

The Social Movements in Favelas in Sao Paulo:

A psycho-social approach

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is about differences in the sustained participation of the population in the movements to improve the conditions in favelas in Sao Paulo. Participation was considered to be emergent in the process of the movements, a result of complex individual and group processes and approached as affected by the historical and political context which fosters or obstructs: "opportunities and provocations to political action". Sustained participation was interpreted as determined among other factors by a democratic leadership style which would be interactive with group and individual processes. At the group level this leadership would reflect on the social climate and this in turn on the development of psychological group membership. At the individual level it would produce changes in the political efficacy of the dwellers. The democratic leadership style would be explained by the presence of a cadre of committed members who would act as a countervailing force to the leaders thus increasing their accountability to the dwellers. This tentative framework incorporated contributions from the psychological and sociological study of social movements with those from self-esteem and intergroup relations and from the study of political participation, consciousness, efficacy, socialization and leadership.

The study consisted of participant observations carried out in two favelas which differed in the participation of their dwellers in the activities sponsored by the Dwellers' Associations. The results do not support some of the predictions concerning individual characteristics of the participant citizen. The results provide support to the relation between a democratic leadership style and sustained participation; the role of a countervailing

force in fostering the development of a democratic leadership style and point to changes in the interactions, social climate, personal efficacy as well as to an incipient collective identity or psychological group membership which can be linked to the experience of participation in the movements. The discrepancies between the initial statements and the results are discussed and as a result modifications to the initial framework are proposed for further discussion.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about differences in participation by the population in the movements to improve conditions in favelas<sup>1</sup> in Sao Paulo. In this introduction I will present some of the background to the favelas and these movements.

In the early 50's, Sao Paulo was beginning its second surge of industrial development. At that time the population of the city was roughly 2,500,000 people. An estimated 8,000 people lived in the favelas. By the late 70's when the population of the city was 8,500,000 people, the favelas were "housing" a minimum of 400,000 people: the maximum is estimated to be 1,000,000, depending on the source.

The favelas are defined nowadays<sup>2</sup> on the basis of the illegality of land occupation. This is important because it has been the basic justification for authorities in the past to deny favelados access to any public service (such as water, electricity) and in my view, it is related to the prejudices the favelados face, and the strong negative

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<sup>1</sup> The favelas started in the mountains of Rio de Janeiro close to the end of the 19th century. They were populated mainly by the then recently-freed slaves and former army recruits who, upon returning from a military campaign against a messianic insurgence movement (the Canudos War) in the Northeast of Brazil, were granted permission to inhabit these mountains. The word 'favela' comes from a plant which covered the hills of the area where the Canudos War took place. The name was brought to Rio by those who returned from this military campaign.

<sup>2</sup> Historical definitions of the favelas used in the 40's and 50's by the Census Bureau referred to "residential groupings formed by 50 or more units, with a predominance of shacks of rustic appearance, built out of diversified materials, lacking in public services such as sewerage, electricity, water, telephone, and which are established in land belonging to third parties or whose ownership is unknown, in an urbanized area".

connotation that favela and favelado have.

Public utilities are provided only to legally occupied settlements,<sup>3</sup> according to the legislation. The favelas being, by definition, illegally occupied areas not entitled to receive any public utility, such as potable water, electricity, sewerage, street lighting, paving, or telephones. The municipal government has the power to define whether a settlement should, despite the illegality of the occupation, receive utilities. Furthermore, the public utility companies<sup>4</sup> must fulfil the requests and implement the decisions and policies of the municipal government. The municipal government, therefore, has broad jurisdiction over the favelas, over eviction and/or upgrading decisions. As it will be seen (Chapter 4), it has used this power extensively in the past, and subsequently it has played an important role in the history of the favelas, and in their growth. It also has been influential in the development of stereotypes and stigmas about the favelados. Most important of all, it has played an important role, even if again an ambiguous one, in the movements to improve the favelas, which started roughly 35 years after the first favelas appeared in the city.

Initially, the favelas were seen by the authorities as a temporary problem. The growing labour market in Sao Paulo (with the industrialization process) was attracting an influx of migrants from

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<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to distinguish between two types of illegality in terms of different reactions they evoke from society: (a) a settlement can be illegal because its owners have not acquired planning permission, and (b) the occupation of an area can be illegal, as is the case of the favelas.

<sup>4</sup> The public utility companies are called state enterprises. They are theoretically autonomous from the government which is their major shareholder. Yet, in practice, governmental agencies act according to the government regulations and policies.

the countryside. Some of the migrants found shelter in the favelas because they were unskilled and could not be absorbed quickly by the labour market.

The growth of the favelas in the 70's led to the rejection of this interpretation. The favelas grew by an estimated 400% in the decade and while they began by representing the housing condition of 1.3% of the population of the city this figure jumped to 4.5% by the end of this period according to the National Census Bureau and 10% according to the Secretariat of Social Welfare of the Municipality. In this period the city was growing at 4.5% a year. The favelas were then interpreted as the "solution" found by families who could not afford to pay for either the rental or the acquisition of a house or a plot. Thus favelas were no longer seen as a transitory solution, but as a more permanent one. This was interpreted by the Brazilian sociologists as an indicator of a process of downward social mobility involving established city dwellers and not only recently arrived migrants.

The favelas generally occupy "public domain" land,<sup>5</sup> or the federal, state or municipal government land, or privately owned land. In the latter case we are generally concerned with land whose ownership is being questioned in court, either due to disputes between inheritors, lack of clear land title, or failure to pay land tax.

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<sup>5</sup> Public domain land is that which under the municipal government jurisdiction, real estate entrepreneurs have to donate to the community. In every land allotment, a certain percentage of the area must be left vacant so that the Municipality can use it for either parks, or schools or community centres. Generally this area corresponds to the worst areas within the allotment, with little commercial value, due to its steepness or closeness to waterways, etc. These are often areas where building is difficult and expensive, or risky. According to the Social Welfare Secretariat of the Municipality, this is the most frequent type of "favela" in the Municipality of Sao Paulo.

The process of establishment of a "typical" favela takes years.<sup>6</sup> Initially someone asks permission to set up a shack from a 'responsible' agent, who is usually either the owner of the land, the local government or some previous occupant. Little by little, other families come in, generally asking permission to do so, either from the 'responsible' agent or the longest-established person. There comes a point, however, when entry is no longer controlled. This seems to occur when land is no longer available, and shacks have to be bought from someone who is either moving out or into another shack within the same favela.

The favelas are spatially and visually distinct from their surroundings, contrasting with their neighbourhoods by the overall precariousness of the dwellings. The buildings vary in strength and durability, ranging from proper houses although poor ones made of durable materials such as bricks or cinder blocks, to very unstable shacks built with recycled materials such as leftovers from construction sites, timber used for concrete moulds, to billboards, cardboard, plastic or bits of tin, etc. The need to make optimum use of available space so as to fit in as many dwellings as possible results in narrow, tortuous passages that resemble mazes.

At first the settlements look very homogeneous, but once inside

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<sup>6</sup> It has been very uncommon to have organized land invasions in Brazil. Land is a sensitive issue in the country. Political power has been, historically, associated with large landholders who interpret any illegal land occupation by the poor as a threat. Gradual occupation of land which is, for some reason at that particular point in time, not valuable meets with less resistance. From 1980 to 1982 there were some attempts at large scale occupation of vacant land in Sao Paulo. These were met with forceful opposition from the authorities who evicted the people and destroyed the houses.

them, one perceives there is heterogeneity amidst the precariousness. There are differences in the quality of the dwellings, in the household possessions, and indications of different patterns of consumption. Once contact with the population is established the heterogeneity becomes more apparent: there is evidence of diversity of background, occupation, educational level and aspiration. What the favelados have in common is the factor that the majority of them are migrants, and low-paid unskilled workers.

In spite of these common origins, there are nuances which help explain differences in patterns of life. Migrants from the North-east differ from migrants from the South in ethnic background, in food habits, working experience previous to migration, and social status, which in turn leads to further differences in habits and customs. Some were small landholders who left their properties because they were not productive enough and/or were located in drought ridden areas; some were small sharecroppers bankrupted by landholders, banks, the weather, or changes in agricultural practices such as the shift from traditional crops to cash crops; some were itinerant farm labourers driven out of work by far reaching changes from labour intensive to capital intensive farming methods - the agrobusinesses takeover. They have in common the economic need to migrate, but in their original settlements they had different status, different experiences of political participation, and different senses of personal efficacy, of self-esteem and self-worth.

Their route to the favelas also varies, some having come straight from the countryside, some having lived in rented accommodation, some having owned property in the city. Coming to the favela, becoming a favelado, has different meanings according to whether one feels it was due to "what one could afford" or to "having been thrown into it".



The broader society treated, as will be seen in Chapter 4, and still treats the favelas in a contradictory way. On the one hand, the favelas are held to be a social problem afflicting the "less favoured ones", "the dispossessed": on the other hand, it may be considered a law and order problem - favelas are full of delinquents, bandits, and marginals. Alternatively, their existence can be approached as a technical problem - deteriorated settlements occupied by the poorest sectors of the population.

The scenario is one where society interacts with the favelados with a mixture of prejudice and pity, contempt and guilt. This has been reflected in opposing and contradictory policies adopted in the past to solve the problem, from burning down the dwellings to promises of urbanization, clearing land, giving title, and providing infrastructure. The political context being one where traditionally the poor did not matter, their numbers have always been large, but they had no power, and their voting behaviour could be manipulated and their political participation restricted to casting the occasional vote. Voting was not very meaningful anyway since elections were held only for powerless positions in the political system. The social-economic context was one where the quality of life of the labour force did not matter because the high rates of population growth ensured a plentiful supply of cheap labour.

Historically, the state has not provided for the poor, except symbolically (as will be seen in Chapter 2). In such a social, economic and political context<sup>7</sup> the powerlessness of the population was

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<sup>7</sup> Characterized by what the urban sociologists call the "urban  
(Footnote continued)

reflected in their adoption of individual solutions: each one tried to solve his/her own daily problems without resorting to collective forms of action. Lacking collective channels through which to make their demands, such as trade unions, and other forms of organization, it was in the late 70's that signs of changes appeared, when the favelados in Sao Paulo began to act collectively in what were termed, in the Brazilian literature, social movements. These movements crystallized in different favelas with the development of Dwellers' Associations. Such Dwellers Associations represent what are usually known as social movement organizations or SMO<sup>8</sup> (Zald & Ash, 1970).

A few years after the emergence of these associations, the favelas were presenting differences in participation by the population in the collective activities sponsored by the associations, in spite of similarities in their success<sup>9</sup> and despite the continued need for collective action, because of continued needs and/or grievances.

The question I proposed to look into was why were there these differences in sustained participation?<sup>10</sup> My interest in this question was grounded on four basic assumptions: (a) that the movements needed

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<sup>7</sup>(continued)

contradictions", that is, the contradictions between the needs of capital for higher and higher profit margins at the expense of the needs of the labour force, that is, of the needs of people to live, to eat, to have shelter, etc.

<sup>8</sup> SMO - Social movements organizations are distinguished in the literature from social movements, for example, the anti-nuclear or peace movement would represent a social movement, whereas the Greenham Common group would be a specific social movement organization within the anti-nuclear or peace movement.

<sup>9</sup> Success narrowly defined as the demands which were obtained by the associations.

<sup>10</sup> Sustained participation as opposed to participation in the initial movement formation.

to continue, since major demands had not yet advanced, such as clearing land titles; (b) continued participation of the dwellers was essential if demands such as those for land titles were to be met, since, as they were politically more controversial, they demanded more cohesive action from the population; (c) the movements represented an opportunity for an experience of political resocialization or socialization (Greenberg, 1970b; Jenkins, 1983). As such, they had the potential to produce changes in social relations. By participating in the movements, the favelados could be interacting with the broader society in a less unequal way. This experience has the potential of bringing about changes in their political consciousness through changes in their self-esteem and collective identity. Such changes may hold the potential for broader social changes; (d) lastly, I assumed that the movements although started by external help, needed to become self-supporting, autonomous from political parties because dependency upon such parties inevitably entails the risk of conflict of interests (Castells, 1983) and some form of co-optation or manipulation of the movement.

The literature on social movements tends to explain differences in participation by focussing either on social psychological traits which can explain the differential susceptibility of individuals to the movements' appeal, or, alternatively, on strategies developed by the movements' organizations to promote and sustain participation, specially the so-called selective incentives. My approach differs from these two main trends because I am assuming that differences in participation are the consequence of a multiplicity of factors, one of which may be the interactions taking place in the community and in the process of the movements. That is, I am approaching continued participation as determined by multiple factors, and as a process. I

am not only comparing individual participants and non-participants within a community, but I am also comparing favelas, that is, communities or collectivities<sup>11</sup> which demonstrated differences in the participation by the population, despite presenting similarities in all other relevant aspects, as will be seen in the Methodology, Chapter 3. In such comparisons, I have searched for explanations for the differences not only in the characteristics of individuals as suggested by the literature on political participation, but also in the interactions that take place daily, and which I defined as constituting the social climate in the community, and in the interactions which take place between dwellers and leaders of organizations. Differences in participation are being approached here as a consequence not only of possible differences in characteristics of the population, and in the selective incentives provided, but also as a result of differences in the actual experience of witnessing (free-riding) or taking part<sup>12</sup> in the movement and of life in these places. Such an approach has been advocated by Zurcher & Snow (1981) who state,

"Participation in social movements, including recruitment, and conversion, was suggested to be an interactional and emergent process, socially constructed. The social construction is guided in a large part by the nature of the social movement organization and the milieu in which that organization operates" (p. 480).

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<sup>11</sup> Collectivity is broadly used in the social movement literature. I have found no definition for it, either in the texts or in encyclopedias such as the Social Science International Encyclopedia. My understanding of the term is that it refers to the aggregates of individuals who hold in common the fact that they are potentially the interested group. That is, the group which stands to benefit from the demands of a specific social movement and whose elements are potential participants in the movement. This is an American expression. The Oxford Dictionary does not give such a specific meaning to collectivities, but the Webster's Third New International Unabridged Edition (1961) reads: among other uses: "2. a collective sum; totality esp. of persons in social organization; (...) aggregate: a group of persons acting in concert or considered as a single unit; (as a state, corporation, or class), "great collectivities that bury, if they do not destroy, individuality. Robert Lindner."

<sup>12</sup> Taking part, participating, defined by the dwellers and the leadership as: taking part in the meetings, cooperating in collective activities, showing interest, that is seeking information and providing information.

The theoretical framework I adopted can be considered to be that of symbolic interactionism. To understand participation and non-participation, I have searched for the favelados' definitions of their situation, and considered the meanings they attribute as emerging from interactions which are continuously constructed and reconstructed. To approach the movements in favelas in such a way demanded that the study took the form of participant observation in order to

"see objects as people see them (since they act on the basis of the meaning the objects have for them) in order to understand their behaviour: social interaction must not be compressed into pre-existing forms, rather the form it takes must be empirically discovered; social action must be analysed by observing the process of construction, noting how the situation is seen by the actor, what the actor takes into account and how this is interpreted trying to follow the interpretation that leads to a selection of particular acts." (Stryker, 1981, p. 10).

The study of social movements requires an inter-disciplinary approach. The questions raised by the social movements can be partially answered by theoretical and empirical contributions from different fields: political science, political sociology, political psychology, social psychology, urban sociology, history, economics, and anthropology. As Zurcher & Snow (1981) put it, "it is a fertile endeavor for understanding the relation between individuals and societies, between social structure and social psychological processes, and between selected elements of the disciplines of psychology and sociology" (p. 479). However, such inter-disciplinary integration has not yet taken place, as will be seen from the literature review (Chapter 1). The need for some integration between the different fields of knowledge was called for by McLaughlin (1969) in his introduction to the "Social Psychology of the Social Movements". Still the developments in the two major fields, social psychology and sociology, have taken place at best more or less in isolation, and at

worst with each field claiming sovereign explanations and denying the value of the other's contributions to the area of study.

Having listed above the fields of knowledge that can contribute to the understanding of social movements I must now justify my "epistemological act". The literature review covered the social psychological and sociological study of social movements, urban social movements, political participation, political consciousness, political efficacy, or competence or personal control, political socialization, self-esteem and political participation, intergroup relations and, finally, political leadership studies. To cover these wide areas meant that I accepted the complexity of the issues, and the importance of both structural factors and individual characteristics and was prepared to attempt to avoid focussing all explanations either on one dimension or the other. This has been a difficult task. If the theories and the empirical evidence concerning the different fields were not contradictory, conflicting and frequently muddled, there would be some hope of succeeding. Unfortunately all fields concerned suffer from these 'malaises'. One explanation suggested by Seeman (1981) for this state of affairs is the recency of the studies in the area. As Seeman noted, most of the concepts developed to explain political behaviour and collective behaviour, until recently, were not mentioned in the first edition of the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.

One of the difficulties is in the jargon used in the different fields. I have to ask the reader to bear with me. I have tried as often as possible to find more 'commonly used' expressions to replace jargon, and to define terms which are used so often that I felt I would be running the risk of deviating too much from the original meaning by adopting a substitute word or expression. Because most empirical and

theoretical work directly related to social movements is from the sociological perspective, this specific topic in the literature review may contain some jargon which may have escaped me as I became more and more used to it.

There are serious ideological and epistemological problems in the literature reviewed. Most of the work, whether sociologically or psychologically oriented, has been carried out by Americans and refers to the United States, or to cross-cultural studies in which the authors implicitly extrapolated from the American political system to other systems. In sum, the broader context of the studies has been neglected, as has the impact of the political system on the social movements. European authors, such as Touraine (1984), Melucci (1977; 1982), Castells (1983), have been more aware of the impact of the political system on social movements, than Americans who have only recently (Jenkins, 1983) called attention to the effects of the political system on social movements.<sup>13</sup> This can be partially explained by the fact that most of these authors have defined social movements in such a generic way that their political aspect has been neutralized or ignored (as will be seen in Chapter 1).

The same neglect has affected studies on political participation, political socialization, political leadership and political efficacy, competence or personal control. Generalizing my criticism and running the risk of unfairness, most studies in these fields have to a greater or lesser degree accepted the dominant ideology, which characterizes,

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<sup>13</sup> Not all Americans have neglected the role of the political system: the neo-Marxists such as Fainstein & Fainstein (1974), Katznelson (1981) and Piven & Cloward (1977) have been aware of this impact, but the most voluminous empirical and theoretical work on this field has been carried out by authors who did not explore these connections.

for example, the United States as a pluralist society where all interest groups are free to manifest their will, and have the resources to do so;<sup>14</sup> it is seen as a society where there is a homogeneous distribution of positive attitudes towards political institutions, where the population is socialized homogeneously.<sup>15</sup> Alienation, powerlessness, apathy and anomie are described as states "in which the individual purposefully rejects political activity and withdraws from political life" (Mannheim, 1975, p. 178).<sup>16</sup> The fact that the politically efficacious, competent, trustful or high in personal control citizen tends to be middle class, male, white, middle-aged, high in SES, with higher education and satisfied with the government, only recently has caused discomfort. As Pateman (1980) observed, at the heart of research on political issues is the nature of the political structure. Trying to achieve "universals", authors such as Almond & Verba (1963), Schwartz & Schwartz (1975), Renshon (1977), Milbrath & Goel (1977) to quote a few, have taken for granted that the political structure is as it says it is. This has allowed for the maintenance of a series of "myths" about the nature of the political system, of political participation and in general about the nature of causality relations in political behaviour, and specially the role of governments in moulding political behaviour.

As I see it, some of the epistemological problems arise from the need to generalize. That is, to provide theoretical formulations which

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<sup>14</sup> Critics of this position are Pateman, 1980; O'Brien, 1975; Melucci, 1977; Castells, 1983; Edelman, 1977.

<sup>15</sup> Critics of this are Greenberg (1970b) and Marwick (1970).

<sup>16</sup> Critics of this position such as Edelman (1977, 1971) and Pateman (1980) suggest, for instance, that apathy can be viewed not as a rejection by the individual but as socially structured and maintained.



explain political behaviour across the board within all sorts of political systems. The inadequacies of the explanations provided, surfaced when the breadth of political behaviours studied were enlarged from voting to cover a more extensive range of political behaviours and when the concept that political agitation was the arena of the disgruntled and dispossessed, was challenged by the movements in the 60s in which both the poor and the middle-class took part, in ways which challenged the prevailing explanations. Until such time, most studies explained the non-participation of the poor, and attributed extremism to the marginalized, apathetic, and alienated. Although the critics of this approach have pointed to new approaches, these have not yet resulted in systematic theories.

To add further to the difficulties, authoritarian political systems such as the Brazilian one have not been systematically studied. It seems reasonable to assume that the political socialization of the poor in the Brazilian society is different not only from that of the middle class, but that both will differ from those in pluralistic societies. Authoritarianism in Brazil has been the rule and not the exception (as will be seen in Chapter 2). Such a system has been maintained for so long sometimes by force, but mostly through subtler means. This means that authoritarianism can take many forms and it is necessary to particularize if the reader is to understand both the role of structural variables on the political participation of favelados, and the role of social controls over the emergence and maintenance of social movements. The lack of a unified theoretical framework which adequately covers these phenomena makes the presentation of such matters essentially descriptive, but nevertheless they provide a picture of a society where it is more difficult to ignore the role of the government and of the political system in modelling, socializing

and affecting political behaviour in general, even if one cannot causally link all of these factors.

The structure of the thesis is the following: Chapter 1 consists of a literature review in which the main direct and indirect contributions to understanding participation in the social movements are presented, integrated and discussed. The theoretical "framework" I have used emerges from this discussion. Chapter 2 contains background material on Brazilian history covering the relevant aspects which relate to the existence or non-existence of channels for the expression of political demands. This chapter also covers the approach used by Brazilian urban sociologists to analyze social movements in the urban areas and outlines the links they establish between the political and economic processes and the rise of the movements. In sum, this chapter describes in broad strokes the main historical features of authoritarianism and how the social movements have, so far, been studied and interpreted. Chapter 3, the methodology section, covers the sampling and data collection techniques used and discusses the epistemological problems facing my work and previous studies. Chapter 4 provides the historical background to the favelas in Sao Paulo, and discusses the relations between the governmental agencies, the overall society and the favelados. In this chapter, the relationship between an authoritarian political socialization and participation in social movements is outlined. Chapter 5 covers the history of the two favelas studied, and describes the formation of the two Dwellers' Associations, and the demands obtained through the movement up to the moment the study began. The history of the movements is linked with the opportunities for their emergence and the social controls applied, as a consequence of reactions from the broader society. The focus is on the history of the movement as told by the

dwellers and the leadership, and I was searching for explanations for the differences in participation in the process of formation of the movements, in the organizational structures which developed and in possible psychological gains from this participation. Chapter 6 examines the social relations in each favela studied, searching for explanations of the differences in participation in the interactions which take place daily between the dwellers. The existing social networks, the role of cooperation, helping behaviour and altruism in the exchanges which take place outside the movement and their roles as possible assets to collective action are studied here. The focus is on how the dwellers perceive the interactions taking place, which meanings they attribute to them, what social networks exist, and how these explain differences in participation. Chapter 7 focusses on the individuals, and examines the differences in participation integrating the predictions from political participation studies with political socialization, intergroup relations, self-esteem, political efficacy, or competence and personal control with political consciousness. Chapter 8 focusses on the leaders and the leadership, and their interactions with the population, their political consciousness: political efficacy is analysed within the context of their leadership styles. Chapter 9 contains the discussion, and proposes a reconceptualized framework in terms of which we may explain differences in the participation in movements, similar to the favelas in Sao Paulo. Finally, Chapter 10 presents the conclusions.

## Chapter 1: The Literature Review

### 1.1 The issue of sustained participation

Differential participation in social movements has been a major concern of social psychologists and sociologists interested in collective forms of behaviour. The focus of attention until recently has been the 'free rider' problem, or on why some people join in and take part and why some do not. There are major problems with the answers provided. Broadly speaking, the problems are rooted in (a) the conceptualization of social movements and of participation used, (b) the explanatory models adopted, and (c) the definition of social movements used.

The notion of sustained participation is new. The reasons for this are to be found in the concept of social movements which prevailed until recently. The consequence of the recency of this approach is that the literature explaining sustained participation is scarce and incipient. Most contributions to the study of participation refer to initial participation or affiliation which is often approached as the cause of the emergence of social movements.

The following literature review covers these aspects, as well as the conceptual and epistemological problems they entail, because it was this exercise that led to the build-up of the theoretical framework used in my analysis. Approaching sustained participation as an interactive and emergent process and as one aspect of the mobilization process meant that I had to develop such a framework. This resulted in a tentative explanatory system which is partially grounded on the strengths of the existing theories, partially field-grounded. This is to be reviewed, corrected and, hopefully, extended.

The literature review can be summarized as covering 'direct' contributions to the study of participation in social movements and 'indirect' contributions. The 'direct' contributions come from two broad areas: social movement studies and political participation studies. The 'indirect' contributions focus on such explanatory variables as political socialization, political efficacy or competence or personal control, intergroup relations or self-esteem and the self-concept and their effects on political action.

Most recent studies and theories on social movements incorporate to a certain degree contributions from the political participation, organizational and leadership literature but do not integrate 'indirect' contributions from areas which also affect participation. Such theories do not approach participation as an interactive and emergent process. Both the theories and the empirical studies approach differences in participation broadly speaking simply as differences between participants and non-participants specifically with respect to their susceptibility to the movement appeals or selective incentives which may or may not be grounded on different psychological traits and needs and which predate the movements themselves.

I start this review by discussing the three problems pinpointed above; the conceptualization of social movements and of participation, the explanatory models used and the definitions of social movements. After this discussion I proceed to analyse the direct and indirect contributions to the study of differential participation.

Until recently social movements were conceptualized as having a 'life-span'. A popular view was of a social movement which emerged,

flourished and declined. Sustained participation becomes an issue when a movement is 'seen as an 'open system' in which there is no standard evolutionary sequence (Jenkins, 1983). It is only when its continuity becomes an issue, that its viability and expansion become questions which direct one's attention to sustained participation. Still, the concept of continued participation did not appear immediately from this change. The notion of an open system resulted in explanations for joining in, which were no longer centred on individual traits, but on features of the social movements organizations which made these appealing to people (such as selective incentives to participation, leadership style, etc.). If previously there was a competition for explanatory power between structural variables, such as structural strains, sudden social economic changes which upset expectations, etc., and individual variables such as the psychological traits of participants, relative deprivation, etc., now the competition for explanation was between individual variables defined as traits, needs or grievances and features of the organizational structure, and the leadership style. The basic problem continued to be that participation and movement emergence have overlapping explanations, that needs or reasons for initial participation are considered to explain participation throughout the process and finally that participation and movement emergence are seen as determined by single causes instead of having multiple causes and dimensions.

There are some incipient changes in these positions. Zurcher & Snow (1981), Jenkins (1983), and Melucci (1977, 1982) amongst others are approaching participation as multi-determined. The role of the political context in the determining differences in participation is also being broadened. According to Jenkins (1983), different states and political regimes provide different environments for participation

and generate different mechanisms of social control, and different party systems which react and relate to social movements differently.

This brings into discussion the political aspect of participation in social movements. This is one of the themes in this area least explored by the mainstream of the American literature either from the social-psychological or from the sociological perspective. Here lies one of the major differences between American and European authors. The latter have consistently emphasized the political character of both the social movements and the participation in such movements. This aspect has remained obscure in the American literature despite the fact that this is aimed at explaining social conflict, social change, revolutions, etc.<sup>1</sup> Some of the theories produced in this field do incorporate the contributions from Dahl, Kornhauser, Lipset among others, but the role of political socialization, political efficacy or competence, self-esteem in explaining differences in participation have not been explored.

This can be explained both by the recency of such studies and by the need to explain participation in different types of social movements. This led some authors to concentrate on generic, universal explanations which could account for any movement in any socio-economic

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<sup>1</sup> There are two possible explanations for this fact: (a) until recently, political participation was narrowly defined in terms of electoral politics. According to Milbrath & Goel (1977) the multi-dimensionality of political participation was evidenced in empirical studies (Verba, Nie & Kim, 1971; Verba et al. 1971; Milbrath; 1968) both in the U.S.A. and in cross-cultural studies covering different cultures; (b) the European authors (Melucci, Castells, Touraine) are Marxists or neo-Marxists, and as such have concentrated their attention on social movements as means for social change. Their interest in this area is recent, dating from the 70s. Thus, such potential until recently was ascribed only to the revolutionary political parties.

and political context. This brings into question the definitions of social movements used, because these delimit the object of study.

### 1.2 The definitions of social movements

There are two main approaches to the definition of social movements: the first separates social movements from other forms of collective behaviour on the basis of the rationality and institutional character of the actions - the other classifies social movements as generic, specific, expressive and personal change movements, according to the targeted sphere of change. This latter categorization is Blumer's (1969a):

(a) Generic social movements, such as the Labour movement, the Women's Movement, 'signify the emergence of a new set of values which influence people in the way in which they look upon their own lives' (p. 9);

(b) Specific social movements have well defined objectives or goals which they seek to reach. These develop organizations and structures, they are essentially societies, developing recognized and accepted leaderships and maintaining definite memberships characterized by 'a we-consciousness' (p. 9); revolutionary and reform movements would represent specific social movements;

(c) Religious movements or personal change movements are expressive social movements:

'they do not seek to change the institutions of the social order or its objective character. The tension and unrest out of which they emerge are not focused upon some objective of social change which the movement seeks collectively to achieve. Instead they may produce effects on the personality of individuals and on the character of the social order' (p. 9).

It is my interpretation that these three types of movements evoke different reactions from the society and establish different relations with the political system. Participation in each one will, in my opinion, demand different explanatory frameworks. This is yet another



aspect which is neglected by the prevailing definitions and one which could explain part of the failure of some of the variables to explain participation.

The definitions to be discussed here can be grouped into (a) definitions which bring together the three types of movement described by Blumer, (b) definitions which restrict the term 'social-movement' to what Blumer would call reform or revolutionary movements and emphasize their political character, (c) definitions which distinguish between institutionalized, rational actions from mass behaviours such as crowds, riots, etc. Sociologists within the traditional line (Turner & Killian, 1972; Gusfield, 1982) as well as social psychologists (Milgram & Toch, 1969) tend to interpret most collective forms of behaviour as social movements whereas the resource mobilization approach tends to separate these, emphasizing the character of institutional change that attempts to alter elements of the social structure and/or the reward distribution of society (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 218), organize previously unorganized groups against institutional elites (Gamson, 1975), or represent the interests of groups excluded from the polity (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; Tilly, 1978, 1979; in Jenkins, 1983, p. 529). The neo-Marxists (such as Fainstein & Fainstein, 1974; Melucci, 1977, 1982; Castells, 1983) emphasize the political aspect of the intended changes.

The actual definition of what a social movement is has been described by Marwell & Oliver (1984) as a 'theoretical nightmare'. Since this definition affects the concepts used by delimiting the object and the scope of the field I will examine four definitions which represent different outlooks on social movements: those of Zurcher & Snow (1981), Melucci (1982), Milgram & Toch (1969) and Tajfel (1981).

Zurcher & Snow represent the 'resource mobilization' line with a symbolic interactionist approach. This means that although they underline the importance of the organizational structure and of the resources brought together, in what is known as the mobilization process, they do not differentiate between expressive, generic and personal change movements. In their view social movements are

"organized collective manifestations of issues for which people have considerable concern. The purpose of the movement is to do something about the concern. Movements deliberately attempt to promote or resist change in the group, society, or world order of which they are a part. They do so through a variety of means, not excluding even revolution, or withdrawal into utopian communities" (p. 447).

Milgram & Toch's definition is rather similar to that of Zurcher & Snow,

"Social movements are forms of collective behaviour which best fit the criterion of aiming at change in the world, and least qualify as amorphous or unorganized. A social movement is a spontaneous large group constituted in support of a set of purposes or beliefs that are 'shared' by the members. Psychologically defined a social movement 'represents an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem that they feel they have in common' (Toch, 1965, p. 5). These efforts tend to occur in the form of social movements because respectable society offers no redress or solution to the dominant concerns of the individuals" (pp. 584, 585).

Tajfel's definition actually draws upon Toch's original statement,

"Social change which, according to Toch, social movements aim at promoting or resisting will be understood here as a change in the nature of the relations between large-scale social groups, such as socio-economic, national, religious, racial or ethnic categories; and therefore social movements will be understood on the social psychological level as, to paraphrase Toch again, efforts by large numbers of people who define themselves and are also often defined by others as a group, to solve collectively a problem they feel they have in common, and which is perceived to arise from their relations with other groups" (p. 244).

These three definitions have many points in common: they focus on the collective aspect of the actions which are seen as expressing the existence of collective concerns and which are aimed either at change or at resistance to change. Tajfel's definition is more detailed in psychological terms, stressing certain characteristics of the group and

the intergroup conflict aspect of social change. All three definitions allow the inclusion of personal change movements within social movements.

Melucci (1982) provides a contrast to these definitions and distinguishes three types of social movements - demand, political and antagonistic movements - depending on the behaviours and the system they involve. They all imply some form of conflictual action, but they vary in the type of system they involve. Demand movements take place within social organizations and aim at the distribution of resources within the social organization: they also tend to overcome the limits of organization and its rule system. Political movements take place within the political system, their actions are aimed at increasing participation in the decision-making process, and they tend to broaden participation beyond the existing limit of the political system. Antagonistic movements are collective actions aimed at the modes of production of resources in a society and question not only how resources are produced but also the objectives of social production and the direction of development (old class movements). This last type represent revolutionary actions. These types are considered by Melucci as abstract models which, in reality, would be found as mixed types. Melucci's definition treats as social movements exclusively those organized manifestations which Blumer would consider as "reform or revolutionary", that is, specific social movements. Melucci represents here the neo-Marxists, who tend to consider as social movements exclusively these institutionalized collective forms of action which aim at social change specifically through changes in the decision making processes and in the allocation of resources. Personal change or religious movements are excluded from this label.

The differences in definition, as one would expect, result in differences in the respective approaches to participation. The problem with the inclusive definitions is that the theoretical frameworks developed had to explain behaviours of wide scope from religious to political behaviours leading to an impoverishment in the explanations and not infrequently to conflicting predictions. The exclusive definitions, on the other hand, have also generated simplifying explanations for participation due to the extreme importance placed on the role of the organization of the movement and on the provision of selective incentives.

I will now discuss the different explanations for participation generated by the different approaches and definitions.

### 1.3 The explanations for participation in the social movements

#### 1.3.1 The variables associated with the social-psychological perspective

I will present initially what I consider to be the most systematic social psychological approaches to participation in social movements - those of Toch (1965), Milgram & Toch (1969) and Cantril (1941). Most work within this perspective refers to movements for personal change or religious movements. In fact it seems that most theorists using inclusive definitions of social movements have concentrated their efforts more on personal change than on political movements.

Toch and Milgram & Toch have explained participation on the basis of susceptibility to recruitment into movements. An individual becomes susceptible to movements when he identifies some social deficit, experiences it as such, perceives it as remediable and feels the need

to go out of his way to 'make himself available to certain features of a social movement which may be assumed to hold appeal for him' (Toch & Milgram, 1969, p. 590). Sustained participation is an issue which was not raised probably because participation was interpreted as temporary. It took place while the conversion was still operative and while the believer remained a believer. There were held to be two inevitable consequences: the movement would become dogmatic so as to protect its beliefs and as dogmatism sets in, the atmosphere would become rarified, resulting in disaffection and finally defection. The concept of susceptibility to a movement leaves implicit the idea of some psychological need. Commitment to the movement and defection are determined by a combination of such psychological needs which joiners need to satisfy (and which are the consequences of other predispositions) and by the structure of the movement. Although not strictly motivational, Toch and Milgram & Toch's approach is considered as such by Smelser & Smelser (1981) and by Zurcher & Snow (1981). These authors classify as motivational all explanations which hold as a basic underlying assumption that movement joiners differ from non-joiners in terms of personality characteristics and/or cognitive orientation.

Other explanations on this line are:

(a) Cantril's interpretation for participation in social movements based on Sherif's theory about social norms. Cantril developed an interpretation for participation in social movements (inclusively defined) as basically a process of pursuit of meaning in which are linked concepts such as political socialization, ego involvement, self-regard and motivation. The basic idea was that participation was related to the emergence of 'critical situations' defined as 'when an individual is confronted by a chaotic external environment which he

cannot interpret and which he wants to interpret' (p. 63). Such a situation demands the organization of experience through the ascription of meaning. Individuals would be prone to suggestibility because they would be searching for meaning in order to maintain their self-regard;

(b) Interpretations based on predispositional personality variables.

Amongst these are psychoanalytical factors (Freud & Bullit, 1967; Lasswell, 1930; Feuer, 1969) personality styles and level of commitment (Block, et al. 1969; Edwards, 1970); cognitive factors and personality (Haan et al. 1968), authoritarianism and susceptibility to the appeals of radicalism (Lipset, 1963; Hoffer, 1951). Smelser & Smelser (1981) state that the major problem with all the explanations based on predispositional variables is that the empirical studies cannot establish how such characteristics are distributed in the larger population not attracted to the movement.<sup>2</sup> This is exactly the objection made by the 'resource mobilization' theorists to this approach to differences in participation. For instance, Oberschall (1973) rejects the contention that there is any psychological contribution to be made to the understanding of participation, whereas Zurcher & Snow defend the idea that such explanations may explain preconditions, that is, may be conducive to but not sufficient for movement participation;

(c) Cognitive explanations which have been formulated in terms of 1. status inconsistency or dissonance or imbalance in an individual's experience (Geschwender, 1967). These explanations are based on the following idea: susceptibility to a movement is a consequence of frustrations or tensions which result from status inconsistencies or

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<sup>2</sup> Milbrath & Goel (1977) state that in terms of political participation, people with more sociable personalities (gregariousness) are found to be more participant and that ego strength and self-confidence have been found to be positively related to political competence or efficacy.

dissonance; 2. the search for identity (Klapp, 1969), which argues that participation is the result of a collective search for identity or for a guarantee from society of the individual's sense of personal worth and dignity; 3. relative deprivation, also called situational deprivation: that is, when there is a perceived discrepancy between what people want or think they should have and what they actually have (Gurr, 1970; Morrison, 1971) and finally, 4. hypotheses concerning the role of alienation, anomie and powerlessness on participation which have been associated both with political extremism and radicalism (making people susceptible to movements' appeals) and to non-participation or to a rejection and withdrawal from political life. This is a very simplistic version of the relations between powerlessness and participation which will be seen later to be quite complex. Research into this topic has revealed this complexity and has resulted in deep reformulations of the concepts involved. For the moment I will concentrate on the empirical evidence concerning the other cognitive hypotheses. According to authors such as Jenkins (1983), Craig & Cornelius (1980), Zurcher & Snow (1981), and Smelser & Smelser (1981), most empirical evidence denies the adequacy of the first three explanations and confirms the fourth in the 'efficacy-trust' hypothesis version.

