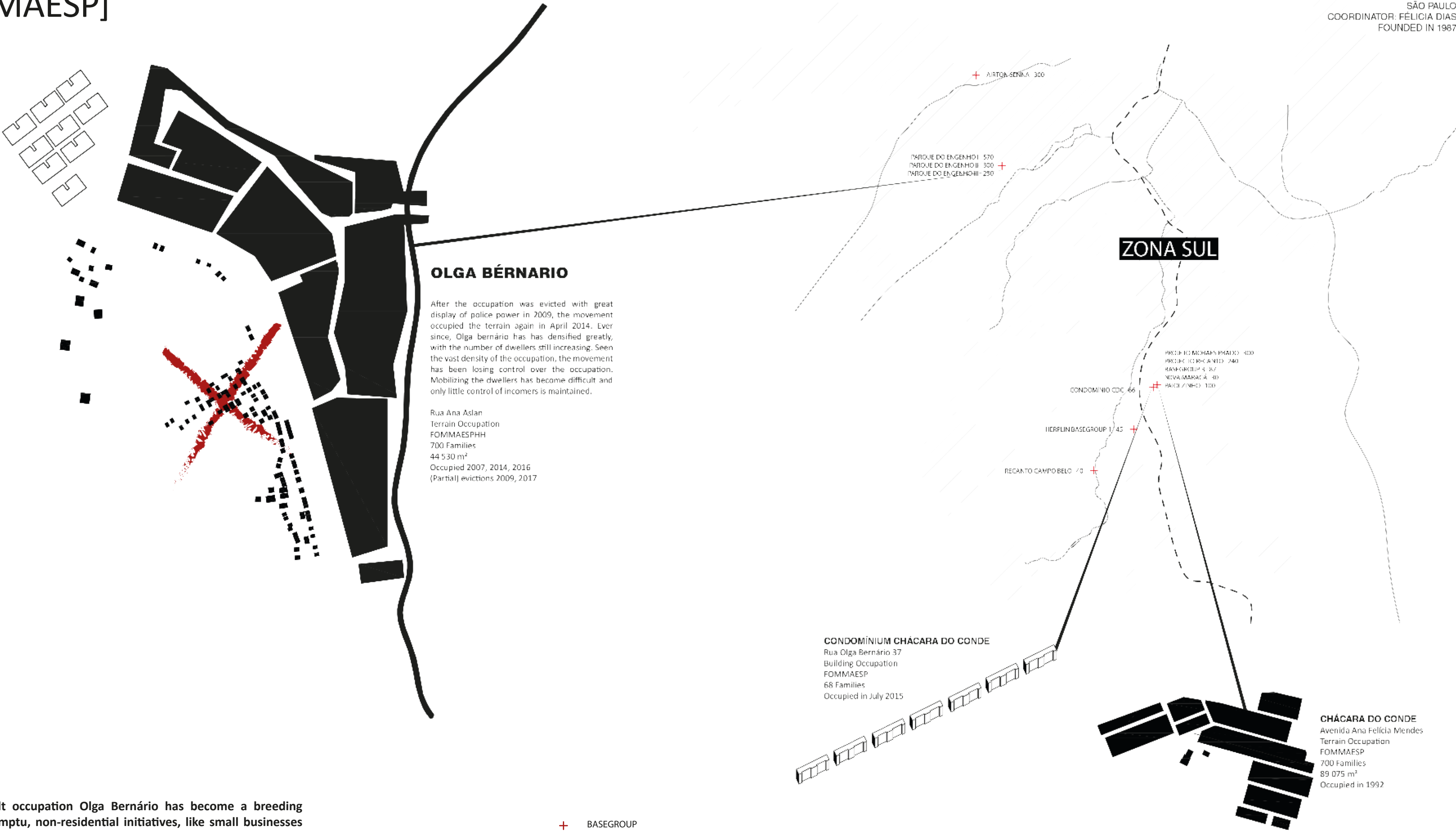


# OLGA BERNÁRIO

[FOMMAESP]

FOMMAESP

FÓRUM DE MORADIA E MEIO AMBIENTE DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO  
FORUM FOR HOUSING AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO  
COORDINATOR: FÉLÍCIA DIAS  
FOUNDED IN 1987



The densely built occupation Olga Bernário has become a breeding ground of impromptu, non-residential initiatives, like small businesses - indispensable for many households to gain a small income - recreation and facilities like schools. Although the two-year-old occupation is still far from security of tenure, the occupation illustrates how development of the dwelling culture goes beyond the sole assembly of the dwelling.



# A LONG STRUGGLE

OWNER DISAPPEARED

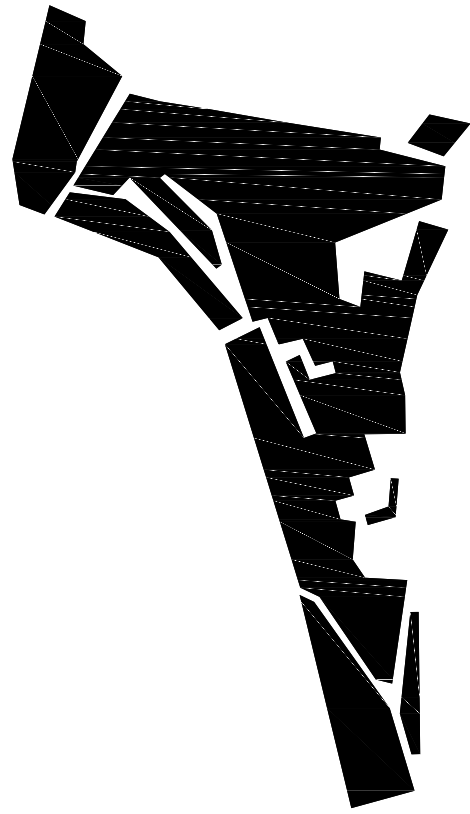


HOPE FOR SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT SINCE 1987

A social housing project for the site has been ongoing since 1987. It reached the level of entering in the Federal Economic Bank got approved in Brasília. However, the owner of the terrain, a bus company named *Campo Belo*, was not found to discuss the terms. Moreover, they were in serious debts with the World Bank, making the negotiations even harder. The abandoned terrain remained to be used as a car dumping area. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

1987

OCCUPY!



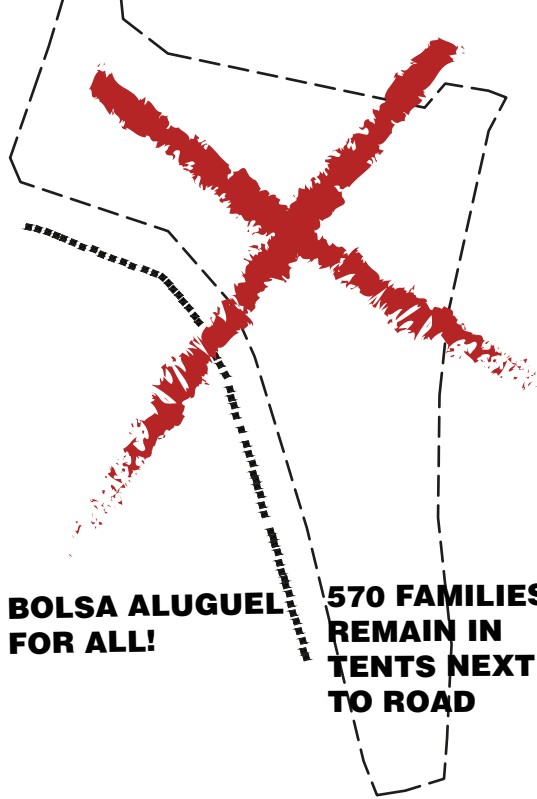
Thirty families under the banner of FOMMAESP occupied the terrain on the 26th of August 2007. A barrack was constructed out of plastic sheets and the terrain was cleaned to legitimize their claim. Although the police arrived in the morning, negotiations resulted in a provisional safeguarding of the site. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

In October 2008, *Campo Belo* asked for an eviction notice, allegedly to pay off the debts. By then, already 400 households were living on the terrain. Negotiations between the movement and the government prolonged its implementation. Meanwhile, a wall along Rua Ana Aslan was constructed by the government to shield off the occupation. Doorkeepers at its three entrances controlled the occupation. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

2007

FORCED OUT

SHOCK TROOPS VIOLENTLY EVICT TERRAIN



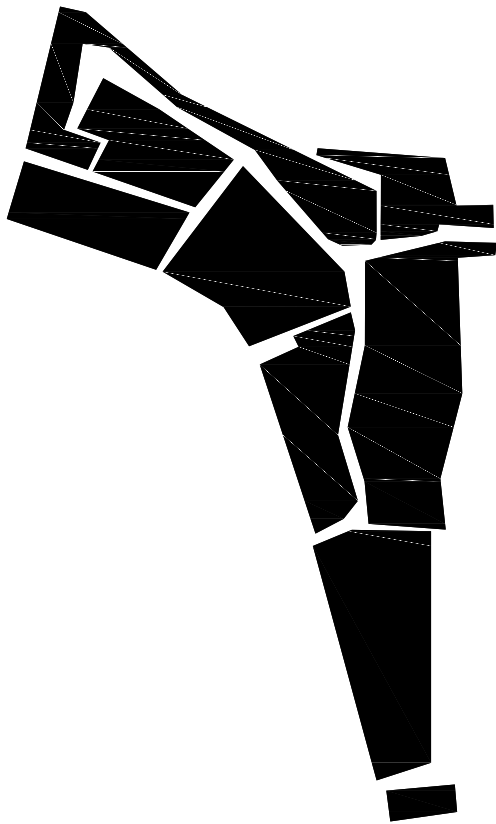
BOLSA ALUGUEL FOR ALL!

570 FAMILIES REMAIN IN TENTS NEXT TO ROAD

On the 26th of August 2009, at 4.30am, Rua Ana Aslan was barricaded by shock troops of the military police, ready to evict the occupation. In reaction, the inhabitants created barricades to delay the police to enter. However, a fire of one of the wooden dwellings forced the police to advance, using tear gas, shots and flash bombs. At 5pm, the violent standoff was still ongoing, resulting in the fire destroying the larger number of dwellings. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

After eviction, 570 families stayed put along Rua Ana Aslan for the next two weeks, living in precarious plastic shacks. Under the coordination of the movement, again reunions and negotiations were organized. CDHU, the state's social housing company, cadastred the remaining families and offered per family a *bolsa emergencial* or emergency grant of R\$ 400 per family (around 155 euros at the time) for 6 months and *bolsa aluguel* or rent support of R\$400 per month. Moreover, CDHU started negotiations for a thousand families housing project on the other side of Rua Ana Aslan – leading up to the occupation of Outubro Vermelho on the 30th of October 2016. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

2009



BACK FROM SCRATCH!

In April 2014, the terrain got reoccupied by FOMMAESP. Many of the inhabitants of the first occupation joined again this time, since the movement kept them mobilised in base groups in the mean time. Once again the terrain densified, however building in brick is not allowed. The occupation has reached about the same densification as during the eviction of 2009. Still, the inhabitants are afraid of possible eviction, increasing the difficulty for the movement to control the occupation and to organise the terrain. (Dias, fieldwork 2016)

2014

OUTOBRO VERMELHO



EXPAND!

During *Outubro Vermelho* on the 30th October 2016, the occupation expanded towards the neighbouring terrain to enforce the housing project promised by CDHU. This time, FOMMAESP joined its forces with *Povo Em Ação* or *People In Action*, another movement active in the south and as well affiliated to FLM.

The movement hoped to use the extra space to reorganize the original occupation by relocating people on the new terrain. After a few months however, most of the wooden shacks on the steep terrain remain unused, rather safeguarding a plot until there is more security of staying.

2016



PARTIALLY EVICTED BY CDHU

In June 2017, the new terrain got evicted by CDHU. Contrary to the occupation of 2009, no violence was used and everything occurred peacefully. The main terrain remained untouched.

2017





SEEN THE HIGH INSECURITY OF STAYING,  
THE COORDINATION DISCOURAGES  
CONSTRUCTING IN STONE.

THE ROAD DIVIDES THE OCCUPATION FROM  
AN AMBIENTAL AREA, OWNED BY CDHU. THE  
HILLSIDE GOT OCCUPIED DURING OUTUBRO  
VERMELHO.

AT THE FOOT OF THE AMBIENTAL AREA, PARKED CARS AND GARBAGE TAKE OVER  
THE OPEN SPACES. IN THESE OPEN SPACES, LEISURE FINDS A PLACE.

The wide road Ana Aslan connects the occupation  
within and with its surroundings. Providing  
accessibility and open space, the road clusters small  
businesses and leisure initiatives.





With the main aim to house as much people as possible, the inner occupation continues to densify. The new built dwellings continuously plugging in on the existing tissue. The narrow alleys and small open spaces offer protection for the inhabitants and give sence of community organisation.



# SMALL INITIATIVES

**BARBA'S BAR** was one of the first bars on the occupation. Félicia Dias, the main leader of FOMMAESP, does not approve of the presence of too many bars on the occupation, as alcohol might bring in violence, crime and drugs. However, the local coordination understands the bars are a popular market.

**BAR**  
Both the owner as the bartender of this bar do not live on the occupation.

**GAS SHOP**  
Many shops along Rua Ana Aslan only serve as a shop., while the owner lives elsewhere. Attracted by accessibility and visibility, micro-economies and garages take over the dwellings along Rua Ana Aslan. The coordination discourages these shops, as it takes the place of a family.