In my view, it is hasty to discard the explanations suggested, because when the evidence is analysed, methodological and epistemological problems appear. These range from inadequacy in the operationalization of the concepts to the breadth of explanation attempted. Most research on this topic was searching for one single explanation to participation while, as in the case of 'causes for social movements', it is possible that there is multiple causality. This search for one cause is suggested, for instance, in

Langton's (1975) criticism of political efficacy:

"Assumptions about underlying psychological dispositions (general political efficacy) are not good guides to behaviour in any of the situations examined. Past personal experience in similar situations remains the strongest direct explanation of the decision to participate" (in Craig & Cornelius, 1980, p. 365).

A similar viewpoint is expressed by Tajfel (1981) who stated,

"The point of discussing social movements earlier was that the individual frustrations, individual reinforcements and individual personality patterns cannot account for uniformities of social action and social attitudes towards other groups shared - as they often are - for long periods of time by large masses of people" (p. 296).

There is evidence that the 'cognitive explanations' may provide partial explanations for participation. This idea is suggested by research which indicated that commitment or sustained participation to a movement is not homogeneous. It is possible that previous studies have searched for homogeneity in attitudes and cognitions where there may be heterogeneity. Turner & Killian (1972) and Wilson (1973a) observed that commitment varied not only from movement to movement but also within the same movement. Kanter (1972) suggested in fact three types of commitment: instrumental or utilitarian, in which people participate on the basis of benefits outweighing costs; cohesion or affective, where gratification comes from the interaction with other people and involvement with the group; and control or moral commitment, when the commitment is based on an endorsement of the ideology of the movement and its aims. This proposition can be carried further if one considers the possibility that a person's basis of commitment may change throughout the process and that people may shift from utilitarian to moral or to affective commitment.

Another problem with the rejection of the cognitive hypotheses is that these have been associated with reasons for joining in.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it is possible that aside from being heterogeneously distributed among



participants that their effect may be not on joining in but on continued participation: that is, they may explain the maintenance of the movements and could well be consequences of initial participation and not causes.

The hypothesis concerning the role of relative deprivation and powerlessness will be analysed in depth. Relative deprivation, although developed within social psychology, has been more studied by sociologists. As Kinder & Sears (1985) stressed it represents a good example of the problems in operationalizing a concept. Relative deprivation occurs when people: 1. desire something they do not possess, 2. feel entitled to possess it, 3. do not blame themselves for failing to possess it. The underlying assumption is that feelings of relative deprivation lead to protest and political violence. Whether correctly or incorrectly operationalized, relative deprivation has not been studied in relation to social movements. The empirical evidence reported refers to its association with violent political behaviour, as for example in riots. Nevertheless, these conclusions have been generalized to social movements as if the phenomena were the same. Nowadays even the evidence concerning riots is being discussed on the basis of the level of analysis used and the operationalization of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation has been studied as an independent variable, often operationalized in terms of structural variables such as food prices, unemployment and diminishing industrial activity. Studies which have attempted to relate these variables to riots have produced weak support for the relative deprivation hypothesis. At the individual level, the studies of relative

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<sup>3</sup> They also have been used, often, to explain the emergence of social movements.

deprivation have attempted to explain who are the protestors and not when protest breaks out. Such operationalizations fail according to Kinder & Sears (1985) to consider two important aspects which may link relative deprivation to personal control or system blame. These are entitlement and blame. Kinder & Sears quote research produced in West Germany by Muller (1979) who verified that those who feel entitlement and who blame the government were more enthusiastic about political activity. It seems that relative deprivation cannot be indexed as the discrepancy between what people have and what they aspire to possess, and that feelings of entitlement and blame have, in addition, to be considered. This has been emphasized also by Seeman & Seeman (1981). Kinder & Sears concluded that a major effect of relative deprivation may be indirect through mediated feelings of political disaffection. Furthermore, two forms of relative deprivation have been identified: individual, also called egoistical deprivation, and fraternal deprivation, that is, feelings that emerge out of group comparisons and not individual ones. It is claimed that it is the latter feelings that would be responsible for political disaffection. In sum, political action is hypothesized to be motivated by fraternal deprivation and not by egoistical deprivation.

There are problems with how deprivation (be it individual or fraternal) has been measured and also with the predictions made. For instance, deprivation may be related to conventional political participation and not necessarily to violent or unconventional political action and may play a different role in explaining participation in social movements.

It is my opinion that feelings of relative deprivation, whether individual or fraternal, among poorer sectors of society are to be

found as the consequence of some process of political resocialization and of the development of political consciousness, not necessarily as the causes of participation. My argument is based on some implications of the concept of relative deprivation. Entitlement and blame demand awareness of rights and an awareness of causality relations which many people are not socialized to have. Tajfel (1981) quotes Durkheim as saying that what is important is not what people have but whether they are satisfied with what they have. Political socialization studies (Hess & Torney, 1970) point to the lack of emphasis the schools' curriculum places on the rights of citizens. Edelman (1971) relates the quiescence of the American poor to this process of socialization:

"Americans are taught at home, in the schools, and in pervasive rhetoric that America is the land of equal opportunity; that there is equality before the law, that the government accurately reflects the voice of the people but does not shape it; that political and economic values are allocated fairly. Given such opportunity, those who are poor are inclined to attribute their unhappy condition to their own failings and inadequacies. Poor people are bound to be troubled by this logical inference and widely held belief. They are reinforced in their feelings of guilt by the affluent and their legislative representatives, who attribute their own success and others' failures to personal worth or lack of it (.....) The American poor have required less coercion and less social security guarantees to maintain their quiescence than has been true in other developed countries."  
(pp. 55-56)

There is evidence that the political socialization of the poor even in democratic societies does not facilitate the development of causality attribution or an awareness of rights that allow for feelings of relative deprivation to develop. In fact, this seems to demand some form of political resocialization. Tajfel's (1981) contribution on this theme gives further support to this idea. This author states that relative deprivation is based on the similarity theory whereas fraternal deprivation is based on social comparisons between groups. The comparisons between groups are different from comparisons between individuals. Comparisons between individuals demand that the people who provide the basis for comparisons must not be too different from

those who are doing the comparing. At the group level comparisons can take place between dissimilar groups. This process is described as follows:

"When what has been viewed as legitimate begins to be seen as illegitimate from the social psychological viewpoint. The perceived illegitimacy of an existing relationship in status, power, domination or any other differential implies the development of some dimension of comparability (i.e. underlying similarity) where none existed before (.....) Paradoxically, this means that the perceived illegitimacy of the relationship between groups which are highly dissimilar leads to the acknowledgement or discovery of new similarities, actual or potential. For this reason there is no inherent contradiction between the present argument and the 'similarity' theory of social comparison. The difference between the two is perhaps the difference between respectively a 'dynamic' and a 'static' view of similarity. In the former case, similarity and therefore comparability is not just conceived as something which 'is' or 'is not' there, but as something depending upon a shifting pattern of social conditions, contexts, influences, ideologies, beliefs and attitudes in a constantly changing social environment." (p. 267)

The actual experience of participation may represent an opportunity for new comparisons to be made. Sigel & Hoskin (1977), discussing the political resocialization of adults, stressed the experiential basis of processes such as acquisition of class consciousness. This author observed that trade unionists achieve class consciousness because they join a trade union, that is, the experience of participating in trade unions allows for the development of class consciousness and not the other way around. Similarly, it is possible that for some participants in social movements, relative or fraternal deprivation may be a consequence of participation and associated with commitment be it 'moral' or 'affective'.

The other cognitive explanation to be discussed here is the role of anomie, powerlessness and alienation and efficacy on participation in social movements. Anomie, powerlessness and alienation have been associated with conflicting predictions: mass society theorists such as Lipset (1971), Bell (1961) and Kornhauser (1959) have stated that

subjective powerlessness or little internal control are related to susceptibility to movement appeals and participation; Mannheim (1975) stated that powerlessness combined with anomie leads to withdrawal from political activity; Kinder & Sears (1985) affirmed that political action demands disaffection (which is one of the definitions of alienation); Almond & Verba (1963) have hypothesized that a strong sense of personal control or efficacy along with low social control or system blame leads to participation in political movements (this is the political efficacy-trust hypothesis).

The field of studies on alienation and anomie<sup>4</sup> is, again, ridden with problems of definition and measurement.<sup>5</sup> Lacking uniformity it is possible that some of the evidence refers to different phenomena. It is plausible again that the concepts are multidimensional. There is evidence that different social classes, ethnic groups and populations under different political regimes have different reactions to anomie and powerlessness. Lack of trust and disaffection have been associated with alienation and lack of participation. Negative evaluations of regimes or governments, in general, have been associated with low levels of political action. Inkeles (1969) discovered that in developing countries the participant or "good citizen" was more hostile and less patriotic. Studies with black activists (the Buffalo Survey, 1968, quoted by Milbrath & Goel, 1977) revealed that contrary

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<sup>4</sup> Sometimes these terms are used interchangeably (Schwartz, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> Milbrath & Goel point to the use of the Srole scale to measure alienation, or anomie (depending on the definition being used), as inadequate because the items in the scale refer to personal life situations rather than attitudes towards political objects. In other words there is what Bordieu (1972) called generalizing from the ethical principle into the political principle. This type of extrapolation has resulted in weak or conflicting predictors in political studies.

to predictions political distrust did not lead to violent political action or to withdrawal. Black militants, although distrustful, were high in political efficacy.

The concept of political efficacy seems to provide a better basis for discussion than alienation and powerlessness because there is more consensus about what it is, the scales used to measure it are similar and there is more comparability between different studies. There also seems to be less 'a priori' value judgement involved than is the case with studies on alienation and anomie. Furthermore, there are cross-cultural studies and studies in other political regimes closer to the conditions of the present research, and the evidence seems more conclusive.

Political efficacy has been defined as 'the feeling that one is capable of influencing the public decision-making process'. When a person believes that he can influence government officials or public issues, he is said to be subjectively efficacious or competent. The political efficacy concept also appears under such guises as 'political competence', 'civic competence', and 'citizen efficacy' and inversely as 'political incapability' or 'futility and political powerlessness' (Milbrath & Goel, 1977, p. 57). The relationship between political efficacy and participation is as follows: persons who feel efficacious participate at a higher level than those who lack such feelings. Political efficacy is generally measured by two scales: the Michigan scale and the Almond & Verba (1963) scale. It is generally accepted that the two scales measure the same aspects, and that there are two dimensions involved in this measurement: one is the person's perception of government responsiveness to the popular will - or system responsiveness, the other is his/her image of the self as politically

effective - personal political efficacy (Lane, 1959, in Kinder & Sears, 1985, and Pateman, 1980).<sup>6</sup>

As in the case of relative deprivation, Kinder & Sears (1985) point to the existence of group efficacy as well as individual efficacy. Group efficacy is

'the sense that one's group is shut out of the political process, and also appears to motivate participation at least when supported by certain other beliefs. Conventional participation increases among members of subordinate groups (the poor, blacks, women and the young) who identify with their group, believe their group possesses less power than the dominant group and explain their group's disadvantageous position in society by quoting 'systemic obstacles and institutional arrangements' (Kinder & Sears, 1985, p. 702).

This definition suggests that group political efficacy contains a component similar to relative deprivation. This similarity does indicate that the concepts are interconnected and that possibly there is some feedback mechanism between such feelings and the causality systems they are supposed to entail. This review covered studies

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<sup>6</sup> The theoretical and methodological implications of this have not been explored. If this is true, the dimension of system-responsiveness would have to be separated from personal efficacy or else the respondent's estimates or perception of the system responsiveness will be interpreted as the respondent's own political efficacy or inefficacy. There is always the possibility that such estimates or perception are based on actual experience with government officials or representatives. In authoritarian societies where system-responsiveness is low, lack of personal efficacy may reflect this lack of response and not necessarily lack of personal political efficacy.

<sup>7</sup> Social psychology until recently adopted a definition of personal control which rated people who attributed blame to external agents or factors, as low in personal control. This approach was questioned after Gurin & Epps (1975) discovered that personal control is multidimensional; one type of control concerning the individual's personal life - 'control', and one concerning external events - 'system-blame'. Blacks and other minorities make a clear distinction between personal control (control in one's daily life, in their families, jobs) and control ideology or system-blame (as a member of a minority group in the society). One of the consequences is that people may feel alienated in some spheres of life but not necessarily in other spheres.

associating political efficacy with different concepts such as trust, political cynicism, personal control, socialization process, etc., but not to relative deprivation.

Political efficacy has been connected to personal control by Renshon (1974). It is sometimes used interchangeably with the control dimension of personal control (for instance, Seeman, 1981, uses it interchangeably). Renshon approached political efficacy not as one determinant of participation but as a correlate of political participation. He suggested that political efficacy could derive from 'the basic need for people to obtain control over relevant aspects of their life-space which under specified conditions included the political system' (p. 233). This was the starting point for Renshon to develop a need theory of political efficacy to explain political participation. Political efficacy in this theory was logically preceded by the need for personal control,<sup>8</sup> the perception that politics is a control relevant sphere, and a successful history of participation. His predictions run counter to the mainstream ideas: low personal control combined with high salience (of politics) would lead to participation (p. 236). He stated, furthermore, that low political efficacy did not result in withdrawal from political participation. The difference between his predictions and the majority of the research in the area was explained on the basis of the salience of politics; his predictions would be valid for those persons for whom politics were relevant.

Renshon's work was followed up by Davis (1983) who explored the

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<sup>8</sup> He used Rotter's definition of personal control and although aware of Gurin & Epps' work he did not isolate the two dimensions 'control' and 'system-blame'.



political effects of personal control. He focused on the political items of Rotter's personal control scale - locus of political control, which was divided into internal and external bearing some similarity with political efficacy; internal - the individuals see themselves as part of a public the government responds to - 'people like me', external - the government responds to a public they are not a part of. The items of the scales were analysed as to the meaning they had for the respondents. Davis discovered<sup>9</sup> that not only is personal control multidimensional but that there is multidimensionality in the political scale within the personal control scale. He discovered that there were differences in control not only between minority groups and majority ones, but also between different political positions and ideologies. While minority groups and liberals tend to separate control in the system (system control) from their own personal control, politically conservative groups do not separate personal from system control and the 'internal' political control coincides with political participation.<sup>10</sup>

There was some previous evidence from political socialization studies that there are class and ethnic differences in political efficacy (Hess & Torney, 1970) but they do not relate political efficacy to political ideology.

Although the system responsiveness dimension of political efficacy

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<sup>9</sup> This evidence again points to the difficulties in measuring certain concepts, the risks in assuming homogeneity, meaning equivalence, and of disregarding or underestimating the role of the ideology both of the researcher and that of the researched in political enquiries.

<sup>10</sup> Davis also discovered that, contrary to what was affirmed before by different political socialization studies, patterns of authority at home do not generalize into the political control or political efficacy sphere. This suggests once more that political efficacy may emerge from direct experiences with government officials.

is interpreted as a perception, an image of the government by the citizens, there is some suggestion that this is grounded on actual experience with governmental authorities. Craig & Cornelius's (1980) studies in Mexico revealed that attitudes such as political cynicism, trust in the government, affect for national political institutions, evaluation of government output performance, and feelings such as political efficacy or subjective competence all had an experiential basis. Milbrath & Goel (1977) also claimed that 'favourable interactions with authorities are likely to enhance one's sense of political competence, unfavourable interactions could lead to feelings of futility' (p. 59).

In sum, it seems to be essential to separate the dimensions within political efficacy as well as personal efficacy from group efficacy.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the literature refers to either the presence or the absence of political efficacy but Mathiason & Powell (in Craig & Cornelius, 1980) working in Venezuela and Colombia discovered that there is mediated political efficacy

"wherein the peasant feels able to influence the government because of his relationship with a network of mediators or brokers who are, in turn, influential in government circles (p. 363). ... This sense of efficacy is tied more to the mediating structure and to the successful outcomes of its influence attempts than to the individual" (p. 363).

Therefore the perceived system responsiveness to one's actions is not a prerequisite for political activity. One could argue that this mediated efficacy in reality refers to some form of group political efficacy. Mathiason & Powell seem to be saying this when they write,

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<sup>11</sup> This may well have been measured by Davies since 'people like me' could be understood as referring to both persons or a group of persons.

"A peasant need only learn that the syndicate exists as a broker between himself and the government and this lesson is learned by observing and specially by participating in the brokerage activities of the union. ... Consequently, if the union is adept at brokerage ... there is greater likelihood that its members will be taught that they are, in fact, efficacious."

(Craig & Cornelius, 1980, p. 363)

Political efficacy has been related to the self-esteem dimension of the self-concept and to reference groups. This was suggested by empirical evidence reported by Milbrath & Goel (1977), Seeman (1981) and Rosenberg (1981), but the theoretical links are not explored. Milbrath (1968) and Hunt & Goel (1977), for instance, observed that protestors are high in political efficacy and self-esteem. According to those authors the more efficacious have higher self-esteem, ego-strength, sociability and personal control, describing what Milbrath & Goel (1977) called the 'political efficacy syndrome'. The links between self-esteem and political participation have been studied by Rosenberg (1981) and Seeman (1981). These studies refer mostly to minorities in the United States. The literature on self-esteem of the minorities has suffered a re-evaluation<sup>12</sup> since the predicted low self-esteem was not evidenced in numerous enquiries.

Seeman (1981) points out that black militants were discovered to be high in self-esteem<sup>13</sup> and showed powerlessness and political distrust. Their powerlessness was external vis-a-vis the social

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<sup>12</sup> Both Seeman and Rosenberg emphasize that the old literature on self-esteem had misapprehended the actual reference group of the minority and ethnic groups, having approached self-esteem as a privileged value based on a false assumption "that minority group members are frequently aware of negative attitudes, agree with their validity and value the opinions of those who hold the negative attitudes." (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 175).

<sup>13</sup> There are conflicting predictions also in this area. Ziller et al. (1977) for instance theorize that persons high in self-esteem and with a complex self-concept will be apolitical whereas those low in self-esteem and high in complexity will be pragmatist.

agencies and not internal, and this did not result in alienation in the sense of withdrawal from political participation. Seeman makes the same predictions as Almond & Verba (1963) concerning control and political activism,

"People who are high in personal control (in the sense that, what the individual does can make a large personal difference) and low in social control (in the sense that individual decision is systematically hampered by discrimination against minorities) would be the most readily mobilizable elements."

(Seeman, 1981, p. 398).

Caplan (1970) obtained similar results to Seeman. Black activists were also found, by Caplan, to be unalienated in personal control though high in powerlessness. High self-esteem has been found to be associated not only with political participation but also with leadership roles in public affairs (Lauer & Handel, 1983).

From this evidence, the image that emerges is that participants have some cognitive characteristics such as a specific type of causality attribution concerning the grievances or needs they seek to solve or fulfil through a movement - feel system-blame, and have feelings of political efficacy (even if it is unclear as to whether these refer to personal or group efficacy), are high in self-esteem, and high in the internal dimension of self-control. Some form of cognitive restructuring seems to be necessary at least where militants are concerned. Milbrath & Goel indicate that there is a rejection of social stereotypes in the case of black militants,

"(They were) more confident about their capabilities and did not accept the stereotype that the ghetto conditions were a result of their own inherent weakness rather than outside forces" (p. 73).

Seeman states that for such feelings to develop, it is necessary that people present high self-esteem and high racial pride. These feelings develop in relation to reference groups (among others such as family, school, work). This suggests that reference groups may play an

important indirect role in political participation. Social networks are said to influence the recruitment into social movements: they may furthermore also affect the self-esteem of potential participants if constituting reference groups as well as social networks.

Self-esteem is influenced by interpersonal interaction with significant others, through people whose opinion one cares about (valuation), who have credibility, who have our confidence or trust, or who are perceived as having expertise. Self-esteem is protected by selective perception and attribution of significance, in sum, by a self-favourability bias. The reference groups of minorities tend to be groups close to themselves, it is possible that what Tajfel called the 'similarity' theory may apply here, that is self-esteem evaluations follow the principles of proximity of social comparisons. Low self-esteem is associated with low participation, apathy and alienation. Rosenberg (1954) stated that people

"low in political participation also appeared to be fostered by a more fundamental and deep-rooted feeling of inefficacy and insignificance. Some people felt that they did not matter, that they made little difference in the broader scheme of things."  
(Rosenberg, 1981, p. 617)

Low self-esteem has also been associated in an enquiry conducted by Sniderman (1975, quoted by Rosenberg, 1981) with chauvinism, ethnocentrism, political cynicism and low levels of democratic commitment. Persons with low self-esteem "tend to hold political solutions of any political persuasion that makes their confused environments intelligible, orderly and purposive" (Rosenberg, 1981, p. 618). According to Lauer & Handel (1983), persons with low self-esteem when they participate do so as marginal or subordinate members of the group. In their interpersonal relationships they are more threatened, more easily hurt by criticism, more sensitive to criticism and socially more awkward. Just as self-esteem arises out of

interactions with significant others, so self-esteem and self-concept change depending on changes in appraisals from significant others. The credibility of the significant others depends on some characteristics of the appraiser and of the evaluation. The appraiser must be defined as credible and relate personally; the appraisal must be moderately discrepant with prior self-evaluations; there must be subsequent confirmations by other appraisers of this appraisal; the appraisal must be consistent with other information about the self; the appraisal must be positive rather than negative (Lauer & Handel, 1983, pp. 273-274).

My personal view is that self-esteem is related to the 'internal' dimension of political efficacy - 'his/her own image of the self as politically effective'. My own proposition is that 'internal' political efficacy is multidimensional and dependent on the 'target', that is the sphere of political activity and its proximity or distance to the person and on the evaluations of the significant others who are part of the community where the collective action is taking place. The interactions between the person and the significant others affect the self evaluations which make up the internal personal political efficacy dimension. This would mean that participation would also be affected by the interactions taking place daily in the community, when such interactions involve a significant other.

I am suggesting that (a) people may have different perceptions of system-responsiveness depending on the level of government which is being considered. This was suggested as evidence from Mexico and the United States where Craig & Cornelius (1980) observed that there were differences in political efficacy depending on whether it referred to the local, state, or federal level of government,<sup>14</sup> (b) different types of participation may demand different concepts of political efficacy,<sup>15</sup>

that is, will demand different evaluations of the self as politically effective. Social movements demand collective forms of action which demand feelings of group political efficacy. For people to participate they must believe that the group has political efficacy - can influence the political sphere obtaining the demands, and that he/she has efficacy in relation to the group, that is that he/she can influence the group. This group comprised of significant others (in terms of the behaviour considered) has the potential to affect self-esteem and personal political efficacy. Sustained participation will be affected, in sum by the interactions in the community with significant others. This means that the existence of feelings of group political efficacy are not enough. In order for people to participate, among other things, they must feel efficacious and hold positive self-esteem in relation to their own group. This would constitute the basis of a 'cohesive' or 'affective' or even a 'moral' commitment to participation, being part of the emotional gratifications which come from the attachment to and involvement with other members.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Langton (quoted by Craig & Cornelius, 1980) in a study to explain decision to participate compared general political efficacy with past situational learning, situational beliefs (situational efficacy) and context plus strategies available and level of government addressed and discovered that situational efficacy was responsible for participation.

<sup>15</sup> This idea is an extrapolation of results of a cross-cultural enquiry by Verba et al. (quoted by Milbrath & Goel, 1977) on political participation. In this study they found "causal paths or processes which lead people to participate may differ substantially from one mode of participation to another" (p. 362).

<sup>16</sup> My reinterpretation of Mathiason & Powell's evidence (in Craig & Cornelius, 1980) is that participation demands more than mediated political efficacy, because people can perceive that a trade union is efficacious without joining in: the free-rider problem and the efficacy of the union is not automatically translated into personal efficacy. This is acknowledged by Craig & Cornelius (1980) who stated that, "Petitioning for government benefits through community organizations, however, does not significantly increase the petitioner's confidence in being able to deal with the government as an individual" (their italics). Mediated political efficacy, in  
(Footnote continued)

The idea of the group as significant others relates to the idea that a social movement must develop a collective identity. The notion of collective identity is present in most social psychological and sociological literature on social movements and political participation and to the role of solidarity, altruism and cooperation in participation. According to Blumer, what characterizes the membership in a revolutionary movement is a 'we-consciousness' suggesting the presence of a collective identity. Studies with black activists in the United States (Milbrath & Goel, 1977) found that black organizations had marked success in mobilizing politically passive blacks with a lower social-economic status -

"an environment which is normally associated with lower political participation. Black organizations strive to instil feelings of group consciousness and racial pride. It has been found that blacks who manifest racial pride and a sense of group consciousness participate substantially more than the average black." (p. 121)

These authors (Verba et al., 1971; Olsen, 1970; and Milbrath et al. in the Buffalo Survey, 1968) also found that the stronger the group identification, the greater the participation. Group identification was defined as a "sense of belonging plus an awareness of the salience of one's group" (p. 56). Group cohesiveness, sense of belonging, affective commitment - a 'we' feeling, are some of the definitions of collective identity, which seems to imply that this is actually some type of psychological group membership. Melucci (1977) for instance, defines it as comprising a cognitive element, an awareness of the impact of one's actions - a sort of consciousness of efficacy and an

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<sup>16</sup>(continued)

fact, can be as Segovia pointed out (Craig & Cornelius, 1980) "functional to and even fostered by authoritarian regimes seeking to minimize spontaneous political activity that might glut the system with demands that cannot be satisfied" (p. 371).



affective component - solidarity.<sup>17</sup> It is similar to Tajfel's (1981) description of social-psychological group membership as having three components: cognitive, evaluative, and an emotional one. Group membership demands that there is the knowledge that one belongs to a group, there is the notion of the group and/or of one's membership as having a positive or negative value connotation; and finally these two components may be accompanied by emotions directed toward one's own group and toward others which stand in certain relations to it. Collective identity presupposes that there is a positive evaluation and that there is a predominance of positive emotions toward the group. It seems to be different from what Tajfel called 'social identity' because it is not necessarily a part of the individual self-concept but an awareness of belonging. This collective group identity is interpreted by Melucci (1977) and by Zurcher & Snow (1981) as the basis of participation. Tajfel (1981) interprets it as one of the socially shared processes (the others being social comparison and social diffusion of ideas and beliefs), which together with the 'social change structure of beliefs' provides the basic conditions to make

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<sup>17</sup> "Group identity is the control over the effects of their own actions, the acknowledgement of these effects as their own, the creation of a field of relations where each one's resources are valued and can be exchanged. The identity assumes the causal attribution of the effects to the collective actor, the recognition of affiliation to such effects, the permanence of the subject in time, that is, the possibility of capturing the continuity between the past and the future through the present. Furthermore, there is the presence of a solidarity, of a 'we', which is objectively recognized and affirmed by the subjects. Hence the importance of the pre-existing structure of membership as a condition for mobilization. It is necessary, therefore, that this collective actor recognizes its own continuity in time, so as to be able to calculate the costs and benefits and to make forecasts comparing successive situations.

In sum, the effects of the action must be attributed to the group and must be a statement of affiliation, this situation can be expressed, for instance, in terms of the investment/rewards of what is socially owed to an actor, following an action he acknowledges as his own."  
(Melucci, 1977, p. 106)

'differential predictions about intergroup behaviour en masse' (p. 296).

Sustained participation could, for some members of a movement, be a consequence of the development of a collective identity which allows the enhancement of self-esteem. Although the different authors suggest that collective identity or psychological group membership are feelings and/or cognitions held by group members in a homogeneous way, my view is that this is not necessarily so, especially in the case of group membership in groups which are negatively evaluated by other groups in the society as is the case with the favelados.<sup>18</sup> This group membership may, in the case of the favelas, be complex. There is an externally imputed group membership, that is, to outsiders the fact that persons are living in the same place gives these people the character of a group whereas the favelados may perceive themselves as a physical group by the fact that they share a living space but may not have a cognitive, evaluative and emotional experience of a group. The emergence of a Dwellers Association (the social movement organization) brings about the possibility that at least for some dwellers there will be a shift from physical group to a psychological group membership, but this may still be a 'problematic' group membership.

Tajfel predicts that in situations where individuals are forced to act in terms of their group membership, this experience should "enhance the initially weak forms of their weak group membership" (p. 239). My view is that this will depend on the quality of the interactions that take place and the ways in which these interactions balance the

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<sup>18</sup> Group membership is not isolated from the social setting, in fact, Tajfel (1981) stated that there is a dialectical relationship 'between social settings and situations on the one hand and the reflection or expression in them of subjective group membership on the other' (p. 238).

perceived negative effects of assuming a negative identity or group membership. In situations where people should act together to satisfy needs which may be basic and which are not susceptible to individual solutions, the idea of collective action may remain an ideal which does not find expression in behavioural terms. This was observed in Mexico (Craig & Cornelius, 1980) where, despite their knowledge that their needs demanded that they participate in collective action, the poor still would not act together because of fears of potential personal costs, suspicions about the profit-seeking motivations of the organizers of such actions, and concern about the equality of the distribution of benefits, resulting from such actions. My suggestion is that membership in negatively evaluated groups may present added difficulties to the emergence of a group identity.

When social movements and place of residence overlap<sup>19</sup> daily interactions, which take place regardless of the movement, may constitute an asset or an obstacle. When an asset, they are the basis on which a psychological group membership can develop and give strength to the Dwellers Association. This idea is supported by evidence from Mexico where Craig & Cornelius found that neighbourhood organizations were more successful in involving higher percentages of residents in the low-income areas than other types of organization and by evidence from political participation studies (Milbrath & Goel, 1977), which revealed that participants in the movements are long-time residents, well-integrated, and closely identified with the community.

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<sup>19</sup> This is different from movements which have as potential members individuals spread throughout a population. The favelas represent a well-delimited cluster of potential participants. Besides, the dwellers are constantly interacting with each other whether or not they participate in the movement.

Most of the literature concerning participation in social movements and other forms of political events indicate the presence of more obstacles to participation than facilitative factors in minority groups in general and amongst the poor specifically. Milbrath & Goel (1977) interpret the lack of participation of the poor comparative to that of more affluent groups in the following way:

"The more affluent are likely to have had higher levels of education, are more likely to interact with others in social and political groups, are more likely to be exposed to mass media and therefore, are more likely to have developed attitudes and beliefs that encourage participation. Furthermore, in poor countries only the economically well off can afford newspapers, radios, and televisions. In summary, the active citizenship may be perceived as a sort of luxury which cannot be afforded by those who are struggling to fulfil their subsistence needs." (p. 97-98)

The structural and individual obstacles to participation are not small. However, once they are overcome the minorities seem to participate at the same, or even higher, rates than other groups. This is the case with blacks in the United States: once they engage in politics they are as likely as whites (or more) to participate (Milbrath & Goel, 1977).

The participation in other political events aside from voting in elections is considered to be low in most countries and regimes, Kinder & Sears (1985) say that in the United States after the 70s there was no significant increase in participation levels, which remain relatively low - 11% of the population is actively engaged in political action. Sustained participation, throughout long periods cannot, to my view, be explained by one single factor. Zurcher & Snow (1981) suggested that there is heterogeneity of commitment to participation; I suggest that commitment may change throughout the process of participation, as a result of reconceptualizations and re-evaluations by participants of their needs, feelings, perceptions, attitudes and causality attribution. It is also possible that there are different degrees of participation: that some participants are stable whereas other

fluctuate, joining in and dropping out as circumstances change: that is, present bystanders may have been participants at some point in time and among the stable group there may be differences in commitment entailing different careers in the movement. Within such careers it is possible to imagine a stable group such as a cadre of committed members similar to that observed by Walsh & Warland (1983) and by Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-Olson (1980).

To summarize the contribution from the literature on political participation, the major findings are: 1. participative experiences add up. Participation in trade unions, in voluntary organizations, seems to carry over to political participation; 2. participants are the most integrated, closely identified members of the community who have been resident in the area for longer; 3. the homogeneity of the group (that is, the similarity between the people) affects participation by facilitating interaction which in turn facilitates participation.

#### 1.3.2 The variables associated with participation according to the sociological perspective

The social psychological variables associated with participation are interpreted not as actually explaining the emergence of social movements and participation, but as simply providing a readiness to act. This is interpreted as different from affiliation and from commitment. Zurcher & Snow (1981), for instance, consider that sustained participation though affected by pre-affiliation cognitive states is an emergent and interactional phenomenon which is dependent upon the organizational structure of the movement and the interactions between participants and non-participants. To understand sustained participation, one should analyse the organizational structure and the leadership style: this would reveal the strategies or incentives to

sustain and enlarge participation.

This analysis has been developed by what is known as the resource mobilization perspective. Authors working within this perspective tend to define social movements exclusively as these institutionalized collective actions aimed at changes in the power structure and/or reward distribution within society. They have an 'exclusive' view of social movements. Their focus of analysis is the organizational structure of social movements. It is this structure which allows the movement to bring together and to mobilize<sup>20</sup> the resources needed to get the movement off the ground. This perspective incorporates concepts from 'game theory' and interest groups, organizations and leadership literature. At its basis lies more or less explicitly the 'free rider' dilemma. This concept was introduced in the social movements theory after Olson (1965)<sup>21</sup> had raised the problem of non-participation in interest groups. In his writings, Olson denied the common sense notion that people with similar interests will join in collective effort to fulfil their interests because rational individuals act to maximize their interests, joining groups<sup>22</sup> to seek

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<sup>20</sup> Mobilization according to the Webster's Third New International Dictionary refers to the 'act or process of mobilizing: (a) to assemble (as an army corps or a fleet, and put in a state of readiness for active service in war; (b) to assemble (as resources) and to make ready for use or action: to organize, marshal, rally. To undergo mobilization, assemble for action'.

<sup>21</sup> Olson emphasized that his work was not aimed at social movements, but at collective action which he defined as any form of action to obtain a collective good (even if carried out by one individual). He was concerned, mainly, with institutionalized interest groups, such as trade unions, lobbying associations, etc. Being an economist, he drew parallels with what happens in interest group formation.

<sup>22</sup> Olson's concept of group is not psychological. Group is simply a collection of individuals who have some interest in the provision of some good. It is an interest group without interaction, identity or commitment or any other factor that psychologically defines a group (Marwell, 1982).

out group interests only if they are stimulated or coerced to do so. Without incentives, left on their own, they will enjoy the benefits of public or common goods without contributing.<sup>23</sup> This became known as the rational calculation - gains and costs line (Smelser & Smelser, 1981), which was further developed by Oberschall (1973), McCarthy & Zald (1977) and Fireman & Gamson (1979)<sup>24</sup> among others. The emergence of this work marks a watershed in the study of participation which shifts from focusing on the characteristics of individuals to the characteristics of organizations. If before the individual "made himself available to the appeals of the movement" (Toch & Milgram, 1969), now it is the movement's organization which must appeal to individuals. There is a potential for participation in movements within the population which must be mobilized by the organizations.

Mobilization is a key word and is differently defined. For

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<sup>23</sup> Collective or common goods were defined as involving situations in which "those who do not purchase or pay for any of the public or collective good cannot be excluded or kept from sharing in the consumption of the good, as they can where non-collective goods are concerned" (p. 14).

<sup>24</sup> Fireman & Gamson (1979) do not accept this extreme version but a moderate 'free-rider' version and state, "if individuals are thoroughly self-interested and rational common interests are unnecessary to collective action as well as insufficient - in fact, they are irrelevant. Furthermore, the provision of selective incentives not only is necessary to produce collective action, but is sufficient" (p. 11). Pizzorno (1975), for instance, accepts Olson's statements but disagrees with his conclusions. He emphasizes the importance of the previously existing organizations, networks, communities or collectivities. Adopting Olson's market analogy, Pizzorno says that for social rewards to have costs, they must have a market where their value is acknowledged. It is the membership in systems of relations (within which the value of the members' resources are recognized) that allows members to identify and calculate the effects of their actions. This in fact corresponds to a collective identity. It is because they belong and are aware that they belong to this system of relations that the individuals can calculate costs and benefits. In other words it is the collective identity (awareness of belonging to a community) that allows for the calculation of the effects of action (in Melucci, 1977).

instance, The Social Science Encyclopedia (1985) presents McCarthy & Zald's (1977) definition:

"mobilization is generally defined as collective action by actual or prospective movement leaders to gain control of the resources of previously unmobilized population groups on behalf of their actual or perceived interests or values, much as entrepreneurs combine the factors of production." (p. 779)

Jenkins (1983) says that

"mobilization is the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collection action" (p. 532)

Finally, Zurcher & Snow (1981) state

"mobilization is generally conceptualized as involving the accumulation, organization and deployment of resources for the pursuit of collective goals and interests." (p. 471)

It is clear from these definitions that resources constitute a basic concept. Little empirical work exists referring to resources, in fact, there is a lack of consensus as to its definition. Jenkins (1983) reviewed the existing definitions and produced what is best described as a list of resources, according to the different authors:

McCarthy & Zald: money, facilities, labour, legitimacy

Tilly: land, labour, capital, technical expertise

Rogers: instrumental resources - those actually used to influence attempts; infra resources that condition the use of instrumental resources

Freeman: tangible assets such as money, facilities and means of communication  
intangible or 'human' assets that form the central basis for mobilization and include specialized (organizing and legal) skills and the unspecialized labour of supporters

Jenkins: power resources that provide the means for controlling the actions of targets, and mobilizing resources such as facilities that provide for the mobilization power resources

Zurcher & Snow (1981) criticized such definitions of resources for



ignoring the complexities of why people devote time and energy to movement organizations and for their neglect of symbolization, of ideology and passion or emotion in people's decision to invest their time and energies in a movement.

In my view not only is this criticism correct, but I would go further and say that I am not sure that this concept of mobilization of resources as presently defined does not trivialize what is the most important resource or asset in a movement - people's participation in social movements. The existing definitions either ignore participation or give it the same priority as material resources, thus depersonalizing the movements and reifying objects. This is confusing because actual empirical studies operationalize mobilization as participation.

The main contribution from this line, to my view is that it has brought into focus the importance of the organizational structure<sup>25</sup> and of the leadership style. These aspects primarily were not only neglected but their importance to participation was denied.<sup>26</sup> One of the weaknesses of this approach is the emphasis it places on economic reasoning on the balance between costs and benefits sought by potential participants. Zurcher & Snow (1981) interpret cost and benefit as a 'symbolic production', as a product of the interactions between leaders

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<sup>25</sup> Not all authors agree with this. Piven & Cloward (1977) defend the idea that any organizational build-up destroys poor people's movements because such movements are successful while they are defiant. Organizational build-up would, in fact, demobilize the population concerned.

<sup>26</sup> Toch & Milgram (1969), for instance, affirmed that neither the leadership nor the organization played any role in the success of a movement. This success depended only upon the appeal a movement had for its actual and potential audience.

and members. This is also the interpretation of Melucci (1977, 1982) who stated that leaders use ideology to produce a balance between the costs and benefits of participation. Another issue raised by these authors is that when people join they cannot calculate the cost and benefits, because the rewards of participation, the movements' goals and the individual interests are not stable. They change throughout the process and do not allow for a rational assessment of the advantages of participation. In sum, costs and benefits are not calculable in advance of actual participation. Another aspect which is ignored by this approach is the role of solidarity and altruism, which will be discussed later on. Roughly this perspective, in its milder versions (Fireman & Gamson, 1979) states concerning rational calculation that people participate in social movements because the movements develop collective incentives such as group solidarity and moral commitment which correspond to a fusion of individual and collective interests. This task is made easier by characteristics of the group<sup>27</sup> which 'contains' the potential participants. Organized groups sharing strong identity<sup>28</sup> and with strong interpersonal networks are readily mobilized through 'bloc recruitment'. Groups with weak identities and frail interpersonal networks and strong ties outside the movement are more difficult to mobilize.

Evidence which supports those assertions has emerged from different lines of approach to social movements: the role of interpersonal networks in recruitment has been supported by studies covering different types of social movements (Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-

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<sup>27</sup> Group is not defined. It appears to have some psychological content, implicit in notions such as group identity, interaction, strong internal ties.

<sup>28</sup> Group identity, again was not defined.

Olson, 1980; Jenkins, 1982); the role of solidarity and altruism has been studied in experimental conditions (Marwell, 1982); the role of moral commitment has been evidenced in studies by Tillock & Morrison (1979); comparisons between the role of ideology and that of the selective incentives were made by Mitchell (1979) and by Berry (1977). These last studies concluded that selective incentives are rarely used but ideology has been used to appeal to potential participants by providing a cognitive map which articulates the problem "focusing blame and justifying action" (Zurcher & Snow, 1981). The fact that selective incentives are not essential does not mean that free-riding does not occur.<sup>29</sup> This seems to be moderated by group solidarity and moral commitment. This underlines the importance of the structure of the social networks which pre-exist the movement and the strength of the group identity as assets of the movement. Although the organizations use ideology and cultural symbols to attract participants this strategy does not have the same effect over the individuals: those more involved in interpersonal networks, who are more active in other political organizations, ideologically committed to social change and who are structurally available for participation<sup>30</sup> are more prone to respond to recruitment strategies. These predictions are supported by extensive evidence quoted by Jenkins (1983).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Walsh & Warland (1983) in a study about a movement concerning the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, formed after the disaster, observed that only 13% of the residents in the vicinity of the plant took part in the movement.

<sup>30</sup> 'Structurally available' refers to the social network which is defined by terms of the normative, instrumental and affective ties among current and potential participants (Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-Olson, 1980).

<sup>31</sup> The role of identity in participation has been studied by Tilly (1978); bloc recruitment by Oberschall (1973), Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-Olson (1980), Foster (1974) and Jenkins (1982); recruitment strategies and the role of ideology by Jenkins (1982) and Brill (1971); differential recruitment and the role of interpersonal  
(Footnote continued)

The profile of participants changes throughout the movement as the movement expands. This was observed by Lipset (1971) and Wood (1974). Finally the type of incentive needed varies according to the individual's social class and his/her role in the movement. Lower class groups (Wilson, 1973a) tend to respond to selective incentives and to collective solidarity. As described by Craig & Cornelius (1980) the actions of people participating (in Mexico) to obtain specific benefits from the government and the local community power structure would constitute 'pragmatic' or particularistic behaviour. In general, it seems that the poor participate for different reasons than the rich and the middle class. They also seem to be sensitive to different incentives and to establish different types of commitment. This could be interpreted as revealing differences in the political socialization, in the power, in their political perception and cognitions. Finally, full-time participants are found to be ideologically committed whereas transient activists are more concerned about personal benefits (Oliver, 1982).

#### 1.3.2.1 The organizational structure

The organizational structure affects the recruitment policies of the movement and therefore participation. This structure can be roughly of two types: decentralized or centralized, that is, bureaucratic or informal. A bureaucratic organization is one where there is a charter and a clear division of labour. An informal one has

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<sup>31</sup>(continued)

networks was studied by Pinard (1971); and by Leahy & Mazur (1978); the role of affiliation in voluntary associations and recruitment by Barnes & Kaase (1979); ideology and commitment to change by Fendrich (1979) and the structural availability for participation by Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-Olson (1980).

a minimum division of labour, and is integrated by informal networks connected by a broad ideology. Furthermore according to Jenkins (1983) there seem to be intermediary models of organization. This is supported by Melucci (1977) who studied 'new social movements' in Italy, and observed that there were different types of organizations, such as loosely structured local cells which were coordinated by a central structure. However, according to Melucci the most important features of the organization as far as participation is concerned are the distribution of resources and power; resource allocation demands; the division of labour; the definition of roles; the criteria for the allocation of benefits and finally, the structure of incentives. The establishment of norms and the decision-making process provide the guidelines for the distribution of resources.

The norms provide guidelines for (a) relations between members and the organization, that is, the incentives and the sanctions; (b) the division of labour and the hierarchy; (c) the relations between the movement and the external society; (d) the group's objectives and the means for action.

Power is distributed through rules about leadership succession. These guide the recruitment and selection of new leadership.

The organizations can be characterized according to a basic typology (Melucci, 1977 based on McCarthy & Zald) concerning the type of objective; the membership requisites; the type of incentives; the relations with the society; the composition; the power system and the leadership style.

1. Type of objectives            expressive - aimed at satisfying social

- and psychological needs through participation and solidarity;
- instrumental - aimed at specific objectives external to the organization.
2. Membership requisites inclusive - flexible mechanisms of selection, few demands of involvement, no specific duties, little ideological preparation demanded;
- exclusive - rigid mechanisms of selection, high degree of ideological identification demanded, high involvement and discipline.
3. Type of incentive material - economic
- solidarity - from the participation
- value - from the goal fulfilment
4. Relations with society isolated from associations and community networks;
- integrated with other organizations with multiple membership and communications between leaderships.
5. Composition homogeneous/heterogeneous - referring to the social base of the organization and to the association and community membership.
6. Power system authoritarian/participative - depending whether members intervene more or less in fundamental decision making processes.
7. Leadership style mobilizing - aimed at enlarging the base - accentuating militancy and ideology

articulating - aimed at relations with society and other organizations, accentuating mediation and negotiations.

This typology has the function of identifying the degree of bureaucratization of the organizational structure. There is strong evidence<sup>32</sup> that at different phases of the movement, and depending on its aims, and the importance the movement places on 'grassroots' participation, different organizational structures will emerge as effective for different tasks (Zald & Ash, 1966).

'Bureaucratic structures provide technical expertise and coordination that are essential in institutional change efforts but are less effective at mobilizing 'grassroots' participation. Decentralized structures maximize personal transformation thereby mobilizing 'grassroots participation and insuring group maintenance, but often at the cost of strategic effectiveness' (Jenkins, 1983, p. 542).

#### 1.3.2.2 The roles and functions of the leadership in social movements

The leadership is generally acknowledged to play an important role in the expansion of the support basis of participants in the movements. It does so by implementing the organizational mechanisms to attract new participants, as well as by maintaining the support of the present

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<sup>32</sup> Jenkins (1983) quotes studies by Breines (1980, 1982) about the student movement in the United States, this movement adopted a decentralized 'leaderless' model of democratic structure to maximize direct participation and communal involvement. This was also found by Case & Taylor (1979); the anti-nuclear power movement mobilized 'grassroots' support because of its decentralized policies (Barkan, 1979); movements aimed at moderate reforms (public interest and lobbies) were successful because they had centralized structures (Starr, 1979). Since one movement generally presents different movements organizations (SMO), it is possible to find different degrees of bureaucratization in the different organizational structure of a single movement; for instance, the women's movement in the United States (Freeman, 1979) presented different organizational structures throughout time. As the aims change and as participation changes, so do the organizational structures. Hertz (1981) observed this in connection with the welfare rights movements in the United States.

participants. According to Zurcher & Snow (1981) and Melucci (1977) this is brought about by the application of a system of rewards and sanctions and through the symbolic production and the production of ideology. The leadership of social movements is one of the least explored themes in social movements research. Despite this absence of empirical evidence, the authors in this field assume it has a specificity and uniqueness in relation to other forms of leadership. They justify this assumption on the grounds of the political character of this form of leadership and the risks and threats (from social control mechanisms), which give it instability. These issues will be discussed further on. First, I will present the basic concepts adopted in the area which come from the psychological literature on leadership.

The definition of leadership used is that of Hollander (1958): leadership is defined as an interaction between leaders and followers. The aspects considered are: leader effectiveness (as defined by Fiedler, 1961), leader orientation: task or self-oriented (Bass, 1961), power system (French & Raven, 1959), role of conformity and innovation in leadership (Moscovici, 1976). Personality traits of the leader are not explored, in fact, are dismissed as unimportant, but the idea of the charismatic leader - the 'great man-great woman' hypothesis is still explored. The prevailing view is that different social movements organizations with different structures at different stages have different styles of leadership effectiveness. Some leaders have primarily a symbolic function (Turner & Killian, 1972), others have a mobilizing function (Gusfield, 1966), others again have different ideological functions (Wilson, 1973a). This is reflected in the leadership typologies which mirror the transition from charisma to bureaucracy: from agitator to statesman to administrator.



The basic functions of the leadership are to discover and disseminate ideas, and to stimulate and hold the loyalty of followers (Zurcher & Snow, 1981). The functions of the leader were further developed by Melucci (1977) according to whom the leader must:

1. Define objectives leading to the establishment of priorities, and adaptation to changes in the situation, which implies an ideological production to legitimate choices.
2. Provide means for action - gathering and organizing resources - inside and outside the movement.
3. Maintain the structure; securing interaction and cohesion between followers, through ideological production, and through information dissemination to maintain or stimulate motivation.
4. Mobilize - through the maintenance of consensus and the continuous investments from groups. The reward system and ideology allow identification with ends.
5. Articulate - establish relations with the broader society for support and consensus.
6. Maintain and reinforce the group identity - providing incentives for solidarity, presenting the group with images with which they can identify, and from which they can derive gratification. The expressive function of the leadership is the provision of symbolic objects of identification which can reinforce group solidarity and identity.

A basic task of the leadership is the establishment and maintenance of optimal relations among group members in their need areas (Schutz, 1961). The leaders must ensure that the members feel part of the group and know that they belong so that their presence and participation will be stimulated: at the same time some individuality must be kept. There must be equilibrium between control over members

and independence, between majority rule and consensus. Finally, there must be warmth in the relation, but not too much warmth. This is achieved through a balance in informal contacts.

In the 'resources mobilization' approach one of the most important tasks of the leader is the operation of this mobilization. According to Melucci this takes place through the maintenance of balanced relations with the members of the group. By participating in the collective action they (members of the group) provide the leader with prestige and power and legitimacy is given to the leadership. The leader guides the group to fulfil the collective aims; furthermore, he/she distributes the benefits.

Legitimization is understood as the power with which the group endows the leader (French & Raven, 1959). Power is based on the capacity of the leader to provide rewards (power of reward), provide sanctions (power of coercion), conform to the norms and expectations of the group (power of conformism), generate follower's identification (power of identification), and finally the follower's acknowledgement of his special skills (power of competence). The legitimization of the leadership is more evident in the power attributed to the leader but it is not based only on this aspect, but permeates all the relations between leaders and followers.

There is considerable debate about the role of conformism and innovation in leaders' actions. Melucci integrates Moscovici's (1976) contributions by stating that these represent different aspects of the same analysis. At the formation of the movement, it is necessary to break away from certain patterns because the beginning of a movement is both a moment of rupture and continuity. The leader must break with

the past and at the same time propose a consistent behaviour, based on a new identity. Once the movement is formed and consolidation starts, the leader must act to ensure the cohesion and the fulfilment of the objectives. He is then subjected to the organizational network and the control of the members. At this point conformism with some leverage for deviance, "idiosyncrasy credit", would better express the leadership situation. The leader must, continually, convince the members of the equity of their exchange and make sure that they are satisfied with the benefits they receive.

To Melucci (1977) ideology plays a central role in this process, because ideology provides the members of the movement with a representation of their own position, of the relations between means and ends and between investments and rewards. Ideology provides (in Zurcher & Snow's (1981) terms) the cognitive map articulating the problem, focusing the blame and justifying the action. Melucci credits the leader as the main source of 'ideological production', but Zurcher & Snow, although attributing similar relevance to the function of ideology, interpret it as emergent and jointly produced by the leader<sup>33</sup> and followers. In fact, these are considered to be the main 'articulators and disseminators' of the ideology. This brings into focus one of the roles of the social networks - that of the diffusion of ideology, as ideas for action.

At different phases of the movement, ideology plays different functions. It is always a symbolic representation of the participants' actions within a system of social relations. It is present at the

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<sup>33</sup> These authors state that the leader creates the initial structural blocks, develops and diffuses structural solutions.

formation of the movement as a mobilizing force, in the definition of the objectives, in the collective identity and in the identification of adversaries. This has two basic purposes: first, to deny the gap between expectation and reality, and secondly, to assert some type of utopia. Still, according to Melucci, as the movement progresses, ideology becomes more related to the actual problems of the movement. It helps maintain the group's cohesion by articulating demands in terms of general principles and by repropounding values and norms; it facilitates the consolidation of the collective identity, and finally, supports the maintenance of the perceived balance in the relations between leaders and members. To Melucci, part of the leadership's power lies in the control and elaboration, two basic resources, of ideology and the communication channels. This is important if changes are to be achieved, especially when the resources are not material and when the accurate evaluation of costs and benefits is difficult. These are then susceptible to the action of ideology which can be used to produce the perception of a balance between costs and benefits.

Lastly, ideology can help to obtain consensus and support from the broader society. These facilitate participation by reducing external threats. It also allows participants to interpret their confrontations with the adversary always in positive terms. Melucci points to the fact that society responds to the movements by also developing an ideology. This is used, for instance, by the ruling class to discredit collective action and to mobilize public opinion against the movement so as to legitimize repression.

The political aspect of this leadership is not developed by the social movement literature but by the political literature. Leaders are seen as directly or indirectly exercising influence over the

distribution of public benefits and obligations; collective demands revolve around competition for control over the distribution of public benefits and obligations (Edinger, 1967).

The particularity of this form of leadership lies in the threats faced in the broader society and in the lack of security of the leader's position. This point is emphasized both by Melucci (1977) and Oberschall (1973), who stated that the leadership in social movements, contrary to other leaderships, has no institutional guarantees and faces the added difficulties of hostility from the environment (such as threats of imprisonment, political persecutions, etc.), instability and internal competition. To my view, internal competition takes place in any leadership. The risks of persecution and even, in some circumstances, the physical risks is what gives this form of leadership its particular character. These risks are not inherent in the condition of leader in a social movement, but are dependent upon the social controls and the political regime in which the movement takes place.

Empirical evidence concerning the leadership in social movements is scarce and restricted to the functions and roles they fulfil. The actual exercise of the leadership in its interactional aspects has not been explored, nor has the role of secondary leaders, who are seen to have a complementary function to that of the leaders. Zurcher & Snow acknowledge the lack of knowledge not only about how secondary leaders affect the leadership, but also concerning succession rules, leadership style and their interactive effects with the secondary leadership. I would also point out that these must affect commitment or sustained participation. To these authors such issues are strictly social psychological. The secondary leaders affect participation because

their presence may affect the distribution of power, the communication channels, the decision-making process and the formulation of ideology. Furthermore, their presence suggests that the legitimization process may be more complex than initially thought.

Another topic addressed in the leadership literature concerns the predicted need for congruence between the political efficacy of the followers and the leadership style if mobilization is to occur. Barnes (1967)<sup>34</sup> affirms that effective political participation requires congruence between leaders and followers. According to this author, the practical consequences are that politically inefficacious persons are more effectively mobilized by non-democratic leaders. This means that a democratic leadership per se is not necessarily the most efficacious to obtain the participation of potential members. This proposition requires closer examination. Its adequacy depends (amongst other factors) upon the definition of efficacious mobilization or participation and upon the broader aims of the political action involved. If the aim is the short-term participation of a large number

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<sup>34</sup> Barnes bases his affirmations on research with members of the Italian Communist Party. In this study, he found that the non-active members of the party were the least efficacious persons and also adopted definitions of a democratic party which were not based on majority rule. From this he deduced that non-participants would become active if there was a complementary relation between their lack of efficacy and the leadership style. His article raises some methodological problems. For instance, all active members of the party defined a democratic party as one where there is a consensual, participative decision-making process, whereas non-participative members defined it as one which represents the interests of the most numerous and needy classes. These definitions were obtained through the use of a scale in which the respondents had to choose the definition they felt expressed their ideas. One major difficulty consists in the fact that non-participants responses could be interpreted as revealing their lack of acquaintance with actual organizational procedures, and their acceptance of the major dogmas of the party and not necessarily as implying that the best way of getting them to become more active involved non-democratic leadership styles.

of participants in some political movement without any political resocialization objectives, Barnes explanation may be adequate. If the aim is sustained participation (that is, long-term) involving political resocialization, I doubt whether a non-democratic leadership could be more effective, because this leadership style implies modes of interaction which can have deleterious effects on other characteristics of the politically inefficacious person, such as self-esteem and would, therefore, perhaps aggravate existing difficulties.

Despite the denial of the importance of personality traits of leaders, in the sociological approach to social movements, certain attributes such as, empathy, need estimation, sensitiveness and capacity for insight, to my view deserve serious attention. These attributes were discussed by Bass (1981) as part of the leader's abilities to estimate attitudes and motives. Leaders must know what followers want and what stops them from getting it and when this happens. Although the empirical evidence referring to the role of insight and empathy in leaders' effectiveness is inconclusive, Bass suggests that this is a result of measurement problems and that the importance of such traits should not be hastily dismissed. The assumption is that individuals gain, hold and maintain a position of leadership because they are more insightful, more sensitive and empathetic than others in that specific group.

Another aspect which has been excluded from social movements theories and empirical studies is the role of emotions, not only in the context of leadership but also in the context of understanding why people take part. This theme was brought back into the sociological literature on social movements by Zurcher & Snow (1981). The dismissal of emotion was probably a consequence of the emphasis on rationality

which led some authors to adopt a narrow view of human beings as either rational or irrational. This reductionist dichotomy results in an impoverishment of the understanding of social movements, missing as it did the complexities and contradictions between values, beliefs and interests, between rational and irrational motives. This is recognized by Zurcher & Snow, who point to the importance of feelings such as enthusiasm and anticipation for sustained participation.<sup>35</sup>

Emotions can provide a positive 'fuel' not necessarily a negative and destructive one. The process of disaffection considered by so many as essential for political action involves a reassessment of causality which cannot take place in an emotional void.

"First, 'the system' - or those aspects of the system that people experience and perceive - loses legitimacy. Large numbers of men and women who ordinarily accept the authority of their rulers and the legitimacy of institutional arrangements come to believe in some measure that these rulers and these arrangements are unjust and wrong. Second, people who are ordinarily fatalistic, who believe that existing arrangements are inevitable, begin to assert 'rights' that imply demands for change. Third, there is a new sense of efficacy: people who ordinarily consider themselves helpless come to believe that they have some capacity to alter their lot" (Piven & Cloward, 1977, p. 4).

When serious social deficits or human needs are concerned, disaffection although possibly involving indignation and anger could also involve hope and trust, that is, need not be irrational or lead to violent action.

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<sup>35</sup> These authors have stated, "participants who no longer harbour a sense of expectancy about what tomorrow will bring, participants who no longer feel strongly or passionately about the case, are participants who can no longer be counted on for action. They are participants who are likely to retreat in the face of adversity" (p. 478).



#### 1.4 The framework adopted for the study of sustained participation in the favelas of Sao Paulo

I mentioned at the beginning of the literature review that the framework adopted was a result of this review and of observations from field work. Before I proceed, I must clarify that the actual research took the form of participant observation in two different favelas. This means that the study is basically comparative. I started my field work in one favela which presented low-participative levels. Throughout my stay in this favela I developed some ideas about sustained participation and developed some statements about how and why participation would be maintained. These statements result from an integration of this first field work data with the literature reviewed. This framework should be interpreted as a type of 'analytic description' (McCall-Simmons, 1969) where concepts, propositions and empirical generalizations from different areas of knowledge were used as basic guides in the analysis and reporting, and where the systematic collection, classification and reporting of facts generated, hopefully new empirical generalizations, concepts and propositions based on these data. This analytical description guided my work in the second favela, in which participation was maintained. This framework is, therefore, tentative, and aims at exploring some ideas and notions without attempting to establish causal links. The reasons for this are to be found in the lack of previous studies both on favelados and on sustained participation.

The study of sustained participation in social movements in favelas in Sao Paulo presents some special characteristics which have to be kept in mind: (a) the literature on participation in social movements frequently neglects the time dimension in participation; reasons for initial affiliation (or non-affiliation) are assumed to

explain participation (or non-participation) throughout the process. Aside from the criticism presented in the initial section, this position reflects too narrow a view of human beings and their capacity to incorporate experiences, to change to reconceptualize, to assign new meanings, to evolve throughout time. A social movement is assumed here to be a meaningful experience capable of affecting even the so-called bystanders, the non-participative witnesses to the process; (b) favelas are physically well-delimited spaces, the audience of a social movement taking place in a favela, is not anonymously scattered throughout an urban area of a country. It is accessible to the movement whether participants or not, the dwellers - the favelados - are witnessing activities and discussions related to the movement, are acting and reacting (directly or indirectly) to it. Bystanders - the passive observers of movement activity have been found by Turner (1973) to influence the leadership style.<sup>36</sup> In a favela, bystanders may be more adequately defined as active observers, because they interact with participants in the movement as neighbours, relatives, friends, that is in other, no less relevant, social roles; (c) the movements in the favelas are to be approached as political movements. They are interpreted as a rupture with a previously existing state of inaction by the government and the population. As political movements, they potentially represent an experience of political resocialization; (d) participation does not take place in a historical and political void, but is closely related to broader political processes.<sup>37</sup> The nature of the political regime plays an important role in participation in at least two ways:<sup>38</sup> 1. it effects the opportunities for participation and

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<sup>36</sup> Specially concerning bargaining, coercion and persuasion.

<sup>37</sup> Kinder & Sears (1985) call it contextual determinants of political action: provocations and opportunities. Fireman & Gamson (1979) call it opportunities.

the systems of controlling it, 2. it effects political socialization.

As already mentioned I have approached the problem of sustained participation as an interactional and emergent process and with reference to a specific type of political behaviour - collective action in social movements. Most empirical studies of participation in social movements compare participants and non-participants and search for explanations for this difference in behaviour in the 'competing' variables which predict social movement involvement; the social-psychological ones (solidarity, altruism, shared ideology, grievances) and the selective incentives. Other studies still of interest, examine the role of social networks in the recruitment to social movements comparing these to other forms of recruitment. My own approach considers these and the variables associated with political activism against the background of historical evidence concerning the political socialization of the poor in Brazil. Sustained participation is seen as a result of a combination of factors. Instead of only comparing individuals, my interpretation led me to compare communities, that is, favelas presenting differences in the participation of their respective populations.

I sought answers to the question of sustained participation in differences in the leadership style, in differences in the social ambience - in the nature and structure of relations within the spontaneous subgroups, the so-called social networks; in differences in the relevant socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the two

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<sup>38</sup> The political system also effects participation through characteristics of the existing political party system, such as, the ideological character of the existing party and their relations with social movements.

populations; in differences in causality attribution, in definitions of collective needs, in strategies for action, and in what I called 'political consciousness' - that is, an overall awareness of their rights as citizens, of the need for collective action, of shared needs and interests, and of a collective identity.

Furthermore, sustained participation is seen here as first multi-determined and as involving different types of commitment - utilitarian, affective and moral ones heterogeneously distributed through the population; and secondly as the result of a complex process of interactive individual and group phenomena. In this process social-psychological and sociological variables are treated as complementary explanations and not as competing ones.

Furthermore, participation was considered against the background of a review about the opportunities for participation in an authoritarian society. The relations between political socialization which leads to political inefficacy and different political regimes has been suggested (Pateman, 1980; Edelman, 1971, 1977)<sup>39</sup> but this has not been consistently studied. This means that this presentation is descriptive and not analytical. Having stated that the powerlessness of the poor is socially structured and maintained, this demanded I present some evidence concerning the role of the government in political cognitions and behaviour. In democratic societies this process is described by Edelman (1977) as the government affecting

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<sup>39</sup>The experiential basis of powerlessness or lack of efficacy or the 'structurally supported quiescence' (in Pateman's words, 1980) of the poor was observed in countries such as Mexico, Venezuela and Ecuador (Craig & Cornelius, 1980). These countries, although having different historical, cultural and economic background, ethnic composition, have political regimes and economic distributions which are similar to those in Brazil.

"behaviour chiefly by shaping the cognitions of large numbers of people in ambiguous situations. It helps create their beliefs about what is proper, their perceptions of what is fact, and their expectations of what is to come (...) This is constantly overlooked or undervalued. Non-governmental influences serve chiefly to reinforce the governmental ones" (p. 5).

In the case of the favelados, this meant reviewing the historical evidence concerning the main governmental agency in charge of the favelas. This agency being the sphere of government closer to the favelados, represents the target of the present collective actions: in the past it was responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies involving the favelas. Edelman's (1977) theoretical contributions on the role of the language of bureaucracy and of the helping professions in maintaining ambivalence and contradictions and in quiescence were considered as the background for the analysis of the language of the documents, which provided the diagnosis of the problems and the resulting policies of this agency concerning the favelas and the favelados. These policies and this diagnosis are interpreted as effecting participation directly and indirectly because (a) the policies could provide or restrict opportunities for collective action; (b) such policies could enhance or diminish individual and collective feelings of powerlessness, efficacy and trust; (c) these policies could effect feelings of social self-esteem and the development of collective identities. This analysis was complemented by an analysis of newspaper articles covering the same issues. These were interpreted as representing the reactions to the favelas of an influential and powerful sector of society. The degree of congruence between the language of the agency and that of the press was interpreted as revealing the stability of social cognitions vis-a-vis the favelas and the favelados and as indicating the social resistance or social facilitators which the social movements meet.

I am aware of the methodological problems such analyses entail but consider this analysis is justified on the grounds of the lack of studies concerning the favelados.

Differences in sustained participation were hypothesized to be linked to complex individual and group phenomena related to the process of the movements. A participative community is one where the majority of the dwellers have continued to take part in the movement even after the initial benefits have been achieved. This is hypothesized to be the result of a democratic leadership style, of the existence of a cadre of committed members<sup>40</sup> and of a prevailing social climate which is cooperative because the tensions from differences in rules of behaviour, in values, and beliefs are not obstacles to collective action.

The cadre of committed members would have political consciousness and would guarantee that the leadership would be democratic. The

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<sup>40</sup>In the social movements literature this has been called grass roots, carry-on-carry-over, or workers' vanguard. Grass-roots (Ratcliff, 1984) are committed militants who carry a particular movement's world views, ideological messages and programmes for action to potentially organizable social groups. They are not the top leadership, but local activists who provide infrastructure. In other words, they are a resource which can activate mobilization through face-to-face contact. Carry-on, carry-over (Gusfield, 1981) are cadre personnel, people who participate in one movement and who are capable of being carriers to and for others. Workers' vanguard (Frederico, 1979) are those workers who raise the consciousness of their colleagues by explicating what "could be" as opposed to "what is". The difference is that I have visualized this cadre of committed members acting within a community and not so much between different movement organizations, or at the work place, I suggest that the role they play is that of an informal leadership, which has two effects: (a) it allows more balance of power, less centralization being a restraint to the formal leadership; (b) it provides alternative sources of information for the individuals in the community, and also alternative models of interaction to the group.

democratic leadership would stimulate the participation of the population. The interactions between the leaders and the base would be positive, giving opportunity for feelings of efficacy to develop. The leader would maintain balanced relations with the followers, that is, the exchanges between the leader and followers would be characterized by respect, grounded on esteem, since the leader being a significant other has the potential to improve feelings of self-esteem and of political efficacy by stimulating the followers to contribute to the movement by listening to their ideas, solutions and suggestions, by keeping them informed and by operating a democratic decision-making process.

The existence of a cadre of committed members ensures that the leadership will be democratic because they will balance the leaders 'actions' through being alternative sources of information, ideas and ideology, and through their potential for suggesting alternative means for achieving the aims of the movement (solutions, strategies, etc.). They have the role of alternative 'opinion makers'. Being similar to the leaders in having political consciousness they are significant others for the dwellers and for the leaders. To summarize I expected that a participative community would present:

1. democratic leadership style:
  - 1.1 the leadership would be mobilizing - it would stimulate the participation of active members and the expansion of the ranks
  - 1.2 it would have a participative decision-making process
  - 1.3 it would stimulate the development of a collective identity, presenting the community with resources to reconceptualize a negative social identity and therefore develop some psychological group membership
  - 1.4 the interactions with the population would be respectful and

marked by esteem

2. The leaders would present:
  - 2.1 feelings of relative deprivation and of fraternal deprivation
  - 2.2 system-blame causal attribution
  - 2.3 individual-personal political efficacy and group political efficacy
  - 2.4 would have as significant others the favelados
  - 2.5 would have empathy and insight with the group
  - 2.6 would have political consciousness
  - 2.7 would present congruence between their actions and their verbal behaviour
  - 2.8 would communicate with different groups and sub-groups in the favela
  
3. The cadre of committed members would demonstrate:
  - 3.1 group membership or psychological group membership
  - 3.2 altruism
  - 3.3 personal and group political efficacy
  - 3.4 relative or fraternal deprivation
  - 3.5 system-blame causal attribution
  - 3.6 similar rules of action and therefore similar values and beliefs to their neighbours
  - 3.7 political consciousness understood as:
    - awareness of their rights as citizens
    - awareness of the need for joint action
    - awareness of the shared needs and interests
  - 3.8 actions congruent with their verbal behaviour
  - 3.9 furthermore they would communicate with the groups and subgroups within the favela



4. The individuals from a participative favela would differ from those of a non-participative one (that is, where the majority of the dwellers do not take part in the movement) in that more people would have, according to the political participation studies:
  - 4.1 been longer in the favela (5 years or more, is the threshold used in the literature on housing in Brazil as an indicator of long stay)
  - 4.2 participated in trade unions
  - 4.3 higher occupational status, higher educational levels and higher incomes
  - 4.4 come from households composed of families as opposed to single individuals
  - 4.5 overall homogeneity of socio-economic and demographic characteristics
  - 4.6 awareness of the shared needs and of the need for collective action

Furthermore, the dwellers in a participative favela would show awareness of their rights as citizens, collective identity, feelings of personal and group efficacy, and higher self-esteem.

5. The interactions in a participative favela would be characterized by:
  - 5.1 extensive and intensive communication networks
  - 5.2 by helping and cooperative behaviours
  - 5.3 similarity in the rules of action and value system
  - 5.4 reconceptualization of potentially tense contacts; that is, stressful contacts would not be a hindrance to participation

The participative favela was not expected to present differences in the organizational structure of the Dwellers' Association, because these have to follow a standard charter to be registered as a volunteer organization.

This does not mean that the actual exercise of power by the leaders is the same because contrary to the predictions of 'resource mobilization' research, the existence of similar charters does not, to my view, mean that they are put into practice in the same way.

Basically, I am stating that sustained participation takes place as a result of some process of political resocialization involving a reassessment of political efficacy (personal and group) based on psychological gains from participation which allow for psychological group membership to develop. This is possible because of the interactive effects of the cadre of committed members with the leadership style. These allow both for the experiences of participation to be such that they bring changes in feelings of political efficacy and for the emergence of a reference group inside the favela. In sum, I am stating that for sustained participation to take place there must be psychological gains of some sort, that the achievement of improvements is not enough, that utilitarian commitments are not long-term ones, and that only moral and affective commitments guarantee continued participation. Other gains are possible, but I am concentrating on these because of the indications from political literature of the importance of political efficacy, I am stating these may be related to changes in their self-esteem and this in turn to their belongingness in the group.

This whole process is understood to be social psychological in its

fullest sense since it involves the interface between group processes and individual ones. This is the reason why interactions are stressed in this study. These are seen taking place within the social networks, which are not only information and ideology dissemination networks, but also represent the space where the interactions occur. The interactions determine the social climate or the ambience in the favela: as such, they can be assets for participation if the exchanges are composed of behaviours such as helping, cooperation and altruism. These are assumed to facilitate communication and further contact, and therefore, to facilitate the realization of shared needs, values, and promote awareness of the need for collective action. This is the ground upon which feelings of fraternal deprivation and psychological group membership may emerge. There is empirical evidence that individuals more involved in interpersonal networks (as well as more active in political organizations, ideologically committed to social change and structurally available for participation) participate more. There have been extensive discussions on the role of social networks in facilitating recruitment into social movements, what I am suggesting is that the study of interactions<sup>41</sup> provides the content of the exchanges and not only the structure of interaction. The social networks indicate who is being reached, but it does not reveal how people are being reached.

Interaction is understood here in Blumer's terms (1969b) as "a formative process rather than an arena" (the social networks are such an arena) for the playing out of prefabricated behaviour. It is

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<sup>41</sup> Zurcher & Snow (1981) say, "People and their interactions are the linking pins of the networks. Interaction thus conceptually cuts across individuals and organizations, as does meaning as the product of interaction" (p. 472).

socially constructed; "the forms that take place cannot be compressed into pre-existing forms, but they must be empirically discovered" (Stryker, 1981). I have isolated three types of behaviour as contributing to participation, helping and cooperative behaviours and altruism.<sup>42</sup> The first two are defined by Schwartz & Howard (1982) as characterized by mutual dependence, defined as relations in which 'the costs and benefits that one party obtains from her or his behaviour are determined at least partly by the actions of another party'. In cooperation there is a common interest: reward for both; in helping, one person in need of aid is dependent on another to incur some costs in order to provide help. There are costs to both behaviours: they differ in the rewards. The helper gains psychological, social and material rewards and incurs material or social costs. The helpee gains material rewards and incurs social or psychological costs. The difference between altruism and helping is that the latter is mediated by social norms, by group expectations backed by externally defined and imposed rewards and punishments. Altruism is based on personal norms, which are situation specific behavioural expectations generated by internalized values, backed by self-administered sanctions and rewards. Cooperation is seen as the product of a decision-making process. Altruism affects collective action according to Marwell (1982) because in small groups, where there is face-to-face interaction, there is noticeability of individual contributions. People receive rewards (the psychological gains) also indirectly through the rewards others receive. This interdependence of rewards is grounded on people's capacity to

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<sup>42</sup> Walsh & Warland (1983) found in their research on the Three Mile Island movement that participation in the movement was explained by solidarity (altruism), pre-movement ideology, discontent, and by structural variables (selective incentives). Non-participation was associated with lack of information, problems with money and problems with the family.

identify with other people's pains and pleasures.

These behaviours involve value and beliefs systems and most theories of social movements predict that the more homogeneity there is in a community the richer it will be in terms of interpersonal contacts. These theories place a lot of importance on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population, but no attention is paid to homogeneity or similarity in value and belief systems. In fact, this indicates that either they assume that similarity in one area leads to similarity in the other, or that values and beliefs systems are not important to participation. This is not my viewpoint and interactions are being studied here incorporating belief and value systems.<sup>43</sup> These are interpreted as emerging from the rules of action and interpretation (Harré, 1979). The value system refers to what is 'allowed' and what is 'not allowed'. The belief system refers to how these should be changed and are expressed in the rules of action and in the rules of interpretation. The former are prescriptive rules and give directions for action, which enable members to choose between possible modes of conduct available to them and to maintain a sense of propriety and social legitimacy. Rules of interpretation are characterized as constitutive rules: they ascribe meaning to objects and events. Through these it is possible to clarify how much common knowledge is actually shared by the community: that is, how much common ground exists among favelados concerning their values and beliefs, as well as possible tensions due to lack of 'communication' or communality

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<sup>43</sup> In my view, differences in socio-economic and demographic characteristics are less important than differences in value and belief systems. If such systems had no importance, how would one explain that some social movements take place across social classes, such as the women's movement, or yet across social classes, ethnicity and gender such as the anti-nuclear movement or ecology-minded movements.

of rules with newcomers, deviant members, etc. I am not advocating homogeneity of beliefs and values, but that there should be some common ground, some compatibility. Shared beliefs are involved in the formation of symbols that hold common meanings. As Edelman (1971, after Mead) suggested, this may also be involved in the psychological experience of group membership. In other words, the perception that one belongs to a group demands identification with some common features of this group. Beliefs and values might well constitute such common features, depending on the nature of the group. Furthermore, interactions are of special interest if we wish to understand differential participation in social movements because they are also involved in the development of self-esteem, should the members of the community involved represent role-specific significant others.<sup>44</sup>

Significant others are persons whose judgements have credibility and are valued. Valuation refers to "the opinions of those people who matter most to us - whose opinion we care about greatly"

(Rosenberg, 1981, p. 598). Credibility refers to the effect of the other's opinion on us and is dependent upon this person's degree of expertise, imputed motivation and congruency. It is reasonable to assume that this implies some sharing of values and beliefs, for self-esteem is affected by how people interact depending on how much their judgment is valued and trusted. I have not neglected in this framework the contributions from the resource mobilization line that commitment to a movement is a function of the extent to which the movement develops various strategies and mechanisms that provide:

1. gratifications and rewards for participation
2. that foster a sense of belongingness - a 'we' feeling

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<sup>44</sup> This is a distinction drawn by Denzin (1966), it refers to individuals who are significant with regard to a specific aspect of the individual's role set (in Rosenberg, 1981, p. 600).

3. that anchor the individuals self-conception and world view in the movement
4. that circumscribe other possible objects of commitment and reduce the value of outside activities

I differ from this line in that I do not attribute all this to the movement, but to the process of the movement within a community. The action comes from the movement organization and from its audience - the dwellers, be it participants or not. Sustained participation is then seen as the result of the interactive effects of the leadership style, of certain characteristics of the population, and as these affect and are affected by the interactions taking place in the favela.

Gratifications, sense of belongingness, etc., are resultants of the interactive effects of facets of the movement and the population. I am concentrating on one facet - the leadership style and certain characteristics of individuals which crystallize in the interactions which take place in daily life in the favelas.

## Chapter 2 The Brazilian Historical Context and the Social Movements

### 2.1 The opportunities or lack of opportunities for political participation

Participation in voluntary associations, or in political activities (except voting, which is not optional), has always been low. Kowarick (1979) estimates that 73% to 93% of the low-income population does not participate in any association.<sup>1</sup> Explanations for this lack of participation have changed throughout the years. Until recently it was said that low participation was a consequence of the 'relative weakness' of the civil society in contrast to the strength of the State.<sup>2</sup> Research within this line of interpretation explained the lack of participation of the working class on the basis of characteristics which were attributed to this population such as conformism, culture of poverty, marginality and rootlessness (because of the constant internal migration). What Kinder & Sears (1985) call opportunities or provocations to political action started to receive attention by the 70s when authors shifted the focus of analysis to the opportunities or lack of opportunities to participate. This shift brought into question the role of the State and that of the ruling class in facilitating or obstructing participation.

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<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a general trend for political activities, not for voluntary associations. Kinder & Sears (1985) pointed out that in the United States only 11% of the population regularly takes part in some form of political action.

<sup>2</sup> This concept comes from Poulantzas (1968). The civil society is separate from the State. This is a characteristic of the capitalist State. The civil society is constituted of the 'ensemble of individual agents of production'.



When discussing these roles consideration of historical events pinpoints some of the specificities of authoritarianism in Brazil. Edelman's (1971, 1977) ideas concerning the role of the government<sup>3</sup> in 'caused inaction' find support in the analysis that Brazilian authors such as Singer & Brant (1983) and Kowarick (1979) make of the role of the State in the lack of participation of the poor in Brazil. Edelman interprets the stability of the advantages that the elites maintain over the non-elites as a social process in which the communications between authorities and mass publics structure the subsequent expectations of the former, and contribute to the public's acceptance of their relationship to the authorities (Lipsky, 1977). Edelman's analysis is directed towards the symbolic content and the psychological impact on the population of public discourses, policies and actions.