**HAIR DRESSER** Working as a barber is a popular craft within the slum settlements, since it can be hosted easily in the own house without major investments.

an **EVANGELIC CHURCH** hides within the dense tissue. The church has been built and maintained by people living in the adjoining alleys. The densified tissue comprises community driven services and facilities. The presence of the Evangelic Church has boosted its success in the poorer areas, due to its flexibility adapting to its surroundings (Gharaee, 2012). Olga Bernário houses three Evangelic Churches.

**GARBAGE** is omnipresent over the boundaries of the occupation. The inner tissue however remains quite clean.

The **AMBIENTAL AREA** is property of CDHU. The hillside was occupied by FOMMAESP during Outubro Vermelho.





EVANGELIC CHURCH

DOUBLE STOREY DWELLING

GARAGE

GAS SHOP

HAIRDRESSER

BARBA'S BAR

PARKED CARS AND WRECKAGES

CHILLING SPOT





Open spaces at the base of the ambiental area are a welcoming space for leisure. A swing for children, an improvised football field and tables with board games complement the bars across the street. The youth gathers around fires during the evenings. However, the improvised recreational spaces must compete with garbage, parked cars and car wreckages. After *Outubro Vermelho*, the spaces had to make place for new dwellings.



# SPARKS OF SPATIAL ORGANISATION



The **SEDE** is the locally used term of the public shelter. It opens towards the main square, located centrally in the occupation.

A **FRONT GARDEN** blocks cars from entering the square. Initiated by the NGO Oasis, the coordination aims to consolidate the square as a place for public gathering.

**ARTWORK** from old car tyres must embellish the square. In the form of motorcycles, they offer play objects for children.



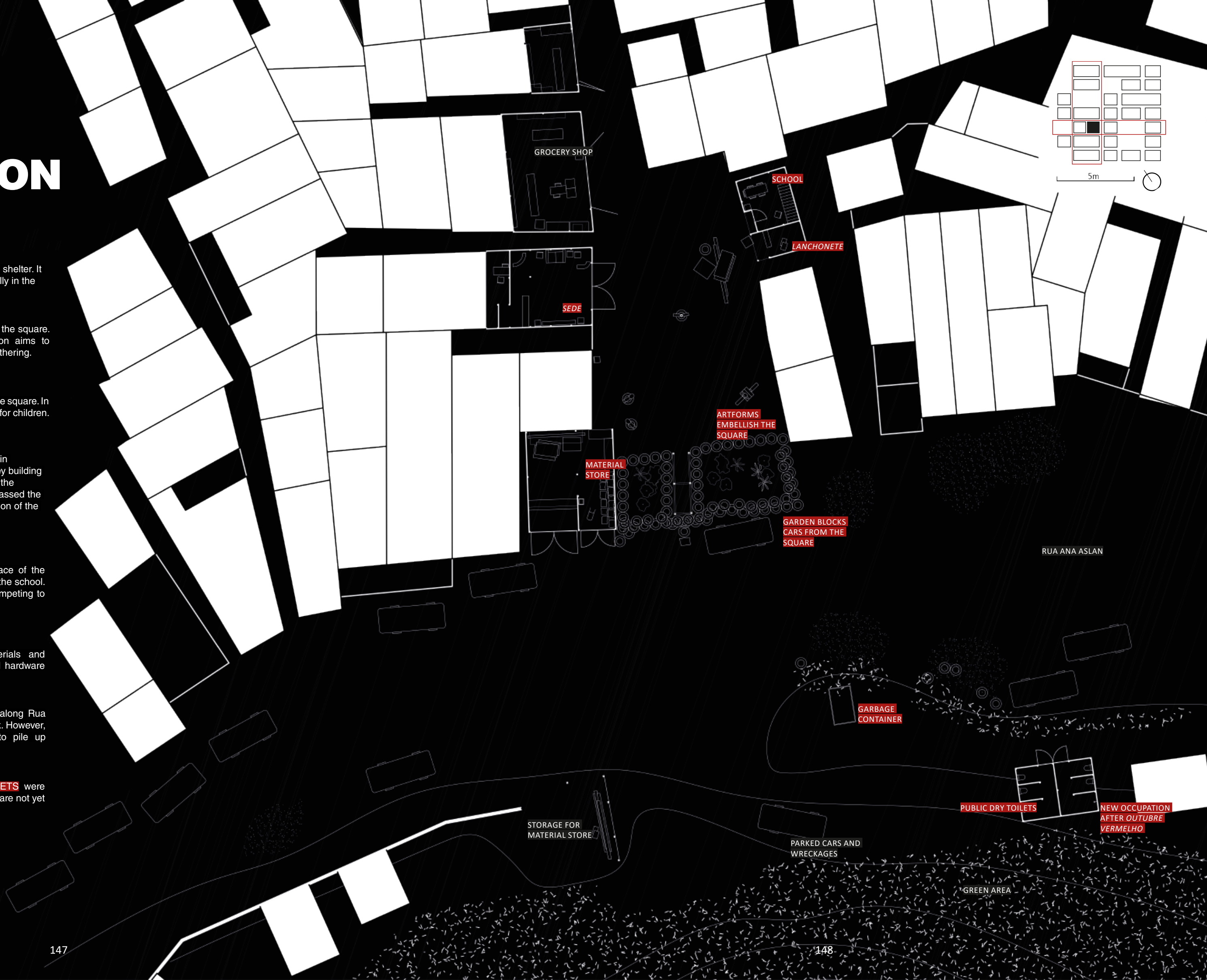
The **SCHOOL** was constructed by NGO Oasis in collaboration with the movement. The two storey building must provide guidance and care for children of the occupation. The initiatives of the NGO encompassed the construction of a two-storey school and extension of the *sede*.

A **LANCHONETE** or *snack bar* takes the place of the storage room initially included in the design of the school. Non-residential functions have a hard time competing to the residential and commercial.

**MATERIAL STORE** The demand for materials and technical knowhow led to the raise of several hardware shops and contractors.

Three **GARBAGE CONTAINERS** are spread along Rua Ana Aslan and are emptied three times a week. However, the boundaries of the occupation remain to pile up garbage.

After *Outubro Vermelho*, **PUBLIC DRY TOILETS** were provided by NGO Têto, as most new dwellings are not yet provided with sanitary.



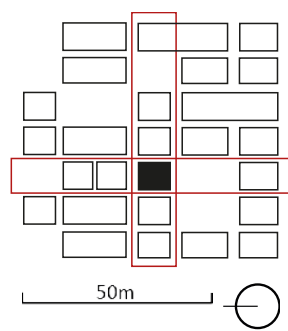




A front garden, formed with waste tires and palm trees, excludes the cars from the square. Initiated by the NGO Oasis, infrastructure works such as sewage and floor hardening are provided in the vicinity of the square.



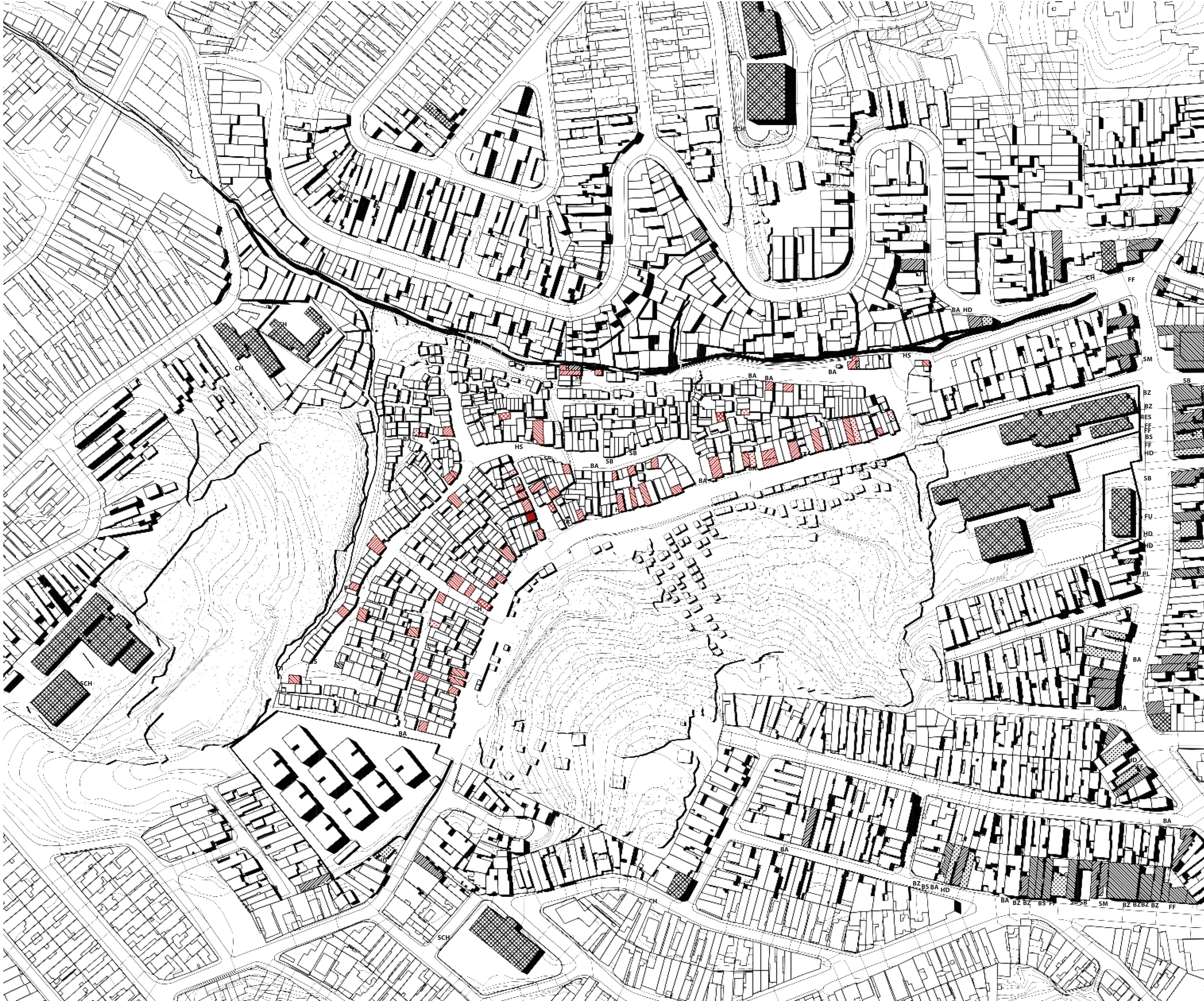
# GERMS OF CITYNESS



- PUBLIC SHELTER
- COMMERCE
- BARS AND RESTAURANTS
- PRIVATE SERVICES
- PUBLIC SERVICES

- |           |                        |            |                        |
|-----------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|
| <b>GR</b> | GROCERY STORE          | <b>BA</b>  | BAR                    |
| <b>CL</b> | CLOTHING STORE         | <b>RES</b> | RESTAURANT             |
| <b>CM</b> | CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS | <b>SB</b>  | LANCHONETE OR SNACKBAR |
| <b>FF</b> | PHOTOGRAPHY AND FILM   | <b>BS</b>  | BODY SHOP              |
| <b>GS</b> | GAS STORE              | <b>HD</b>  | HAIR DRESSER           |
| <b>HS</b> | SELLING FROM HOME      | <b>SCH</b> | SCHOOL                 |
| <b>BZ</b> | BAZAR                  | <b>CH</b>  | CHURCH                 |
| <b>FU</b> | SECOND HAND FURNITURE  | <b>UBS</b> | BASIC HEALTH UNIT      |
| <b>PL</b> | PLANTS                 |            |                        |
| <b>OI</b> | OLD IRON               |            |                        |
| <b>SM</b> | SUPERMARKET            |            |                        |

The interdependence between the occupation and its surroundings steadily augments. On the one hand, the occupation is strongly dependent on the surroundings for its job market, social infrastructures, commerce et cetera. On the other hand, the accumulated budget and workforce generate opportunities for the surroundings as well (Turner, 1969).

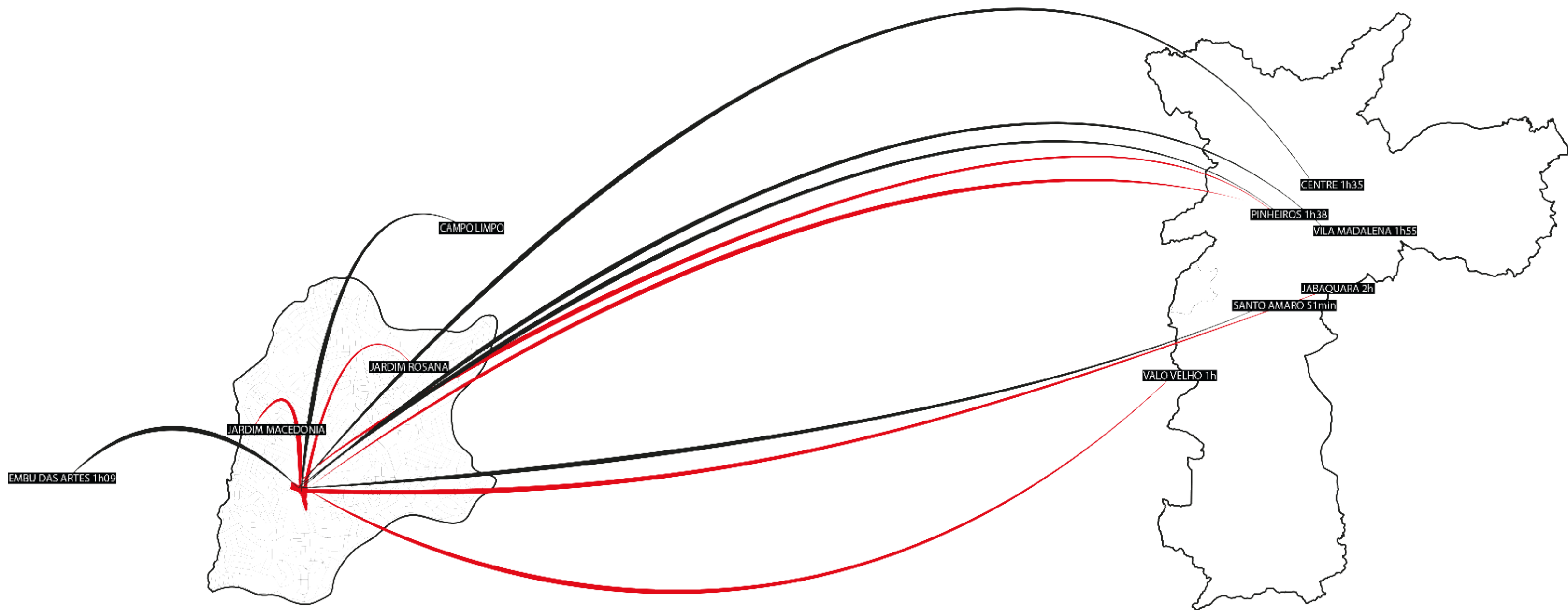








# URBAN SCALE INTERDEPENDENCE



Whether for a formal or informal jobs, the households are highly dependent on the formal market. Twelve interviews illustrate that for many people the available jobs are far from home. Squatting a terrain does not per se entail a job nearby. Of course, the ones gaining an income from a commerce on the occupation, generally rely on distributors in the formal.

WORKPLACE OF INHABITANTS.

PLACES WHERE GOODS FOR SALE IN THE OCCUPATION ARE BOUGHT.

LOCATION AND TRAVEL TIME BY PUBLIC TRANSPORT.











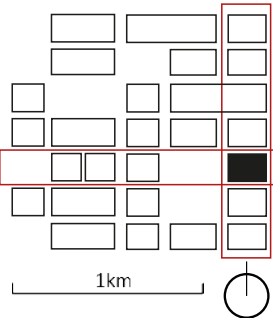
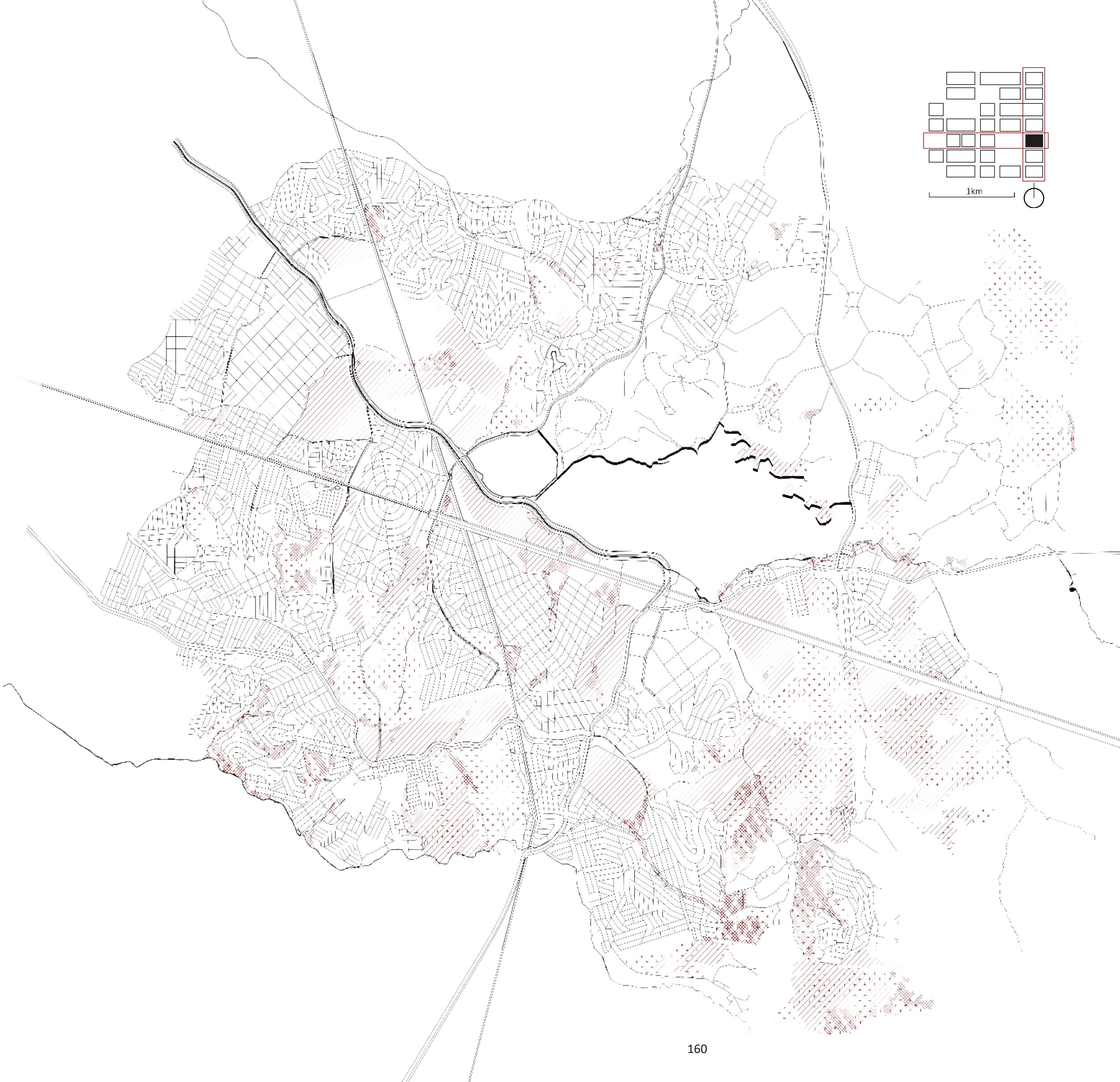
The occupation is strongly marked by its topography. The occupation inclines strongly towards the creek *Corrego do Engenho*.



# A SELF-PROVIDING CITY

-  SLUM SETTLEMENT AND NUCLEI
-  IRREGULAR ALLOTMENT
-  OLGA BERNÁRIO
-  NUMBER OF REGISTERED JOBS PER INHABITANT < 0.04
-  INDUSTRY
-  MAIN BUS AND METRO TERMINAL CAPELINHA

The district Campo Limpo has many informal settlements, while at the same time little registered job opportunities. An informal, ‘self-made’ urbanity develops in the waste areas in between these infrastructure lines. However, the inhabitants stay dependent on the rest of the city, among others for the formal job market, commerce and services. Bus and metro terminal Capelinha, centrally situated in the informal tissue, offers an indispensable connection to the rest of the city.





# **SPROUTING CITYNESS**

The non-residential is inseparably connected to the developing dwelling environment. Initiatives, both by the squatters as through collaboration between the movement and cooperatives, sprout vastly but volatile. The movement, although committed to ecology and social engagement, has difficulties in combining the residential with the non-residential and in safeguarding nature. Instead of providing open spaces, ecology and the social are ignored and even opposed.



**LEMMA VI**

# **A DERAILED MUTIRÃO**



**CHÁCARA DO CONDE I  
GRAJAÚ  
ZONA SUL**



# CHÁCARA DO CONDE

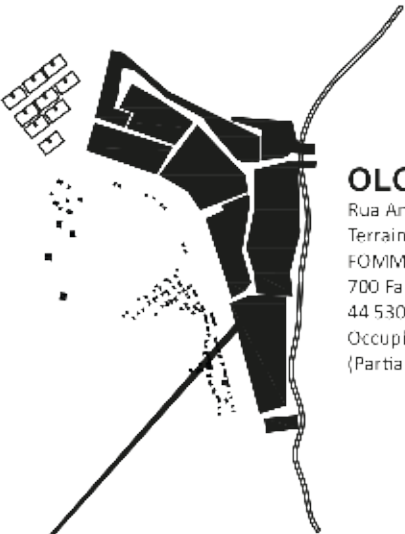
FOMMAESP

FÓRUM DE MORADIA E MEIO AMBIENTE DO ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO  
FORUM FOR HOUSING AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO  
COORDINATOR: FÉLICIA DIAS  
FOUNDED IN 1987  
TERRAIN OCCUPATIONS AND PROJECTS IN SOUTH PERIPHERY

## CHÁCARA DO CONDE I

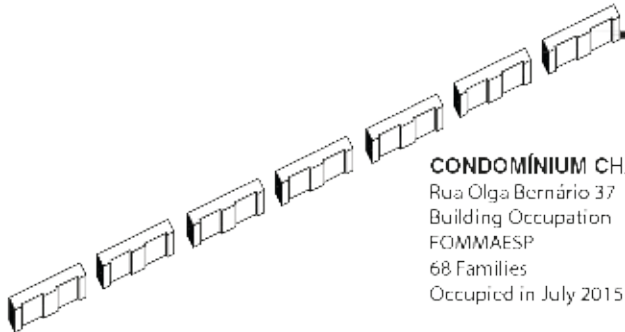
The original project was administered by Association Living and Preserving Chácara do Conde I – precursor of the current housing movement FOMMAESP. In collaboration with a technical advisory cooperative, the construction of the project initiated in 1992 with payment of FUNAPS, a Funding Programme for People in Subnormal Living Circumstances (Colla, Peeters, & Preud'homme, 2016). However, after the 1992 elections, the right-wing mayor Maluf froze all existing mutirão programs. The association took the construction on itself, continuing the plans of the technical advisory cooperative. In 2016, the occupation was regularised by the city-government.

Avenida Ana Felícia Mendes  
Terrain Occupation  
FOMMAESP  
700 Families  
89 075 m²  
Occupied in 1992



### OLGA BÉRNARIO

Rua Ana Aslan  
Terrain Occupation  
FOMMAESP  
700 Families  
44 530 m²  
Occupied 2007, 2014, 2016  
(Partial) evictions 2009, 2017



CONDOMÍNIO CHÁCARA DO CONDE II  
Rua Olga Bernário 37  
Building Occupation  
FOMMAESP  
68 Families  
Occupied in July 2015

The 25-year-old occupation Chácara do Conde stems from a ‘derailed’ *mutirão* project. A *mutirão* aims at decreasing costs of a social housing project by a certain extent of collective self-construction and self-management. After the government ceased funding for the project, the movement administering the original project proceeded the construction. Since the terrain is formally predestined for (social) housing and the building has< been preceded by spatial planning by an architectural advisory cooperative, Chácara do Conde’s spatial articulation differs greatly from FLM’s other terrain occupations.

- + BASEGROUP
- o APOIO SERVICE
- X EVICTED

## ZONA SUL

ARTESANAS 300

PARQUE DO ENGENHO I 500  
PARQUE DO ENGENHO II 300  
PARQUE DO ENGENHO III 240

PROJETO MICHAELSMARCO 400  
PROJETO B-CANTO 240  
BASEGRUPO 4 87  
NOVA MARACÁ 50  
PARC ZINHO 100

RRRRIIN RRRRGROUP 1 45

RRRRIIN RRRRGROUP 1 45

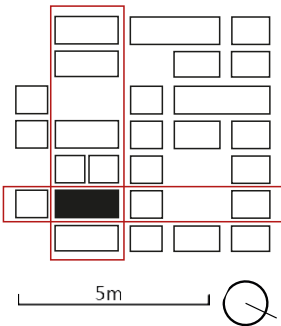




The occupation is characterized by broad asphalted roads and similar brick houses of two to three storeys. The little activity on the street and a the functional homogeneity of the urban fabric characterizes many of the residential neighbourhoods in São Paulo's far periphery.



# MINIMAL STRUCTURE



Amidst the provided structure however, the self-constructing inhabitant deviated whenever opportune or necessary. As such, a balance between variety and homogeneity characterizes the occupation.