Edelman developed the hypothesis that governmental policies which materially favour the ruling class, can at the symbolical level 'falsely reassure mass publics that their interests are protected against the rapaciousness of the powerful groups' (Lipsky, in Edelman, 1977, p. xxi). This is facilitated by the nature of political cognitions which have strong emotional components and are ambivalent. This ambivalence makes them (the cognitions) susceptible to government actions, which in turn shape them, defining people's beliefs about what is proper, what is fact, as well as their expectations of what is to come (Edelman, 1971). The result in terms of participation is that in

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<sup>3</sup> Marxists or neo-Marxist political scientists have always emphasized the role of the State in 'attempting to regulate the process of economic development and to moderate or offset acute social conflicts threatening to the political and ideological stability of the social system' (Dunleavy, 1980, p. 43). This intervention, according to MacPherson (1979) has been functional to the maintenance of capitalistic economic relations within the social system. Where Edelman differs from these authors is that he provides clues about social psychological mechanisms for maintaining the status quo.

a pluralistic society such as the American one, at first glance there are multiple opportunities for people to participate in politics, and yet there is little actual participation because even in pluralistic societies there is manipulation of people's attitudes and aspirations. It is said (by Lipsky, 1977) that a sense of popular democracy is conveyed, but the reality is only partially actualized. In authoritarian societies this is no less complex. Such a society has been characterized by Linz (1964) as presenting limited (not responsible) pluralism, low popular mobilization, weak ideological constraint on the elite and decision-making and the frequently arbitrary exercise of power exercised by a single leader or small group. This model provides a broad frame, but does not clarify how these features relate and how low participation is maintained.

A review of the principal historical events in Brazil in the past 50 years suggests that Edelman's analysis would be a fruitful line to adopt. The threshold of 50 years derives from this being the mark established by political scientists, historians, economists and urban sociologists to delimit the beginning of 'Modern Brazil' that is, when the country changed from a basically agricultural and rural society to an industrial and urban one. This change took place alongside political developments which brought about changes in legislation which effected both opportunities to participate in political action and the quiescence of the working class. This period can be roughly divided into three regimes: a dictatorship from 1930-1945, also called the Estado Novo (the New State), a populist democratic regime from 1953-1964, and the military dictatorship which lasted from 1964-1985. Throughout this period urban centres such as Sao Paulo grew at very fast rates due to the migration from the countryside to the cities. The workers migrated through a process of 'push-and-pull' - expelled

from the land by landlords, by the poor productivity of their small plots, and/or working conditions and the weather (severe droughts, frosts), and attracted to the cities by the availability of work in the newly developing industries.

This process was intense specifically in Sao Paulo from the 50s until the late 70s when the population more than doubled. Since the cities were not prepared to house those migrants, and the wages paid to those mostly unskilled workers were low, one of the consequences was the emergence of favelas. These are interpreted as the visible consequences of economic policies which kept wages below the levels of inflation, reducing the buying power of the working class, gave no priority to low-income housing, or to land legislation, thus allowing for uncontrolled land speculation. The role the government came to play in delimiting the opportunities for participation is also seen as important.

The delimitation and manipulation of opportunities for the participation of the working class, in the 'modern Brazil' started in the 30s when a revolution took place and Getulio Vargas came into power where he was to remain for the next 15 years. Vargas produced the first laws concerning social welfare, labour and trade union legislation. These were based on the concept of 'maintenance of social peace', under the guise of 'class collaboration' or corporativism. The civil rights provided were not universal but were attached to a person's occupation: 'the citizenship is contained in the occupations, and the rights are restricted to the place he occupies in the productive process such as recognized by law' (Santos, 1979, quoted by Jacobi & Nunes, 1982, p. 190). The consequences were that the access to benefits and social welfare depended on one's occupation.<sup>4</sup>

Legislation<sup>5</sup> was established also to control the trade unions, and the labour conditions regulating the negotiations between employers and employees.

The social welfare legislation had direct reflections on housing and how the housing problem would be treated from then on. This legislation is interpreted by different authors (Moises, 1982; Chaui, 1980; Kowarick, 1982) as manipulative because under the guise of providing the workers with rights, conditions were created whereby the State assumed the full control over workers, workers' movements and trade unions. This was done in a subtle way for labour and trade union laws did incorporate some of the demands made by workers and did reflect pressures they were putting on the government. Just before these laws were passed there had been successive strikes. The government and the ruling class were further sensitized by the growing popularity of the Communist Party and the anarchists and anarcho-trade union activities (Chaui, 1980; Farah, 1984). The interesting point is that the laws went further than the demands made by workers. The workers were asking only for secure retirement pensions. The laws ruled that health care and housing finance were other items to be provided to workers. In other words, the government took the initiative in bringing under its indirect jurisdiction the issues of

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<sup>4</sup> Retirement pensions, paid sick leave of absence, health care, help for burial, access to funding for housing, etc. were provided by different social welfare institutes organized according to occupational categories: Industrial workers, workers in Banking and Financial Institutions, Commerce, Naval workers, Dock workers, Civil Servants and so forth. They were controlled by the State and their presidents were appointed by the Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce. They were also under the supervision of the Superior Council of Social Welfare. Excluded from these rights were all rural workers, self employed urban workers, and domestic workers.

<sup>5</sup> This legislation had as a model Mussolini's Carta del Lavoro.

health and housing. As housing came to be an acute problem, workers started to put pressure on the government, since they believed it to be responsible. By the 40s, the State was identified as the agent responsible for the solution of housing problems. Until then, whenever a housing crisis occurred, due to rent rises, for instance, the workers directed their demands for higher wages to the employers. In the 40s the content of the demands was more likely to be a rent freeze or the provision of government housing.

The State's initial objective in enacting such "advanced legislation" was one of total control over workers and it had two consequences which helped establish the pattern of ambiguity which permeates the relations between the State and the citizens: because there was no participation from the workers in the actual operationalization of benefits provision, these came to be interpreted as "donations" from the government.<sup>6</sup> Access to these benefits was linked to one's occupational category, as a result some occupational categories had access to more benefits than others. This differential access to benefits, depending on one's occupational status reinforced the idea that benefits were not universally granted but that access to such benefits was dependent of the government's decisions concerning each category, in other words, that the government provided benefits to some and not to others as it saw fit. The rules it used for the allocation of these benefits were not clear. This distribution was

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<sup>6</sup>This idea was reinforced by the way the benefits were actually provided: for instance, small housing estates were built and noisily inaugurated, the political impact always surpassing the actual impact in solving housing problems (from 1937 to 1945, 39 housing estates totally 6626 units were built) (Farah, 1984). The few workers who benefitted had often to use informal channels to get ahead in waiting lists. This reinforced 'clientelism' and consequently the access to housing stressed once more that these represented favours and not rights.

then interpreted as favours to certain occupational categories and not as universal rights of all workers.

Caldeira (1984) investigating how the poor see the powerful ones, verified that even as late as in the 80s people still saw not only social welfare rights but the actual labour legislation as favours. Another consequence was that once people got used to rights, once they learned to use them, even if they were perceived as favours granted, once they came to be accepted as routine, they also raised expectations and pressure developed.

The labour and trade union legislation of 1943 strengthened the pattern described above. Labour was thoroughly regulated, all possible areas of conflict were rigidly specified: wages, length of work shifts, safety and hygiene practices, conditions for admission and dismissal of workers; identification and professional registration; leave of absence and holidays; the proportion of Brazilian and foreign workers were all subject to legislation. Special legislation also dealt with female and child labour.

Trade unions were legalized in 1931 but more thoroughly regulated in 1943. Trade unions are still organized in a hierarchical fashion to avoid local organization of the different occupational categories. In fact it is prohibited for local trade unions to join together in some form of central trade union. A local steelworkers trade union, for instance, cannot legally and formally coordinate activities with bank workers. Trade unions of the same trade are organized into federations and these in confederations under the Ministry of Labour. This legislation delimited rigidly the functions of the trade unions; political activities were, and still are, prohibited; the government

has the right to intervene directly in the management - dismissing and substituting elected leaders by others appointed by the Ministry; leaders who have been dismissed by the government become ineligible for trade union positions; the government has a final say in the legal status of the trade unions; the government also controls the budgets of the trade unions through the trade union tax which is charged for every legally employed worker and corresponds to one day's pay per year. This tax is collected by the government which then redistributes it to the confederations, federations and local trade unions. The confederations and federations decide how the local trade unions will receive their share. The legislation further specifies how certain resources will be allocated to health and dental care, cooperatives, educational programmes. Strictly forbidden is expenditure on political campaigns, political parties or political participation, or strike funds. De facto the trade unions have had to play the role of surrogate social welfare agencies relieving the government of part of its obligations. The strictest rule however is that all trade union funds (from all sources: trade union tax, contributions, donations, etc.) must be deposited in a Federal Savings Bank. These assets can be frozen by the government whenever judged necessary. Lastly any connections with international trade unions have to be approved by the government (Moreira Alves, 1984).

Despite a redemocratization which took place in 1945 (and lasted until 1964) no changes were introduced to any of the three laws mentioned above. The changes were in the actual exercise of power by the government and on the demand for the provision of benefits from the population. The government, more sensitized to these demands, because more responsive to voting practices, promised and took responsibility for providing, although again it did not deliver all the promised

benefits. In sum, some practices changed for a brief period, but the mainstream was maintained. The legal framework which gave all powers to the government did not change, neither did the practice of promising rather than delivering.

The pattern of economic development took more and more the shape of State intervention and control of the economy. Immediately after the Second World War, the State enlarged this role by investing in the steel industry, oil and shipbuilding (Moises, 1982) as well as in the infrastructure needed for industrial development (roads, production of services, etc.). The redemocratization process meant a new constitution, the return of general elections, freedom for political parties. For example, the Communist Party was legal, for a brief period and the states recovered their relative autonomy.

From 1953 to early 1964 the country lived under a populist regime. There was a resurgence of social movements; trade unions, despite the legislation, were active, and in Sao Paulo neighbourhood associations which had emerged in the late 40s became very active and managed to obtain some attention from local government. In Rio de Janeiro, dwellers associations emerged to defend the rights and needs of the population living in favelas. Even in the rural areas of the northeast, traditionally far less active, in an organized way, peasant leagues were created.

The economic priorities, nevertheless, remained the creation and expansion of conditions for the accumulation of capital. The poorer population was less neglected but as Moises (1982) puts it, "the government turned a blind eye to what was happening in the fast growing urban areas". As far as housing was concerned, the population was left



to its own devices. In Sao Paulo most of the low income population throughout the 50s and the 60s bought land in distant, unserviced areas and slowly built some form of shelter. Brazilian urban sociologists interpret the emergence of the social movements in the 50s as a result of the fact that the image of the State as the benefactor and universal purveyor was increasingly contradicted by its inaction. As the population's awareness of this contradiction increased the movements became more active. The government, especially the municipal government in Sao Paulo, was found to be increasingly attentive to these demands. At a time when to gain office one had to win votes, popular support was not to be dismissed. This was called by Weffort (1978) "democratization via authoritarianism".<sup>7</sup> During the populist period the legitimacy of the demands of the urban population were reinforced and the State managed to retain its image of attending to the needs of every citizen. By now it was established in people's minds that the State was responsible for services such as water, electricity, schools, road building, transport, etc. for all citizens. These 'common goods' had to be provided for the collectivity, and therefore had to be collectively demanded.

In 1964,<sup>8</sup> a coup took place and a military government took over. All the incipient trends were exaggerated. Political, economic and

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<sup>7</sup> Craig & Cornelius (1980) note that this limited type of 'democracy' in Mexico has led to the extensive use of politically connected intermediaries, to facilitate dealings with government agencies. This 'clientelismo', while providing access for the demands of the poor, reduces large scale demand making and fragments the political action of the lower classes into requests for individual, short-term benefits (p. 355). Thus the government can concentrate its resources on the satisfaction of demands of higher-status groups, which are seen as potentially more threatening to the regime (p. 370).

<sup>8</sup> This account of the historical background from 1964 onwards is heavily based on Moreira Alves (1984) analysis of the relations between the opposition and the State in Brazil between 1964 and 1984.

social policies were centralized under federal government control. The concentration of power reached levels the society had not known before, and so did the exclusion of many from political participation.

The ideology of the regime was based on the National Security and Development<sup>9</sup> concept, developed by the Superior War College (Escola Superior de Guerra). According to this concept the legitimacy of the new regime would come from economic development and from the maintenance of national security. This is called negative legitimacy (Lafer, quoted by Chaui, 1980, and also Moreira Alves, 1984). In this view of society there is no need for support from the masses, legitimacy derives from the de facto exercise of power, through economic policies and not through agreement and social consensus. The main priority is economic development understood as State intervention in the economy to strengthen the productive capacity; through an alliance between State, multinational and private sector capital. The State's central role in the accumulation process was interpreted by Chaui and Moreira Alves as the consequence of the incapacity of the private sector to make the necessary investments and to absorb technological innovations necessary to produce goods which could compete in the international markets. The process of development achieved is labelled dependent or peripheral.<sup>10</sup> This process of

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<sup>9</sup> Development is to be understood in broad terms - encompassing technological, social, political and cultural procedures which facilitate the expansion of productive capacity (Moreira Alves, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> Dependent economies are defined as functioning at the periphery of the world system, far from the concentration of resources necessary for self-generated growth. Peripheral industrialization is based on products which are mass consumption products in central economies, but which in dependent economies are superfluous. This type of industrialization with emphasis on technology increases inequalities in income by providing high wages in sectors employing modern technologies while traditional sectors are lowly-paid (Moreira Alves, 1984).

development did not have as a priority the improvement in the quality of life of the majority of the population. The Superior War College handbook explained that, in fact, it could be necessary to "sacrifice successive generations" (Moreira Alves, 1984).

To implement this project, it was necessary to secure "internal social tranquility" in order to attract foreign investment. This was translated into the need for a strong central government and the total concentration of power. The state governments lost their power: elections for state governorship and for the governments of state capitals were eliminated. The central government appointed state governors and de facto also appointed mayors for all cities located in the National Security Zones (strategic cities containing a heavy concentration of industry, exporting ports, and state capitals). Total control was exercised over the economy, which literally became an almost wholly centrally planned economy, regulating wages indexation, subsidies and fiscal incentives. Oliveira (1978) describing how industrial expansion took place says: "markets protected by high import tariffs, credit with negative interest, expansion of State enterprises which supplied basic material (provided industry) with the elements of constant capital; ..." (p. 73). The expansion of the State's direct interest in the economy reached a peak; its gross share of the economy came to represent 40% of fixed capital (Davidovich, 1984), making it literally in Oliveira's words:

"the real capitalist integrating itself with one of the classes as a member. A deep cleavage occurred, with the State and the State enterprises on one side and the rest of the nation or more specifically the working class, on the other (...). The State lost the ambiguity, characteristic of its function as regulator of capitalist society and became a non-ambiguous being, whose most intimate relationship is with enterprises (...). The function of the State was on the one hand to cover the sectors for which private capital was not available and on the other to save private capital profits". (Oliveira quoted by Chaui, 1980, p. 130).

The political and economic concentration of power demanded that there should be no opposition movement - be it from political parties, trade unions, students, etc. This was operationalized by repression and the creation of a Repressive Apparatus and through the National Security legislation.

A new Constitution was written; the legislature was considerably weakened, but certain individual rights were maintained. Elections were still held for Congress and State and Municipal Assemblies, even if manipulated and the courts even if under State control still managed to maintain a certain autonomy. Harsher terms were added to the existing labour and trade union legislation: legal strikes became virtually impossible: direct negotiations between employers and employees were erased. The government set wages indexation for all categories. "Laws of exception" (Leis de excecao) were produced to strip opponents of their political and citizen rights and were applied to politicians, trade union leaders, university professors, military personnel, and civil servants. These laws implied loss of job, loss of voting rights, and the right to run for public office, etc.

The Repression Apparatus was in charge of maintaining "social tranquillity" which meant in practice the elimination of any opposition, or the "internal enemy". A sophisticated system of "detection of threat" was developed. From then onwards any form of non-conformism was interpreted as opposition and opposition was a threat (Moreira Alves, 1984). During the twenty-one years that followed the coup, Brazil oscillated between periods of liberalization - during which the opposition gained some ground and repression. Two languages were used simultaneously: a dialogue of consensus, and physical repression in the streets.

The actual exercise of power was also sophisticated.<sup>11</sup> Power changed hands regularly: every 5 years a new military president stepped into office. This meant that different factions within the military establishment had the opportunity to govern.

The last military government which ended in March 1985 tried to delimit acceptable and non-acceptable opposition, but the political strategies and threats of repression did not succeed. The basic strategy of legitimacy derived from economic growth and national security did not achieve the results it had aimed for. The regime was fragile according to Moreira Alves (1984) because it was isolated from the civil society. It needed an external legitimacy which it could not obtain. The mechanisms of transfer of power which were developed were not stable enough, and could not overcome the contradictions and disagreements within the military - its own base of support.

Important sectors of the national bourgeoisie, such as part of the community of industrialists and bankers stopped supporting the State,

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<sup>11</sup> This regime was different from the ones in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, in that the Brazilian generals used the language of democracy to implement a dictatorial system (Moreira Alves, 1984). The gap between the democratic language and the pragmatic need for repression had two consequences: firstly, it forced the military government to search for legitimacy in formal institutions. It could not, for instance, close down the National Congress; or the states and municipal assemblies, or stop all political activities. Secondly, after each period of repression, liberalization was needed to diminish the level of tension created by the violence of repression. During its final years the regime tried to direct the repression at specific classes. When the Base Ecclesiastical Communities, developed with the support of the Catholic church, started to grow, and the trade union movement started to mobilize the bases, it was directed against them. Moreira Alves (1984) interprets this as an attempt to establish a more flexible institutional structure, allowing a social pact supported by the upper and middle classes, but which did not allow new political alternatives in social and economic policies.

and its total control over the economy came to be condemned as being more of a threat to the private sector than an asset. Lastly, the violence of repression was experienced as a continuous threat to all members of society.

Despite the intensity of the repression, social movements did emerge: strikes, for instance, happened in 1968, 1978, 1979 and 1980, despite 1565 direct interventions in trade unions, the imprisonment and death by torture of leaders, loss of political rights and forced exile. Other forms of defiance and protest, from riots to attending forbidden public meetings, did take place; neighbourhood associations, favelados organizations, etc. did develop.

The social costs of the current economic model however were and still are high; the international debt is the external visible cost, but internally, the social debt is beginning to be identified.<sup>12</sup> The internal gross product multiplied by ten between 1945 and 1980: the industrial expansion was of roughly 9% a year (Davidovich, 1984): the industrial labour force grew from 275,000 in 1920 to 11 million in 1980. The speed of urbanization is verified by the transformation of the country's population from predominantly rural in 1940 (32% lived in urban areas), to predominantly urban by 1980 (67% of the country's population was now living in cities). Despite all this growth, the structural problems of high population growth, high levels of poverty and high concentration of wealth continued.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Part of these costs can be identified in Appendix 1 where Sao Paulo is characterized in socio-economic and demographic terms and in terms of services and infrastructure.

<sup>13</sup> The wages indexation, until 1979, followed a formula where the level of inflation was estimated for the following year: to this was added a level of productivity. The two figures - estimated inflation and  
(Footnote continued)

The data from the 1980 Census<sup>14</sup> have been interpreted by Brazilian authors as revealing a growth in the impoverishment of the population. The World Bank Report (Staff Working Papers No. 601-1983) does not agree and interprets these data as indicating

"a substantial progress in improving living standards during the 1980s. The non-income measures of poverty attest to considerable progress, despite continued and pressing problems of poverty. Average real incomes have also increased substantially, even among the poorest 40% of the economically active population. Overall income inequality did not undergo appreciable change between 1970 and 1980" (p. 29).

This decade (the 70s) is exactly the period when the favelas swelled, when the population which previously could afford to pay rent had to cut its expenditures on housing. While it is true that conditions did improve for sectors of the population, it is difficult to accept an overall improvement for everyone. Life expectancy, for instance, remains very low: for the poorest it is 49 years, whereas for the wealthier it is 62 years. In 1983, effects of malnutrition were alarming the Armed Forces: 45% of the young men conscripted into military service were rejected because they did not meet height and weight requirements. Undernourishment is a severe problem even in the wealthy South East and South where the Census Bureau along with Unicef have detected that 48.4% of the families with children up to 5 years of age show deficiencies in calories and proteins, 58% having calcium deficiency, 32.6% iron and 76.2% Vitamin A deficiencies.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> (continued)

productivity were open to manipulation, which did occur. Figures from the Ministry of Planning indicate that between 1968 and 1973 the gains in productivity were not included in the formulas applied to wage indexation. The overall effect was that by 1976, the minimum wage represented 31% of its value in 1959. By 1978, while United States auto workers were being paid US \$8.65 per hour and British auto workers were earning US \$3.45 per hour, Brazilians were being paid, for the same tasks, US \$0.60 per hour.

<sup>14</sup> Summarized in Appendix 1.

The psychological costs in terms of the political socialization process in its broadest sense including political efficacy, political trust, political expectations and aspirations, political cognitions and so on, are ignored; one can only assume they are not small. Some of these consequences are being discussed by Singer & Brant (1983) and Chaui (1980). All these authors point to the dangers of lack of awareness and to the damage that authoritarianism produces. Singer & Brant point to one of the effects of the extremely restrictive labour and trade union legislations which were presented to the workers as a protection of their rights. This interpretation was accepted by both workers and employers. The latter ended up seeing the government as acting against them.<sup>16</sup> The workers accepted government mediation and only recently became aware of the need to regain access to direct negotiations with employers. This was the result of some awareness of the damage done to them by their acceptance and submission to this government's mediation. The trade union legislation, plus the government's attitude had devastating demobilizing effects which only now begin to be appreciated. The workers are not the only ones to fall into the trap of accepting forms of authoritarianism. Chaui (1980) and Singer & Brant (1983) have stressed that even sectors from the left, by fearing the organization of workers and workers' movements, fall prey

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<sup>15</sup> Food prices went up by 428% between 1977 and 1980, while the minimum wage was indexed by 203%. In 1959 a worker, on minimum wage, needed to work 65 hours and 5 minutes to pay for his basic food for a month. In January 1984, this worker needed to work 170 hours and 19 minutes to buy the same food. Food prices went up as a consequence of changes in agricultural practices: fertile land was used for sugar cane to produce alcohol in the petrol substitution programme; export crops (soya, oranges, cocoa) received fiscal and other incentives, taking over traditional crops such as rice, beans, corn, wheat, etc.

<sup>16</sup> It is said, anecdotally, that when Vargas was accused by an industrialist of 'protecting' the workers (being partial to workers) that he replied, "no, I am protecting you from the workers."



to it. The fear is that the workers may come to think and act independently without tutelage and upset power relations.

Chaui (1980) summarizes poignantly the complexities, perplexities and ambiguities of Brazilian society:

"In a country where civil rights are not secured, being dependent upon 'security laws', where the right to strike is illegal; where the trade unions are muzzled by the State; where social policy is an instrument of economic-political control; where socio-economic inequalities are not only class related but also regional; where the federal system never became a reality; where 'perpetual centrism' has been the political rule and the elite parties have always been paternalist; where the mass parties were always bureaucratic; where large sectors of the Left (especially the leadership) came out of the urban middle class, and in general from the State and military bureaucracies (determining political struggles always aimed at the State as the organizer of the social economic and political space); where authoritarianism involves not just the government but is a distinct mark of social relations, permeating all activities and ways of thinking .....; where liberals never dismissed the need for military intervention to fortify the Executive and to regulate the market, and where the Left never abandoned the confusion between revolutionary practices and government programmes; where, therefore, politics always had a conspiracy and coup producing style, not being able to exist within stable institutional mechanisms; where the belief in a demiurgic vocation of the State, expecting that its action will create the society and history, obliterates the fact that it is a bourgeois state ....., where the same demiurgic vision of State action is, paradoxically, mixed with a vision that laws, because they are laws can be permanently transgressed, which in practice means never to question them as laws; where this vision of laws as transgressable rather than questionable, is interpreted as proof of the lack of capacity of the bourgeoisie's hegemony to catalyse consensus ..... when the 'weakness' of the laws is one of the aspects of the bourgeoisie's hegemony ...; where the periodic belief in the popular social movements sees them only as a means of mobilization and not as forms capable of establishing practices which could establish the foundations for democratic institutions, thus reducing democracy to the instrumental dimension of an occasional political practice for, contrary to what happened in Europe (in this country), democracy is always the random result of a correlation of forces and not the result of a common social praxis; where the prevailing feeling is that of 'not having a recognized position in the civic community or of not having a civic community to be part of; where corporativism dominates the definition of a citizenship determined by occupation, forcing professional organizations and trade unions to be engulfed by a fragmentation which reinforces the State's imposed unification ...; where it is still necessary to fight for direct elections and for universal franchise - in such a country, that is, in Brazil, liberal democracy seems something to be fought for, and the previous discussion (the passage to socialism) lacks sense."

(p. 159, 160, 161)

## 2.2 The social movements

Social movements have been studied in Brazil mostly by urban sociologists. The theoretical framework applied to explain these movements is that of Castells (1977; 1983). In this framework the grievances associated with the movements are highlighted as well as the social conflict character of such movements and their potential for social change. This approach focuses on 'urban social movements' which are said to emerge out of a basic contradiction

"between the necessity for capital to exploit it (the space) for profit and the social requirements of those who consume it: in other words, the contradiction between profit and need, exchange value and use value. The political expression of this contradiction is found in the constant political struggle between individualistic and collectivistic strategies"  
(Saunders, 1981, p. 154).

Empirical work refers to both institutionalized social movements and collective forms of behaviour, such as urban riots. Violent collective behaviour is not strictly separated from institutionalized actions, specially by Moises (1982) who has studied urban transport riots as social movements. The Brazilian studies focus attention on the structural variables associated with social movements and on their potential for bringing about social changes this means that the empirical work refers more to the macro level. Aspects such as differential participation, organizational structure and leadership style have not been systematically approached.

There is consensus among different authors in their analysis of the emergence of social movements in Brazil. They see the causes in the existing social deficits which are considered to be the result of the State action (or the lack of it) in the urban areas. It is said by these authors that this intervention had the character of 'securing the ideological reproduction of the labour force rather than its physical

reproduction' (Azevedo & Andrade, 1982; Farah, 1984). This means that the State has not been seriously engaged in solving or diminishing the problems faced by the poor. It has in fact adopted policies which have kept this population quiet. The State has not been completely inactive but has acted symbolically: that is, the number of housing units built, for instance, is very small. These were interpreted as symbolical interventions. The existing trade union legislation (and consequent lack of formal channels of participation), the national security laws (and the resulting fear of participation in informal channels), the excess of available labour (leading to intense competition among workers for work) guaranteed the quiescence of the population.

The pattern of State interventions, since the 30s was developed further. The gap between what the laws guaranteed, what the policies stated and what was actually done increased. The discrepancy between what should be done and what really was done was another demobilizing factor. Decent housing, public transport, free school, medical care, creches, etc., were all guaranteed by law. The reality was something else and there were no mechanisms to demand the actual implementation of the laws. The symbolical interventions were used by the State to legitimize itself and not to provide the needy population with shelter or with services and benefits.<sup>17</sup> Urban contradictions, according to Brazilian authors, not only have not been solved but have intensified, and culminated in a process which Kowarick (1979) defined as urban dispossession<sup>18</sup> so acute as to give rise to social movements.

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<sup>17</sup> Sometimes these measures made things worse, such as when land allotment legislation destimulated new land sub-divisions resulting in scarcity of land for new housing, or when favelados were forcefully removed into housing estates which were far from their work and for which they could not afford to pay.

<sup>18</sup> Defined as extreme inequalities in urbanization, marked by spatial  
(Footnote continued)

Brazilian authors, then interpret the urban social movements emerging in the 70s as having a common trait: they emerge out of "contradictions expressed in the daily lives of the population in their condition as dwellers" (Jacobi, 1982, p. 152). The structural factors (the deficits) produce contradictions which the population perceives as urban dispossession. Jacobi and Nunes (1983), Kowarick (1983), Silva (1983), point to the genesis of the social movements among "heterogeneous groups of impoverished workers who perceive themselves as dispossessed of basic elements for their own reproduction as urban dwellers" (Kowarick, 1983, p. 61). In social psychological language the social movements emerge out of feelings of relative deprivation. These authors do not clarify who would hold such perceptions. Singer & Brant (1983) consider them to be held only by the elite, by the leadership of the movements. This would, in fact, constitute one of the leadership's basic resources, the awareness of the contradictions, of the unfulfilled rights and needs. This awareness would be embedded in the "ideological discourse of the movement" and this constitutes a basic asset of the group which takes the initiative and generally maintains the leadership. Another generally accepted trait of the movements is that they all involve, directly or indirectly, civil rights.

The major influence behind this approach to urban social movements is still that of Castells' earlier theories, and although Brazilian

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<sup>18</sup> (continued)

segregation and unequal distribution of basic urban services, with growing impoverishment and deterioration of the labour force. This translates into appalling housing conditions without sanitation, far away from employment areas, involving 4-5 hours in overcrowded buses and trains to and from work, etc.

authors seem to accept what Katznelson (1981) referred to as automaticity, that is, that urban contradictions necessarily develop into urban social movements, since they are the "outcome of or effects of the structural properties of advanced capitalism", they have considered and adapted these contributions to the specificities of the Brazilian historical context and of the country's "popular classes" and finally to the obstacles these have had to deal with in order to express their demands. These movements are seen as differing from the European ones in that they are weaker, because of the nature of the population involved, the dynamics of the movements, their relations with the political system, and their negotiations with the State. Moises (1982) analysing the neighbourhood associations during the populist period (through the 50s into the early 60s) affirms that as these movements emerged in a fragmented labour market, the poor being marked by heterogeneity, there was no homogeneous working class whose identity would be established at the workplace and bonded by social cohesion.<sup>19</sup> The identity is established through the struggle for civil rights. The urban movements in Latin America (and not only in Brazil) develop out of a socially heterogeneous collectivity, called the "popular classes" - "classes populares". Boschi & Valladares (1983b) say that contrary to what Castells (1981)<sup>20</sup> identified in Spain, the movements in Brazil are not anti-capitalist but refer to basic needs, to improvements in the quality of life. The negotiations with the State are not as direct as in Spain, but far more muddled by, on the one hand, ambiguities as to how the authorities react to the

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<sup>19</sup> Katznelson (1981) analysing the concept of social class and class consciousness in the United States points to the same problem suggesting that maybe the idea of homogeneity of class identity should be reviewed.

<sup>20</sup> Castells framework is summarized in Appendix 2.

movements and what kind of credibility and representativeness is ascribed to them and on the other hand by ambiguities in the movements themselves, which either approach the authorities as paternalistic "universal benefactor" or overvalue self-help and autonomy from the State. Lastly, in Brazil the political parties are not necessarily the most important external agents,<sup>21</sup> and there is no necessary congruence between party manifestos and the demands made by movements. In Brazil more often than not, political parties share with the Catholic Church the role of external source of support.

The actual role these external agents play in the mobilization process is an issue on which there is little agreement. Singer & Brant (1983) say that without ideologically motivated external agents these movements cannot get off the ground, whereas Boschi & Valladares (1983b) say that they may or may not be present and that actually spontaneous movements do take place. The autonomy of the movements (without this necessarily meaning spontaneity) is also defended by Jacobi and Nunes (1983) and Moises (1982).<sup>22</sup> This difference in interpretation, in my view, derives from differences in the phenomena observed. Moises and Jacobi treat urban riots as forms of social movements, whereas Singer & Brant have studied institutionalized movements, such as ethnic groups, Base Ecclesiastic Communities, neighbourhood associations, etc.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Or social animators, or provocateurs: that is, groups who do not belong to the social movement but who provide support for the movement.

<sup>22</sup> This brings back Castells last contributions (1983) according to which although he emphasizes the need for autonomy; the actual articulation of the movement must involve a political party (while keeping its autonomy) to be an urban social movement. Lack of articulation at this level would characterize the movement as urban utopia.

<sup>23</sup> Moises (1978, 1982) analyses protest and defiance as social  
(Footnote continued)

The action of the State and State enterprises are also studied by these authors and are generally identified as the main adversaries and opposers of the movements for improvements as well as their main targets. Boschi and Valladares (1983a) and Jacobi and Nunes (1983) interpret the State action as simultaneously mobilizing and demobilizing. It has "mobilizing" effects because its negligence and inaction provoke the deficits which in turn lead to the movements. It is "demobilizing" in its response of opposition to the movement. This opposition takes the form of the adoption of all sorts of disruptive strategies, moves to break down the cohesion, manipulation of the leadership, formation of competing organizations, etc.<sup>24</sup>

Another topic approached by Brazilian authors refers to the meaning of the social movements, that is, to their consequences, for political life and their potential for changing certain core aspects of

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<sup>23</sup> (continued)

movements in a very similar line to Piven and Cloward (1977). The differences are in the emphasis. Piven and Cloward (1977) value protest and defiance as the forms of collective behaviour which produce gains for the population. Moises interprets them as the possible, as what is feasible when formal channels of participation are blocked. Kowarick (1983) differentiates between urban struggle or popular struggle and popular movements. Popular struggles contain demands which although aimed at the State do not imply changes in power relations, and they do not attempt to gain control or have a say in the production, consumption and management of these needs. Popular movements on the other hand do exactly that: they question power relations and procedures involved in the provision of these needs.

<sup>24</sup> Surprisingly, Boschi and Valladares (1983a,b) suggest that the State should act differently, recognizing the movements as legitimate interlocutors. The idea is that the State should help the movements and not disrupt them. This sounds like a rather idealized view of the relations between social movements and the State. As the analysts of the model city programmes, (part of Lyndon Johnson's Greater Society) realized, the government is not going to sponsor movements which may be successful in affecting it (the Government). In sum, there seems to be a contradiction between the ideology expressed in these Brazilian authors' analysis of social movements and the response expected from the State. This, to me, could represent a subtle effect of the authoritarian thinking and practices which are embedded in people's  
(Footnote continued)

the social relations. Cardoso (1980) is the only one that attributes a more limited role to the movements. The emphasis (Jacobi and Nunes, 1983; Silva, 1983; Singer & Brant, 1983; Chaui, 1980) is on the effects of new praxis where decisions are made at the base of the movements and then transmitted to the top, and on the role played by the participants in breaking down authoritarian moulds. These movements at the present are "pressure groups". They do have a revolutionary potential in the sense of changing social practices. The experience of participation is stressed by Singer & Brant (1983) who say ,

"If the purpose of the working class social movements is to increase working class participation in wealth, and in decision-making power, be it economic (in State enterprises, in industry) or social (school, churches, etc.) or political, it is essential that participation should occur in the first place within the movements. The exclusion of workers from decision making areas is a consequence not only of external structural obstacles, it is also, basically due to the lack of necessary conditions among workers, owing to the fact that since school the worker is trained to obey orders whose meaning is not given to him, and to take no part in decisions which affect his life. The hegemony of the bourgeoisie in capitalism is secured not only through State organized violence, but also through continuous conditioning of the great majority of the people to remain passive and to expect that "those above" solve their problems. The breaking down of this hegemony demands above all the elimination of this conditioning, to allow workers to participate in decisions which concern them. This presupposes a systematic process of reeducation in social movements which emerge from the contradictions between the needs of the working class and the present social order." (p. 221)

The practices of the social movements are also stressed by Moises (1982), who points out that the pattern of organization is characterized by the activities of councils and commissions acting through direct negotiations with mobilization starting from the base. Moises hypothesizes that at the roots of these movements is a consciousness of the relationship of oppression and domination, which

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<sup>24</sup> (continued)

everyday experience and therefore permeate all spheres of thinking and of life.



even if not directly threatening the State is a resistance to oppression and represents progress in the process of consciousness and organization building.

As previously outlined, the empirical work, which has been carried out has been concerned with (a) protest movements against services - suburban trains (riot type) which have periodically erupted in Sao Paulo and Rio, even during very repressive moments of the military regime; (b) Base Ecclesiastical Communities - mainly in Sao Paulo. These are neighbourhood organizations inspired and mobilized by the Catholic Church and which have initiated a diversity of other movements such as those seeking to establish creches or health centres, infrastructure and land tenure clearance. They are against inflation, and support human rights. These organizations (CEBS - Comunidades Eclesiais de Base) started in the 60s and until the late 70s provided the only space and place for the poorer communities to meet and discuss their problems; (c) Neighbourhood Associations (Sociedades Amigos de Bairro - SABs), which emerged in Sao Paulo in the late 40s and were most influential during the populist period. After the coup these lost their broad support because they were taken over by the government party and used as 'vote catchers'; (d) feminist movements, Black people's movements, new trade union movements (in Sao Paulo) and favelados' movements (in Rio).

These studies rely mostly on information provided by the leadership, who are the sole source of information about participants also. There are two types of study; 1. those which cover a wide spectrum of movements such as the one produced by Singer & Brant et al. (1983) which ranges from Black movements to neighbourhood movements. These do not go in depth into aspects such as the

organizational structure of the movements or analyse in depth their practices; 2. there are studies which cover one type of organization, or one settlement in greater depth (Diniz, 1983; Castro, 1983).

One extensive comparative study encompassing six different metropolitan areas, covering different types of settlements and organizations was carried out by Boschi and Valladares (1983a). As a result of their comparative study they have concluded that these movements were taking place in the fastest growing cities in Brazil, which were characterized by growth in the 'services' sector which is a very unstable job market. These urban areas were also characterized by a disorderly use of space and consequently lacked infrastructure and services. These were also the centres where since 1972 the opposition party has consistently increased its share of the votes. That is, there is a correlation between metropolitan areas and opposition vote. A second structural characteristic identified was spatial segregation; social movements are emerging in favelas and popular settlements, most of them demanding legalization of land tenure, that is, changes in the character of the land occupation from 'illegal' or invasion to a legalized status.<sup>25</sup> Thirdly, the physical proximity within and the distinctiveness of these settlements vis a vis their surroundings are interpreted as facilitators to the identification of common interests, because this favours patterns of interaction which allow the establishment of collective identities, based on their situation as dwellers in the same place, sharing deprivations and needs. These authors stress that the populations inhabiting these areas were not in 'absolute poverty', but in a situation of relative deprivation of basic

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<sup>25</sup> As mentioned before, the illegality of the land occupation used to be the excuse presented by the authorities to justify its resistance to the population's demands for infrastructure.

rights. They also identified certain environmental conditions as relevant for social movements emergence. These were land tenure and the length of existence of the settlement - the older settlements are more consolidated and possess more urban services and infrastructure. As far as the land tenure is concerned, these authors observed that the movements which they studied emerged in areas with different histories of land occupation from situations of outright land invasion to those in which the people had a legal land status: that is, movements had emerged in settlements with different types of land tenures. Similarly to Oberschall (1973), Boschi and Valladares raise the possibility that the older the settlement the higher the probability of communal experiences adding up and allowing for an expansion of associative activities. The more consolidated the settlement and the more services obtained, the higher the positive valuation of belongingness, and the greater the motivation for the next steps of the movement.