INITIALLY, INFRASTRUCTURES REMAINED RATHER SUBSTANDARD OR ABSENT. AFTER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CITY GOVERNMENT, A WATER AND ELECTRICITY NETWORK WAS INSTALLED IN 2000. IN 2008, THE ROADS GOT PAVED WITH THE INSTALLATION OF A SEWAGE SYSTEM

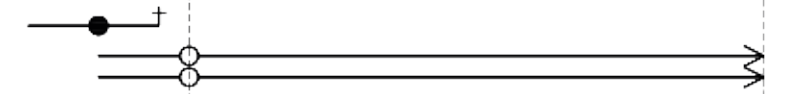
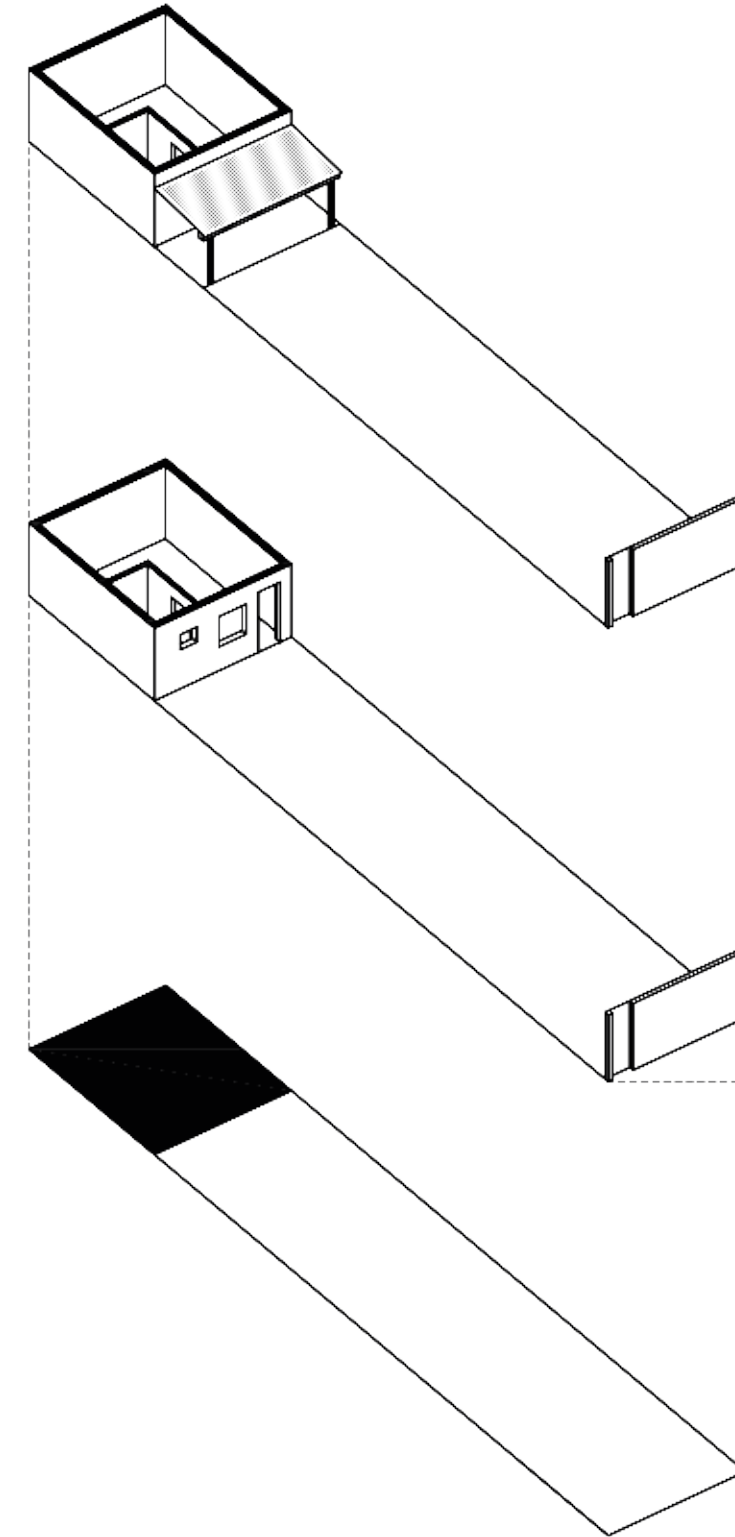
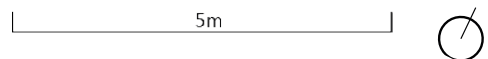
AN ADVISORY COOPERATIVE PROPOSED A STANDARD FLOORPLAN OF 25 BY 5 SQ. METERS. THE DWELLERS FOLLOWED THIS STRUCTURE TO THEIR BEST POTENTIALS.





To facilitate the continuation of the project, a brick machine was bought for 2.000 R\$. In the first six months an estimated 76 thousand bricks were produced (Félicia Dias, Fieldwork 2016). Photo from Félicia Dias.



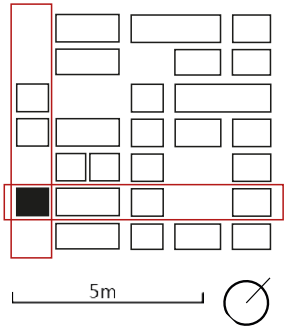


The house got extended with a small canopy and Elisabeth started to look after the rest of terrain, creating a pleasant garden.

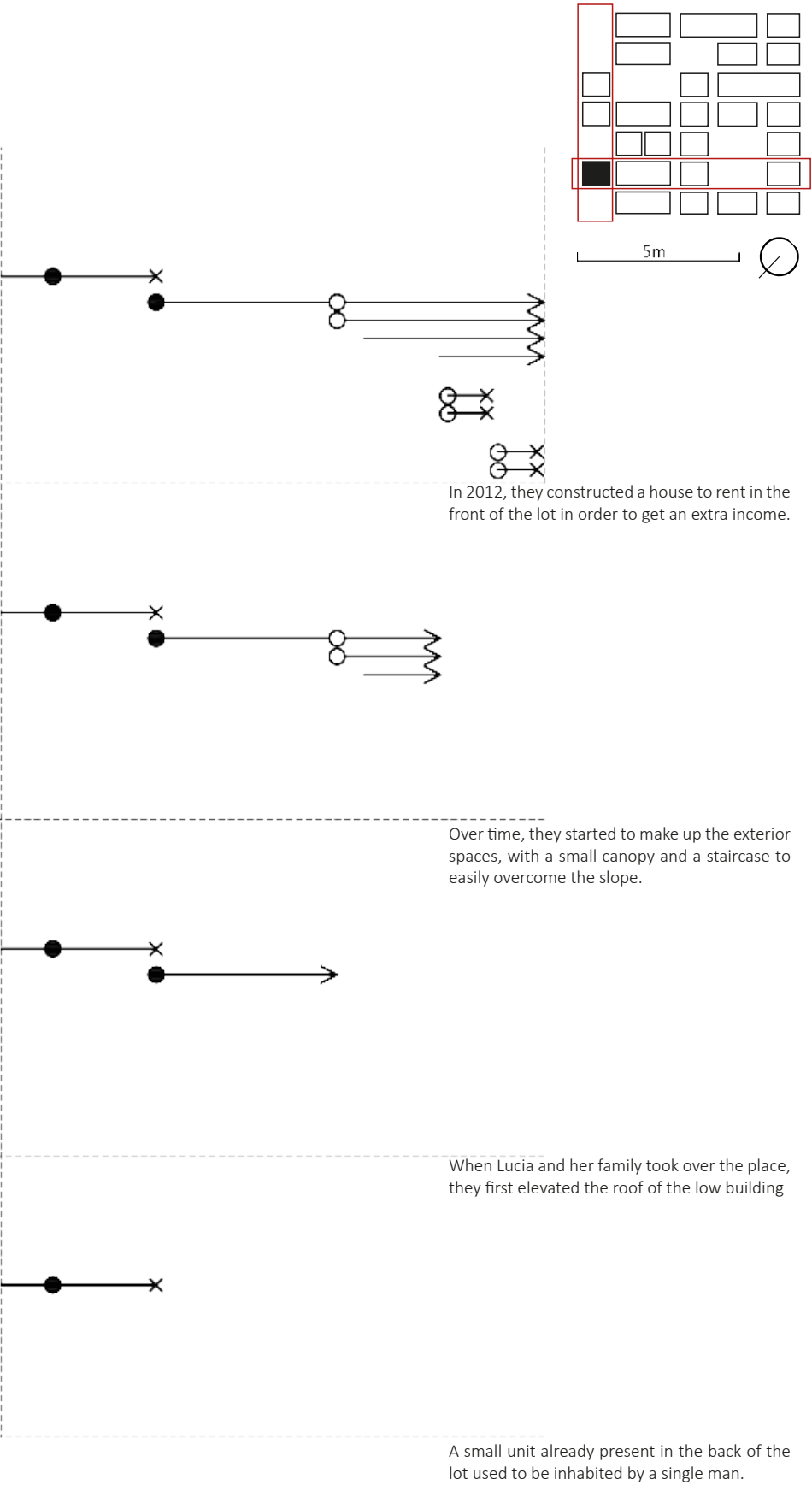
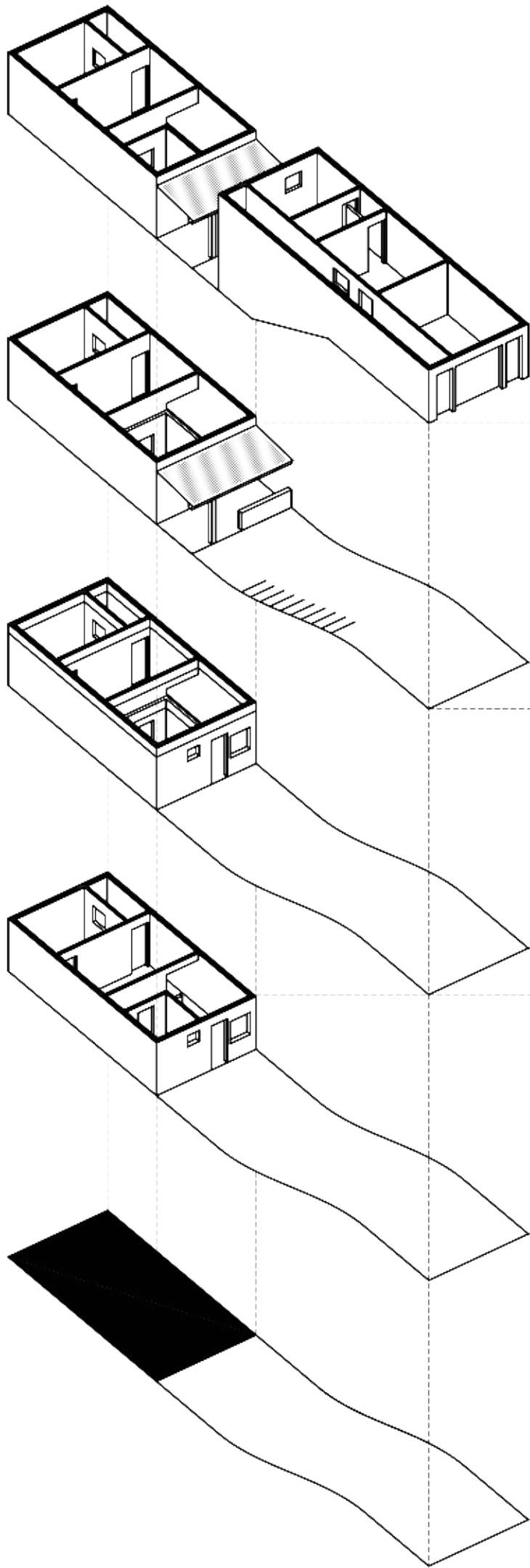
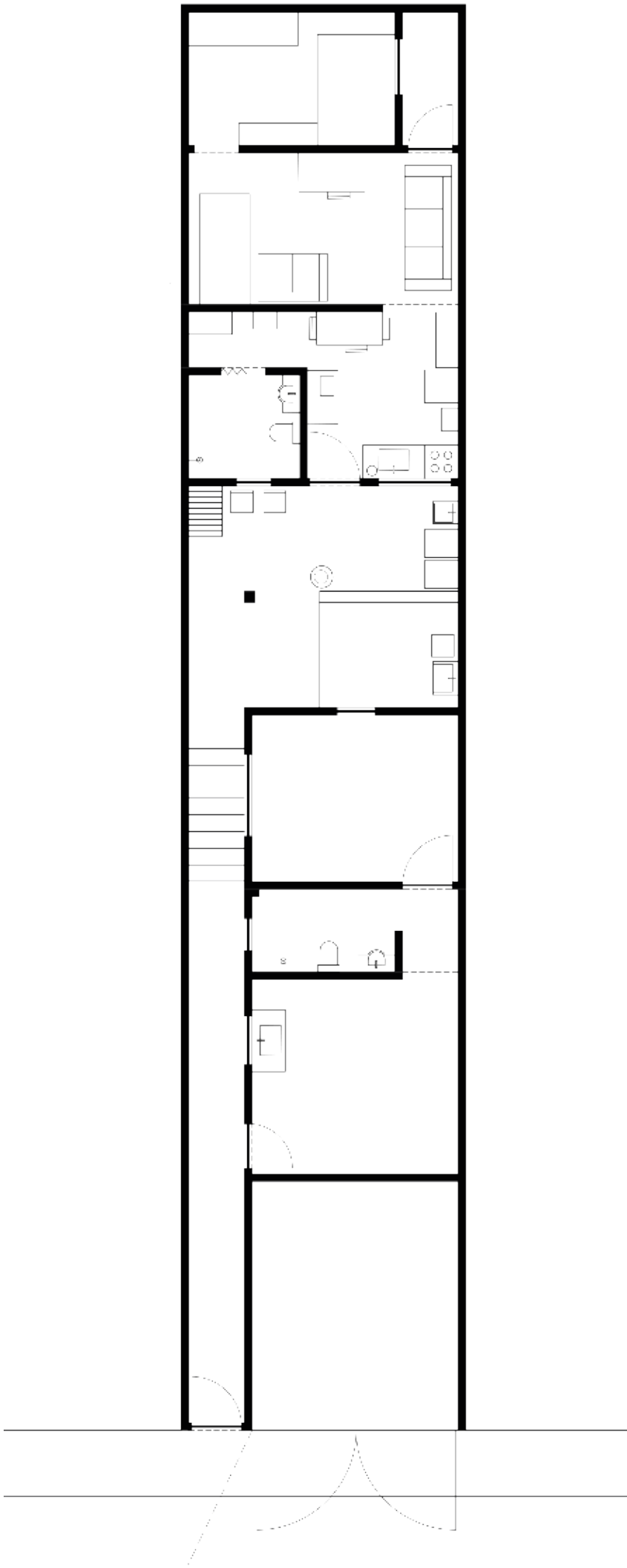


She started out by constructing a two room dwelling against the back wall of the plot.

When Elisabeth ended up on the street in 1999 she did not have the financial means to construct a house according to the proposed plan. However, since she had been a dedicated member of the movement for four years, Felícia allowed her to build a small brick unit at the back of a lot. During the 17 years of her stay in Chácara do Conde, she hardly extended her house.

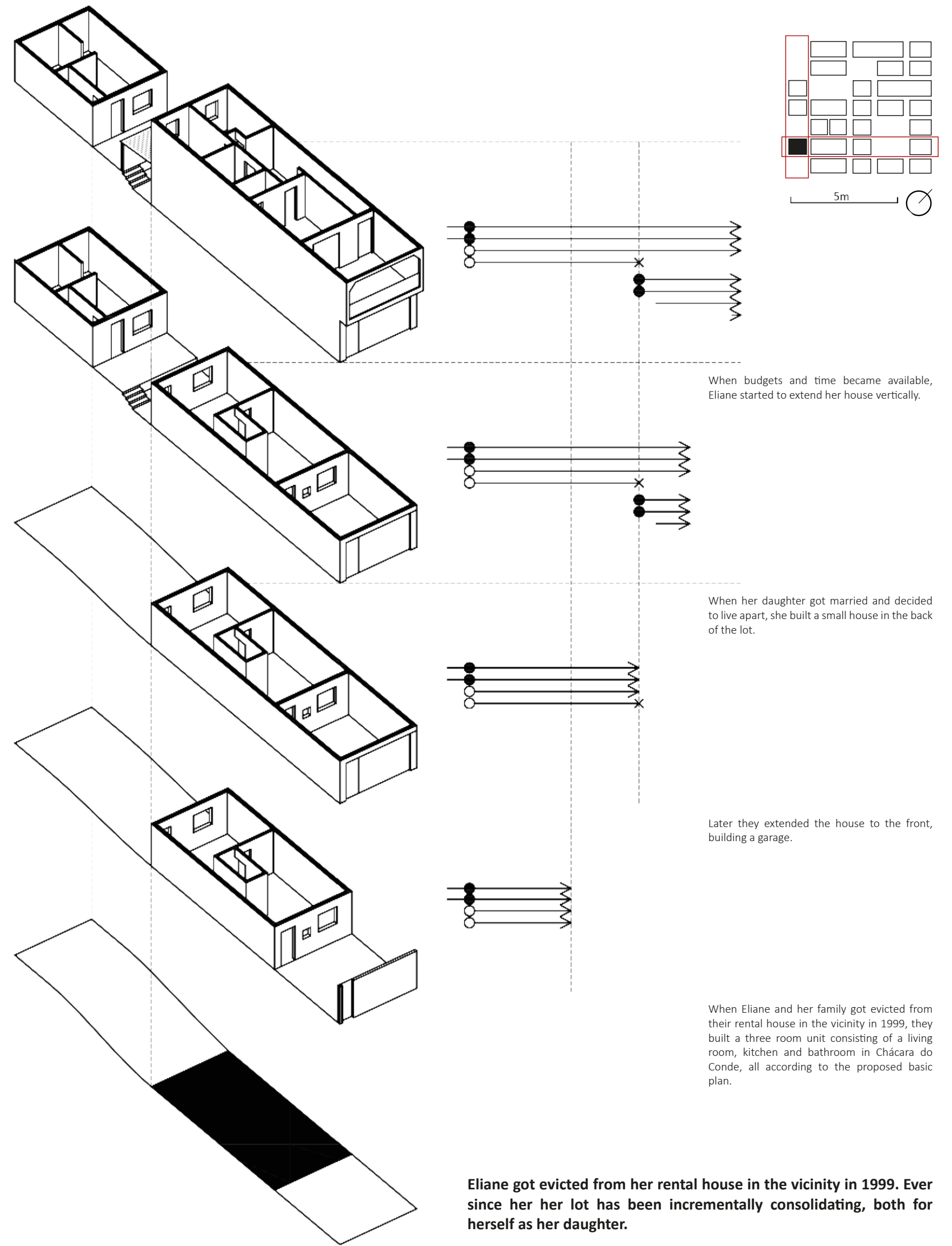
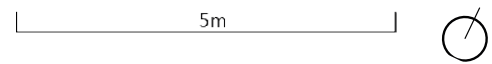






Lucia and her husband took over a small lot in 2008, now partially using it to make profit.





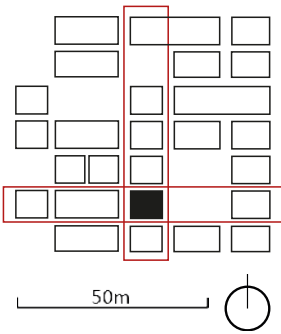







Although seemingly well consolidated, the neighbourhood is in continuous state of construction. The incremental growth breaks the similarity of the houses.



# COMMUNITY FACILITIES



- |      |                |                                                                                                                                   |
|------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1992 | PUBLIC SHELTER | The REUNION HALL was the first building to be constructed during the early stages of the mutirão.                                 |
| 1994 | GD             | A VEGETABLE GARDEN, covering about 4.000 m² has been maintained by one of the inhabitants since the beginning of the project.     |
| 2000 | FB             | Two FOOTBALL FIELDS were laid out on the terrain by the city government. Also teams from outside Chácara play their matches here. |
| 2006 | UBS            | A Basic Health Unit offers free medical services. The UBS was negotiated by FOMMAEP and one of the (paradepaardjes).              |
| 2011 | SQ             | Public squares with urban furniture.                                                                                              |
| 2014 | CH             | Catholic CHURCH. Three smaller lots are occupied by Evangelic churches.                                                           |
| 2015 | CE             | CENTRE FOR ELDERLY.                                                                                                               |

-  By movement's initiative and negotiations
-  Public shelter
-  By other actor







Besides an environmental protected area, the non-residential spaces provide sportsfields and agriculture. In the background lies the social housing project Chácara do Conde II.

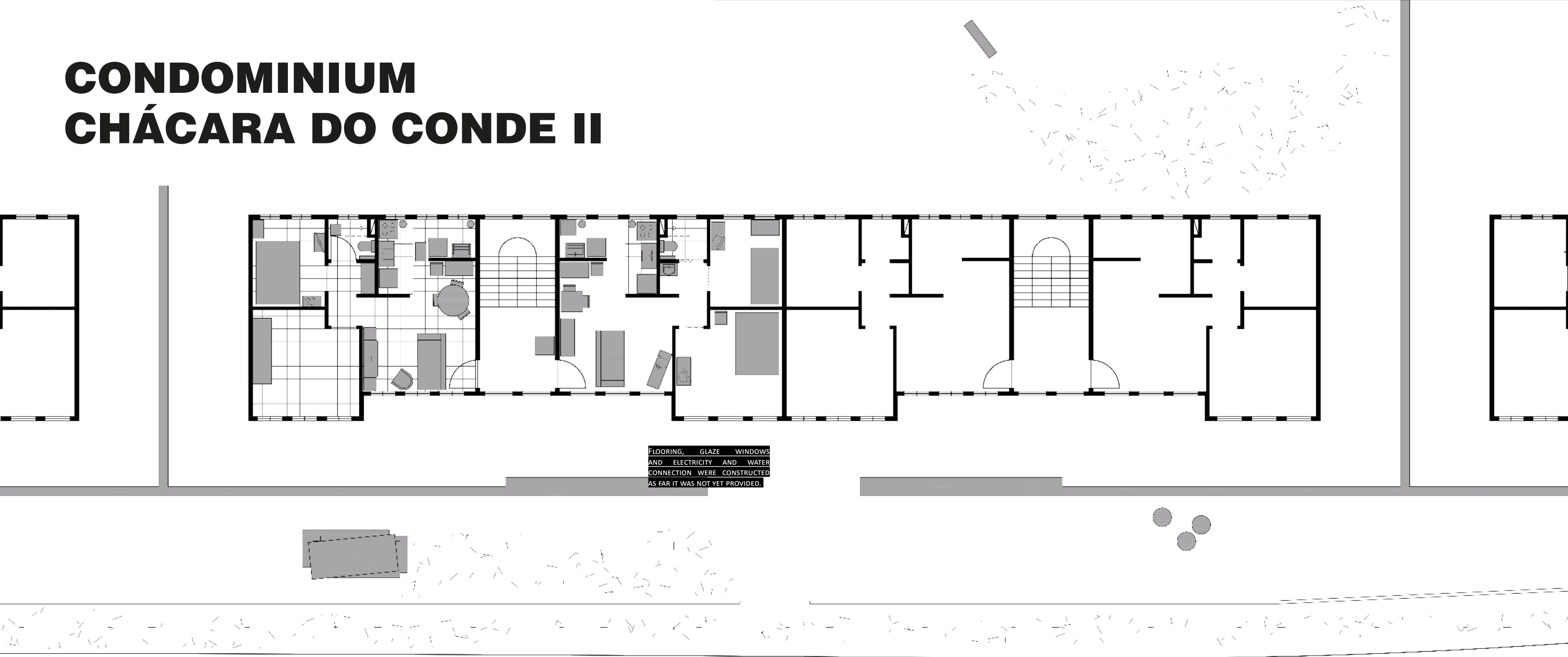




The agricultural garden was initiated by one of the residents in the first years of the occupation. Nowadays, th garden has expanded remarkably.



# CONDOMINIUM CHÁCARA DO CONDE II



The condominium Chacara do Conde II was initiated as a project of the federal housing program *Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades*. The project was initiated in 2009 on the terrain of Chácara do Conde. The project was aimed to be finished by 2011. However, after years of abandonment, the condominium got occupied by FOMMAESP in 2015.

Although the construction works were well advanced, they got interrupted in 2013. In respons, FOMMAESP occupied the condominium for one week and the works restarted. However, when the construction site was abandoned again, FOMMAESP occupied the building for a second time, this time permanently. Claiming only what was agreed to them, they occupied 68 of the 84 apartments to house their *demanda*.

Since the main structure was already well developed and water and electricity were laid out, the demanda only had to take care of the finishings like doors, windows, floor tilings and plastering and painting the walls. The different rates of self-construction, financial capabilities and taste resulted in a great variety of interiors, all fitted in the same structural frame.







VAGI

55800

55800

55800

55800

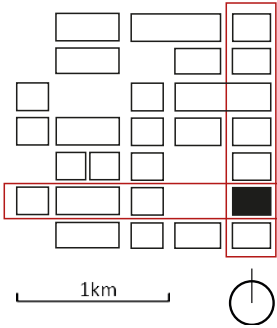
Del Rio



# URBAN FACILITIES

- Public education
- Private education
- Subsidized education
- Other education
- UBS - Unidade Básica de Saúde - Basic Health Post
- Hospital
- Emergency Service
- Mental Health
- STD - AIDS Unit
- Health surveillance
- Fire Fighters
- Civil Police
- Military Police
- Civil Metropolitan Guard
- Museum
- Theatre and Cinema
- Cultural Centre
- Library
- Sports facility
- case
- informal and precarious settlements

Due to its geographical isolation in between the reservoirs Billings and Guarapiranga, the area needs to be self-provisional in terms of social facilities and infrastructures. As such, the facilities, such as negotiated for Chácara de Conde, do not serve solely its inhabitants, but are at interest of the several neighbourhoods in the area.





# **MINIMAL STRUCTURE, MISCELLANEOUS INFILL**

The development of Chácara do Conde is characterized by an organic infill of a minimal structure, predefined by an architectural cooperative. This structure translates both on the scale of the dwelling, with an improvised and incremental infill of a basic floorplan, as on the scale of the entire neighbourhood. The spatial determination of an ambient ecological protection area and the infill of green structures, leisure and social provisions show the concerns of the movement – at least once housing is sufficiently safeguarded - towards ecology and social. Most often, the implementation only succeeds in collaboration between the movement and external cooperatives or the city government.



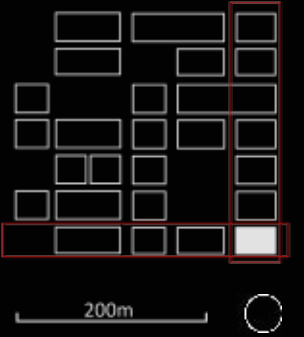


**LEMMA VII**

**DESIGNING  
INCLUSION?**



# A SCATTERED VALLEY





# ALTERED LANDSCAPE

THE BUILT TISSUE BLOCKS THE WATER FLOW RESULTING IN UNNATURAL CONCENTRATIONS OF WATER

ROADS GUIDE THE RAINWATER STRAIGHT DOWN, LEADING TO UNCONTROLLED WATER FLOWS AND LITTLE ABSORPTION

INFLECTION LINE  
Pronounced topographical CRACKS cluster along these inflection lines and emphasize the idea of an 'upper' and 'lower' city. They are either steep natural slopes or result from urbanization processes. Due to the many human interventions, the WATERBODY in the valley has been strongly disturbed.