These authors interpret the movements emergence as the result of the "inefficiency of the government in the provision of basic needs" (p. 133); external threats, such as eviction, and repressive measures by the government. Previous experiences of participation are also believed to play an educational role (demonstration effect) enhancing the credibility of collective action. Finally, the action of external agents, political parties or the church is recognized as important. Boschi and Valladares also state that the movements have life cycles realized by the conditions before mobilization, the creation of opportunities for collective action, and by the actual movement formation which can then be institutionalized or fade away. Intense participation occurs at the beginning of the movements when large assemblies are a common event. As soon as activities become routine, participation drops and incentives have to be brought in. Similarly to

Pizzorno's criticism of Olson's free-rider problem (Chapter 1), Boschi and Valladares identified that this problem appears only after initial participation, because the process of development of a collective identity and the degree of uncertainty as to the results of the movement do not allow for a rational evaluation of the costs and benefits of individual participation. The problem of evaluating actual participation and of the development of criteria other than those usually employed, such as size of membership, and number of persons taking part in routine assemblies, is another point raised by these authors. Because this type of criterion ignores the conditions of life of this population, which is marked by heavy working schedules (average is 48 hrs. per week), long hours spent in travelling to and from work, they suggest instead an evaluation of the real representativeness of the movement in the area, through an analysis of its capacity to mobilize the population at critical moments, and support it obtains from the broader environment.

In terms of external support, they detected the presence of liberal professional organizations, providing voluntary assistance. Lawyers and architects are especially likely to be involved. Like Melucci, they have identified the importance of internal conflicts in the maintenance of the movements (factionalism), and have found it to be related to the activities of external agents, who may provide contradictory guidance.

The structure of the organizations studied were described as "complex and differentiated, ranging from simple organizations represented by an associative nucleus to a counter culture type such as 'democratic collectivism'" (p. 140). The State's response to these movements was characterized by the authors as manipulative. Boschi and

Valladares study encompassed other conditions aside from favelas. There are two studies concerning the organization of favelas, that of: Diniz (1983) and Castro (1983). Both refer to favelas in Rio. Diniz made an extensive survey of dwellers' associations covering 103 favelas. The information was obtained from the leadership and concerns mostly the structure of the organizations, socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the leadership; the organization's interactions with external and internal groups, with the State, and the participation of the favelados in the activities of the movement.

Diniz found that some Dwellers Associations in Rio date back to 1947. The formation and level of activity of these Associations seem to follow the overall political pattern as well as the different policies towards favelas. The Associations shrank and disappeared during the repressive years and re-emerged in 1979 when the political opening-up (abertura) took place; they also tend to appear when there are threats of removal or when there is the opposite - upgrading and therefore there is the possibility of permanence in the area. In socio-demographic terms the author observed that although the leadership tends to be young (35% are under 39 years of age), the 'presidency' of the Association is held by older persons (40% are over 50 years of age). They tend to have been living in the favela for long periods. Seventy-five per cent have been there for 11 years or more, and 38% have lived there for more than 25 years. On the other hand, they had only recently been elected to the positions they held - 69% had been in the job for less than two years. More interestingly, few had any previous experience. Seventy-six per cent had never held any previous leadership position. In educational and occupational terms, one third of the leaders were better educated than the rest of the dwellers, they were mostly self-employed or retired skilled manual

labourers.

The organizational structure of the Associations follows a standard charter, which observes the legal criteria that make them legitimate voluntary organizations. According to this charter, there are 6 directors and a president. Diniz discovered that there is a discrepancy between the formal structure as established in the charter and the 'de facto' composition of the leadership. That is, there is a discrepancy between the roles and functions and their actual exercise. Some Associations had two or three active leaders, the president, one secretary, and one treasurer, despite the fact that there were legally six directors.

The activities of the Associations, aside from representing the population, included a series of functions related to the daily life in the favelas. The Associations were supposed to solve conflicts and disagreements among the dwellers, and to provide social work services and legal assistance in transactions concerning the houses (when it was a question of 'selling', renting or building new houses in the area).

The meetings of the Association are said to constitute routine activities. Diniz observed that 38% of the Associations studied held one meeting a month exclusively with the directors. This means that most Associations are dependent on the interest of the leadership only. Diniz did not explore the consequences of this, nor did she relate it to the reasons for the fading away of many Dwellers Associations - 43% of the interruption of activities of the Associations were consequent upon problems with the leadership, which included mismanagement of funds and material resources, failure to obey the succession rules, lack of interest of the president or directors, abandonment of their

functions, and lack of leadership skills, etc. Only 9% of the Associations interrupted their work because of political factors, whereas 27% ceased to exist because of lack of interest or participation on the part of the population. The actual functioning, based solely on the interest of the leadership, seems to explain both this lack of interest on the part of the population, and the various types of mismanagements. These data suggest that these Associations have placed more emphasis on the role of the leadership and on contacts with external organizations than on extending its own basis of support inside the favela. It also seems from these data that the participation of the population consists basically of providing labour in collective tasks and not in decision-making processes.

Information is provided to the dwellers mostly through direct personal contact by representatives of the Associations with the dwellers. Another aspect covered by Diniz is the power structure within the favela. This author found that the Associations are relatively isolated in relation to other groups<sup>26</sup> inside the favela and that in fact there is little contact between groups, and a lack of solidarity and cooperation among groups. It seems that some groups compete for the participation of dwellers. Again Diniz does not relate this competition to the problems faced by some Associations in continuing their activities. Diniz questioned the leaders about the participation of the dwellers in different activities: attendance at meetings, assemblies and elections, taking part in collective

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<sup>26</sup> In Rio, in the favelas aside from the Dwellers Association, there are carnival groups (such as the samba schools - Escolas de Samba), groups connected with sports (football teams), and leisure, mothers' groups, youth groups, religious groups ranging from those related to the Catholic Church, or Pentecostal sects, or yet those connected with the Afro religions.

activities. The leaders perceive differences in participation according to activities: elections attract more participation than routine meetings and assemblies; parties and sports matches attract more than collective tasks (clean-up, building roads, sewerage drains, etc.). Most leaders, despite this picture of the participation of the population, consider their Associations well supported and their efforts appreciated by the population. Still this support does not seem to translate into participation. In fact, among the problems named by the leaders as obstacles to their activities are lack of financial and material resources and the absence of participation and interest, together with the apathy and conformism of the dwellers.

The links between this and the way the Associations fail to stimulate participation are not explored by Diniz. These data also suggest that there is some feeling of lack of political efficacy on the part of the leaders. Most leaders perceive the favela as 'a specific situation of marginality ... to which there is no sensitivity from the ruling elites'. The leaders are "sceptical of the government's response and of their own capacity to interfere in the broader decision-making process. Such feelings persist despite their positive, successful, face-to-face experiences with governmental agencies and local authorities" (p. 65). Furthermore, there is a disbelief that politicians can play any role in the fulfilment of their demands. The emphasis is on the executive branch of the government. The demands at the time of the survey were concentrated on issues such as sewerage, water, legalization of land tenure and electricity, in sum, on basic infrastructure services.

Diniz's work is strictly descriptive and does not reveal much about the actual process of sustained participation. It suggests that



such long standing organizations have endured through some form of bureaucratization of activities. If this is true, it means that these organizations can survive without emphasizing the participation of the dwellers. It would also suggest that the existence of such organizations by itself does not guarantee changes in social practices or political resocialization. This again draws attention to the importance of exploring the actual experiences of the participants.

Castro's (1983) work refers to aspects of community life such as the social ambience, social stratification and the presence of other organizations during a period of intense mobilization of the population in a large favela in Rio which had 12,000 inhabitants and covered an area of 35 hectares. This favela was chosen for an upgrading project, which gave rise to the mobilization of the population. Castro observed that the community was stratified in groups; the owners of the local shops having the highest status followed by the illegal distributors of electricity and water. These two groups constituted an elite and held important positions in the upgrading committee, as well as in the Dwellers Association. Within this favela, the different religious groups also played important roles. The Catholic Church was given a powerful position in the distribution of the financial resources in the upgrading project by the funding agency despite the fact that Pentecostal and Afro-religious groups had more followers than the Catholic Church. Castro did not analyse this and its impact on the community. He describes how competition took place not between the religious groups, as one would expect, but between the Samba School and the Dwellers' Association over the sanitation project (upgrading of the sewerage system). Unfortunately again he presented no interpretation for this. One could speculate that a competition for power and representativeness vis a vis the population was involved or it could

have concerned the private interests of members of the Samba School unrelated to this broader process. Castro emphasizes in his description the role of 'urban contradictions' on the policies of upgrading and the effects of competing political lines both inside and outside the favela. This author attempts no integration of the different aspects covered in his work. For instance, the relations between the social stratification and the social networks, between the mobilization process and the political disputes which seem to have affected the upgrading solutions adopted, and finally the relations between the social stratification and social networks and the mobilization process are not explored.

This review of the empirical evidence concerning social movements in Brazil points to the need for further work in the area on the topic of the participation of the population. This is one issue which has received little attention, while sustained participation has been completely ignored. The emphasis has been on macro aspects, in spite of the importance these authors have placed on the social movements potential for instigating changes in social practices.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### 3.1 The Research Design

The question which provided the basic guideline for the research design was the following: why did some favelas present differences in the participation of the population in the activities sponsored by the Dwellers Association, when apparently these Associations had a similar success rate? The idea of comparing favelas was a consequence of both this question and of the conceptualization of sustained participation as emergent and interactive in the process of social movement development. The literature review provided information which refined the original question and identified the aspects in which the favelas had to be matched so as to isolate the effects of other variables which could also account for the present differences. The original question then became: given that two favelas are located in the same Administrative Region, have existed for the same length of time, have developed Dwellers Associations at the same time and under the influence of the same external political groups which have obtained similar responses from the public authorities (controls) and achieved the same material results, why do we find differences in the participation of the population?

The literature review suggests some answers: differences in the organizational structure, or in the leadership style or again differences in the population - in feelings of relative deprivation, in political consciousness, in collective identity, in type of commitment, in socio-economic and demographic characteristics, in self-esteem, in political efficacy, and finally in the social networks and interactions - may be involved.

The literature reviewed did not present comparative studies, since differences in participation have not been studied as a consequence of interactive processes within a community. Usually comparisons are traced between participants and non-participants in the same area. My approach demanded that I isolated some of the structural variables which could explain the differences in sustained participation: amongst these I identified:

(a) the length of time the favelas had been in existence. Boschi and Valladares (1983a) in their study of different social movements throughout metropolitan areas of Brazil observed that older settlements presented more participation of the population. Their interpretation was that in older areas, people have had more opportunity to interact and to develop a collective identity. In addition, there will have been more opportunities for cumulative experiences of participation and more consolidation of the population in the area. As mentioned, in the literature review, these aspects are also often advanced as important variables explaining political behaviour in general.

(b) The Administrative Region in which the favelas were located. The Municipality of Sao Paulo is divided into 17 Administrative Regions which are similar to the concept of Borough but without its political and economic autonomy. The metropolitan area - the Greater Sao Paulo - is divided into 37 Municipalities. Sao Paulo is also the name of the largest Municipality within the Greater Sao Paulo. The Administrative Regions, or "Regional Administrations" as they are called, refer to areas within this Municipality. These Administrative Regions have their budgets and policies determined by the Municipal Administration - the 'Prefeitura'. Their personnel consists of civil servants, but the head of the Administrative Region - the Administrator - may or may not

be a civil servant. The administrator is appointed by the mayor of Sao Paulo. This position is considered to be 'cargo de confianca', which means a position of trust, to be filled by a party member or a trustworthy civil servant. When the mayor changes the Regional Administrators change as well. Although these regions have limited autonomy, in the past they have implemented policies differently, especially concerning the favelas. The Regional Administrations constitute the targets of the demands from the favelas because they are the branch of the public administration closest to the favelados. To study two favelas in the same region meant trying to control the effects of possible differences in implementing policies and responding to movements.

(c) The length of time the Dwellers Associations had been in existence. If these were the same, it would mean that the broader social, political and economic context was the same. If the movements had taken place at the same historical moment, this would increase the chances that the life-cycle of the movement would be at a similar stage. Lastly, the the chances for accumulation of experiences would be similar.

(d) The external political groups involved. Different political parties with different praxis were stimulating the formation of Dwellers Associations in favelas. The differences between these could result in differences in sustained participation because there could be variations in organizational structure, in the decision-making process, and in leadership style.

(e) The response from the authorities (or the success of the movement as it is usually measured) and social controls. Sustained

participation is also a consequence of the degree of success of the movement in achieving the benefits which are sought at the lowest possible costs to the community. Social controls such as repression are one form of cost.

There were two other aspects in which I should have liked to match the favelas, had it been possible: the type of land ownership, and the size of the settlement (in terms of number of shacks). Contradictory predictions are made concerning the role of land ownership on the participation of the population: it is said that favelados occupying government land are more active (participant) and more aggressive in their demands because there is a higher probability of their clearing land titles or because they have greater security about their chances of staying in the area. Persons occupying private land are more fearful of eviction and would be less participative. Also, the authorities would be less responsive to their demands because legally the Municipality could not service an area without permission from its legal owners. Others state the opposite, namely that the insecurity of occupying private land drives people to 'struggle' more and that people in a more 'secure' land status are more apathetic.

To solve the problem of the size of the favela demanded financial costs which this research could not meet. To choose favelas according to size, meant having this information (size of the favela) updated. The last "census type" survey of the favelas in Sao Paulo dates from the middle 70s. Historically, the numbers provided by different authorities about the size do not match (this can be seen in Table 3.1). Mostly they are estimates based on rough countings carried out by public surveyors and the leadership of the Dwellers Associations. One side underestimates, the other side overestimates,

Table 3.1 The Favela: Its dimensions, numbers, estimates 1955-1983

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Year	Source	Settlements	Shacks	Population
1950	Div. de Estatística e Documentação Social Favelas de S. Paulo	3	307	1315
1955	Serviço Social em Favelas, Godinho, Marta T.	4	260	1098
1957	Pesquisa Sigmacs - Convenio Prefeitura Quoted in "A Gazeta" 6.2.1957	135	7904	39560
	Quoted in MUD - Alguns aspectos do Pr. Favela em São Paulo, 1964	-	-	50000
	Quoted in Godinho, Marta, Habit. Popular e Nível De Vida, 1964	141	8500	50000
		147	-	60000
1960	"Folha de S. Paulo", 2.11.60	-	-	15000
	São Paulo (Cidade) Div. Serviço Social - Serviço Hab. Popular	-	-	50000
1963	MUD - Favela - Secretaria do Trabalho 27.12.1963	143	-	100000
1964	IPES - SP. O Problema Favela em São Paulo - MUD	-	35000	175000
	São Paulo (Cidade) - Div. Serviço Social/MUD Alguns Aspectos das Favelas em S.P.	-	55000	215000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo", 6.3.1964	-	-	150000
	Quotes MUD study for 1962	-	-	110000
1965	IPES - SP O Problema Favela em São Paulo Dept. de Estatística do Estado	43	6000	30000
1966	IPES O Problema Favela na Cidade de S.P.	67	4597	22985
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 3.31.66	117		185000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 31.7.1966	141-157	-	50000
1967	Cohab - Companhia Metropolitana de Habitação - Programa de Desfavelamento	-	-	250000
1968	Dept. de Estatística do Estado	25 <sup>1</sup>	-	-
1968	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 29.5.68 Pesquisa MOV - Movimento Organizações Voluntárias	60	-	30000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 23.8.68 The same research quoted - MOV	25	-	26000
	São Paulo (Cidade) Plano Urbanístico Básico	-	10000	48000
1969	São Paulo (Cidade) PUC/Fac. de Serviço Social - Auto Construção como Desfavelamento	-	40000	200000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" - MOV Survey (1963)	43	-	26000
	1968	50		25800
1970	São Paulo (Cidade) Secretaria do Bem-Estar Social - Sist. Municipal de Habitação	121	5439	26325
1971	Ibid	163	8554	41400
	"Journal de Tarde" 29.9.71	121	-	-
1972-73	São Paulo (Cidade) Secretaria do Bem-Estar Social - Sebes	542 <sup>2</sup>	14650	71840
1974-75	Ibid	918 <sup>2</sup>	23926	117237
1977	Ibid	-	21286	104237

Year	Source	Settlements	Shacks	Population
1977	Pesquisa Origem - Destino - Emplasa	-	45304	221989
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 26.7.77	919	40000	230000
	Quoting - 1974 - SEBES	-	24000(1974)	117000(1974)
	"Jornal de Tarde" 22.11.77	919(1976)	38700(1976)	208936(1976)
	Sao Paulo (Cidade) - SEBES	-	25543	125160
1978	Sao Paulo (Cidade) - SEBES	-	30653	150200
	"Jornal de Tarde" 17.4.78	-	40000	250000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 22.11.78	-	-	493000
1979	Sao Paulo (Cidade) - SEBES	-	251378	879823
	Ibid - COBES	-	54389	-
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 9.2.79	919	-	500000
	"O Estado de S. Paulo" 23.11.79	900	-	880000
1982	Sao Paulo (Cidade) Coordenadoria do Bem - Estar Social - COBES	988 <sup>2</sup>	192571	1000000
	Census - IBGE	1086	91416	414572

<sup>1</sup> Included only favelas with more than 20 shacks

<sup>2</sup> Included only favelas with 3 to 10 shacks

Adapted from Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1980) Favela no Municipio de Sao Paulo 1951-1980 Conceitos, legislacao, dados estatisticos)



and as it will be seen in the sampling, even when there seems to be some reliability, this impression fades away when one comes into contact with reality.

The study took the form of participant observation. This was not synchronic: in other words, I studied one favela and then interrupted the field work to reconceptualize some of the ideas concerning sustained participation. The characteristics of the second favela were determined by the first. The two favelas were selected to differ in respect of sustained participation which was defined in behavioural terms as taking part in the meetings of the Dwellers Association, in demonstrations, in political meetings, rallies and marches, in collective activities (self-help type) in cooperating in the implementation of the collective decisions, as keeping informed about the activities of the Association, and as taking part in other groups connected with the Dwellers Associations, such as Mothers' groups and leisure groups (theatre, football). In sum, I focused specifically on behaviours which could be taken as expressing interest or active collaboration in the collective activities.

The literature on participation in social movements defines different types of protagonists in the movement; there are the 'free-riders' or bystanders and non-participants who stand to benefit from the achievements of the movement; on the other hand, we have the 'activists', often called 'members', 'constituents' or 'participants'. Walsh & Warland (1983), for instance, defined passive sympathizers with a movement as free-riders. Passive sympathizers include people who agree with the goals of the social movement but who have no knowledge about the existence of the movement. This cast of characters reveals that there are differences in commitment or involvement with the

movement. I chose to define participation and non-participation in simpler terms, on the basis of the actual support demonstrated for the movement. Walsh & Warland's definition of participant was less inclusive: activists have to actually join in the movement organization, that is must enrol in the organization. Expressions of support such as signing petitions, voting in elections, writing letters to public officials, were not considered enough to qualify the person as an activist. My choice of a less exclusive definition derived from lack of previous knowledge about the movements in the favelas and from my concern with Thomas & Thomas (1928) advice 'to understand the individual's "definition of the situation" in the attempt to gain entry into his phenomenal field or psychological world' (in Rosenberg, 1981, p. 604). I felt that an inclusive definition was more representative of the view the leaders and the dwellers had of the situation.

This open definition is consistent with the methodology adopted for the study: participant observation is defined in McCall-Simmons (1969) words as a mixture of techniques involving: "some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observation of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts ..." (p.1). The role of the researcher here is a mixture of participant as observer and observer as participant (in Gold's (1969) terms), for at the same time that relationships with the informants are developed, and there are both formal and informal observations, such as in scheduled interviews, group observation and informal gatherings, in addition, with some informants the contact is briefer and consists of a one-visit contact.

The study of participation in social movements is one object of

study which within the symbolic interactionist approach is held to be particularly suited to the technique of participant observation, defined in Blumer's terms as a direct investigation of everyday experiences through exploration and inspection. Exploration consists of "observation, informal interviewing, listening to conversations, getting life-histories, using letters and diaries, arranging for group discussions, consulting public records, using a resource group of informed persons" (Stryker, 1981, p. 10). Images, beliefs and conceptions of the social world are thus tested and a comprehensive account of what takes place in that empirical world built up. Inspection consists of conceptualizing the problem in a theoretical form, discovering generic relations and generating theoretical propositions (Stryker, 1981).

The emphasis, on observations of the daily life in the favela, stems from what they reveal about social interactions, and from its role as sources of complementary information. According to Cicourel (1981), the daily observations of daily encounters reveal

"the social competence necessary for membership in a group or culture (...). These encounters are necessary for intimate and formal social relationships between participants (.....). Tape recordings and transcripts of these encounters are selective sources of information for revealing the structure of daily encounters within an organizational context. The ethnographic or organizational setting, therefore, must become an integral part of the data base used for analysis." (p. 60)

This emphasis on capturing the individual's and the group's 'definitions of the situation' through the observations of their daily lives also reflects an attempt to avoid imposing alien problems and priorities on the favelados. The study of political cognitions and behaviour is particularly complex and susceptible to ideological 'contamination', so to speak. Edelman (1971) for instance, draws attention to the criticism of Converse concerning the measurement

procedures which impose a stability upon political cognitions which is "perhaps due more to our own anxiety about instability and irrationality". The other problems with the use of more structured methods involve the tendency to compliance or deference on the part of the population and/or the opposite, reticence, suspicion and hostility, and finally the problem of meaning equivalence. Compliance or deference to the interviewer has been identified in research where there is a discrepancy between the status of the respondent (lower status) and that of the researcher.<sup>1</sup> In previous research with the low-income population in Sao Paulo I had experienced difficulties because of the tendency the informers had of answering in terms of what they thought I wanted to hear instead of what they felt or thought about the issue in question. Less structured methods had been more productive in the sense that ambivalences and contradictions could be explored in more depth. Such methods also allow for some control on the part of the respondent and give them a more active role and, in a sense, balance their helplessness. This is particularly important since in my experience, more often than not, their initial statement is "ah, but I don't understand those things, I'm not good for this".

Reticence, suspicion and hostility are more associated with specific research topics or themes. Sensitive issues such as political ones tend to give rise to defensive behaviour on the part of the respondents.<sup>2</sup> I expected that the more politicized individuals in the community could present such behaviour and that after the initial contacts, this would diminish once they had had the chance to check my credentials.

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<sup>1</sup> Discussed by Lenski & Leggett (1960), Kahn & Cannell (1957).

<sup>2</sup> Discussed by Sani (1980), Mitchell (1983), Craig & Cornelius (1980).

The problem of meaning equivalence refers here to the actual wording used in questions or scales: it refers to how people understand certain questions. Craig & Cornelius (1980), for instance, comparing the data collected in three researches concerning political efficacy found that similar questions about an unjust law resulted in different answers. All work was done in Mexico: Almond & Verba (1963) asked people, "What do you think you could do?" (about an unjust law) 52% of the respondents gave answers which suggested they felt efficacious; Fagen & Tuohy asked a similar population about the same issue using the following question, "Do you think you could do anything about it?" and found that only 22% of the respondents answered that they felt they could do something about it; Craig & Cornelius suggest that small differences in wording generate different questions, that while Almond & Verba asked for hypothetically useful strategies, Fagen & Tuohy asked about the possibility of influence. Another relevant example of the problem of wording and meaning refers to questions on the two researches mentioned, about the treatment that the respondents expected to receive from the government and the police. The answer, equal treatment, was interpreted as satisfactory treatment: further questions on the same topic, in other research produced by Craig & Cornelius (1980) suggest that in fact, equal treatment could mean "equally bad" treatment or as "badly as others are treated".

Most of these problems derive from assumptions that researchers have and this relates to a more general problem of the ethnocentrism of researchers. This is more evident nowadays because as more research using different approaches is produced, the problems with hidden assumptions become evident. These problems emerge not only in research on political topics but have also been identified in research on

personal control, powerlessness, self-esteem, and the self-concept. These have in common the fact that they refer to minority groups and this is what raises the issue of the ethnocentrism of the researchers who, tending to belong to different social groups, can mistakenly extrapolate from their own position in society, feelings, attributions, perceptions and attitudes which other groups do not have.

Seeman (1981), Rosenberg (1981) and Davis (1983) have pointed to these problems. Errors in prediction concerning self-esteem, personal control, self-concept, powerlessness, and the self-concept derive from errors in assumed reference groups. This takes me back to Seeman's recommendations about the need for more information concerning the life, experiences, beliefs, values, and expectations of this sector of the population. Finally, it may be that "subtle, subjective, latent elements of political culture can be tapped more effectively only by some less reactive, less structured research methods: in-depth interviewing, participant-observation, projective tests, and so forth" (Craig & Cornelius, 1980, p. 382).

Finally, although the question of sustained participation suggests that I am trying to establish some form of causality, at this stage of lack of knowledge, and considering the complexity of the variables involved, the work must perforce be more tentative. The difficulties of establishing causal links in this area are similar to the ones in political socialization research pointed out by Renshon (1977) and involve the problems of proof.

### 3.2 The techniques

The techniques used for gathering primary data consisted of some formal and informal interviewing, observation, the monitoring of group discussions and the use of a survey using a questionnaire in which questions were read out to the interviewees. Secondary data were also obtained and consisted of newspaper articles, documents from the Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare (the main branch of the Municipal government in charge of the favelas), and reports and documents about the favelas from various institutions working with low-income population and housing.

The formal interviews with the population and the leadership followed loosely the schedule outlined in Appendix 3. I am defining these interviews as 'formal' because I used a tape recorder to register them and because the interviewees were aware that what they were saying was being registered. Otherwise the control of the interviews was left as much as possible in their hands. They were told my concern was with improvements and with how the population proposed to seek these improvements. This was the general theme. I intervened only where this was necessary to clarify points and sometimes to explore further what was being said. "Informal" contacts were those which did not involve the use of the tape recorder, such as the occasions when I called without having made an appointment, or when I met them in the streets, or at the meetings, etc., that is, in circumstances where they were not necessarily aware that the material they presented me with would be registered as field work notes.

The data obtained from the interviews result within the approach adopted here, from a "collaborative process". In Knorr-Cetina's (1981) words they are "collaborative products created during the interview in

accordance with the practical procedures and background assumptions of participating actors" (p. 13). This means that I am approaching the interview situation, as mentioned before, as not only a means of recovering "past interactions between sequences of actions and talk about those actions" (Marsh et al., 1978, p. 21), but as a social encounter in itself in which the interaction developed is also considered a potential source of information.

The core of the work is made up by data from the interviews. Data from the questionnaires and observations were used to expand or enrich the interviews. The observations proved extremely helpful especially in clarifying the complexities of the actual interactions. Contrary to what is generally said about group effect, I found that individuals in private expressed more extreme and aggressive opinions than when in groups, and that despite the verbal denials of their existence, cooperation and solidarity, for instance, was shown when actually interacting with neighbours and the leadership. Some contradictions between verbal expressions and actual behaviour, or between verbalizations in private and public, bring to mind Edelman's (1971) discussion about the instability and ambivalence of political cognitions,

"the instability of political cognitions is readily apparent to anyone who looks at its manifestations dispassionately. It would be self-evident if we were not cued to ignore it by (1) our socialization into the belief that enduring individual values shape the course of government policy, and (2) the fact that opinion surveys and other reactive research instruments themselves create opinion and commitment among many respondents who are not opinionated before they are asked to state their views." (p. 4)

The research, as mentioned before, was introduced to the population as referring to improvements in the favela - what these were and how they should be obtained. The interviews were carried out during a number of weeks, that is, there were days intervening between



each 'formal' contact. This allowed for three things to happen: material could be thought over, new ideas could emerge and daily preoccupations could manifest themselves. One of my basic concerns was to avoid imposing alien problems on them. I considered that uncovering the real relevance and salience of improvements to them was important for my understanding of participation. Another major concern was to avoid "imposing a problematic", that is, practising ethnocentrism (or sociocentrism as Thiollent, 1982, suggests) and consequently ignoring what Cot and Mournier (1977) called "the differential diffusion of political culture in relation to social classes, as well as the social function of this differentiation." I also wished to avoid falling into the trap of the myths about the poor such as the ones listed by Pearl (1970) (the inadequacy of the poor - constitutionally inferior, victimized by accumulated environmental deficit, inadequately socialized, encapsulated in autonomous cultures) or the "authoritarianism of the working class" discussed by Bordieu (1972) or again the idea of marginality, discussed by Perlman (1976).

Naively or not, I started this work by approaching individuals as actively-knowing persons. By this I meant that each person organizes his/her life experiences, gives them special meanings and interpretations, negotiating and restructuring such meanings and interpretations throughout life as new experiences are added to old ones, developing explanatory systems which reveal their values, moral stances, rules, goals, etc. I also held that not only did such systems exist, but that they could be communicated through language, which although common to both researcher and researched, might have different meanings for both.

Furthermore, more relevance was given to information which flowed

spontaneously because my assumption was that there is a relationship between the freedom of the interviewer and the depth of the information provided.

The different contacts allowed me to obtain the information (history of the movement, perception of other dwellers, leadership, etc.) I was interested in, in a more spontaneous way, without imposing questions. For instance, when talking about their life history, coping with the move into the favelas, and the lack of water and electricity, flowed in a spontaneous way. As confidence and trust grew, other themes emerged and in the end they were speaking freely about different experiences which were not directly related to improvements but which enriched my understanding of their experience of society's pressures and harassments.

Political (and personal) efficacy was not measured through the use of the traditional instruments; the Michigan scale and the Almond & Verba scale. The reasons were (a) lack of distinction between the dimensions of perceived system responsiveness and ability to influence decisions; (b) the problems detected in Mexico with Almond & Verba which indicate that extensive knowledge of the political system and its relations with the citizens is needed before the scales can be used, that is the problems of adapting these to the local context; (c) the problems with meaning equivalence; (d) the lack of knowledge about other forms of efficacy, such as mediated political efficacy. Therefore, I opted for an indirect measure through the investigation of their ideas about 'how to get the improvements they considered priorities', concentrating specifically on the roles they attributed to themselves and to others and their justifications for such responsibility. This bears some resemblance to the Almond & Verba

scale which consists of hypothetical situations which are presented to the population. People are then asked how they would behave and what degree of success they think they would have. In the present work the situations although hypothetical were grounded on needs which were defined by the respondents themselves. My assumption is that this means the situations then refer to issues which are both relevant and not imposed on them.

In one of the favelas, group discussions were arranged and monitored in an attempt to observe how the dwellers interacted in a formal group. This was necessary because meetings of the Dwellers Association and the Mothers' Group were not taking place. At the other favela there was no need for group discussions since there were regular meetings of both the Dwellers Association and the Mothers' Group. Therefore, the monitored group discussions served to give me experience of interactions among members of the community. It also gave me the opportunity of obtaining data to compare with the interview material in terms of possible 'contaminating' effects due to the close interactions established in the interviews. The participants in the two group discussions were women. One of the group discussions was led by me, the other by Ida the vice president of the Dwellers Association.

The observations covered different aspects of the life in the favelas. I was present in the favelas from early morning till late in the evenings, seven days a week taking notes, talking to people, taking photographs, recording, attending formal meetings (Dwellers Associations, Mothers' Groups, church meetings, political meetings) and informal ones (parties, neighbours visiting other neighbours, informal groups at meeting points). The secondary data was obtained so as to contextualize the problem, that is, to highlight some of the structural

variables.

The literature on social movements and on political socialization had made me all too aware of the dangers of ethnocentrism and of reductionism. Pateman's (1980) cautionary words were present in my mind,

"At present, empirical theory all too often obscures or denies the existence of problems, and presents evidence of socially structured inequalities as 'natural facts' about the world that constitute insurmountable barriers to increased participation by the presently inactive. If empirical research is to help rather than to hinder our understanding of civic culture, it must be interpreted in a new framework: the individualist bases of liberal theory must be left behind. The aggregation of individual correlates of political activity will not illuminate the relationship between political structure because the basic problem, the fact that the structure is grounded in class and sex divisions, never appears as such. Rather, systematically structured inequalities appear as individual psychological and personal attributes that happen to be distributed in a particular way." (p. 98)

Simply considering the structural variables, that is, the social, economic and political context, the historical moment when the movements emerged and developed, and the societal reactions to it does not solve this problem. Still, this does contextualize the data and means that I have not ignored the relevance of the broader society to the movements even though I cannot do more than speculate about the connections between these.

### 3.3 The sampling

The Regional Administration Area of Butanta seemed a logical place to start this work because (a) the favelas in that area were among the first to try to organize a Federation of Dwellers' Associations, (b) Butanta presented the highest growth of favelas in the Municipality, during the period 1975-1979, representing one fifth of the total growth of favelas. The reasons for this growth are unclear.

In 1980 there were 61 favelas identified in the Cadastro de Favelas, 1982 - produced by the Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare - FABES. These contained 9119 shacks, housing 39,844 persons or roughly 12.5% of the population in the area. The growth since 1975 has not been negligible as can be seen in the Tables below.

Table 3.2 Population Growth

	1960	1970	1980	Geometric growth rate	
				70/60	80/70
Butanta	(1.8%) 68652	(3.0%) 175800	(3.7%) 318421	9.86	6.12
Sao Paulo (Municipality)	(100%) 3709274	(100%) 5924615	(100%) 8493226	4.76	3.67

Source: Fibge, Censo, 1980

Table 3.3 Evolution of the Favelas in Butanta and Sao Paulo Municipality

No. of shacks	1972/73	1974/75	1975/79	1980*
Butanta	1.121(7.7%)	2.457(10.3%)	8.531(15.7%)	9.119(12.5%)
Sao Paulo (Total)	14.650(100%)	23.926(100%)	54.389(100%)	91.419(100%)

Source: Kowarick and Ant (1980)

\*Fabes - Cadastro de Favelas, 1982.

Butanta in an unusual Regional Administration because it covers a large area, diversified in income and in land use. It encompasses some of the wealthiest residential districts, middle class residential areas, lower income areas and favelas. There are also industrial and service activities (such as the data processing facilities of major banks), and leisure industries (motels, drive-in theatres, sport clubs, etc.). The state government palace, the campus of the University of Sao Paulo and the Jockey Club (the horse racing tracks) are also to be found in this district. The two favelas studied in this district are Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz Dona Amelia.

The main difficulty in choosing a favela for the study concerned the violence in the areas. Violence, at this point, had reached levels not known previously.<sup>3</sup> My feelings of insecurity were increased by the fact this was the first work in years where I would not be accompanied by colleagues from the IPT. The work demanded that I spent long hours in the favela, sometimes at night, mostly during the day, weekdays and weekends. I needed to be assured that I could walk alone, without fear, and I had to be able to establish a rapport with the population. I chose Jardim Jacqueline because there was a Dwellers' Association which had been established for about 4 years. Furthermore, it was considered 'mobilized' by the Regional Administration. It was an average favela in terms of the length of time it had been in existence, and the leadership had previous experience with the IPT, for whom I worked, as the favela had been the focus of a brief survey for an experimental sanitation project (which was not implemented). In addition, the leadership was considered by external agents as strong and in full charge of what went on. This made me feel secure, and I felt that if the leadership endorsed my work and spread the word around, I would not be running personal risks.

The leadership was receptive to my work and proved to be helpful introducing me to families spread out through the favela. I had specified that I wanted informants with differing experiences in the favela. This meant that I wished to have contact with both participants and non-participants, long-time dwellers and recent

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<sup>3</sup> I had been away from the country for one year, and when I returned the accounts of violence from colleagues, friends and relatives were frightening. At work I was told that no-one was venturing into the favelas alone, so my fears were grounded on information passed on to me from respected quarters.

dwellers, dwellers who had received benefits and those who had not. The informants being spatially distributed guaranteed that most of the above conditions would be fulfilled because (a) the favelas are occupied slowly and unevenly as 'pockets' which gradually are joined together. Different areas correspond to different moments of occupation, possibly with different experiences of interacting and adapting, (b) services reach different parts of the favela depending on the physical conditions of the area. This means that the benefits are not evenly distributed and neither is the need. An introduction from the leadership was both an asset and a hazard. I needed this introduction to be accepted by the population, but I feared that this would lead me to contact only families who were active in the Dwellers' Association and/or on good terms with the leadership. As it turned out, this was not the case. The leaders introduced me to both participants and non-participants and those who criticized as well as those who approved of the leadership.

The second favela was more difficult to choose because it was necessary not only to match it to Jardim Jacqueline in terms of the age both of the favela and of the Dwellers' Association, but also to ensure that it had a more participative population if I were to be able to draw comparisons. With the help of some people from the Regional Administration I visited eight favelas. Five of them had just formed a Dwellers' Association and although very mobilized, were at the beginning of the process. Two others matched Jardim Jacqueline but did not present higher participation. The eighth one was Imperatriz Dona Amelia. The drawback is that it is smaller than Jardim Jacqueline (it has about 190 shacks, whereas Jardim Jacqueline has about 300 shacks). The other difference is in the land ownership. Jardim Jacqueline is situated in an area whose legal ownership is being disputed, in any

event, it is private land. Imperatriz Dona Amelia is situated in an area under the municipal government control, and occupies communal land which should be used for the benefit of the immediate neighbourhood.

As in Jardim Jacqueline, at Imperatriz Dona Amelia I informed all external agents and spoke to the leadership for 'clearance' to work in the favela. The leadership introduced me to the families and to the other leaders. One of the families interviewed 'joined' in the sample. Again, the leadership introduction did not affect the quality of the data.

The samples for the questionnaires were drawn as follows: at Imperatriz Dona Amelia the shacks were numbered by the leadership, so the sample was drawn by choosing 35 numbers from a random numbers table. When in the field we discovered that some of the shacks had the numbers repeated with letters added to it like 15 A, B, C, which the result of partitioning one dwelling into two or more. So in fact this disrupted the neatness of the random allotment, and in the end we could not be sure of how many households there were really in the settlement. The leadership had numbered the shacks four years prior to the research, and the changes which took place meanwhile had not been registered.

At Jardim Jacqueline it was necessary to have two sub-samples because of the insistence on the part of the population that there were two favelas (as will be seen subsequently), one by the creek and one at the top. The shacks had also been numbered by the National Census Bureau, when carrying out the 1980 Census. There were 295 numbered shacks, again the samples were allotted according to the random numbers table and again sub-sets similar to the ones at Imperatriz were found.



To solve this problem the interviewers had to turn into samplers. Whenever sub-numbers existed, these were renumbered simply 1, 2, 3, and the tables used.

In sum, the samples have to be considered of heuristic value. The speed of changes in the favelas would demand for any serious sampling, counting dwellings and plotting them immediately before any sampling procedure was to take place. This is an expensive and time consuming procedure which could not be performed for lack of funding. As Mitchell (1983) has noted, these problems are extremely common in the Third World even with higher income groups. The favelas, until recently, did not exist in the very sophisticated maps in scale 1:10,000 or 1:2,000 produced by the Metropolitan Planning Company. The areas occupied by favelas were represented as 'green areas'. Aerial photographs are very expensive to buy and are quickly outdated by the speed of changes in the favelas. In any event, even the most detailed ones provide only sufficient information to delineate roofs. This is inadequate because of the continuous subdivisions of dwellings: one roof may represent more than one dwelling, and this one dwelling more than one household.

Questionnaires were addressed, preferably to the head of the household. A household was defined in terms of a communal, joint budget. The head of household was identified by the members of the household. When the head of the household was not available because of a working schedule, the companion/wife/husband was, then, interviewed.

The interviews were carried out preferably with both the head of the household and his/her companion. When 'rivalry' (competition) in providing information emerged, arrangements were made to interview each

separately. This was not difficult to arrange because I was in the area every day, and interviews could be informally set up.

The reason for interviewing women is that they play an important role in the movements. The leadership acknowledges, in fact, that sometimes they are more active in the movements than the men. One explanation provided by the leaders was that the women carried most of the burden of the lack of infrastructure, and that they were, therefore, more interested and would put more energy into the collective activities.

#### 3.4 The fieldwork

The initial field work was carried out from October 1983 to March 1984 at Jardim Jacqueline. Further work was carried out at Imperatriz Dona Amelia from August 1984 to the end of October 1984 at which time the data from Jardim Jacqueline was updated. In both favelas the study consisted of (a) observation of activities, interviews, informal interviews, social interaction, (b) a brief questionnaire applied in October 1984 to a larger number of dwellings in both favelas, in an attempt to roughly quantify the participation and the knowledge of the population about the Dwellers' Association as well as to characterize them in socio-economic and demographic terms. In addition, at Jardim Jacqueline two group discussions were monitored as mentioned earlier.

I introduced myself in the favelas and to the Regional Administration as a researcher from the Technological Research Institute currently working on a Ph.D. The Institute is widely known and provided me with neutral credentials. In addition, in the Butanta area the Institute is known to the leadership of some favelas because

of the work of the geophysical division and also through research into improving sanitation. This gives the Institute an image of being both scientific and providing practical solutions to pressing problems within the favela.

The competition of different political parties for influence within the favelas made it necessary to explicate my neutrality and non-allegiance with political parties.

The informants in the study were dwellers, leaders and external agents acting in each favela: church members, social workers, political party members and volunteer workers.

Altogether, nineteen families were formally interviewed in the two favelas: 11 at Jardim Jacqueline and 8 at Imperatriz Dona Amelia. This produced 101 hours of taped material. On average,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  hours were spent in formal interviews with each family. These families were also informally interviewed and this provided the opportunity for the observation of daily activities. The leadership in the two favelas were also formally and informally interviewed. This resulted in 18 hours of taped material, 8 hours of which were obtained at Jardim Jacqueline and 10 hours at Imperatriz Dona Amelia. Group discussions, Dwellers' Association meetings and Mothers' Group meetings provided another 10 hours of taped material. The interviews with external agents which provided complementary information lasted on average  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours each.

The questionnaires were applied to 101 households in the two favelas and were distributed as follows: 66 at Jardim Jacqueline and 35 at Imperatriz Dona Amelia.

The secondary data consisted of documents from the National Bureau of Census, the Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare, the Secretariat of Urban Planning, the Socio-Economic Indicators Division of the General Trade Union, the Technological Research Institute (IPT), and the World Bank. Finally newspaper articles about the favelas from 1950 to 1984 were also studied.

Before contacting each favela, I established contact with the social workers at the Regional Administration and explained my work, I also spoke to members of the political party branch who had been in charge of organizing the population in the favelas.

The reason for these precautions was to inform all the external agents of my work and therefore avoid mutual interference. Within the favelas, my first contact was with the leadership who introduced me to other dwellers. The presence of new people from the outside attracts a lot of attention, gossip, and suspicion, which means that the support of the leadership, and of respected members of the community, is essential to guarantee the cooperation of other dwellers. It is also essential to guarantee a minimum of personal security for one's work.

The data was collected primarily by me. However, at Jardim Jacqueline, one of the families was interviewed by an experienced social and clinical psychologist, and at Imperatriz Dona Amelia, four families were interviewed by another social psychologist. There were two reasons for this:

1. To provide some control. I wished to know whether the same material would emerge with another interviewer.
2. At the end of the field work (Imperatriz Dona Amelia), I found I

could not cope with the work load of interviewing six leaders, carrying out observations, interviewing families, external agents and collecting secondary data material.

The questionnaires were applied at the end of the work when sufficient trust and acquaintance had been built up, and the population knew me and my work. The interviewers were two psychologists, one sociologist and one sociology student. They were introduced by me to the leadership and to key dwellers, who told their neighbours about them. This measure was necessary due to the suspicions aroused by newcomers to the area. The questions were read out to the interviewees, because of the literacy problems. The questions were open-ended to avoid the problems of deference and compliance (discussed in the previous section).

I did not maintain extensive contact with all families at Jardim Jacqueline since it did not prove possible to continue contacts with three of them. In one, the wife would speak to me but would not allow me to tape our conversations. Her husband had been very cooperative but was employed in a new job, and was working overtime which meant that he was not available for the length of my stay. Another family, who had particularly bad relations with a neighbour, who was also being interviewed, kept changing the appointments for interview until I realized they did not want to continue. The third family was that of a former president of the Dwellers' Association. They were very sensitive about their condition as favelados and made me feel that my presence there made them more aware of it, and this drove me to discontinue the work.

### 3.5 The data collected and the analysis of the data

I approached this work with two purposes: (a) to broaden the understanding of the social psychological processes involved in the participation of populations living under situations of extreme need, and hopefully be able to contribute to the strengthening of participation, and (b) to provide a channel for this population to voice their ideas and their views of their own experience.

To do so I tried to achieve some form of analytic description (as described in Chapter 1). The process I followed was similar to that described by Turner when advocating theory building in role theory:

"begin with sensitizing concepts, narrow propositions and hypothesis drawn from the research literature, and move to precise definitions and to general, formal theoretical propositions linking empirical regularities and expressing major tendencies of those regularities. Then look for determinants of variations in the regularities, and group-related regularities. Finally, seek common principles to explain why the groupings of regularities should occur" (Stryker, 1981, p. 20).

The basic data consisted of verbalizations produced by the different members of the community. Language therefore plays a very important role. This also means that the context within which it is produced is of utmost importance, which led me to consider in addition broader ethnographic data. As Cicourel (1981) puts it:

"A basic assumption of the analysis of the transcripts and field notes is that participants assume they share enough of a common knowledge base with those they study to permit them to leave unreported many details about what is intended and believed to be true or false or irrelevant. Hence the actual talk that is studied always requires some kind of expansion. The expansion invariably leads to the invocation of often tacit external information based on knowledge of prior events, the larger ethnographic or organizational context, and biographical relationships among participants." (p. 62)

The need to expand the data collection to other elements outside of the immediate context is also justified on the basis of the fact that although primacy is being given to the favelados' interpretations,

it is understand they do not have, as Marsh et al. (1978) say, 'absolute hegemony'

"the idea is that the best, though not necessarily the ultimate, authorities as to what the action 'actually' is, are the actors themselves. In their accounts are to be found, prima facie, the best interpretations of what went on, from the standpoint of the problem of the interpretation of action (.....). To say that they have priority is not to say that they have absolute hegemony over all other accounts at all other times, but rather that as a practical technique they provide the accounts from which one's initial hypotheses as to what is happening must be taken." (p. 22-23)

The excerpts of societal reactions exemplified by newspaper articles and the documents from the Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare were collected (a) to document how the favelas and favelados have been thought of, perceived and treated by society, (b) to provide some information about the broader context, and thus complement the "ethnographic data". The documents and newspaper articles, even if having an heuristic value, do provide the historical background to some of society's myths and prejudices about the favelas.

These documents and articles were grouped by decades and analysed as far as themes treated, explanations given for the existence of the favelas, solutions advocated, descriptions of the favelados, characteristics chosen, and the language used in such descriptions. An attempt was made to identify changes and to relate these to the broader social, political and economic processes the country underwent. The actual analysis uses Edelman's (1977) framework as a tool for interpretation.

The secondary data was used to characterize in socio-economic terms the favelados in relation to the population of the city and also to provide a basis for the relation between income and the growth of favelas - in sum to discuss the statements made by Brazilian authors about what I accepted as one of the main causes for the favelas.

The analysis of the data followed loosely Michelat & Simon's (1977) procedure of deep immersion in the total text of the interviews - the corpus - looking for both latent and manifest content. This was facilitated by having transcribed the interviews myself. Each hour of tape consumed on average 12 hours of transcription, meaning I came to memorize passages, the resulting 2,900 pages of transcriptions were manageable because of this intense direct contact. I interpreted each set of interviews as a whole, and attempted within each one to understand their conceptualizations about improvements, about their present lives, their priorities, their hopes and fears. The next step was to compare the similarities and differences emerging from the interviews; then, tentatively, I looked for explanations. Individual differences in the interviews were expected since so much control of the content was left to them, but still there are continuities between different interviewees. The differences are mostly in emphasis, revealing more their differences in priorities due to specific differences in the problems they faced. This also suggested interesting differences in the 'placement' of improvements within their present priorities.

The data from the questionnaires were used to expand, while the data from the observations were used to complement, the data from the interviews. The contradictions and ambivalences which emerged were not interpreted as a challenge to the validity of the data but as indicators of the fact that those contradictions, although clear to outsiders, may remain unconscious to the respondents. This possibility points to the complexities of understanding human behaviour even in an apparently objective situation.



Language, as I have noted previously, plays an extremely important role in this theme. My previous experience with this population has taught me that presumably because literacy is something not widespread and skilfully handled, verbal skills are quite developed: story telling, information dissemination, all is done verbally with the enriching use of imagery and metaphor.

For such wealth to emerge, the relationship between researcher and researched has to be approached from a different perspective. It is essential that the enterprise of knowledge production in the research be a joint one, with an active dialogue taking place between researcher - "researched". I would call it a process of researching where not only the knowledge of the researcher is being increased but also that of the "researched".

My justification for such a stand is that, aside from my previous experience, it seems that in the past very little effort has been made in understanding, and even less in a joint search for understanding the working class, or the "less favoured population" as it is euphemistically called in Brazil, or as one favelado put it "the not favoured population". This means that the usual researches have consisted of processes of accumulation of "knowledge" which has limited the role of this population to that of passive informants. The information gathered was generally of a kind suited to providing grounds for acceptance or rejection of theoretical frameworks which could have been alien and inadequate and which served to maintain myths about the population. Aside from the inadequacies of this type of work, they have, by setting the population such a passive role, replicated power relations which I wished to avoid. Coming from a different class and being possibly interpreted as a member of the

public bureaucracy, these were disadvantages for which I had to be prepared. The favelados' relations with society are mediated by suspicion from both sides, from the favelados side because they have to cope with derision and quite often blatant rejection, and from society, because until proved otherwise, they are considered a threat. This means that they are quite scarred. I felt I did not want to replicate with them the relations that the overall society has had, one which continuously denies any contribution of theirs to its existence. Lastly, being a neglected grouping within society, they are seldom asked about their views, opinions, reflections about life, concerns, and aspirations, etc. It seemed to me that if I were to establish a rapport in which my respect for them was not questioned, I would have to emphasize my willingness to listen.

My two purposes were fulfilled in personal terms. My understanding of sustained participation has increased, whether it will be significant for theoretical purposes remains to be seen. The contact with the population was very rewarding, hopefully to them as well as to me. I feel that I have something to take back to them which may make some contribution and support their efforts. The population understood the objectives and people quickly expected me to be present at major events. Within two months they were actually complaining about me having missed some event or episode.

This can also be seen from some excerpts of the interviews when they commented spontaneously on the research. Sr. Belmiro at Jardim Jacqueline was criticizing an interruption in the interview caused by a visit from his brother-in-law who wanted to tell me about 'corruption' in his workplace. Sr. Belmiro was angry because to him this was 'story telling', and it was a waste of tape,

"But if you are going to tape my life, what has happened from the beginning to the end? You can use all the money you make in a month to buy tape and it won't be enough. I understand that. You are working. I already knew about this work. You are researching the people who understand, who know how to speak, like the things which are necessary. These things are going to come out in a book, something like this. So this kind of thing, one shouldn't speak. This is research, this is not (...) Now, I am not going to tell you how many manioc I've planted, how many times, how many bags of flour I've cropped (...)"

Discussing the tape recorder,

Sr. Belmiro: "If you go back (to the workplace) and say they won't believe I talked to you

Interviewer: Right.

Sr. Belmiro: Right?

Interviewer: Yes.

Sr. Belmiro: So, if you don't turn on the tape recorder, that is recording. You go there and you say, ah, I did this, did this, did that, so they don't believe you. They think you were sleeping in your bed, that you were in Bohemia (sic) right? That's research. I know it. You are researching us."

When I went back after 5 months absence, Sr. Belmiro criticized me for having been absent and for coming back empty handed. Days later he was talking to me and apologizing for his behaviour.

"Sr. Belmiro: That day I was drunk, if you talked to me and taped, you were going to tape drunk talk.

Interviewer: But you said you were not thinking right that day, Sr. Belmiro, did you want to tape it or not?

Sr. Belmiro: No.

Interviewer: No?

Sr. Belmiro and Janaina (his wife) (laughter).

Sr. Belmiro: No, it is not that, what happens let me explain. My father had a saying, and it is a very right saying: it is very interesting and good. The person talks-the people-he understands, you know the saying, by talking people understand each other. But you must know to talk, right? Now, if you come to talk to me, and I am aggressive and come with the wrong talk, ugly, instead of having a firm, right talk, I am going to create problems, and I'll be ashamed of when you. You have that tape there (...) you are going to be upset, upset when you hear the ugly words, words badly spoken. To speak badly is not bandit words (sic). It is words which don't agree, which are unpleasant. This means that you are not interested, you are displeased, and if I speak serious, it is interesting (...) when you hear the words you will say, the words of this man are well spoken, it is interesting."

At Imperatriz the second favela, Sr. Claudio, one of the leaders, was telling me about the neighbourhood,

"You, your concern is to know our lives here, day to day, right. If you try to ask everyone in the shacks, 'What do you think it is best for here?' Because you come in here, in my house, and you see day-to-day, you see Dona Judita (a neighbour), you went to my house, you listened to me, how I feel, the story of when I came here until now. So, so, you see our day-to-day life, you can analyse, you can make an analysis of the situation, and see how precarious it is. Because we, living here, I don't know everybody's house still. No, I have lived here for 10 years, no 11 years. Eleven years I told you. Since 1973, and there are shacks here I don't know. I don't know inside. So, this is the question, that sometimes we think we are in a difficult situation, and there are people who are worse off, much worse, and sometimes we say, 'Well, thank God, I am earning a salary, it is enough to eat on, and sometimes there are people better than us.' Inside here, then, when you say, for instance, 'There is someone hungry here', then I say, 'Well, what can I give to this person?' Look I have a bit of rice, some beans, I have little, sometimes people who have more could give more. They could, because it is not a matter of not having, how do they say?, communication, right? They don't communicate with each other right?"

Aside from providing knowledge about themselves, the interviews were sometimes seen as an opportunity to release stress. Diva at Imperatriz was complaining about my refusal to have Sunday dinner at her house,

"Interviewer: I know your difficulties, I don't want to impose on you.

Diva: If I offer you a cup of coffee, I have coffee to give you. So, if I give you coffee or invite you for lunch in my house, I think that whatever I give you increases mine. If I give you lunch, it increases it for me. I am sad. On Sunday I was sad because ...

Interviewer: I am concerned with your difficulties, I don't want to aggravate them.

Diva: No, Nancy, I have difficulties.

Interviewer: You already give me your time.

Diva: No, the time I give you, it is a time for a work that I am doing for myself, right? So I think that if I go over those things, I have an outlet, something I have kept inside me comes out and this is a work for myself. It helps you and it helps me. So, if I offer you a coffee, to you or to anyone, I think that the coffee I give does not diminish mine. It increases it."

The statistical treatment applied to the survey data consisted of the chi-square test. Two types of comparisons were tried, between participants and non-participants within each favela and between the totals (regardless of participation or non-participation) for the two favelas. The statistical treatment was jeopardized by the size of the samples, this resulted in an excessive number of categories with low (around or below 5) or null frequencies. A correction for continuity (adding .5 to all observed frequencies) was applied, but this may still have resulted in a misleading results because of the sample sizes and the dispersion of the data, specially in the case of the comparisons between participants and non-participants.

### 3.6 Quality of the data

The approach adopted gives reason for concern because (a) some measures were made after a time-gap and some are 'a posteriori'. Since the reasons for initial participation, the history of the movement refer to facts which took place years before the measurements, they are bound to be contaminated by the events which took place after the movement started, by the successes and failures experienced and by the memory of the respondents. Their recollection of the events and of their motives is probably influenced by some process of filtering and reconceptualizing. This is a problem that most studies involving social movements face. There are very few longitudinal studies on this theme and before and after studies are nearly impossible, due to the practical difficulties in predicting when and where such movements will start (b) there are problems with the method-participant observation. These have been summarized by McCall (1969) as: 1. The reactive effects of the observer's presence or behaviour on the phenomenon under observation; 2. The distorting effects of selective perception and interpretation on the observer's part, and 3. Limitations on the

observer's ability to witness all the relevant aspects of the phenomenon in question. These forms of contamination have as general sources characteristics of the observer's role relations with the interviewees and personal characteristics of the observer both in psychological terms and in terms of the theoretical framework being used, the focus of which narrows down attention and perception. This would also apply to the interviewee.

To control these aspects I have adopted McCall's (1969) technique which recommends the use of a modified version of Becker & Geer's list of contaminating effects. Data must be treated with caution if it is the case that: "1. ... items reflecting content of interest are never provided spontaneously, but only on elicitation by the researcher; 2. ... such items are never provided in the company of other subjects but only in interview testimony or only when alone with the researcher; 3. ... such items are manifest only in interview testimony or only in observed behaviours but not in both" (McCall, 1969: p. 131). This was modified by McCall who elaborated an 'accounting scheme' of possibly contaminating influences aside from plausibility, stability and comparability. The observational data must be checked on three counts: for reactive effects - whether the presence or the actions of the researcher affected the observed phenomenon. This is checked by comparing reports of informants on similar events with his/her own: for ethnocentrism - again checked by comparing with pertinent interviews, and finally for 'going native'. The check here would be between the initial observations and subsequent ones.

The interview data were also checked with respect to the following factors: knowledgeability (the credentials of the interviewee), repertorial ability (whether he can report what he/she knows), reactive

effects (compliance or deference or reticence in the interview situation, ulterior motives) bars to spontaneity (presence of other people) and idiosyncratic factors (aspects of the interviewee which could affect his/her report). The different contacts with the same person were checked as to whether the account was plausible, whether it was internally consistent and made sense, and finally whether it was stable. These criteria were also applied comparatively, between different informants reporting on the same fact.

The contradictions between observational and interview data are treated in McCall's framework as indicators of reactive effects of observation and interview. In my view such contradictions can also indicate that the interviewees are not always fully aware of their motives and/or ambiguities which are operative in non-research situations also. Instead of approaching contradictions simply as indicators of reactive effects, I have interpreted them as also revealing the effects of other psychological mechanisms. Another control applied to the data consisted of comparing the material collected by different interviewers and checking whether different persons using the same methods obtained similar data. The data from the survey were also used to check the interview and observational data since the team which collected the survey data had no contact with the interview and observational material. This means they had no idea of what information had emerged before. Despite this, the data from the questionnaires corroborate and expand the data from the observations and interviews. The control of the data quality had one major drawback, the fact that I could not validate my judgements about the data for lack of trained persons with knowledge of Portuguese to carry out such a task.

## Chapter 4

### A background to the favelas in Sao Paulo:

The analysis, diagnosis and solutions produced by the government agencies and the reactions expressed in the press

In this chapter I explore two aspects related to the issue of sustained participation in the movements in favelas: the structurally maintained political inefficacy or "caused inaction" of the favelados, and the opportunities and provocations for political action (Kinder & Sears, 1985). I stated initially that possibly the favelados' powerlessness results from the political socialization process and proposed to examine one aspect of this: the actions of the government agencies in charge of the favelas. The idea to be examined here is that these agencies have sustained societies' prejudices and stereotypes about the favelados, as well as the favelados' powerlessness and quiescence, specifically through the way in which they define the problem, the solutions they advocate and the means through which these have been implemented. The favelado comes to be seen (and to some degree, still is seen) in the following way:

"Dweller without rights, suspect in his social behaviour, the favelado is also stigmatized in his relations of work ... (they) suffer more than any other group strong social and economic discrimination. Occupying other people's land, government or privately owned, there is the constant threat of eviction, or expulsion ... (All this) creates an enormous instability which is internalized, generating what can be called 'consciousness of the prohibition', the perception of being in an illegal condition of housing and the knowledge that at any moment his/her eviction can be ordered". (Kowarick & Ant, 1980, p. 18, 19, 20).

This analysis is based on Edelman's (1977) contributions on the effect of the language of the helping professions on political cognitions. Edelman (1977) stated that "public policies rest on the beliefs and perceptions of those who help make them, whether or not



those cognitions are accurate" (p. 9). These beliefs depend partially on what people take for granted and what they value as they experience political phenomena. This gives political cognitions a different epistemological status. In political cognition there is no one "real" perception, or no "dogma of immaculate perception" in Nietzsche's terms (Edelman, 1977), but a "cognitive structure with alternative facets, possibilities, and combinations appearing as the observer encounters new situations" (p. 10). Edelman emphasizes that the cognitive structures are complex. This complexity stems from the fact that although individually held, they are social in character. The thesis defended by Edelman is that social adjustment is achieved through contradictory beliefs. Some of the beliefs held by society and specifically by social workers and other professional groups in charge of the favelas are problematic because "research calls the belief into question or because others hold conflicting beliefs just as firmly or because there is no definitive way of verifying or falsifying either view" (Edelman, 1977, p. 13). It is such problematic beliefs that Edelman has examined in his analysis of the official language, searching for evidence to examine his thesis. In the specific case of the quiescence of the poor he states:

"Quiescent public acceptance of poverty as a fact of social life depends upon how it is defined, far more than upon its severity. To define it, and therefore perceive it, in terms of the inherent inadequacies of the poor person is to treat its symptoms in individuals usually in ways that ensure high rates of recidivism, whether the treatment consists of welfare benefits, imprisonment for crime or hospitalization for emotional disturbance. Those who define it in terms of the functioning of the economic system are, in my view, dealing with causes rather than symptoms. But their categories also encourage continued acceptance of poverty as a 'problem' for terms like 'system' and 'economic law' make poverty look unconquerable or so hard to change that few will support the political effort. Both human 'nature' and social 'system' are categories that engender acceptance of things as they are and of problems as chronic" (p. 8).

Edelman focussed his analysis of the language of the helping

professions on rhetorical devices, metaphors, metonymy and syntax, since it is through these that linguistic references "evoke mythic cognitive structures in people's minds" (p. 16).

This analysis of professional language is based on the notion that such language shapes public beliefs about those behaviours which are acceptable and those which are not. As a result, "fundamental influences upon political beliefs flow .... from language that is not perceived as political at all but nonetheless structures perceptions of status, authority, merit, deviance, and the causes of social problems" (p. 21).

The data analysed here consist of documents<sup>1</sup> from the archives of the Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare of the Municipality of Sao Paulo and newspaper articles on the favelas. The Secretariat, since the mid-50s under different guises, has been in charge of the favelas, defining the phenomenon, studying it through surveys, proposing solutions and policies and implementing these together with Municipal Housing Corporations. The method of content analysis has been described in the Methodology (Chapter 3). Basically I tried to identify historical trends in the official definition of the problem and its solution, and to observe how these related to the views from 'lay' sectors of the society (the media) as well as the views of the experts.

Initially I had gathered this material in my search for historical evidence concerning previous social movements or collective action in

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<sup>1</sup> The newspapers considered were O Estado de S. Paulo and Folha de S. Paulo, two major daily newspapers in Sao Paulo.

the favelas. As I sorted through the material I was surprised by two things: the language used and by what Crozier (quoted by Edelman, 1977, p. 95) called "absence of corrective feedback" or selective perception:

"Analysis of bureaucratic language calls attention to the consistent highlighting of some kinds of information and the systematic neglect of other kinds, so that it may be more valid to speak of selective feedback .... the more subtle and more serious deficiencies in feedback occur through the routine use of terms that characterize actions, clients and results in such a way that failures will either be unrecognized or defined as inevitable" (p. 95).

It was then that I looked into the possibility that such language could have a role in the maintenance of prejudices against the favelados and their powerlessness thus guaranteeing their quiescence in the face of the social workers' actions and policies concerning the favelas.

This initial analysis of the documents revealed two additional aspects: first, the population was never heard. There was no consultation, and therefore no channels through which people might express their needs. Secondly, the type of diagnosis made or analysis of the problem of the favelas tended to result in the 'person-blame syndrome', according to which the favelas were explained as a result of 'people's deficiencies'. It took two decades for the discussion of other possibilities to emerge. During those years, evictions or forceful removals were the solutions, or 'treatment applied' as the public officials put it. Throughout this period the adequacy of these solutions went unquestioned. These solutions, as evidenced in the documents and newspaper articles, were remarkably consensual. There is little disagreement registered in the material examined. In fact there is little dissent, in such material as to the 'diagnosis' - the concepts and rationale used are the same throughout the 50s and 60s. I should note that although the footnotes refer to the specific documents using the language described in the text, the same concepts appear in

other documents.

Peripheral attention was paid to the favelas until the mid 50s. The Prefeitura (municipal government) established a social welfare division in charge of social work and social housing in 1955.<sup>2</sup> The favelas are said to have started in Sao Paulo around 1942. The first favela recorded (Godinho, 1955) was populated by persons evicted from areas where the Prefeitura proposed to implement a plan of modern avenues. This favela received the name of the mayor in power at the time. "Favela Prestes Maia". In 1948 it had to be removed because the land occupied was to be transformed into yet another avenue. The Prefeitura built 360 rooms (in timber) as a temporary shelter for the evicted families. The rooms were let to the population and the Prefeitura charged rent and maintenance fees from the favelados. The Prefeitura placed an inspector in charge of the supervision of the area and money collection. During the early 50s this area had to be cleared and the population was again dispersed, this time into a variety of small favelas, which by then were emerging in different districts. This story and the relations between the authorities and the population were to be replicated again and again throughout the 50s, 60s and 70s: favelados were moved around the city, to areas further and further away from work, services, and infrastructure, while the authorities played an ambiguous role: fostering the development of the favelas while trying to eradicate them. Official action matched official words only insofar as moving the population around was concerned. Improvements to the lives of the population remained

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<sup>2</sup> This measure ratified the view of the favelas as a 'social problem' which deserved the attention of social workers. Later on, when low income housing agencies were developed this was to cause problems, because of competition between the social workers and housing experts in dealing with the favelas.

unfulfilled promises.

Some of the favelas were not touched and these few became the largest ones. My speculative interpretation is that these were not touched because they were located in poor neighbourhoods (or on public land for which there was no immediate use), and thus had no attraction for land speculators. That is, the favelas left untouched were the ones occupying land which was neither desirable nor situated in a politically influential neighbourhood.

During the 50s, 60s and early 70s "desfavelar", a new verb which meant to uproot the favelas came into the Brazilian vocabulary. This was the result of the following 'diagnosis' in Edelman's terms: favelas were a consequence of the inadequacy of the migrants, who, coming mostly from the Northeast states, were unfit for urban life; they were unskilled or had skills which did not suit the needs of industry; they were illiterate; they were sick;<sup>3</sup> they came from rural areas and were not accustomed to city life; they lacked documents; they were attracted by the "illusions of high wages" in the cities; they were migrants because they were failed farmers<sup>4</sup> or not attracted to agricultural work.<sup>5</sup>

Furthermore, it was said the cities were already overcrowded. Due to this postulated "demographic hypertrophia"<sup>6</sup> the favelas emerged as

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<sup>3</sup> Physically - "they had worms", "tuberculosis", etc.

<sup>4</sup> Penteado, Agostinho (1965) Caracterizacao do problema favela algumas aspectos juridicos. Mimeo, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo. 23.3.68.

<sup>6</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1950). Dir. de Estatistica e Documentacao Social. Favelas de Sao Paulo - Oratorio, Ibirapuera, Guaicurus, p. 26.

"uncomfortable protuberances ... the favela is not part of the community (if it were) it would be the same as to admit the need for its existence. It is an appendix, a hypertrophie of the social organ - deforming the whole as it grows, causing ill feelings. Society cries out against this uncomfortable protuberance" (p. 2).<sup>7</sup>

The 'unfit' migrant, not being able to hold a steady job, unskilled, illiterate, would end up in the favelas. The physical decay of the environment would combine with the inadequacies of this population and the end result was<sup>8</sup> conformism, lack of will, lack of energy, primitive habits, lack of hygiene, apathy, lack of drive, lack of motivation, amorality, loss of the instinct of modesty, lack of health, lack of discernment, lack of a 'minimum sense of private property, or having an elastic concept of property'.<sup>9</sup> These were revealed in a "favelado mentality" or "favelado pathology"<sup>10</sup> and this was the explanation for the conditions found: deprivation, marginality (in the sense of both social and economic marginality and delinquency), promiscuity, selfishness, etc. Such conditions were made evident by the presence of broken families, illegitimate couples, abandoned women as head of household, single mothers, prostitutes, alcoholics, criminals, etc. Since they lived in "infrahuman conditions"<sup>11</sup> the experts assumed that these persons were actually living animal lives, "captive animals in infra-human conditions" (Godinho, 1955, p. 9) and that they were no longer used to being treated as persons.

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<sup>7</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade), Plano da Comissao de Servico Social para o desfavelamento de Vila Prudente. Mimeo. No date (p. 2).

<sup>8</sup> Albano, M. Josephina (1961) Fator humano nos programas de recuperacao das favelas. Reuniao Tecnica Interamericana de Habitacao e Planejamento. CINVA, Bogota, 1957, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Godinho, M.T. (1955) O Servico Social nos favelas, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1966) Investigacao dos Aspectos Sociais - Tatuape, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1960) Relatorio Social - A favela do Tatuape ou favela de Rua Ivai, p. 4.

The solutions to this were seen as involving the need to 'eradicate' the favelas, and educate the population in order to integrate them into a productive, social life. The words used were: readjustment, moral and physical rehabilitation, reestablishment of human dignity. Emphasis was placed on teaching basic notions of hygiene: personal hygiene and house cleaning procedures. The favelados were also to be taught how to maintain and use a house. Some went as far as to suggest favelados had to have some form of transition housing<sup>12</sup> in which they could learn these skills and be physically "disinfected", dewormed, etc. - treated, so as not to contaminate the new environment. Dealing with the population already in the cities was not considered enough. Stronger measures for "freezing" the favelas referred to screening migrants by having road blocks. At such posts, migrants' conditions would be assessed and the "unfit" would be sent back to their home towns. In the city, the population "at risk" of ending up in the favelas would be informed of the dangers and encouraged not to do so. Better policing of vacant land was also advocated.<sup>13</sup> These and other measures never came to be put into practice but evictions, removals, and attempts to 'eradicate' were made. Although largely used during the 50s, 60s and 70s, they were ineffectual in terms of stopping the growth of the favelas. They were, however, successful in maintaining the population in constant fear, and in reinforcing feelings of powerlessness, rejection by society, and lack of worth. As Edelman quoting Illich (1977, p. 64) stated, public

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<sup>12</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1963) Secretaria do Trabalho - MJD - Favela, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1960) Plano de mobilizacao de recursos para tratamento do problema favelas a ser realizado nos meses de setembro-dezembro de 1960, mimeo, p. 4 & 5.

humiliation and pain even if occasional have systematic effects on people who know they may experience them. The threat of their use keeps people docile; "random terror" is the expression used by Illich.

The ideas expressed in these documents are marked by contradictions. The population is both apathetic and rebellious; lacks motivation and is motivated; lacks hygiene but is concerned with the cleanliness of their children, does not hold steady jobs but does not want to leave the favelas because they are close to their place of work; the women need to be taught cleaning skills and yet work as maids, servants, laundry women for the middle classes. It seems that the perception is selective. This is reinforced by the emphasis placed on the characteristics or relationships which confirm the original diagnosis of the favelas while other factors are obscured or not considered. Amongst these could be listed the relation between income, occupation and industry's need for cheap labour; the relation between the favelas' location and the labour market; the relations between the investments made by the federal government in the urban areas and the migration process. The neglect of data about the presence of regularly employed workers; industrial workers, lower echelon civil servants, shop assistants, carpenters, electricians, plumbers, barbers, gardeners, guards, street vendors, market vendors, in the favelas evidenced by research throughout the 50s and the 60s is a further example of "selective perception" or lack of "corrective feedback" Although the surveys carried out by the agencies in charge of the favelas indicated that the majority were regularly employed workers, the analysis of such surveys focused on the presence of deviants, and of delinquents. As Kowarick and Ant (1980) and Edelman (1977) stress, it is one thing to say there is some correlation between poverty and criminality, it is another to say that because a certain physical area



presents a concentration of poorer people that it necessarily presents also a concentration of criminals. These are present there as they are in other areas of the city, but the majority are workers.<sup>14</sup>

The emphasis, then, is on aspects which confirm the diagnosis<sup>15</sup> and justify the solutions applied. The favelados were continuously being differentiated from other poor people, and from other inhabitants of the city. They were characterized and described by what was seen as lacking and by what justified the 'remedial' actions taken. For instance, the removal from central serviced areas and resettlement in peripheral areas of difficult access could be seen as justified provided they did not have steady jobs, and if they were not integrated in their neighbourhoods. For some time there had been research data indicating that most industrial workers (72.1%, Division of Statistics of the Municipality, 1946) were inhabiting favelas and corticos - rented rooms. Moreover as mentioned, other specific surveys with favelados showed that the majority were low paid workers.<sup>16</sup> The insistence on generalizing from the minority (unemployed) and from negative traits resulted in added difficulties for the favelados, such

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<sup>14</sup> Edelman (1977, p. 33) quoting Sarbin says that the word dangerous "seems to have been shaped out of linguistic roots that signified relative position in a social structure". There is the suggestion that the idea of poverty and criminality are linked in linguistic terms.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, when research data revealed that living in the favela was not a transient state, but that people were remaining there, this was interpreted as another sign of marginality and conformity; the desire to move out without specific plans to do so was interpreted as passivity and lack of initiative; the absence of leisure activities was interpreted as conformism. Aspects such as lack of financial means to move out, to pay for leisure, etc. were not considered. Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1969) Acomodacao do Favelado, Favela do Aeroporto; Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1966) Pesquisa socio economica de algumas favelas (COHAB).

<sup>16</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1960) Plano de mobilizacao de recursos para tratamento do problema favela, p. 2. The first surveys quoted in this literature date from 1946; in 1954 a large survey by CASMU showed again that mostly low-paid workers were inhabiting the favelas.

reasoning resulted in solutions which were costly to the favelados since they maintained myths and stigmatization. This view prevailed not only in the lay sectors but experts subscribed to such interpretations.

Sometimes the press would sound more progressive in their explanations of the causes of the problem than the official documents.<sup>17</sup> For instance, by 1951 the "serious press" was publishing research results about the favelados emphasizing the presence of regularly employed but low-paid workers. These articles were, therefore, relating the problem of the favelas to low wages, and high rents due to housing shortages, resulting from a rent freeze which dated from the early 40s. The popular press,<sup>18</sup> meanwhile, emphasized the deviant aspect, strengthening the prejudices of society. To regard the favela as "a pathological reality, as an illness, a plague, an upset, a public calamity" (Parisse, 1969, p. 6) justified whatever measures society adopted against the favelas. The favelados were given almost no opportunity to voice their needs, as mentioned, and when they did their suggestions were dismissed as inadequate. For instance, this was the case when favelados (living in the favela da Mooça, in 1960) threatened with eviction tried to remain in the original district to maintain their jobs and proposed as an alternative solution to eviction, the acquisition of the land they occupied or some rent in the same area. The public official interpreted this as another sign of their inadequacies and incapacity to handle their lives and ~~this was seen as~~ evidence of their "living beyond their means", "making mistakes", etc., since the area was considered too good to be occupied by the favelados who could not afford them.

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<sup>17</sup> Correio Paulistano, 12.7.1951. Jornal de Noticias, 15.7.1951.

<sup>18</sup> Diario da Noite, 5.5.1955, 3.5.1955.

The language of the social workers and other professionals in charge of the favelados suggests that a process similar to that of linguistic categorization described by Edelman (1977) may have been involved in their analysis and development of solutions for the favelas. Edelman says that categorization involves a process of classification which can combine scientific and political schemes of classification depending on the interests of the people employing the categorization because any category can serve either or both functions - political or scientific. When people are assigned to "niches according to their actual or potential accomplishments or behavior" (Edelman, 1977: 62) such categorization is bound to be "political, no matter what its scientific functions: IQs, psychiatric labels, typologies of talent, skills or knowledge, employment statuses, criminal statuses, personality types - all exemplify the point" (Edelman, 1977: 62). As a political tool such categorizations establish status and power hierarchy: "Once established, a categorization defines what is relevant about the people who are labeled. It encourages others to interpret developments so as to confirm the label and to ignore, discount, or reinterpret counterevidence" (p. 63). Its most powerful form is when they contain "visions of the future", that is, when they predict behaviours of the groups involved. This classification of social problems is, then, grounded on typifications which ignore what is unique, evoking mythical beliefs and perceptions that are uncritically accepted. The result is that misleading beliefs about causes often lead to solutions which are not effective, since they are grounded on errors. Furthermore, "when we name and classify a problem, we unconsciously establish the status and the roles of those involved with it, including their self-conceptions" (p. 29). Language therefore does not only describe

reality but creates realities: it is an intrinsic part of the social situation not a simple tool, blending cognition and affect. Language then is not just made up of signs but of symbols, and a symbol "condenses, rearranges feelings, memories, perceptions, beliefs and expectations (:)" then it evokes a particular structuring of beliefs and emotions, a structuring that varies with people's social situations" (p. 61).

The perceived need for the submission of the favelados to the authority of the experts possibly was grounded on the belief that submission would benefit the subordinate. Edelman (1977) stated that "it is crucial to the powerful that descriptions of their treatment of others highlight the benefits not the costs of submission" (p. 64). The public adopts the professionals' perspective because they need to believe that others can be trusted to handle these problems. This gives power to the professionals.

As Edelman observed in his analysis of the language of the helping professions, so there is ambiguity also in the concern Brazilian experts expressed towards the favelados. At the same time that the social agencies were fostering the stereotypes and prejudices against the favelas, documents reveal that the experts were contemporaneously showing concern about the broader societal rejection of the favelados, exemplified by the rejection of children from favelas by city schools and by the parents of other children attending kindergartens. Factories also rejected workers from the favelas and even charity organizations refused to help favelados.<sup>19</sup> The concentration of the popular press on delinquency in the favelas was also noted. What the

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<sup>19</sup> Godinho, Marta T. (1955) O Serviço Social nas Favelas, p. 75.

documents do not indicate, however, is an awareness of the presence of the same societal ideas, prejudices and biases in their own view of the problem.

It is also surprising how long these views were maintained despite the experts continued contact with the favelas. For instance, the language, diagnosis and solutions contained in some documents from the late 60s are very similar to the ones produced in the early 50s. This suggests the strength of such views. As late as the mid 70s such views were still expressed; the solutions had changed but the negative perceptions and prejudices against the favelados persisted even among the experts.<sup>20</sup> This was more easily maintained because the theoretical literature at the time emphasized the theories of marginality, of culture of poverty, and this gave a pseudo-scientific basis to some of these interpretations. In Edelman's terms the strength of such myths could be interpreted as the result of the mixture of science with politics in the categorization system.