CONTOUR OCCUPATION

100m

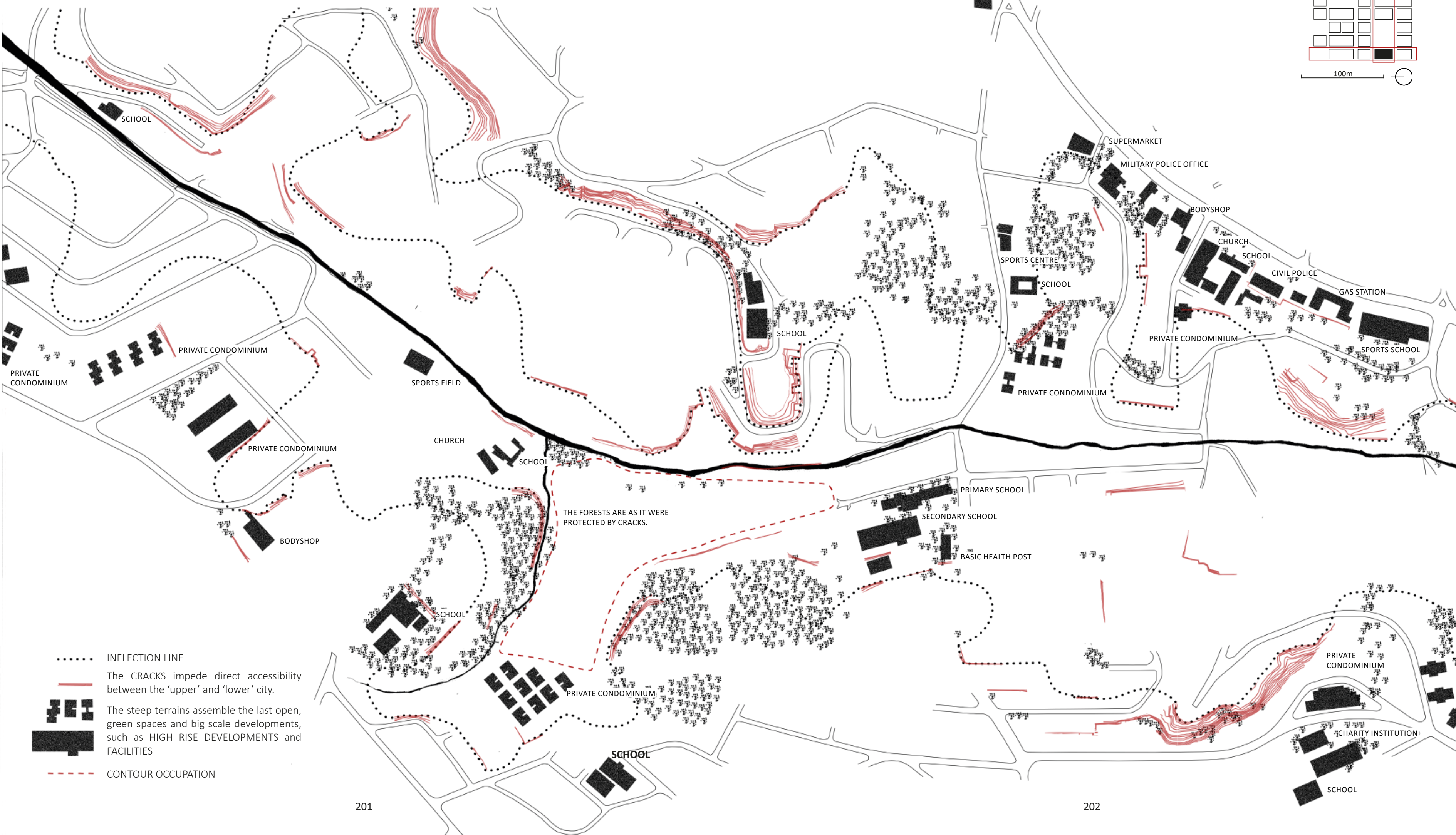
ROADS GUIDE THE RAINWATER STRAIGHT DOWN, LEADING TO UNCONTROLLED WATER FLOWS AND LITTLE ABSORPTION.

Pronounced topographical CRACKS cluster along these inflection lines and emphasize the idea of an 'upper' and 'lower' city. They are either steep natural slopes or result from urbanization processes. Due to the many human interventions, the WATERBODY in the valley has been strongly disturbed.

A diagram of a 100m x 100m field. The field is represented by a large rectangle with a vertical line on the right side and a horizontal line at the bottom, both labeled '100m'. Inside the field, there are several rectangular obstacles of various sizes. A red rectangle highlights a specific area in the top-left corner of the field. A black circle with a dot in the center represents a robot, positioned at the top-right corner of the field.



## DETACHED TISSUE



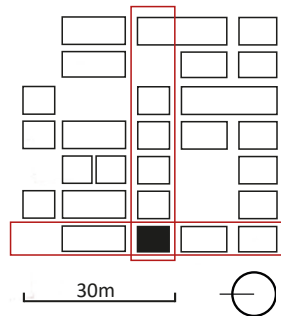




Even the occupation rage during *Outubro Vermelho* did not reach the green above the cracks. Impeding accessibility proved to be the best form of ecologic protection.



# A PATCHWORK OF PLATEAUS



LITTLE ABSORPTION OF WATER AND NO RESTRICTION IN ITS FLOW LEAD TO EROSION, FLOODING OF DWELLINGS AND CRITICAL OVERLOADS OF THE CREEK.

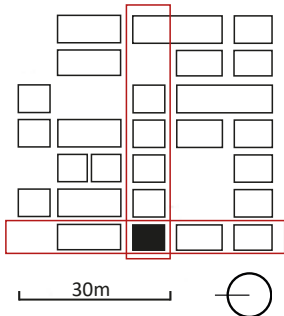
DEFORESTATION OF STEEP HILLS ENHANCES EROSION.

THE FOREST ON THE WESTERN HILLSIDE GOT HEAVILY SCARRED IN THE AFTERMATH OF OUTUBRO VERMELHO.

As the dwellings excavate themselves into the sloping landscape, a mosaic of micro-cracks and related hardened platforms complements the macrocracks, identified along the inflection line.



# GUIDING THE WATER



FORESTING HILLSIDES INCREASES  
WATER ABSORPTION AND  
STABILIZATION OF THE SOIL.

THE VALLEY KEEPS ITS  
STRAIGHT FLOW. THIS AREA  
REMAINS UNBUILT.

A MAZE OF RETAINING WALLS  
BENDS THE WATER FLOWS. THE  
RETAINING WALLS PLUG IN ON THE  
EXISTING MICRO CRACKS, DRAINING  
THE DWELLINGS.

A SMALL WATERSHED COLLECTS THE WATER  
RUNNING DOWN RUA ANA ASLAN BEFORE IT  
ENTERS THE CREEK

TRENCHES RETAIN WATER FOR  
AGROFORESTRY.



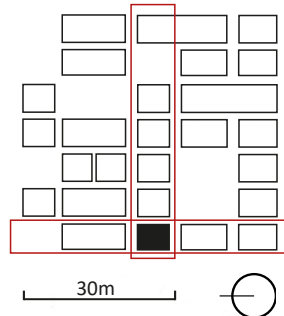
Stabilizing the cracks by retention walls and draining the dwellings  
form the pretext to temper the waterflows.



Cracks left untouched



# MULTIPURPOSE CRACKS



A CULTURAL CENTRE AND SPORT CENTRE REINTEGRATES THE ISOLATED FOREST WITH THE 'CITY'.

TERRACES MITIGATE THE STEEPNESS ALONGSIDE THE CREEK. THESE TERRACES GIVE PLACE TO REEDBEDS TO FILTER THE OCCUPATION'S SEWAGE.

IN THE VALLEY, WHERE GUIDING THE WATERFLOWS THROUGH THE MAZE IS MORE DIFFICULT, DWELLINGS ARE REMOVED AND VEGETATION IMPEDES EROSION.

TREES LIKE ALBIZIA LEBBEK IMPROVE WATER INFILTRATION AND THROW SHADE ON THE SQUARES.

THE EXISTING SCHOOL GETS ABSORBED IN THE FOREST.





A COMMUNITY CENTRE PROVIDES CLASSROOMS FOR THE SCHOOLS, COLLECTIVE SPACE FOR ASSEMBLIES OF BOTH THE OCCUPATION AS FOR THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, OR FOR YOUTH TO COME TOGETHER. ALL THESE INTEREST GROUPS ARE TO CLAIM THE FOREST.

A PATH RUNS THROUGH THE FOREST, CONNECTING THE FACILITIES FROM ABOVE

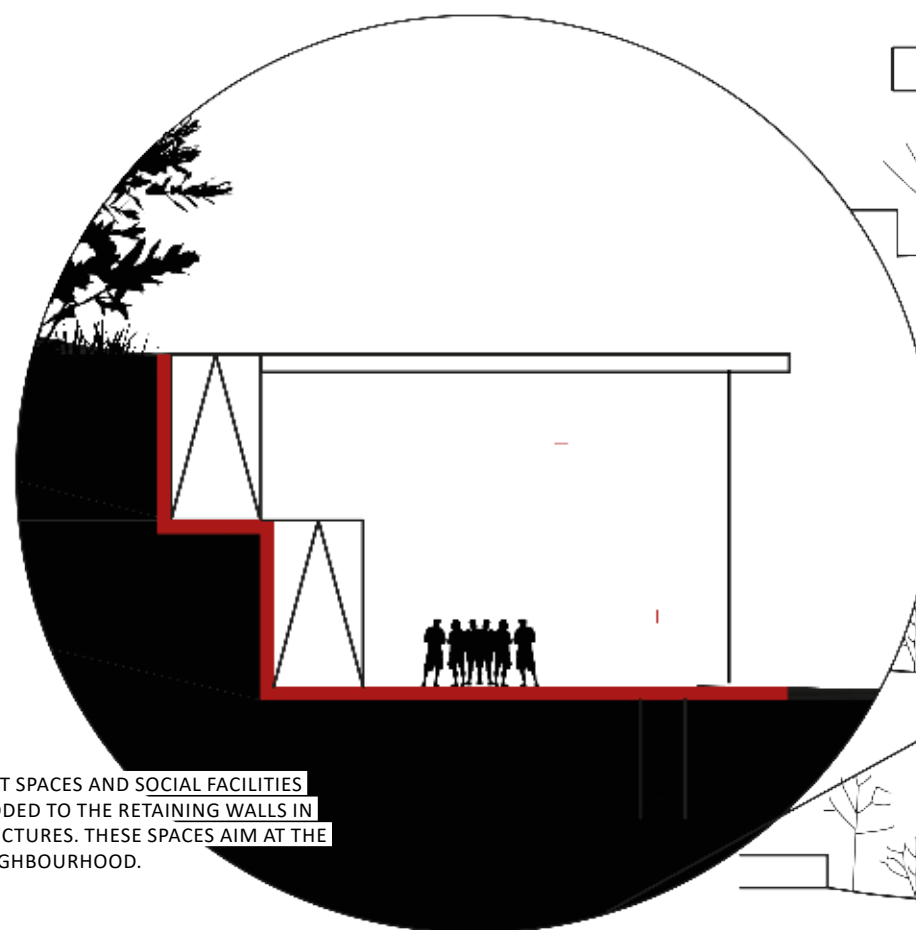
AGROFORESTRY PROVIDES PRODUCTIVE REFORESTATION.

THE OPEN AREAS ARE MAINLY OF SOFT INFILL TO KEEP WATER INFILTRATION POSSIBLE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. STEP STONES COMPLIMENT THE CONCRETE PLATEAUS OF THE DWELLINGS AND THE CONCRETE PLATFORMS IN THE SURROUNDINGS.

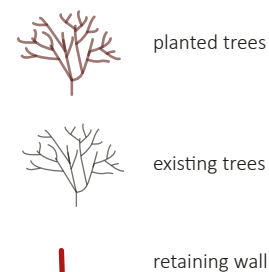
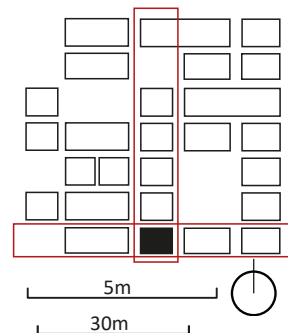
AN OPEN, POLYVALENT BOX PROVIDES SPACE FOR MANUFACTURING, MARKETS, GARBAGE COLLECTION, SPORTS ET CETERA.

-  Social facilities embedded in the cracks safeguard the ecological by providing a continuous use and accessibility. Urban facilities with a broader scope than the occupation include the entire neighbourhood to the forest.
-  Retaining walls shape the composition of squares of distinct sizes. Their scope ranges from small communities to the entire occupation.
-  Rua Ana Aslan gets downgraded to a trail through the forest, however still providing accessibility to the occupation. An 'upper' trail connects the green with its surroundings. Both the upper and lower trail connect through the facilities.
-  Retaining walls stabilizing the microcracks both consolidate the existing dwellings as offer the substrate to implement new housing. Where considered necessary, dwellings are relocated to underscore a continuous retention wall.

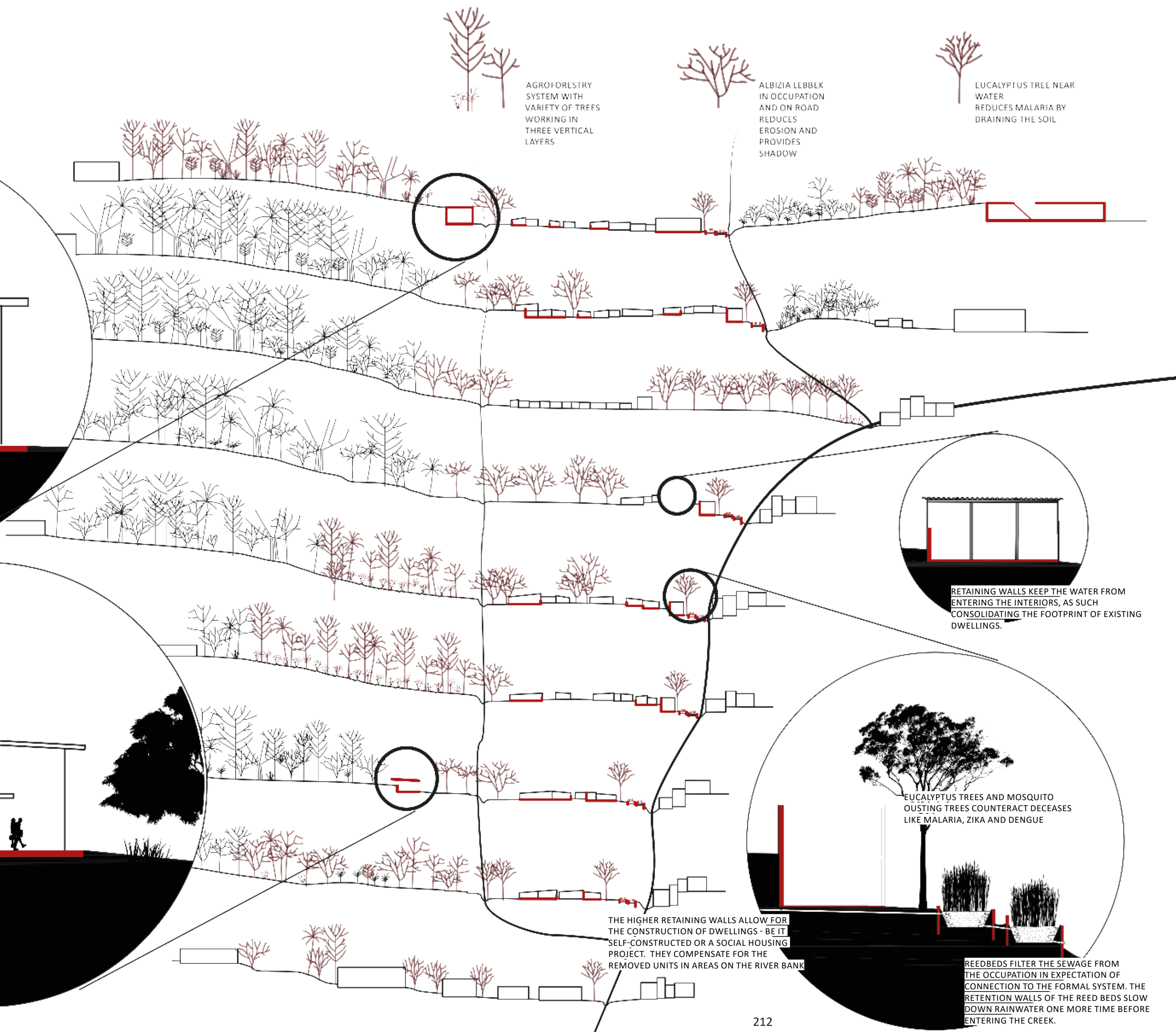




POLYVALENT SPACES AND SOCIAL FACILITIES ARE EMBEDDED TO THE RETAINING WALLS IN LIGHT STRUCTURES. THESE SPACES AIM AT THE ENTIRE NEIGHBOURHOOD.



INSTEAD OF IMPEDING ACCESSIBILITY, THE CRACKS NOW OFFER ACCESSIBILITY BETWEEN THE UPPER AND LOWER TRAILS. THE SEVERAL INTEREST GROUPS MAKING USE OF THE SOCIAL FACILITIES CLAIM THE FOREST, THUS ALSO CHANGING ITS UTILITY VALUE.



AGROFORESTRY SYSTEM WITH VARIETY OF TREES WORKING IN THREE VERTICAL LAYERS

ALBIZIA LEBBEK IN OCCUPATION AND ON ROAD REDUCES EROSION AND PROVIDES SHADOW

EUCALYPTUS TREE NEAR WATER REDUCES MALARIA BY DRAINING THE SOIL

RETAINING WALLS KEEP THE WATER FROM ENTERING THE INTERIORS, AS SUCH CONSOLIDATING THE FOOTPRINT OF EXISTING DWELLINGS.

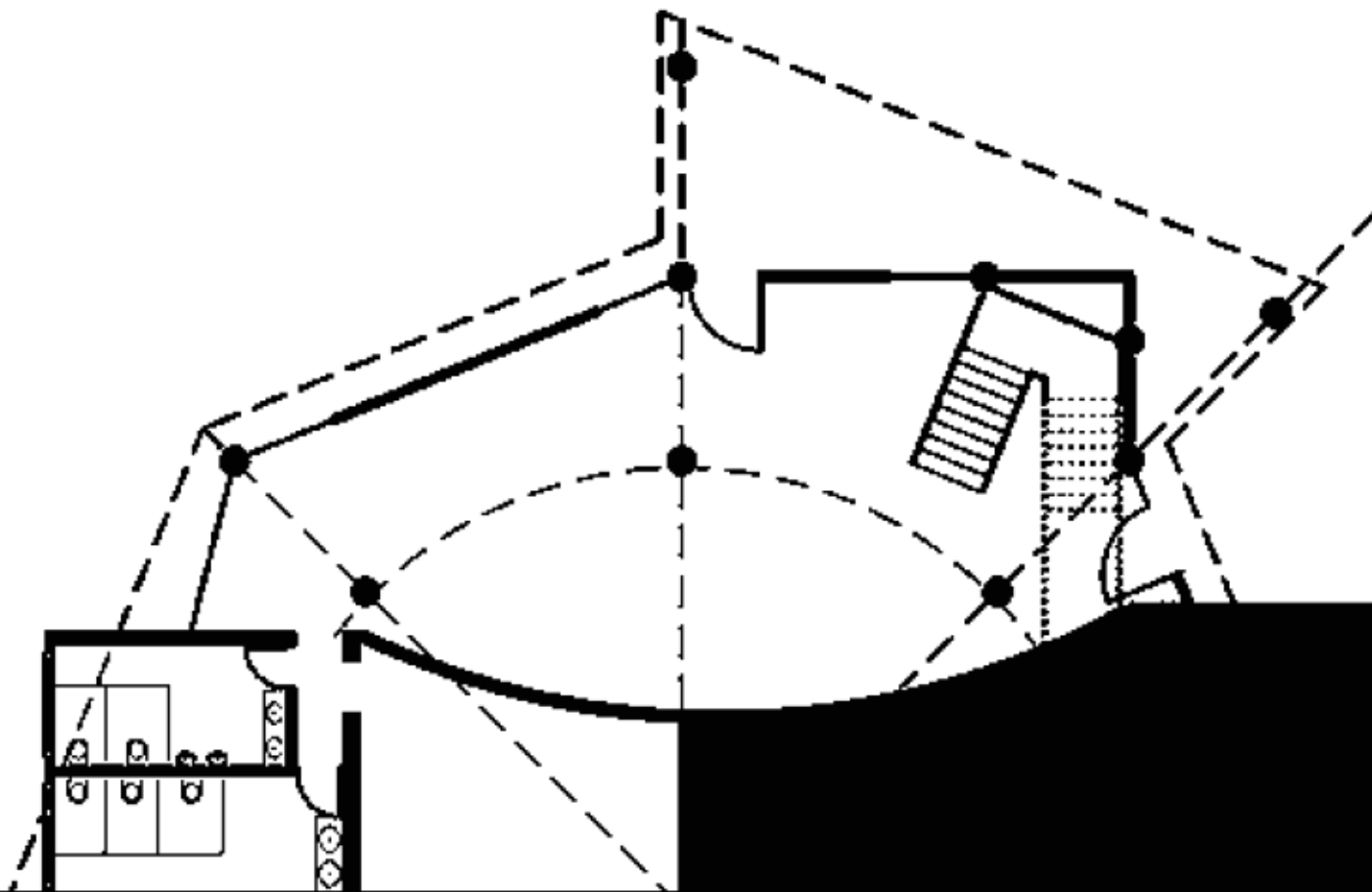
EUCALYPTUS TREES AND MOSQUITO OUSTING TREES COUNTERACT DECEASES LIKE MALARIA, ZIKA AND DENGUE

THE HIGHER RETAINING WALLS ALLOW FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF DWELLINGS - BE IT SELF-CONSTRUCTED OR A SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT. THEY COMPENSATE FOR THE REMOVED UNITS IN AREAS ON THE RIVER BANK

REEDBEDS FILTER THE SEWAGE FROM THE OCCUPATION IN EXPECTATION OF CONNECTION TO THE FORMAL SYSTEM. THE RETENTION WALLS OF THE REED BEDS SLOW DOWN RAINWATER ONE MORE TIME BEFORE ENTERING THE CREEK.



# LESSONS FROM **FORMATION CENTRE MST**



The Formation Centre of Landless Movement MST adapts to the natural topography through a central staircase. The building is conceived as a single roof, as such creating an open space without hierarchy. This upset is in accordance to the movement's idea of collectiveness and equality. Not only the architecture refers to an urban dimension arising in the rural community of MST, also the mixed program of education, sports and leisure brings in urbanity (USINA, N.D)

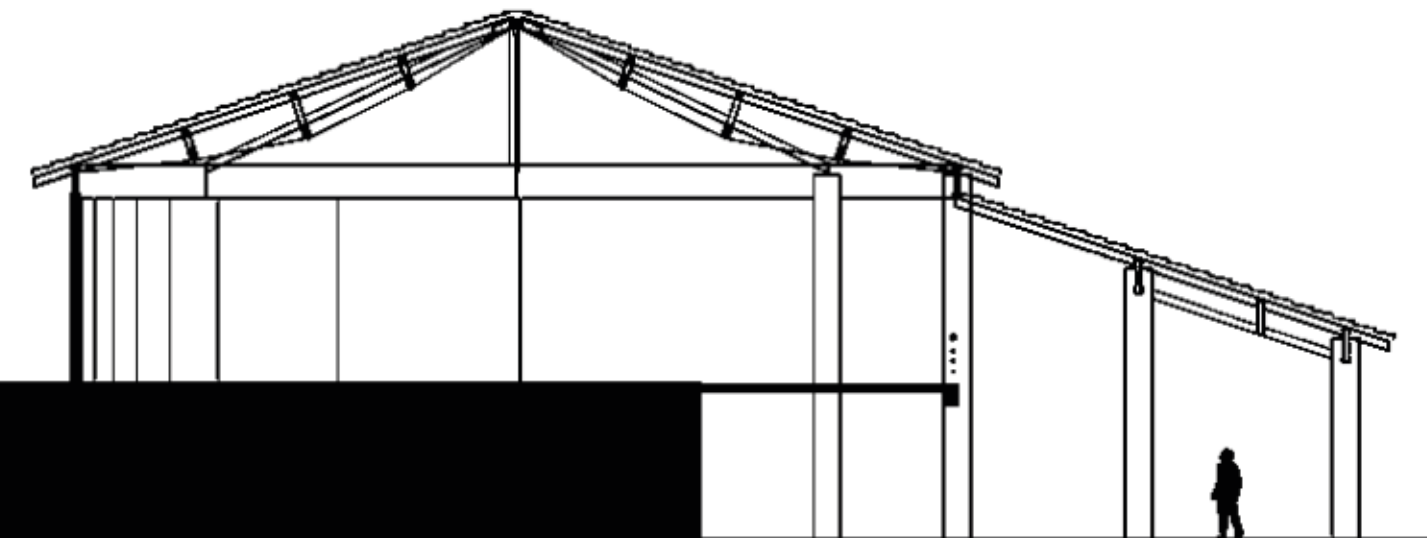
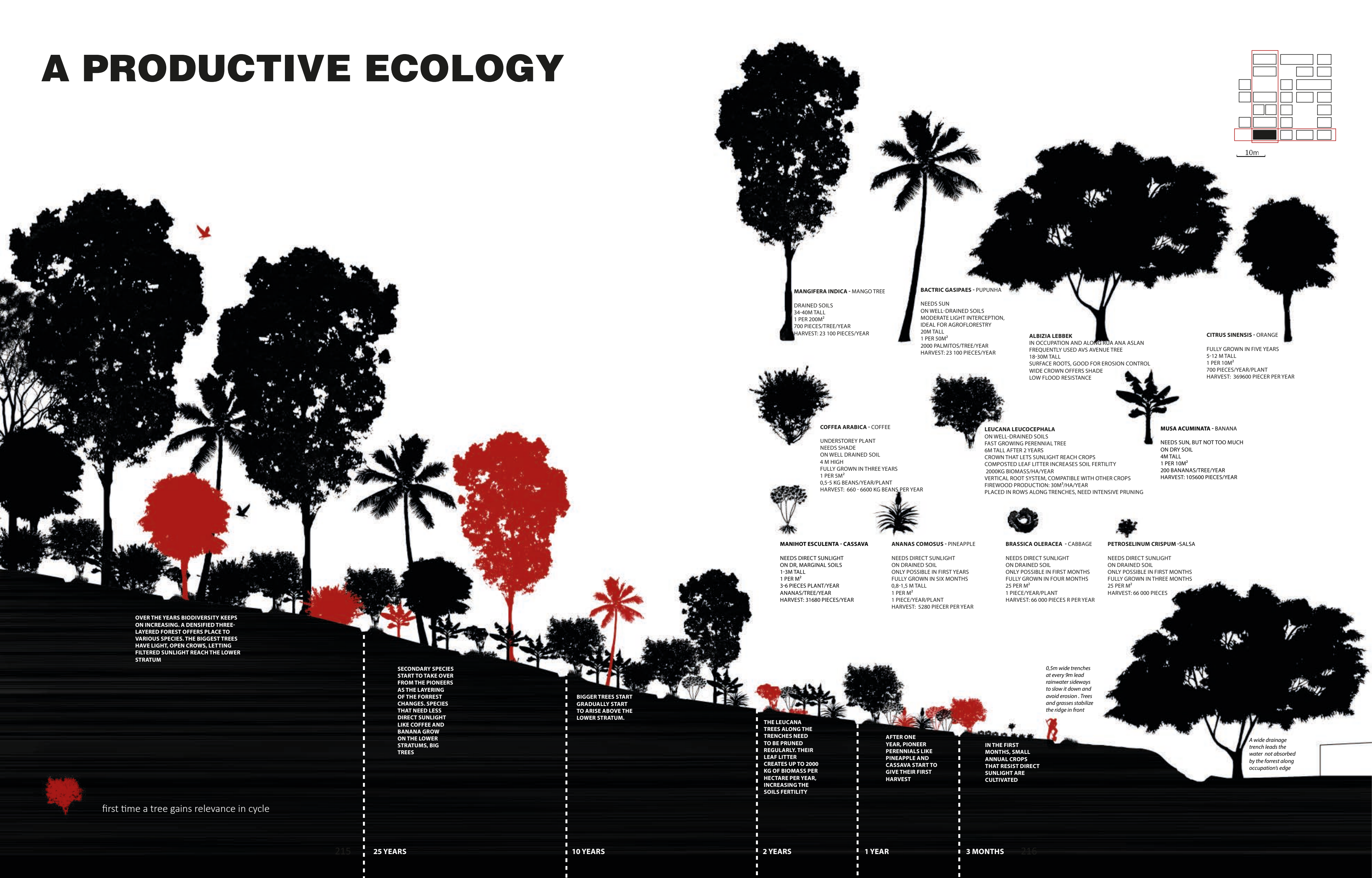