By the mid-60s the theoretical literature started to change. In 1965, for instance, Leeds was questioning the basic interpretations of the favelas and was showing the relations between the policies adopted (the solutions) at local level and national policies. This was accompanied by an increased number of studies by social scientists<sup>21</sup> of

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<sup>20</sup> Cardia, Nancy (1981) *Os planejadores e a participacao da populacao no planejamento habitacional: Percepcoes, atitudes e relacoes de poder.* Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Univ. of Sao Paulo.

<sup>21</sup> Perlman, Janice *The myth of marginality.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Berlink, Manoel & Hogan, D. *Migracao interna e adaptacao na cidade de Sao Paulo.* EASP, IGU, 1975.

Berlink, Manoel *Marginalidade social e relacoes de classes em Sao*  
(Footnote continued)

the processes involved in migration and adaptation to urban life, and a deeper examination of the concept of marginality, etc. This resulted in the rejection of most of the assumptions and predictions previously made.

Simultaneously, although still riddled with ambiguity, the documents began to suggest changes in the perception of the problem. The relationship between income and the favelas was delineated; the language became more moderate. Although concepts such as marginality were still used, there were indications of critical evaluation of the measures hitherto adopted.<sup>22</sup> All this started to take place in the mid-60s, after the intensification of efforts to remove the favelas with the involvement of volunteer university students. Those students had organized their efforts and formed a movement, the university student movement for favela eradication - MUD. Other agents involved since the 50s in the favelas were Catholic Church organizations: CASMU, Cruzada Pio XII, and later a volunteer movement, Movimento das Organizacoes Voluntarias - MOV. Until the mid-60s, therefore, the only movements in the favelas were pioneered by external agents and aimed to 'improve' the favelas by removing the inhabitants to distant areas (sometimes even to other municipalities). After some experiences of removal doubts began to arise about the efficacy of such measures and some attention started to be paid to possible negative side effects for the population.<sup>23</sup> More specifically the added burden on families'

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<sup>21</sup>(continued)  
Paulo. Petropolis, Vozes, 1975.

Durham, Eunice A caminho a cidade. S.P. Perspectiva, 1973.

<sup>22</sup> Leeds, Anthony (1965) Os variaveis mais importantes na ecologia das favelas. Mimeo; O Estado de S. Paulo, 13.09.1961, 13.12.1961

budgets from new costs involving housing and transportation was admitted. The serious press also had focused upon these problems early on at the beginning of the removal programme,<sup>24</sup> pointing to the fact that removing families could mean loss of ties in the original area, increased costs with transportation and house payments, and loss of income because of the move away from a 'job providing' area.

The problem of removing favelados leaving serviced land idle and open to speculation, while the families were further disadvantaged by this move was touched upon by MUD after the first large removal project had been implemented in 1964. This did not stop new removals from taking place. This policy was only to change in the late 70s when it became clear that all policies adopted until then had failed in containing much less in eliminating the favelas. In sum, incipient changes in the perception of the problem did not result in immediate changes in the behaviour of the agents and much less in the solutions "applied" to the favelas.

The mid-60s also mark the simultaneous growth of the favelas, and the intensification of removals due to an acceleration of public works all over the city which affected large favelas situated on public land. Changes at national level in the housing policy were reflected in the creation of the Metropolitan Housing Company which theoretically was to provide housing for all the low income population, including the favelados. This company, COHAB, produced in 1966 an extensive survey of some favelas in Sao Paulo. The data obtained ratified the condition of the favelados as low-paid workers. It also revealed that the

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<sup>23</sup>MUD (1964) Alguns aspectos das favelas em Sao Paulo. Mimeo, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 24.3.1961, 4.4.1961

population were not all new migrants, but that many had previous experience in the city, having lived in rented accommodation before moving into the favela. In other words the first documented<sup>25</sup> evidence of a process of downward social mobility appeared at this point.

The historical growth of the favelas is not well documented. The figures as discussed in the Methodology (Chapter 3) are not trustworthy. The first census-type survey was produced in 1972-73 and repeated in 1974-75 by the old Social Service Department of the Municipality, now the Secretariat of Social Welfare (see Table 3.1).

The language used by the press throughout the late 60s and early 70s and the themes it chose to cover presented some changes in societal concern. There was a concern about human aspects, that is, for the quality or lack of quality of life of the favelados,<sup>26</sup> for the continuing growth of the favelas, some questioning of the efficacy of previous solutions to the 'problem'.<sup>27</sup> In spite of an occasional 'regression' into explanations based on the personal inadequacies of the migrants, and on solutions dating from the 50s,<sup>28</sup> the articles in newspapers paid more attention to the lives and aspirations of the people, and presented some criticism of the government's actions.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Other surveys produced previously did not cover topics such as previous housing in the city, indicating the strength of the idea that the favelas housed newly arrived migrants without previous residence in the city.

<sup>26</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 26.4.1967; 16.01.68; 26.4.68. Jornal da Tarde, 19.1.1966; 29.12.1966; 26.4.1967.

<sup>27</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 23.3.68; 10.9.1968. O Estado de S. Paulo, 29.5.68.

<sup>28</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 3.3.1966; 31.7.1966; 23.5.1969; 21.7.1970, 16.8.1970.

<sup>29</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 26.4.1968.



After large-scale removals (it is said that in 1968 alone 12,000 people were removed from ten large favelas)<sup>30</sup> the favelas' continued growth led the Prefeitura, according to a leading newspaper, to forbid favelas. This, again, was never put into practice, maybe because it was not very clear how this could be achieved. What did take place was some physical repression, under the form of police raids which were called "operacao tira da Cama" - 'operation get them out of bed', said to be 'cleaning-up measures'. These consisted of surrounding a favela in the middle of the night and arresting any person without proper documents (that is, working card) or who had the "appearance of a marginal" and who was not employed. The idea was to surprise the dwellers in their sleep.<sup>31</sup> They were taking the precincts 300, 200 dwellers at a time, just to free them the next day, without bringing charges or finding wanted criminals. It is not clear how many raids took place. At that time censorship of the media was strong and it is impossible to assess whether these raids were also physically violent. These raids ended in 1973.<sup>32</sup> At that time coincidence or not, fires started to occur and became so common that one of the newspapers came to describe them as another means of favela eradication.<sup>33</sup>

In 1971 the Municipality presented a new plan to diminish the concentration of dwellings in crowded favelas. They would remove

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<sup>30</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 1.5.1971.

<sup>31</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 29.9.1972; 10.10.1972. O Estado de Sao Paulo, 19.10.1972.

<sup>32</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 21.3.1973.

<sup>33</sup> O Estado de Sao Paulo, 22.11.72; 23.11.72; 17.4.74.

families to "intermediary settlements" - Vilas de Habitacao Provisoria - VHP. These were hailed as the first real solution - they would allow the favelados to be removed in small groups to 'educational compounds' where they would be integrated into society. Their behaviour would be monitored by experts who would determine when they were ready to be moved into new houses. Meanwhile, they would live in smaller settlements on the periphery of the city in quarters built in long rows (made of timber), sharing washing and bathroom facilities.<sup>34</sup> These VHPs were rejected by the people from the districts within which they were to be built, as they saw them as new favelas built by the Municipality which would devalue their properties. They were right; in five years' time the VHPs had become favelas in the old style and it was nearly impossible to distinguish the original dwellings built by the municipality from the rest.<sup>35</sup>

By 1977 the overcrowding in the favelas attracted more attention from the press. The relations between their growth and low wages was firmly established<sup>36</sup> and in 1978 even the Municipality was admitting that the causes were low-wages, land speculation, inflation, and the land legislation.<sup>37</sup> This change in diagnosis was marked by the emergence of new solutions: it was admitted that the administration had no means of providing the favelados with proper housing. Intermediary solutions, combining both the efforts of the Municipality

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<sup>34</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 20.9.71. O Estado de S. Paulo, 10.12.72. Jornal da Tarde, 14.12.72.

<sup>35</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 4.12.77. Jornal da Tarde, 26.7.77.

<sup>36</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 26.7.77; 28.7.77.  
O Estado de S. Paulo, 12.11.77; 14.8.77; 29.12.77; 3.1.78.  
Jornal da Tarde, 22.11.77; 17.4.78.

<sup>37</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 25.4.78.

and those of the population were sought. Sites and services, that is, plots with basic infrastructure and core housing were hailed as the new solutions. The word 'urbanization' was introduced in the official language. What was not considered commonsensical or possible 10 years before was now to be admitted as a realistic solution.<sup>38</sup> The favelados' reactions to these measures began to gain some coverage in the newspapers. For the first time there was public interest in what the favelados had to say. Also for the first time some favelados refused to be removed and in fact asked for those living in the area to which they were to be sent to refuse to accept them.<sup>39</sup> New solutions emerged; for instance, one group organized a cooperative and bought the land they occupied - Quilombo dos Palmares - and maintained collective ownership of the land.<sup>40</sup>

By 1979 there was an intensification of the reactions from the favelados and newspapers began to record the emergence of Dwellers' Associations. Helped by the Catholic Church an organization was set up, Movimento de Defesa do Favelado - Movement for the Defence of the Favelados, with support from the Commission for Justice and Peace of the Metropolitan Curia. This provided legal support for those defending the favelados against evictions.

The explanations proposed for the growth of the favelas were now structural and not only involved 'person-blame'. At the same time, the

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<sup>38</sup> Urbanization refers to the improvement of the area presently occupied. This is done through the provision of water, electricity, sewerage and rain water drains, and the improvement of access areas. Sometimes it involves the clearing of land titles as well.

<sup>39</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 14.8.77.

<sup>40</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 25.10.78.

favelados' access to housing alternatives became more difficult; this was evidenced by the presence in the favelas of workers who no longer could pay rent and by the rising price of land in previously accessible land allotments. Land prices, for instance, had gone up 300% between 1959 and 1978, while real wage values had dropped by half.<sup>41</sup> This was reflected in the near disappearance of attempts to move out of the favelas and the burgeoning of 'self-help' projects.<sup>42</sup> While in 1954, 30% of families in favelas had bought or were buying land, in 1966, 11.5% were doing so. By 1974, only 5.4% had land, and finally in 1980, 1.4% (Godinho, 1955; COHAB, 1966; Kowarick & Ant, 1980; IPT, 1981).

By 1979 other changes in the broader society crystallized, and the emergence of movements from the favelas is related to the general political 'opening up' - abertura - in the society, that is to the emergence of "opportunities for political action". The favelas had suffered repression (police raids, forceful evictions, etc.) at moments when this was also happening elsewhere, that is, they had always been affected by general trends in the society. The lifting of fear is essential if people are to manifest their needs and the poor, more than any other group in society, are affected by this. Piven and Cloward (1977) have emphasized that only after the blacks, in the south, lost their fear (of lynching, among other things) could the Civil Rights Movement develop. Linz (quoted by Chau, 1980) says that the effects of fear and repression on the poor are so intense and so little understood and studied that it is inadequate to use concepts such as

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<sup>41</sup> Kowarick & Ant, 1980.

<sup>42</sup> The process of slowly building a house using one's own labour, in a plot to be paid for in small instalments over 8-10 years.

mobilization or demobilization in any study of their situation, until such effects are explored further.

As mentioned before, the documents examined do not give a full picture of the population in favelas. They reveal what the experts or agencies in charge of the favelas thought about the problem but not how the favelados perceived it. The press for a long time also ignored the favelados' viewpoint. Their silence is to me a sign of the fear, and of powerlessness, but does not indicate lack of capacity, or initiative. For instance, the documents seem at first to indicate a lack of spontaneous leaderships in the favelas. On closer examination, however, there is evidence that some attempts took place but were not fostered or given official recognition. Godinho (1955) described a leader she found in one of the favelas:

"She was a leader due to her will to help. She helped everybody. She was an older person, experienced, and very intelligent, she understood things easily and she could translate it to the other ones. She was on good terms with everybody, she knew how to practice diplomacy and to bring people together. She was an interesting person." (p. 282)

When MUD (1969) - the students' movement decided to stimulate participation of the favelados in discussions about their needs and priorities bringing in theatrical productions to entertain and provoke discussions with the favelados, the results were very positive. To the MUD's surprise, the favelados' priorities were of a pragmatic nature and possible to implement. Their response to the theatre groups was enthusiastic, even if their actual discussions of the content of the plays did not reach MUD's expectations. Finally, MUD was surprised by their critical response to plans of houses they were to build in a removal project. They had expected limited participation and were not prepared to face actual opposition.

These documents again do not reveal much about the favelados reactions to these early interventions, or their reaction to the actual social workers and volunteers. The information which is there again suggests fear: Godinho (1955) reports that mothers, whose children were enrolled in a public kindergarten, were frightened and did not want to let their children go with the social workers because they had heard rumours they were going to be taken away from them and made wards of court (p. 236); MUD<sup>43</sup> reports that initially the favelados reacted with fear and lack of trust to the students' work in the favelas. The same fear is reported by Penteado (1965, p. 7), a lawyer who provided legal help to the favelados on a volunteer basis. It is possible that outsiders may have come to symbolize eviction, or the threat of eviction because the only time the favelados received attention from the 'outside' world was when removal was about to take place. In 1966, there was documented evidence of some resistance to removal. A large favela, Ordem e Progresso, when threatened with eviction organized a signed petition and presented it to the mayor, requesting a solution to their housing problem.<sup>44</sup>

There is no documented evidence of associations or any form of organized collective activity in the favelas until 1978. The favela do Vergueiro had an association which is said to have represented the interests of the shopkeepers inside the favela.<sup>45</sup> It is not known whether they were favelados or came from outside to trade, but no other mention of formal organizations representing the dwellers was found.

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<sup>43</sup> MUD (1969), Relatorio do Trabalho na favela do Vergueiro, p. 55.

<sup>44</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 7.10.1966.

<sup>45</sup> Sao Paulo (Cidade) (1966), Relatorio da Favela Vergueiro, Servico de Habitacao Popular, p. 2.

Collective action in the broader society started in 1974, as mentioned in Chapter 2, with sporadic riots against suburban train services (Moises, 1978) in Rio and Sao Paulo. These broke out despite intense repression and continued to occur throughout the late 70s, along with slowdowns in production lines which were followed by strikes against low wages. The workers were being reorganized in new trade union activism; the dwellers of poorer areas were being encouraged to discuss their problems and difficulties through the Base Ecclesiastic Communities, and were actively engaged in protests against the cost of living, lack of infrastructure, or creches, violence from the police, etc. (Singer & Brant, 1983). There were also signs by the late 70s, early 80s that the regime was undergoing a legitimacy crisis (Moreira Alves, 1984). Important sectors of the civil society were uniting against it. The printed media, newspapers and magazines which had suffered heavy financial losses due to censorship, lawyers finding all sorts of difficulties in the exercise of their professions, entrepreneurs and industrialists dissatisfied with the centralization of economic policies and their lack of power were joining in resistance and making demands for changes. The Catholic Church engaged itself in opposition through the National Conference of Bishops and supported issues such as human rights, amnesty and better distribution of income. All those sectors voiced their criticism and pressured for liberalization. Sectors of the middle class through a revival of the professional organizations (the Barristers Association, the Medical Association, etc.) joined the opposition and demanded reforms. Finally 'cracks' showed in the unity of the military establishment. Every transfer of power had generated a crisis, but the effects of the last one (from General Geisel to General Figueiredo - the last military president) was serious enough for the opposing sides to make public

their disagreement. Moreira Alves (1980) interprets the result of the crisis as a victory for the less repressive faction, which led to the process of political 'opening up' - the abertura.

For the social movements in the favelas this broader scenario could have meant that once repression was lifted from the broader society, fear could also begin to disappear and some external support could be found. While the broader society was threatened, the favelados had less support and therefore less chance of organizing. However, their situation was made more difficult because their fear could not be lifted only by the changing of regimes. This fear had been there for a long time and was rooted in social relations which predated "despotic authoritarianism" (Santos, 1984b).

#### Summary

Since there are not studies about the political socialization of the poor, much less of the favelados, and since I had stated that some of the political inefficacy and lack of political action of the poor in Brazil could be understood as "causal inaction", that is, inaction best explained as induced by public policies and governmental behaviour, some documentation of the past was necessary to provide a background against which to understand the present behaviour of the favelados as well as to clarify the role the government has played in the political socialization of the favelados. As mentioned in the literature review, Edelman (1977) and Craig and Cornelius (1980) have called attention to the role of the government in fostering the inaction of the poor.

In the case of Sao Paulo, the evidence concerning the government, and societal reaction to the favelados seems to indicate that Edelman



(1977) is right. Moreover, it is similar to the evidence concerning 'causal inefficacy' gathered in Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia by Craig and Cornelius (1980). The analysis and diagnosis of the favelas seem to have led to the adoption of measures which may have enhanced the feelings of lack of power and led to the growth of fear among the favelados. Their condition of illegal occupiers of land led to a denial of the rights they had as legitimate citizens.

The lack of "corrective feedback" in Crozier's terms (quoted by Edelman, 1977) allowed the maintenance of myths and beliefs about the favelados and the favelas and these justified the actions taken against them. This was facilitated by characteristics of everyday language and public language

"everyday language and the myths it evokes permit us to live with ourselves and with our problems, they also guarantee that perceptions of threats and of efforts to overcome them will maintain social tension, anxiety and continued susceptibility to verbal cues that help legitimize government policies regardless of their effectiveness" (Edelman, 1977, p. 28).

This lack of "corrective feedback" may be inbuilt into public language. In fact, Edelman sees it as entailing processes which discourage the reexamination of the validity of both factual and logical propositions and the search for more adequate propositions and efforts to explore possibilities.

The public also according to Edelman, adopts the professional's perspective because they need to believe that others can be trusted to handle these problems. Aside from legitimizing the action of the professionals, this means that their norms are actually spread to other groups as well. This makes the actions taken socially and morally acceptable. This is what seems to have taken place in the favelas. Forceful removal was justified by the experts as a means to improve the

lives of the favelados. This was supported by society because it was also concerned with such improvements.

The model adopted by the experts was the medical model: the favelas were the consequence of the migration of 'unfit', unqualified people motivated by fantasies about life in the large city. Once in the city, unable to meet the demands of the labour market, they would inevitably drift into improvised shelter in illegally occupied areas, where they could survive only by illegal means. In this situation, they 'lost' their rights as citizens and action should be taken ('treatment') to correct the individuals and their environment. Such deteriorated environments 'caused' the deterioration of the people physically and morally. To correct or 'treat' them they would have to be reintegrated into society by education or re-education, and by removal from the deteriorated areas.

The favelas and the favelados were approached as social problems which demanded the intervention of social workers. The favelas represented unsuitable housing conditions adopted by deprived persons who had entered a vicious circle of marginality and 'illnesses'. They needed help from society to break free from this circle. Lack of power, helpless and fear seem to have been encouraged by the measures or solutions adopted as a result of this approach. It is no surprise that these were adopted without consultation with the favelados and without granting them the opportunity to voice their viewpoints and needs. Implicit in the analysis and diagnosis was the view of the favelados as incapable and unable to contribute to changes in their own circumstances. The use of physical force and the police and the army for eviction and removal was justified by the illegality of the land occupation. Such actions could be interpreted as arousing fear in the

favelados about the stability of their circumstances. Actions such as these were supported by the broader society because the expressed objective was to improve the life of the favelados. This also justified the means used.

The growth of the favelas and the emergence of new studies about the phenomenon, along with changes in the broader society, resulted in the need to review the explanatory system, as well as the solutions adopted. Such changes did not erase, in my view, the social stereotypes, the prejudices or the past experiences lived through by the favelados. Furthermore, they did not change the views of the broader society concerning the favelados. My suggestion is that "favelado" became a type of minority group (Tajfel, 1981) in the sense that this label leads to inferences about characteristics of all the people who are in the same category. Moreover these are "widespread negative stereotypes" about the people involved. 'Stereotypes' consisting of a number of characteristics assigned to all, or most of those who share the attribute" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 313). A crucial difference and one which may be of importance to sustained participation lies in "the degree of acceptance by the people involved that they are indeed bound together in some important ways which distinguish them from people in other categories" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 313).

It is my view that some of the difficulties preventing the favelados from adopting collective forms of action are rooted in the psychological consequences of being part of a minority group which at times allowed for "exit" (individual social mobility) (Tajfel, 1981, quoting Hirschmann) as a solution and which as the economic context changed, started to demand "voice" (collective action) as a solution. Being part of a minority group is bound to affect the interactions

within the group and therefore influence the potential for collective action in circumstances where there is little chance of individual social mobility - or "exit" from the group and where acceptance and rejection of the negative stereotypes attributed to the group has psychological consequences both at the group and individual level. This is a topic which deserves further study, and which will be tentatively approached in the Discussion chapter (Chapter 9).

## Chapter 5

### The History of the Social Movements within the Two Favelas

In the two favelas studied the Dwellers' Associations were organized in the late 70s. By the time this research started, therefore, the Associations had been active for 4 to 5 years. Although the benefits achieved throughout this period seemed similar, there was no way of telling whether the actual experience of participation had been the same in the two favelas. This raised the possibility that some explanation for the present differences in participation could be found in the history of the Dwellers' Association. This history was told by the dwellers, the leadership and the external agents - the party members, volunteers connected with the church, and civil servants from the Regional Administration.

In this chapter I describe the history of the two favelas, how they came to be occupied by the population, how the Dwellers' Associations were formed, the grievances and needs associated with the initial movement, the action of the external agents, the organizational structure developed, the benefits achieved and the reactions generated in the broader society. This analytical description suggests that differences in present participation are rooted in past experience, and give support to the concept of sustained participation as emergent and interactive.

#### 5.1 The history of the two favelas

The history of the two favelas is based on interviews with some of the oldest settlers, the leaders and, in the case of Jardim Jacqueline, with the lady who owns the land. There is no official documentation of

the formation of specific favelas. Theoretically, the municipal government tax officers should keep the Regional Administration informed about new favelas specially when located on government land. In practice, this is not consistently done and information is erratic and unreliable. The illegality of the land occupation is another factor which contributes to the lack of official documentation since the initial occupants try to keep a low profile for as long as possible to avoid eviction. Despite the anecdotal aspect, there was consistency in the story told by different informers.

#### 5.1.1 Jardim Jacqueline

The area of Butanta in which Jardim Jacqueline is situated, used to be occupied until the late 50s by small farms producing vegetables and fruit, by poultry farms, by brick factories and by a large municipal refuse depot. The land occupation changed with some of the larger farms being transformed into enclosed upper class residential areas, either as weekend country houses or houses destined for a more permanent occupancy. Motels and industries emerged along the road which connects Sao Paulo to the western part of the state and cuts across the western region of Butanta.

The actual area occupied by Jardim Jacqueline is large and is close to the old municipal refuse dump. It is basically a hill which is unevenly occupied with large empty areas. In fact, the occupation of this hill follows a pattern which is the consequence of different claims made as to its ownership. The hill is delimited by two creeks, one on each side. The occupation along the main creek which is municipal land is very dense. The houses are very small and there is hardly any space between them: the passages are very narrow and the alleys are like a maze. Moving up the hill there are large empty areas

on the left side of the main access road. This is occupied by people who claim ownership of an old brick factory, and are there to stop any trespasser. The right side is taken up by houses and by a scrap metal depot. The top of the hill, although fully occupied is less densely populated than the creek. There are proper access roads, more space between houses and the houses seem larger and have space for yards. Part of this area is also occupied by a peripatetic (and illegal) pig farm, which is more or less active depending upon the action of public health inspectors. Moving downwards to the second creek, on the other side of the hill, the two sides of the road are taken up by smaller houses with less room between them, although they have more space than the ones by the first creek. The area close to the second creek is not densely occupied, the creek itself being more marshland covered with vegetation. The hill is mostly owned by dispossessed heirs who did not partition the land or pay taxes. Part of it, the pig farm, has been invaded by a "Spaniard" who is now claiming its ownership. He defends this area with barbed wire and guards. On the other side of the top of the hill there is another large unoccupied area, again with barbed wire and guarded, which is said to belong (lawfully) to an absentee landlord. The favela occupies only part of the heir's land. There are other trespassers who have started an informal land allotment and have been selling lots to buyers who have built two storey permanent dwellings without proper land registration.

Next to the favela there are, as mentioned before, mixed income areas. The older houses indicate lower income, whereas the new housing and tower blocks which are being built are for middle and high income families. Jardim Jacqueline is not the only favela in the area. There is another one very close by at the very border of the old municipal refuse dump - Morro da Fumaca (Smoke Hill), considered by the

neighbourhood as a dangerous place.

Although Jardim Jacqueline covers the hill and the two creeks, its inhabitants do not perceive it as such. They talk about two favelas: one by the first creek which they call "The creek one", and "Jardim Jacqueline". There is a consensus about this division. The people living by the creek accept the division but they do not give a name to the top of the hill, they just call it "the top", or "the people from up there". This is not just a matter of language or of spatial perception, as will be seen later.

The settlement of the two parts took place simultaneously but independently, and two different stories emerge. The top it is said would have legally belonged to an old lady (one of the heirs), Dona Fortuna if she had paid her taxes. She told me that about 20 years ago, a neighbour of hers - a certain Joao Amigo (Joao the friend) came to her house to rent the land to raise some pigs. She says that for some time she saw no need to visit the area because he paid the rent at her house. Also when she occasionally drove by in a horse and cart she did not notice anything wrong because of the vegetation. When Joao Amigo died, she came to inspect the area and was surprised to find so many families there. She said they were fierce looking people, "a bunch of Indians", who threatened her with sticks when she said she would evict them. She also said it was not fair that they should be occupying other people's land without paying and that they should pay her rent. It seems that some complied and others ignored her. People paid rent until water and electricity were brought in, and then most stopped because they thought there must be doubts about the legality of her ownership since one of the reasons the water and electricity companies had previously refused to bring in these services was that it



was private property, illegally occupied. They then started to demand that Dona Fortuna present proof of her ownership of the land.

The story is muddled. The population say that Joao Amigo did allow some people to settle in the area but also that Dona Fortuna did allow others to settle. All the people who arrived about 12-15 years ago built their houses with permission from Joao Amigo and generally did so, by bartering work, such as looking after the pigs for permission to occupy the land. Some obtained permission from Dona Fortuna, who charged rent for the land, and some (the later comers) moved into already existing shacks, which they bought from their previous occupiers and then were approached by Dona Fortuna to pay rent. Some accepted and some refused to pay her.

It seems that Dona Fortuna did charge rent for some years while Joao Amigo was around. Some people still pay her small amounts, mostly because they feel sorry for her, others say that they would pay her if she really needed it, but "she is rich, you know". There is a consensus that Dona Fortuna would be the legal landlord, but that since she had not paid rates for many years she lost her rights. Relatives of Dona Fortuna, who live in some of the larger areas of the favela (in order to maintain their claims to the land), confirm the loss of her rights to the favelados and encourage them not to pay her.

The favelados also witness the action of larger land trespassers (the Spaniard) and "entrepreneurs" (the land subdivision) and express pity for her: "I feel sorry for her, but she lost long ago." Dona Fortuna sounds quite naive: one of her justifications for collecting rent is that she needs that money for the lawyer to regain possession of the land. This candidness has led the favelados to react

to her by joking and feeling pity.

About twenty years ago the creek was occupied by two religious families (belonging to one of the Pentecostal sects, called "crentes" (believers).) At first they were joined by other "crente" families, until about fifteen years ago the Prefeitura brought four families to live in the area and from then on the occupation was very quick. This creek used to be small enough for people to cross it by jumping over it. Rains and heavy equipment used to unblock it have led to the erosion of the sides and as a result precarious bridges are used for access to the main road and the shacks facing the creek are almost falling into it. Altogether, Jardim Jaqueline encompasses roughly 300 shacks and roughly 1,600 people.

#### 5.1.2 Imperatriz Dona Amelia

The second favela is called Imperatriz Dona Amelia. This is the name of the street which cuts across the favela which occupies a small, but densely settled area, and has altogether 200 shacks and roughly 1000 people. The land is uneven: the right side of the road is very steep, the left side is flatter, and due to its proximity to the two creeks (one of which has been covered), swampy. The area occupied belongs to the municipal government and is a "communal use area". These are areas donated to the Municipality for public use: creche, parks, schools, health centres, etc., by private entrepreneurs when carrying out land subdivision.<sup>1</sup>

The occupation of the land started about fifteen years ago. It

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<sup>1</sup> Land allotment legislation demands that in every land subdivision a certain percentage of the area be donated for these purposes.

occurred on both sides of the road simultaneously. The first settlers say that they lived in the neighbourhood and heard that the land was government land and that they could build there. They just moved in, building their houses very quickly and marking out plots. Little by little, as new people arrived and land became scarce, people who had any space were requested to let other people occupy it. On the flatter side the first settlers report that a civil servant "sold" the land in small plots he had laid out. These were at first occupied by one family only but as more people came in the available space was again subdivided. First relatives came in and adaptations were made to fit them in. Later when these moved out, that dwelling was sold to strangers; this meant that 'impromptu' arrangements acceptable for an extended family had to be shared with strangers. Larger dwellings were sold to two or three families who partitioned them. Little by little, every available and conceivable space was taken over and when the ground was totally occupied, it started growing upwards.

There is hardly any room between houses as a result of the intense occupation of the original plots and the subdivision of the houses. The end product is such a densely occupied area that there is no room for washing and hanging clothes, other than public areas such as alleys and the main street. The alleys are even more of a maze, full of twists, turns and sudden dead-ends.

The immediate neighbourhood is a mixture of residential, and commercial areas and small industries, as mentioned before. It has easy access to public transportation, and to the hospital at the University Campus. There is almost no distance between the neighbouring houses and the houses from the favela, some of the dwellings being built against the external wall of the neighbouring houses.

The main street of Imperatriz Dona Amelia is paved and is an important road connecting two areas of the district. The inhabitants compete with the traffic for room for the children to play and clothes washing and drying areas.

Both favelas were fully established by the mid-70s. There was a time gap of about four years between the arrival of the first settlers and the intensification of the occupation and then the process is described as having been very fast.

## 5.2 The history of the social movements within the two favelas

As they appear nowadays, the social movements to improve the two favelas started in 1979. This beginning is marked by the formation of the respective Dwellers' Associations, which represent the organizational structure of the movements.

The following description and analysis of the history of their development is based on the narratives of the favelados, the leadership, and the external agents.<sup>2</sup> It is complemented by data from the survey, from observations and by the media coverage of the movements, having as a background the political changes occurring in the broader society. The purpose of this description is to examine the similarities and the differences between the two favelas, concerning the participation of the population, the organizational structure of the Dwellers' Associations and the leaderships which emerged.

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<sup>2</sup> That is, the volunteers, social workers and political party members.

The emphasis in this chapter is on the past history of the movements which is considered relevant to present participation since this is defined as emerging out of the process of the movement. The data from the interviews constitute the core of this description. This process could be described as an analytical reconstruction of the events which were narrated in different contacts and by different persons. The narratives, although sometimes fragmented, were congruous: there were no discrepancies in the stories told either by the population, or by the leaders in each favela. There was, sometimes, lack of knowledge about certain details, and the stories told by the leaders had more details and gave the impression of being more 'complete'. There was, however, some discrepancy between the story told by the external agents and that recounted by the population and the leaders. This did not jeopardize the quality of the data because the inconsistencies referred to the actual role played by the external agents in the movement - sometimes the agents enhanced their own role and sometimes they minimized this role. The data from the interviews are expanded by the data from the survey where this was relevant. In this way the analysis and the interpretation of the interview and observational material is cross-checked by reference to the survey data.

### 5.2.1 The political context at the time the movements started

In 1979, a series of political changes in the country took place, or became more evident, as mentioned in Chapter 2. The opposition party<sup>3</sup> Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement)

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<sup>3</sup> Until 1979 there was a two-party political system with a government party - ARENA - Aliança Renovadora Nacional - and an opposition party, the MDB. A multi-party system was introduced in 1979 with the emergence of a new government party - PDS - Partido Democrático Social (Social Democratic Party); one centre party - PP Partido Popular (Footnote continued)

MDB, had won the 1978 elections in the most developed states for the Senate, the Federal House of Representatives and for the State House of Representatives. The extent of its success it is said (Moreira Alves, 1984) to have revealed the dissatisfaction of these areas with the political regime and the economic system.

This dissatisfaction and the loss of fear about manifesting it was being expressed also through acts of resistance and the disobeying of prohibitions considered illegitimate by the population (Singer & Brant, 1983). Repression did not disappear, fear of repression did.

The trade union movement expressed this very clearly. In 1978, 539,037 workers went on strike throughout the country. In 1979 the numbers rose to 3,207,994 workers.<sup>4</sup> The incidence of strikes diminished in 1980 due to intense physical repression and federal government intervention in some of the trade unions. The number of workers on strike in 1980 went down to 664,700. This last series of strikes is supposed to have produced, nevertheless, deep changes in the trade union movement, because they are said to have been more spontaneous and the demands made covered other aspects besides wages such as job tenure, health benefits, changes in decision-making procedures at the work place with increased participation of workers, and changes in the trade union legislation.

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<sup>3</sup>(continued)

(Popular Party), and four opposition parties - PMDB - Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party); PT - Partido do Trabalhadores (Workers' Party); PDT Partido Democrático Trabalhista (Democratic Labour Party); and PTB - Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (Brazilian Labour Party).

<sup>4</sup> Source Moreira Alves (1984, p. 251-254). Figures refer only to number of workers 'on strike', that is, number of participants and not to number of man-days lost. Moreira Alves gathered this information from the trade unions and newspaper articles.

The political process of 'abertura' - opening up, was allowing the expression of changes in the political consciousness of workers. Repressive measures were only applied to the strikes which affected economically important areas (steel workers, banks, dock workers) or ideologically important areas (teachers). However, these were also the most politicized groups, so repression was efficient only for short periods.

These changes were to have direct repercussions for the favelas when civil servants working for the Municipality went on strike in 1979<sup>5</sup> this experience seems to have led to the crystallization of deep changes in the approaches adopted by social workers to the favelas and favelados.<sup>6</sup> The old Secretariat of Family and Social Welfare had now become the - COBES - Coordenadoria do Bem-Estar Social (Coordination of Social Welfare). The social workers at Cobes produced a paper, as a result of the strike, analysing the policies adopted and the organizational structure of Cobes and proposing a more democratic, decentralized approach to social problems. The basic idea was that social workers should be at the service of the population and not of the government of the day. In practice it meant that social workers acting within the Regional Administrations started to help favelados organize their demands for improvements, and resist imposed programmes or changes, providing them with opportunities for meeting and discussing their problems jointly, and bringing together favelados from different favelas. It also provided them with a different kind of

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<sup>5</sup> The National Security Legislation strictly prohibited civil servants from striking.

<sup>6</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 5.7.81.

access to the Regional Administration. Now they could approach it as citizens searching for the fulfilment of their rights and not as second class people in need of public charity.

The changes in the social workers' attitudes and practices met with opposition from the government party (the PDS), politicians, and from sectors of the Municipal Administration, but their practices were maintained. This is an example of the lack of hegemony of the State, which was pointed out by Poulantzas (1983). According to this theory, the State being composed of individuals with different political tendencies and ideologies which will be reflected in their daily practices, cannot be monolithic. In other words, the State also contains contradictions.

This helped the movements in the favelas to get off the ground. They were further helped by the Catholic Church either through the Base Ecclesiastical Communities or through less structured interventions. Lastly the PMDB, the main opposition party (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), and the PT (a smaller opposition party - the Workers' Party) also became very active in the favelas.

In the Butanta area, the PMDB started its work amongst the favelados in 1978. It has been more successful than the PT which is said to have gained support and established a base in one favela only, while the others allied themselves with the PMDB. The work carried out by the PMDB started before the national elections of 1978, and it was aimed at a long programme, according to my interviewee, a party member. The objective was to "mobilize and raise the political consciousness of the favelados". The means used involved (a) the establishment of a Dwellers' Association. This, it was believed, would crystallize a



leadership and legitimate their representatives as spokesmen with the public authorities who were identified as the targets or adversaries in these movements; (b) the dissemination of the process through "demonstration practices", which were to stimulate contact and interaction between different favelas; (c) the organization of lectures on citizens' rights, workers' rights and Brazilian history. Later on the themes were broadened to include issues related to health, birth control methods, etc. According to this interviewee from the PMDB, the party members took the initiative in visiting one favela. Then in joint agreement with the favelados they implemented this programme of work. According to this same party member, the PMDB was later invited to do the same work in the other 8 favelas. The narratives from Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz indicate otherwise and state that the PMDB came to them, and not vice versa.

The Catholic Church's activities within the Butanta are less clear. It does seem to have a general policy, aside from defending favelados' rights. The Metropolitan Curia had established a Movement for Defence of the Favelados in 1979, to stop evictions and removals and to improve the relations between the favelados and the neighbouring communities. The different parishes operationalized the Church's policies according to the dispositions of the Bishop responsible for the area. Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz present differences in the degree and breadth of the Catholic Church's activities, which reflect the differences in the practices of the parishes they are related to, and also the differences in the communities' response to the church.

Until March 1983, the Regional Administration of Butanta, as all the others in the city, was in the hands of the PDS. The Regional Administrator in charge of the area was also a PDS party member because this position is considered a political appointment: the Administrator is not necessarily a civil servant and may have to leave the government altogether when power changes hands. The social workers from Cobes are civil servants, and have job tenure, remaining in their positions when governments change. The top echelon of the Regional Administration then changes with the government but the social workers do not, as they are actually independent of the Regional Administration. They occupy the same physical space, but they respond to, and have their activities controlled by a Coordinator, or a Secretary, within the municipal government.

In March 1983, the PMDB won the state elections for governor, the State House representatives and Municipal Chamber, and had the right to appoint a new mayor for the city. The new Regional Administrator of the Butanta was the former president of the PMDB local branch - and was appointed by a group of party militants including leaders from the favelas. He brought along as aides activists from the PMDB some of whom were involved in the movements in the favelas. The social workers from the old administration remained but now they were working under FABES - Secretariat of the Family and Social Welfare.

The history of the two movements is complicated by the facts above, and accounts are made less reliable because of the time that has elapsed since the events occurred and because of the interviewees' different degrees of proximity to the process - and consequently different access to information and awareness. I have interpreted these discrepancies between the narratives of the population,

leadership, and that of the external agents as an important source of information. The different images, perceptions and reconstruction of the events, may be cues to understand present differences in sustained participation, at Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz.

As discussed in the first chapter, the social movements literature is divided concerning the role of grievances. What the history of the two movements reveals is that they emerged out of a complex mixture of "opportunities for action" - the political opening up (abertura) at the national level; the changes in the practices of the social workers; the action of members of the opposition political parties; the action of church or grievances of the population. They were preceded by unsuccessful attempts, apparently spontaneous to organize the demands for water and electricity, both of which were long-standing problems in both Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz. These spontaneous attempts at organization took place in both favelas.

It is said by the present leadership<sup>7</sup> that they failed because of the personality traits of the leadership, their level of political skills, and their lack of knowledge about the system. They are described as "pushy, rough, tough on the population" and lacking in skills in dealing with the authorities; "they were fooled around with: they did not know where to go to, what and how to ask".