Photo and drawings taken from USINA (N.D.)

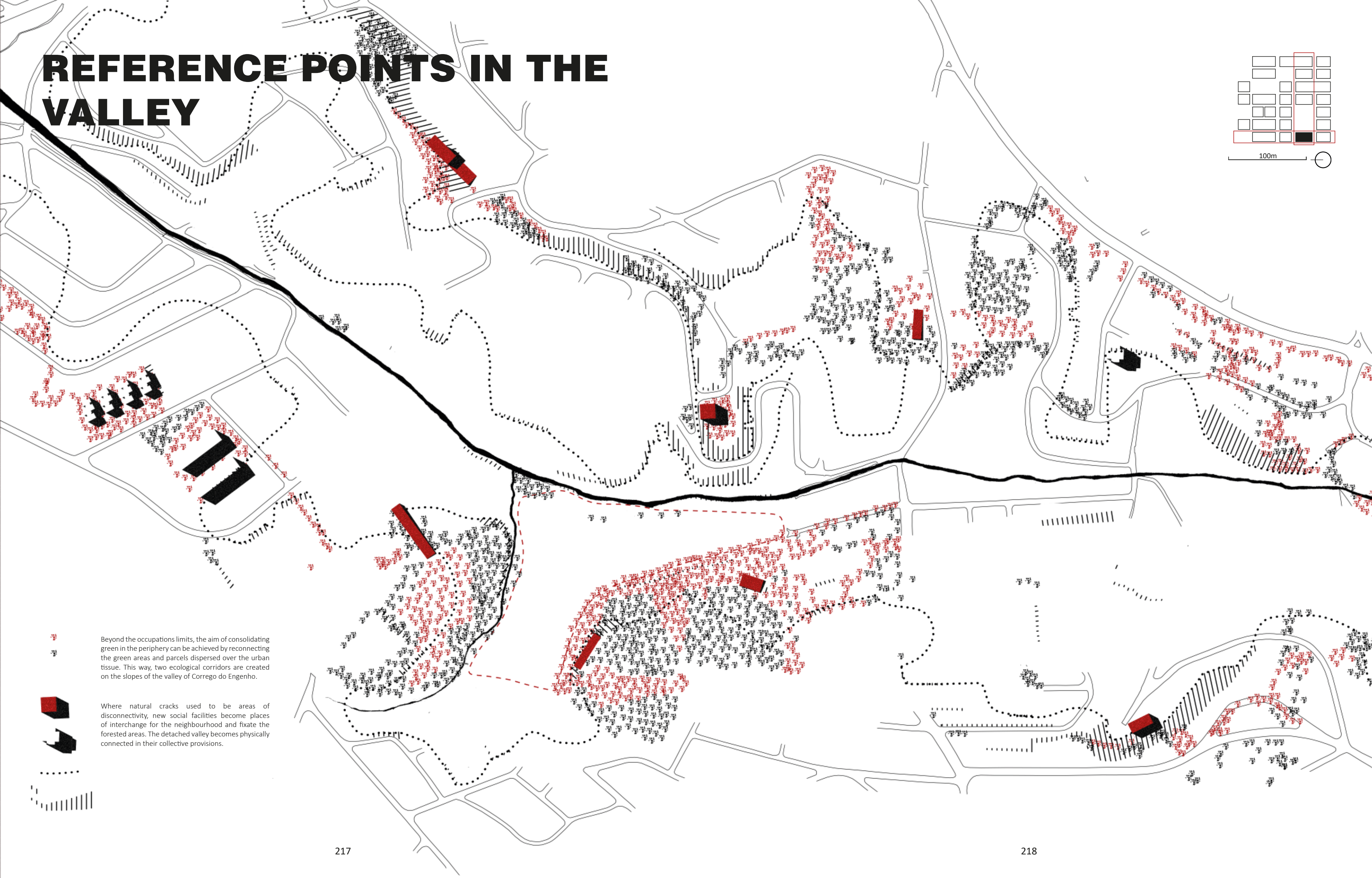
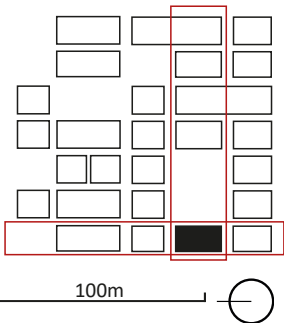


# A PRODUCTIVE ECOLOGY





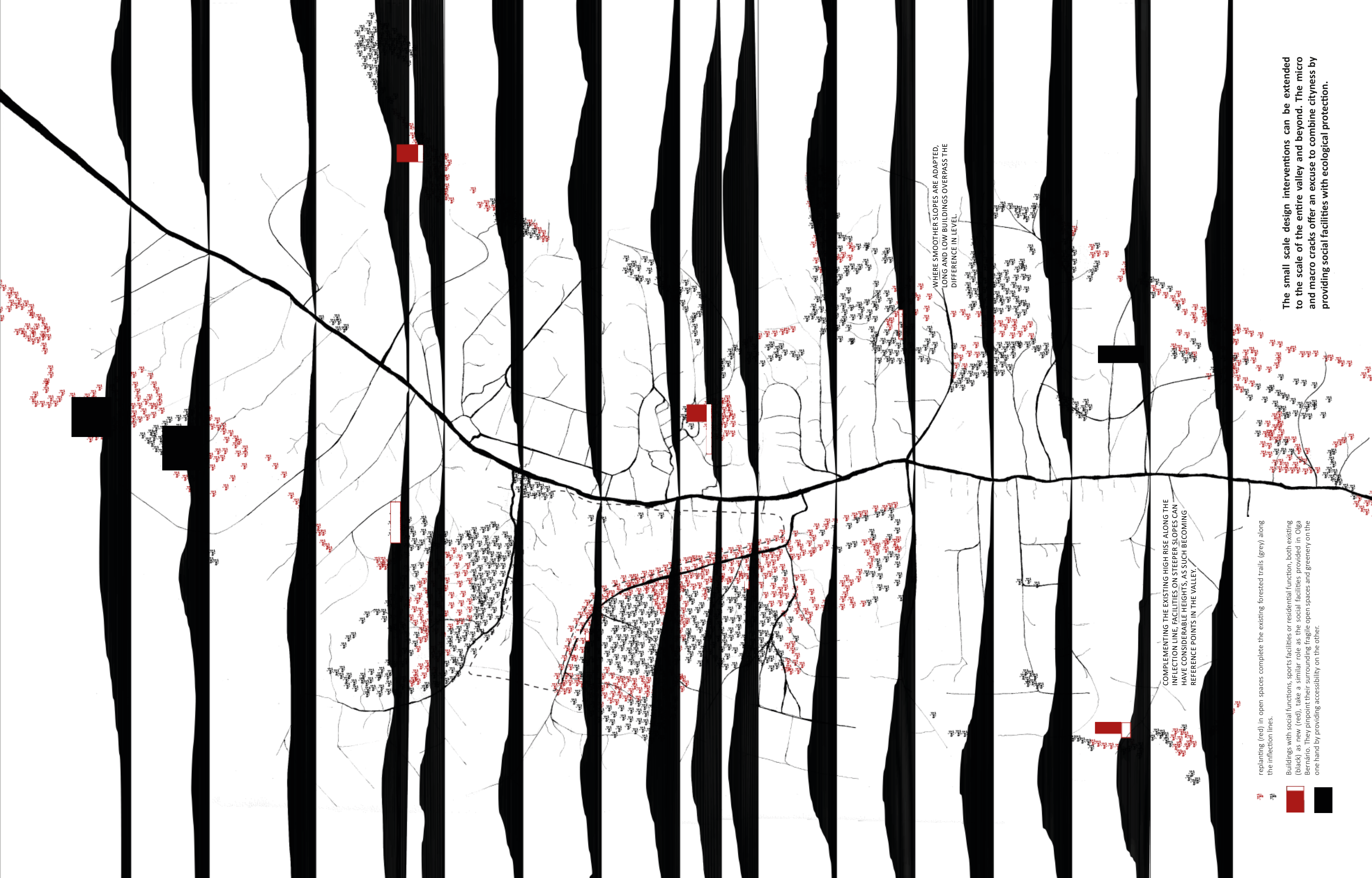
# REFERENCE POINTS IN THE VALLEY



Beyond the occupations limits, the aim of consolidating green in the periphery can be achieved by reconnecting the green areas and parcels dispersed over the urban tissue. This way, two ecological corridors are created on the slopes of the valley of Corrego do Engenho.

Where natural cracks used to be areas of disconnection, new social facilities become places of interchange for the neighbourhood and fixate the forested areas. The detached valley becomes physically connected in their collective provisions.





replanting (red) in open spaces complete the existing forested trails (grey) along the inflection lines.

Buildings with social functions, sports facilities or residential function, both existing (black) as new (red), take a similar role as the social facilities provided in Olga Bernário. They pinpoint their surrounding fragile open spaces and greenery on the one hand by providing accessibility on the other.

The small scale design interventions can be extended to the scale of the entire valley and beyond. The micro and macro cracks offer an excuse to combine cityness by providing social facilities with ecological protection.

COMPLEMENTING THE EXISTING HIGH RISE ALONG THE INFLECTION LINE, FACILITIES ON STEEPER SLOPES CAN HAVE CONSIDERABLE HEIGHTS, AS SUCH BECOMING REFERENCE POINTS IN THE VALLEY.

WHERE SMOOTHER SLOPES ARE ADAPTED, LONG AND LOW BUILDINGS OVERPASS THE DIFFERENCE IN LEVEL.



# WIDENING PERSPECTIVES

The scarce green spaces in the periphery become piecemeal ousted by the vastly expanding urban tissue. The social movement partakes in occupying these spaces in the name of the collective. However, in doing so, the squatters forget the collective good of the environmental spaces. The developments do not go further than individual and immediate interests. Although the movement shows concerns towards ecology and social wellbeing, it lacks the strength or priority.

Design can offer the jump in scale which exceeds the capabilities of the movement. It facilitates to combine the long-term vision of social and ecological durability, with the direct need of providing housing. To put this in practice, this design proposal combines a functional framework by solving water problems to implement both ecology – as a solution against soil degradation and erosion – and social – to safeguard the implemented ecological. This way, the proposal looks beyond the occupation and the valley, but aims to involve the periphery into the city.



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