The organizations which emerged in both settlements are identical in their structural aspect. The PMDB provided them with a standard charter, which is legally required to register volunteer associations.

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<sup>7</sup> In both favelas, these 'spontaneous' leaders, had left by the time field work started.

The formal composition of the 'Comite Deliberativo' (Decision-making Committee) includes: a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. Altogether there are 13 persons working on a volunteer basis and contributing with membership dues. They are, in fact, the only paying members. Funds are raised through jumble sales, sales of handicrafts produced in the favelas, donations from outside organizations, and donations from favelados. These funds are needed to cover the expenses of the Association such as renting buses to take the people to demonstrations; payment of registration fees; the water and electricity bills of the headquarters; and building material for the headquarters. The tenure is for one year and elections involve the whole settlement. All adults living in the favela are eligible to vote. The list of candidates is organized by the current leaders, but the criteria used for this selection were not clear, although degree of activism in the meetings seems to be one. What is certain is that candidates are invited by the leaders to join in. The population is presented with a list which contains a larger number of names than posts available. Whoever receives the highest number of votes is elected president, the second placed is vice president and so forth. There is a political campaign. Meetings to discuss the agenda are organized, and on the day of the election, each house is visited to remind the dwellers of the event. This procedure has been carried out annually since 1980 in both settlements.

Although different militants from the party were allocated to the two favelas, the same legal adviser provided the statutory framework - the charter. Again at both settlements the leadership joined the local branch of the PMDB.

### 5.2.2 The social movement at Jardim Jacqueline: Genesis grievances and earlier attempts

Access to potable water<sup>8</sup> has been a major difficulty faced by the people at Jardim Jacqueline since the beginning of the settlement. When the favela started, no-one in its immediate surroundings had potable water: even the neighbouring houses were served by wells. All means were used to obtain water from collecting rain water, to digging wells and exploring water springs. As the population density increased, so did the problems. One by one the wells were contaminated by the proximity of cesspits, and finally the water spring became the sole supplier of drinkable water for all the population. This was an unreliable source, for the spring was in a neighbouring area, heavily guarded against trespassers. The guards of this area continually threatened the favelados, preventing their access to the spring. On more than one occasion the police were called to help the favelados get to the water.

This spring provided good quality water but one had to stay in long queues which formed all day long and part of the night. To fill one 15 litre tin took almost half an hour. People had to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning to queue for water, in all weathers. The access from the favela to the spring was very difficult, since the spring was close to the bottom of the hill which, when the rains came, was just a mud slide, which demanded the use of improvised wooden sticks to help people move uphill.

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<sup>8</sup> It must be remembered that because the land is illegally occupied all services, such as water, electricity, refuse collection, sewerage, etc., were denied to the areas as described in the introduction.

Electricity was another severe problem. People who could afford it, paid extortionate prices to "power distributing" neighbours,<sup>9</sup> who acquired goods (such as cars, motorcycles, etc.) by overcharging their neighbours.

Initially these problems were approached individually. Solutions to the water problem consisted of digging individual wells, or taking the initiative in cleaning up the spring, or collecting rain water, in sum "adapting to getting used to the discomfort". The electricity problem was also dealt with individually - they either agreed to pay, or they would use candles or oil and kerosene lamps, all dangerous in these timber houses. Occasionally they would get together to improve the spring or to defend it from the guards or naughty children who muddied the water. When the problems of electricity became more acute, they would visit the social workers at the Regional Administration for advice or financial help.<sup>10</sup>

Raimundo, an elderly dweller, told me that he and another man started to visit the social workers at the Regional Administration to see what could be done about the water. They were supported by three social workers, who attempted to organize the population. His companion was described by him as a temperamental, short-fused person

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<sup>9</sup> In both areas - Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz - a few dwellers living next to official streets had managed to obtain electricity from the Electricity Company. These dwellers transformed this into a source of income by distributing electricity to sometimes up to 30 neighbouring houses. These informal "power distribution" networks were fragile and dangerous. The charges theoretically should be a result of an even division of the electricity bill amongst the families sharing the same source. This hardly ever happened. It seems that the usual price was calculated by simply multiplying the total bill, that is, if the bill was #5.00, the "owner" of the electricity would charge #5.00 from each family making a tremendous profit. At Imperatriz some people ended up paying 30-40% of their earnings to the "exploiter".

<sup>10</sup> Other requests to the social workers were for building materials to improve the houses, and school material for the children.

who was used to directing "heavy words" against everyone. "He did not understand, you had to have patience", he says. This person soon dropped out and left the favela, returning to his home district. Raimundo then asked Fernando, a close neighbour and a distant relative to help him. Nothing much happened and soon after Raimundo had to go back to his native state to look after some family business. When he came back the movement was already strong.

What happened while he was away according to Antonio and Fernando, leaders ever since the movement started, is that "outsiders"<sup>11</sup> were horrified at the population drinking sewage water", and these organized meeting after meeting telling the population they had to get together, and unite in order to obtain improvements. Clean piped water had reached the neighbourhood many years ago, but the Water Company refused to install it in the favelas because of the land status - being theoretically a private property legally they had to have permission from the landlord to install any public infrastructure. This was the main obstacle in the way of obtaining water. Secondary ones involved the layout of the passage ways: for instance, for water to be brought in passages or alleys had to be at least 2 metres wide,<sup>12</sup> which is not an easy thing in favelas where the land is occupied in a disorganized way and passages follow the pattern of the houses and not the other way around.

The outsiders, who told them to unite, are described by Antonio and Fernando as members of the Catholic Church (who seem to have

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<sup>11</sup> As it will be seen later, he was referring here to members of the FMDB local branch and church members.

<sup>12</sup> Such demands are made on technical grounds, to avoid the risk of contamination.

unsuccessfully tried to establish a Base Ecclesiastic Community) and sociologists, architects and lawyers from the University of Sao Paulo, who also came to help them. These are actually the members of the local branch of the PMDB, who were not identified as such by Antonio and Fernando.

The initial demand was for water, connected individually to all the houses. The leaders who emerged were Antonio, Fernando and his wife Ida, and Otavio, Ida's cousin. This has been the leadership since 1980. There was a brief period in 1983 when a newcomer, Danton, was elected president (with Antonio's support) with Fernando as vice president. Shortly after his election Danton gave up his position because of his job - as maintenance mechanic for heavy construction equipment which took him to work around the country. According to Antonio, "it was an experience to try someone new". According to the population, Antonio and Fernando have always been the leaders. Who are they?

They have been friends for many years long before they moved to Sao Paulo. They were born in the State of Rio Grande do Norte in the North-east. They are the same age - 43 years old, and have had extensive experience living around the country. Their families are small landholders whose farms are not large enough to provide subsistence for all members of the family.

Antonio is an eloquent speaker, very articulate and experienced, and an impressive story teller. Fernando is shy and has difficulties in verbalizing his ideas. Antonio first came to Sao Paulo in 1962, after he left obligatory army service. He spent a year in Sao Paulo working in a food depot in the central market downtown, then left for



Rio (where he lived with a sister), because he got into a fight with his boss. He spent a few years in Rio before moving back to Rio Grande do Norte. There he worked for a political party in an electoral campaign. Later on he worked for the federal government in the Drought Control Programme until 1972, when he moved back to Sao Paulo, leaving his wife and four children in the North-east. They followed him 4 years later when he moved to Jardim Jacqueline. In Sao Paulo he joined Fernando and Ida who were living downtown, in rented rooms. Antonio and Fernando worked together as bricklayers for large building companies. When he moved to Jardim Jacqueline he tried to establish himself as self-employed by running a bar, but this did not succeed and he got a job as watchman in a nearby construction firm.

Fernando first left Rio Grande do Norte to work in Recife, the capital of Pernambuco State, also in the North-east. After a few years there, he and Ida moved to Sao Paulo. His decision to move to Jardim Jacqueline was a consequence of the high rents charged downtown, and of the loss of his job as a bricklayer. His sister had been living in Jardim Jacqueline which was how he discovered it. Ida says she had no idea of what a favela was before she arrived there. The first few days

"were traumatizing, we lived close to the creek, nearly falling in it, there was no light, mud was everywhere. The children were crying, afraid of the dark, the noises, they did not know how to walk on the mud and kept falling, dirtying themselves. On top of that, there was no water. It was a nightmare, I wanted to get out".

Fernando established himself as a self-employed bricklayer. In 1983 Antonio left his job and entered a partnership with Fernando, both working as small builders. By 1984, they gave up. Fernando was suffering from an ulcer, and his financial difficulties were large. He had 7 children to support and the recession had badly affected construction, building and even small repair industries. Antonio left,

in October 1984,<sup>13</sup> for the new Western Frontier in Rondonia. He went with an old family friend, another builder, hoping to get some job in construction or building and left his family behind.

Ida was the main financial support of the family, through her cleaning jobs, cultivating a vegetable patch in a neighbouring area and sewing and repairing clothes for the neighbours, relatives and Dona Fortuna, the landlady. All their 7 children were of school age, and were attending school.

Dora - Antonio's wife, was also lately the main financial support of the family, working as a cleaning woman. Their children, older than those of Fernando and Ida, were also attending school, and not contributing to the family's income.

Otavio (a cousin of Ida) owns a bar in the middle of the main square. This makes him a point of reference for the people because it is the main meeting place where the men go to hear the news, to talk, play dominoes, or drink. Fernando and Antonio are members of the local branch of the PMDB. Antonio said he has always been active in the opposition party, from days before his arrival in Sao Paulo. He also said he abandoned political activism for a while when he first came to Sao Paulo and only became re-involved in politics in the late 70s. The reasons for this reactivation were not explored, but this coincided with the organization of the movement.

#### 5.2.2.1 The external agents

Three types of external agents have acted and/or are still active

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<sup>13</sup> At the end of my field work.

in Jardim Jacqueline: the Catholic Church, members of the Butanta branch of the PMDB and volunteers.

The Catholic Church is the strongest religious presence in Jardim Jacqueline. There are two large Pentecostal churches built of more permanent materials than the rest of the dwellings, but they are nearly always empty. The parish of Sao Domingo, a nearby church is responsible for the area. A few years ago, its priest started to work in the area, along with some volunteers. To have some fixed location for meetings, to say mass etc., he approached Dona Fortuna, the landlady, and asked permission to build two large rooms. The church provided the timber, and the rooms were built. These rooms subsequently started being used for all sorts of community activity, and became the headquarters for the Association. The church activities included the organization of a Mothers' group, monitored by a lay volunteer. This group meets on Sundays and is busy producing handicrafts. The Mothers' group is also aimed at consciousness raising through discussion of everyday difficulties and problems. There is also a children's playgroup organized by teachers and pupils from an upper class school. This group prepares children to enter pre-school. Their work is on a volunteer basis and is loosely related to the church. Mass is conducted every two weeks on this site. An Englishman, an ex-seminarist, helps the priest by visiting families and trying to get them to discuss their problems. The church is also involved in charity work such as distribution of medicines. Families in serious financial distress also seek help from the church, which provides food parcels for the most needy.

The Catholic Church seems to have more access to the women and to the more needy families. Mass is attended mostly by women, as is the

Mothers' group. Antonio is openly critical of any religion and of priests in particular. He continuously jokes about the women attending mass. This is disregarded by the women but it seems that the men react differently, possibly because he is respected by the community as an adviser and counsellor.

The PMDB was active in the area through the work of two militant women. These party members established close personal ties with Ida,<sup>14</sup> whereas the interaction with Antonio and Fernando seems to have been more formal and essentially political. In 1983, when field work started, the members of the PMDB were still visiting the area fairly regularly. When I went back to Jardim Jacqueline in August 1984, they were not present, either at the meetings, or in the narratives of the population. When asked about them, Ida said she had not had any contact for a while because they were busy elsewhere. The contacts with members of the local party branch continued through the leaders' activities in the party and through the visits of party members who were working in the Regional Administration. They attended the Dwellers' Associations meetings in their role of representatives of the Regional Administrator, in order to follow the discussions, to provide information for the favelados and to take back information (reactions, ideas, etc.) from the favelados to the Administrator. Those persons, although members of the local party branch had not been involved in the original process of movement formation.

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<sup>14</sup> On various occasions Ida had baked bread or cakes as gifts for the women from the PMDB. On such occasions she used to walk to their houses to deliver the gifts. She used to mention them often and to indicate that they discussed personal as well as political matters.

### 5.2.2.2 Collective activities

At Jardim Jacqueline, the collective activities which provide opportunities for participation are limited to the meetings of the association,<sup>15</sup> the Mothers' group which is presided over by Ida, and the Children's play group.

### 5.2.2.3 The history as told by the population and the leadership

The history of the movement told by the leadership is complementary to the one told by the population. The leadership describes the movement as having started with the help of external agents, but emphasizes their own role and efforts in getting the population together, and in overcoming internal obstacles such as the resistance of dwellers who did not want to be disturbed by incoming improvements. Some opposed the removal of a fence to enlarge a passage; others objected to having to alter the position of the house, or to losing the extra income from subdivision of electricity. Little is said about the external obstacles, despite the fact that it took them two years to get water, at a time when official statements had been claiming since 1979 that all favelas would be provided with clean water and electricity.

The population at Jardim Jacqueline identifies the movement with the meetings which were started "by social workers from the Municipality", or by the "girls from the Corifeu", or supported by the 'lawyer from Jardim Arpoador'. Corifeu is where the headquarters of the local branch of the PMDB is located, and the lawyer is the PMDB

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<sup>15</sup> In 1983 meetings were called to discuss the participation of the community in the national campaign for the return of elections for the Presidency of the country (Diretas JA). These meetings were called by the local branch of the PMDB.

militant who helped other favelas as legal adviser. Through attending the meetings they proved to those outsiders their interest in improving the conditions of their favela, and that is how the improvements were obtained. They were taken on visits to other favelas, and they were visited by other leaders who told them their story.

In Laura's words:

"There were meetings, everybody agreed. One said this, the other said that. With this the people who came here decided that we were interested and as we were interested in the benefits, the benefits came. This is why water came. Electricity was the same way. They thought, they came to the meetings."

Some dwellers are not aware of this and say that the municipal government brought them water and electricity. Belmiro, for instance, said:

"Sabesp (the water company) brought the water, but I didn't get it. Because that woman (a neighbour) didn't move the fence. I asked her she said she was not going to do it. Because of her I have no water ... When electricity came the same thing was going to happen and then I went mad."

Some are aware that meetings took place and acknowledge that these must have been the cause for the improvements. A few others say that the movement demanded energy and that they had worked for the improvements to come.

Jairo, telling the story, said:

"Like with the water, we made petitions, we went there (to the Regional Administration). Now at Sabesp I never went. They (the leaders) went. They, the presidents from here and organized it. There was no problem. That was all. It took sometime but it was done. The electricity was the same thing. There was a meeting here with the people and the leaders were called to the Regional Administration and a young guy came from there to explain things about the cables and so on."

All were aware of Antonio's courage and of the risks he and Fernando ran. The stories told of the concern of those two, not of the

population's effort. Even by the creek such stories are told. Maira narrated:

"The electricity came because of that man, the president of the favela ... He fought a lot over a year to get the electricity. They say he would arrive and the people wanted to beat him up. They gossip about him and he didn't care, he went on fighting for the electricity. He got it. He got it for everybody."

They all referred to the physical threats, to how Antonio was ambushed by an armed man who, having lost his income from electricity, wanted to beat him up or worse. He had been threatened with legal action for having forcibly removed a fence so that water pipes could be brought in. They mentioned the threats from other dwellers who refused to cooperate but were forced to do so because Antonio got together a group to face them. In their accounts they emphasized the dangers from coming back late at night from meetings at the Regional Administration - they quote the instance when Fernando and Antonio were shot at, by nervous neighbours who saw them hiding from heavy rain under a bridge and thought they were criminals. Those stories are widely disseminated throughout the community and are part of the local "mythology" as is the "competition" with the large favela nearby - Smoke Hill (Morro da Fumaca). When electricity was finally brought in, by mid-1983, the process used by the Regional Administration, was to obtain a full list of dwellings and to identify the head of the household so that bills could be sent out, and the meters allocated. The social workers went alone to Smoke Hill because no leader from Jardim Jacqueline was present at the time. Smoke Hill is unanimously described as dangerous, and it seems that it proved to be so. The social workers were scared by some criminals who chased them out of the favela. In retaliation they decided that it would be the last favela to receive electricity. When the Electricity Company came to set up the cables, the dwellers from Smoke Hill came to ask how they had managed to get it. The proud inhabitants of Jardim Jacqueline are said to have informed them that

they had organised themselves, and disclosed the information that they would be the last to receive the improvements. This was not welcomed and for months the people at Jardim Jacqueline were afraid of retaliation, such as damage to the power lines.

There is a general consensus that the campaign for water was longer and demanded more meetings, whereas electricity did not require much effort. The benefits from these campaigns were not evenly distributed. Water was not connected to each dwelling because of difficulties of access - passages which were too narrow and too tortuous to allow safe<sup>16</sup> placement of water pipes. The electricity did however reach all the dwellings in the settlement.

The other improvements obtained included a major clean-up of the area, with the removal of rubbish from collective and private areas. Rainwater drains were built or maintained and access roads were improved to allow transit in all weathers, refuse collection was organized, collective dustbins were provided by the Regional Administration. In 1983, aside from the electricity the demands were for a public telephone, building material to build a proper headquarters for the Association, materials to construct a sewerage network using the dwellers' labour with technical guidance from the Municipality, removal of the pig farms, a cleaning-up of the first creek, next to the "favela by the creek", and a creche.

In 1984, the public telephone was installed, the removal of the pigs had taken place (although some pigs were still being kept secret), the building of the headquarters had stopped at the foundations, the

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<sup>16</sup> That is ensuring that it would not be contaminated by sewage water.



electricity bills had been extremely high, due to faulty meters, and the State Government had responded to the favelados' requests for action by establishing a fixed electricity rate.<sup>17</sup> The creche was not provided, although an alternative "child minder"<sup>18</sup> programme had been implemented in the "creek area".

One important aspect of the history of the movement is that information and knowledge about the movement varies with the physical proximity to the leadership. Those living close to the top or at the top of the favela and who are closer to Antonio and Fernando describe the movement as having produced the improvements by getting people together in meetings, and they know the external agents even if they do not always know where they have come from. The further one gets from this core, the more the improvements are seen as having been granted by the government, be it municipal or state government, or by the governor himself.

In general, it seems difficult for them to separate the Mothers' group from the Association and from the children's play group. The activities carried out by the Church are attributed to the Association and vice versa. The use of the same buildings for different purposes, with the same persons (Ida for instance), in different roles seems to add to the confusion. This lack of awareness is also present when talking about the social workers. It is clear, sometimes, that they are referring to the people from the PMDB, on other occasions it is the

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<sup>17</sup> Giving instructions to the Electricity Company to charge only a minimum rate.

<sup>18</sup> This programme consists of selected housewives who are paid and supervised by the municipal government to look after 6 children 5 days a week. The Municipality provides all the food and gas for cooking. Mothers do not have to pay for the service.

Regional Administration personnel who are interpreted as social workers because, again, they are in the same compound and are all de facto working for the Municipality.

Only the leaders are fully aware of the division of labour and who is who, of the differences between the social workers, and the Regional Administration personnel, between the PMDB and the public authorities. The different levels of information suggest that communications are not flowing evenly (this will be examined in Chapter 6). There were no other organizations previous to the Dwellers' Association. The Mothers' Group and children's playgroup emerged at the same time as the Association.

### 5.2.3 The history of the movement at Imperatriz

At Imperatriz the movement also started late in 1979-80. Before the present association was formed, two persons who have since left the favela, Eugenio and Leonardo, tried to organize a movement. According to the present leaders, it did not succeed because they "did not respect the people, they were too hasty, and people did not trust them". They lacked political skills. Nowadays, the movement is led by a group consisting of Alvaro the president, Benedita, vice president, Claudio, Celso, and Diva, on the committee. All are well known by the community. Alvaro is considered the "head" of the group, the others are referred to as "the team". Some members of previous leaderships such as Jurema, who left the Association in 1984 but who is the treasurer of the mothers' group, Ernesto, who took part in the first regularly elected leadership, and Dona Adelia are still identified as leaders. They are still active, and attend meetings; the difference is that they do not take outside responsibilities (attending meetings outside,

representing the group) or participate in the leadership's private meetings.

#### 5.2.3.1 The leadership

Alvaro is 25 years old and this is the third time he has been elected to preside over the association. He is married to Georgina, who is the secretary of the Association. They met at Imperatriz, where he has been living since he was 14 years old. He moved to Sao Paulo with his sister in 1971, leaving his parents in Pernambuco (in the North-east). His father is a barber in Pernambuco's second largest city. First they lived in a rented house next to the favela and in 1973 they moved in. Georgina came to Imperatriz when she was 12 years old to accompany her mother, who went to Sao Paulo for medical treatment. Before returning to her home town in Ceara (in the North-east) (where her father runs a store) she met Alvaro. They were married in 1979, when she was 15 years old. They have two children. Alvaro worked as a bricklayer for a construction company for many years. In 1983, he applied for a job with the Metro Company (the underground) and was accepted. He was working in the maintenance team. Georgina was working since 1984 as a municipal creche attendant.

Benedita and her husband, Norberto, arrived in Sao Paulo in 1974 from Pernambuco. They first lived in rented accommodation close to Imperatriz. In 1976 they moved to the favela because they could not afford to pay rent. They had a cousin already living there and knew the area well. Benedita has worked in the garment industry, but due to a serious accident with a presser she stopped working, having lost the use of one hand. Her husband has worked in different factories as a helper. They have 4 children, all of school age. Norberto is active

in the Association, but Benedita is more widely known than he is. She was working in a municipal creche as an attendant.

Claudio was born in Minas Gerais state (the South-east). He came to Sao Paulo with all his family in 1972, and moved to Imperatriz in 1973, after a year paying rent in the vicinity. He has worked in a variety of jobs, as bus conductor, bricklayer, etc. Lately he was working in the packaging department of a food industry. His wife worked as a cleaner at the University campus. They have three children. The oldest children were finishing junior school and preparing to enter the "colegio", for the last three years. The youngest one refused to study and worked in a market.

Diva and her husband are from Aloguas in the North-east. They moved to Sao Paulo in 1967. Her husband used to be a bricklayer but he is almost an invalid nowadays, having severe lung problems. They have three children. The oldest one was attending school and working part-time as a domestic helper. The other two were at school. Diva was the main bread winner. She worked as a cleaner/coffee lady at a private clinic. To earn extra money she works for the wife of one of the physicians at the clinic, as a cleaner in the evenings and at weekends. She has extensive experience in Sao Paulo, having lived in different districts and areas, always in rented accommodation. In 1977 she moved to Imperatriz after having been in rented rooms in the neighbourhood. She and Benedita had been neighbours and this is how she discovered a shack for sale. One of her brothers also moved in, Silvio, who also used to be in the leadership before he moved to another favela.

Celso was born in Sao Paulo. He lived in the downtown area until

he met his wife who had been living at Imperatriz since 1977. In 1979 he moved in. He is an electrician, and used to work for electrical/hardware shops. Due to unemployment, he was working as a self-employed electrician. His wife is a cleaner. She has three children from a previous marriage and one child from the present one.

Jurema is no longer formally in the association but is the treasurer and the main activist in the Mothers' group. Her husband also used to take part in the Association at the beginning of the movement. Both are from Minas Gerais, and moved to Sao Paulo in 1972. She first came to seek medical treatment. Her brother-in-law convinced her that she should call her husband. He used to work with a horse and cart: she was a washing and ironing woman. The family is large. They have 12 children. The first year in Sao Paulo she spent working in a country house, while her husband was living with in-laws and working as a bricklayer. When the family got together again they lived at Imperatriz in a shack which used to belong to her brother-in-law. She was working as a cleaning woman a few days a week, while her husband was a tractor driver for the Municipality. All the children were working or studying.

#### 5.2.3.2 The external agents

As in Jardim Jacqueline, the Catholic Church, the PMDB and social workers from the Municipality have been active at Imperatriz. The activities of the Catholic Church are more extensive and intensive at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline. The parish church is close to the favela and this has helped to strengthen the ties with the favela. The Church has an adjoining creche run by nuns who live in the area: the creche is used by both the neighbourhood and the favela. The

Church provides facilities for group meetings and for activities such as training schemes for seamstresses. On the other hand, the Association opens its headquarters for the use of Church activities benefiting the dwellers at Imperatriz such as literacy classes, religious classes and children's playgroups. Consciousness raising is the basic aim of the work. Sister Santana was in charge of the work at Imperatriz. She also organized the work at other neighbouring favelas - Joia and Sao Domingo. There are four weekly activities organized or sponsored by the church: a Church group, the Mothers' group, the children's play group, and a youth group. Santana was taking part in the Pastoral do Menor (pastoral care of minors, meaning children and adolescents). Part of the activities consisted of bringing together not only different favelas but also neighbouring communities with the favelados. Every Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday some church-sponsored activity took place at the Association Headquarters.

A couple who work as volunteers, Thais and Mauricio, were also very active at Imperatriz. They live close to the area, and started to work there in 1981. Their work was church related but fundamentally independent. This means that Thais would discuss with Santana what was happening, but she did not follow a church line. She was in charge of one activity with the Mothers' group, painting fabrics. She had in the past taught them basic domestic economy and cooking. She was also coaching two volleyball teams of adolescents, a male and a female team. The teams are integrated, being composed of dwellers both from Imperatriz and the neighbourhood. She and her husband, Mauricio, also coached students preparing for selection examinations or applying for different jobs. She ran a literacy group for adults, also at her home. Mauricio started his work by coaching the football teams, then he became a technical adviser. Another activity they carried out is to

provide information about jobs which are not normally known to the dwellers at Imperatriz.

The PMDB was present at the beginning of the Dwellers' Association in a similar way as it was at Jardim Jacqueline. According to party members, they provided advice to the leadership in terms of the organizational structure, the procedures to make the association legal, etc. According to the leaders, they also taught them how to carry out assemblies and meetings. They still provide assistance in coordinating group activities. From the descriptions given by the informants, the ties between the party and the leadership are closer at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline. While at Jardim Jacqueline, party militants were no longer seen, at Imperatriz, they were still coming around and holding "orientation" meetings with the leadership. Furthermore, at Imperatriz, one of the militants is also a close aide to the present Regional Administrator.<sup>19</sup> The Regional Administrator visits the area frequently, and is known by name to the dwellers, as are the Municipality's civil engineer and architect, due to the frequency with which they come around.

#### 5.2.3.3 Collective activities at Imperatriz

In contrast to the situation at Jardim Jacqueline, at Imperatriz there is a variety of groups aside from the Association

(a) the Mothers' group, presided over by Benedita, having Georgina as vice president, and Jurema as treasurer, meeting twice a week. After the meeting there is a discussion about themes suggested by the participating women which functions both as a consciousness raising exercise and a forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences;

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<sup>19</sup> The head of the Regional Administration.

(b) three football teams - one is presided over by Alvaro, another is presided over by Claudio, and the third is the "reserves". The football teams also integrate neighbourhood players with people from Imperatriz;

(c) there are two volleyball teams, as mentioned earlier;

(d) there used to be a theatre group, which was being re-activated.

#### 5.2.3.4 The history of the movement according to the leaders

According to the leaders, the movement started coincidentally: Alvaro became interested in movements when the social workers invited all the dwellers to a meeting at the Regional Administration to discuss water and electricity problems. The dwellers who were interested went to this meeting. There a representative from the Electricity Company said that they had to appoint a representative. Each favela was to nominate someone to represent them. Alvaro, who had been outspoken during the meeting, was nominated to represent them. At the same time it happened that the PMDB started to visit the favela and offered to help them organize.

Alvaro explained how he became interested in the movement, saying that until he married, he was just a teenager fooling around in the favela. After marrying he realized that his children were going to have to grow up under severe deprivation. He says this led him to think about wages, justice, etc. The idea of a movement came to him when he watched a movement of favelados in a news programme on television. Until then he had never heard of favelados doing anything. The next day he decided to see how many families lived there and what they did to get water and electricity. This decision was further helped by the subsequent meeting at the Regional Administration.



After the FMDB moved in and gave them advice, formal elections were held and Alvaro was elected, with a large majority. Although changes in the composition of the leadership have taken place, since then it is generally agreed that the number of activists has always been large. Those who leave do not necessarily stop taking part in other activities. Much to the contrary, they continue to attend meetings and to cooperate. They are active not only within the community but as in Jardim Jacqueline, they are members of the local branch of the FMDB.

While at Jardim Jacqueline they first demanded water, at Imperatriz the first demand was for individual electricity. The reason was the prices being charged by the few who had access to water and electricity because their houses faced the official street. Those people then redistributed these services 'informally' to the neighbours charging high tariffs for this "service". Water was (and still is in certain areas) available only to the houses facing, or very close to, official streets.<sup>20</sup> Inside the area the most severe problems were a creek which was always causing flooding and the raw sewage which ran through the alleys. This last item was the main obstacle to the installation of clean piped water. To deal with this problem, the community decided to build a sewerage network with materials and technical advice provided by the Regional Administration: the labour was provided by themselves. The creek was cleared and transformed into an alley. They tried to do this work themselves, but it turned out to demand heavy equipment. Water was extended to some of the dwellings in the core parts of the favela, but quite a few dwellings remained

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<sup>20</sup> The streets and passages within the favelas are not recognized as official, because the land allotment is illegal following the illegality of the land occupation.

without individual connections, because of the width of the passages.

By the end of the fieldwork in late 1984, the Water Company had solved the problem and they were about to bring water through the narrow alleys.

They also have a public telephone serving the community. A proper in permanent material was built in 1984 with building material bought with funds raised through jumble sales, sale of handicrafts, parties, donations from business companies obtained by Mauricio and some contribution from the Regional Administration. The dwellers provided all the labour.

#### 5.2.3.5 The history of the movement from the viewpoint of the population

From the viewpoint of the population, the movement is seen as having really started when Alvaro joined. Some dwellers narrate the efforts of Eugenio and Leonardo, others are not aware of it. In contrast to Jardim Jacqueline, here the population had stories to tell about their own participation instead of only stories about the leaders. Their statements show they were more active, more participant in visiting favelas and attending meetings than in Jardim Jacqueline. This inspired the development of a personal history of the movement, full of events: people talked of taking part in street demonstrations and demonstrations directed towards the City Hall, the Water Company, and the Electricity Company. The memories are very alive, and the descriptions of these events vivid. Two large demonstrations are constantly remembered: an audience with the mayor, when about 2,000 people waited all day long under the sun, without food or drink, for a meeting that never was, since the mayor ended up leaving the city hall in a helicopter. All this was never forgotten and was recounted over

and over again. Another demonstration concerned a protest against the Electricity Company when they all marched through a busy area of town stopping the traffic, carrying banners and posters. They say that only cats and dogs remained in the favela. Pregnant women, children, old people, everybody went. They remember most the rejection ("the mayor said we stank, that's why he would not receive us"). Also remembered are the pains felt the next day after standing up for long hours under the sun, being pushed by the crowd and made to retreat by the police.

Zaira describing it said,

"We got together, we got that crowd from the favela and we would go to the Prefeitura (the Municipality) to see if we could speak with the big ones, but we didn't. They gave only promises and many times they got into the helicopter, (it) arrived on top of the Prefeitura and he (the mayor) disappeared. There was no audience, not with the president here from the favela. He would go to (to the building) but he didn't talk to anyone ... We went shouting on the streets, we went by bus to Pinheiros (a district) in Pinheiros we got out and we had a crowd in the streets with banners and (we went) shouting because we wanted to get it (electricity), and we did. In the crowd everybody pushing, pushing, we would come home, the next day, we could hardly get up. The legs ached from holding the people behind us. Sometimes we lost heart from being in that struggle and seeing no improvement. But it was through the struggle and in the despair and in the little hope we had that we got what we now have."

Another version of the same events is presented by Sonia who does not know Zaira and who lives on the opposite side of the favela from Zaira:

"We had a demonstration at Ibirapuera (the headquarters of the Municipality) it was at the time of Reinaldo de Barros (the mayor). Do you know what he did? He said he was not going to receive us, 'These people are favelado, they are all bandits' ... he said it, do you know what he did? Said we stank, we were all filthy, we stank. That the favelado stank. He asked for a helicopter, asked his secretary to ask for it on the telephone... He got into the helicopter and went away and we stayed in the street. Pregnant women, stayed in the street, hungry, under the rain, and hungry and he said he would never be able to do this - receive us."

These narratives of the history of the movement at Imperatriz

provide some evidence that information flows more extensively than at Jardim Jacqueline. For instance, the role of the Association is separated from that of the Mothers' group and from that of the other Church activities. The people from the PMDB are identified by the party and then given names. Santana, Thais and Mauricio are perceived as working together but being independent from the Association. In sum, there is less confusion about organizations, roles and about the individuals playing different roles.

The movement is seen by both, leaders and population, as their own movement. The role ascribed to external agents is limited to that of support. They are seen by the population as having given stimulation, strength, and courage to continue with the movement. Nevertheless, in describing the history of the movement, the emphasis is on their own role. It is the opposite of Jardim Jacqueline, where the emphasis is either on the efforts of Antonio and Fernando or, on the external agents. A few have no perception of a movement related to the improvements and this results in these being perceived as granted by the authorities.

The leaders at Imperatriz, acknowledge the help they received from the PMDB, from the Church and the social workers, whereas the leaders at Jardim Jacqueline are ambiguous about external help, stressing instead the political games played to obtain the improvements. Water, for instance, was said by the leaders at Jardim Jacqueline to have been obtained because the government party, the PDS, was afraid to lose the 1982 elections, and that it had exchanged water for votes, but that the population "was more conscious and was not going to be selling their votes for water". Electricity was bargained for with the PDS in circumstances where they pretended to be PDS supporters. The plot

failed because the PDS politician they had approached discovered their true party affiliation. As at Jardim Jacqueline there were no organizations in the favela previous to the Dwellers' Association.

At Imperatriz, the narratives of the experience of mobilization integrate the external support with the internal efforts, and emphasize the collective action, the union and the role of the population. Alvaro is said to be a leader because he managed to catalyse the support of the majority. The successes obtained are shared with him because he brought together the population. At Jardim Jacqueline the narratives about the experience of mobilization stress the efforts of Antonio and Fernando against the obstacles, some of them placed by the population (the threats, the difficulties in obtaining cooperation). The emphasis is on the role of external support, and not on the internal efforts. The successes are attributed to Antonio and Fernando and not to the whole community.

### 5.3 The survey

The trends identified up to now may be reflecting the viewpoint of a few individuals with an experience which is not generalizable. The data from the survey will be examined to detect whether these trends are consistent or whether they represent individual tendencies with no support at the group level. The data concerning the history of the movement collected in the survey refers to benefits achieved, means used to achieve them, and awareness of the movement. The questions I tried to answer in this analysis are:

- (a) Are the benefits perceived as having been achieved as a result of a collective effort coordinated by the Dwellers' Association?
- (b) Are the benefits achieved congruous with the main grievances at the time?

- (c) That is, was the population's agenda for improvements fulfilled?
- (d) Is there the perception of an organized movement which has brought about the realization of collective objectives?
- (e) Is such perception (or its absence) related to present participation (or to non-participation)?

If sustained participation is emergent, then the trends identified previously should also be observed in the survey, because the differences in present participation would have to be rooted in the actual process of the movement and in people's 'careers' within it. Career here should be understood broadly because even bystanders have a career, that of witnesses.

The survey data allows a clearer distinction to be drawn between the two favelas in terms of the perception of what took place in the past and why.

The main problems affecting both populations at Jardim Jacqueline and at Imperatriz when they first moved into the settlement were the basic items of infrastructure - water and electricity. This topic was covered by two questions: "what were the most pressing/serious problems when they moved in" and "what was lacking here before".

The main differences between the "creek area" and the "top" at Jardim Jacqueline refer to the categories 'violence' and 'lack of a house'. The area by the creek is far denser, and some of the dwellers, when they first arrived, had to live with relatives, sharing a house until space was made available or a shack was put up for sale. Violence was and still remains a serious problem in that area.

Table 5.3.1 Which were the most pressing/serious problems when you moved in?

	Jardim Jacqueline creek %	Jacqueline top %	Imperatriz %
water	30	35	43
electricity	30	37	34
violence	30	14	9
sewerage	-	-	14
lack of a house	22	5	6
others - house	-	2	6
others - settlement	13	14	3
others - personal	13	9	17
nothing	13	16	9
no answer	-	7	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
n =	23	43	35

multiple answers

Table 5.3.2 What was lacking here when you moved in?

	Jardim Jacqueline creek %	Jacqueline top %	Imperatriz %
water	87	67	71
electricity	87	74	77
security	-	7	-
sewerage	13	2	-
others settlement	4	26	17
others house	17	7	3
everything	9	26	17
organization	-	2	5
nothing	-	-	6
no answer	-	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
n =	23	43	35

Multiple answers

'Sewerage' is mentioned as a 'serious problem' at Imperatriz and as 'lacking' at Jardim Jacqueline 'by the creek'. Otherwise these lists of problems are congruous with the improvements which were achieved since the movement started. There are some problems with the answers:

1. although the majority moved in before the movement started (as will be seen in Chapter 7), the overall consistency between these lists and what was achieved does not mean that the most serious problems have been solved or that what was lacking before has been achieved, because not all services have been installed to every house;
2. the answers may represent their acceptance of the agenda of the movement since they represent a posteriori measures.

If so, such acceptance could still be interpreted as revealing at worst the impact of the movement over people's definitions of their priorities and, at best, a consonance between the individual and collective agendas.

The perception of the improvements as consequences of some form of collective action was measured by asking how change came about. The answers are listed overleaf (Table 5.3.3).

There is an awareness of the improvements as a result of a collective effort: 'meetings' and 'the Association'. In both favelas the differences between these are not statistically significant, neither are the differences between participants and non-participants, but further examination of the nature of this perception revealed some interesting differences. In order to check these differences I analysed the answers given to this question focusing on the verbs used



Table 5.3.3 How did this (what was lacking) change? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
through meetings	(15) 23.0	(17) 26.0	(5) 8.0	(37) 57.0	(14) 40.0	(2) 6.0	(5) 14.0	(21) 60.0
Leadership	(1) 1.0	(4) 6.0	-	(5) 7.0	-	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Government	-	(6) 9.0	-	(6) 9.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	-	(2) 6.0
alone/he/she made it	-	(2) 3.0	-	(2) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	-	(4) 12.0
Others	(3) 4.0	(5) 8.0	-	(8) 12.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	-	(3) 9.0
Does not know/ no answer	-	(6) 9.0	(2) 3.0	(8) 12.0	(3) 8.0	(1) 3.0	-	(4) 11.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$$\chi^2 \text{ for the totals of the two favelas } \chi_0^2 = 3.98 \quad \chi_c^2 = 11.0706 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 5 \quad \text{N.S.}$$

Please note that on all tables from here onwards the percentage totals may not add to exactly 100.0 because of approximations

to describe the action and on the protagonists of the action. The idea for this analysis came from the differences observed in the language used by the dwellers (in the interviews) when telling the story of the movement. This analysis had an heuristic purpose, since I am aware that it cannot be interpreted as having the rigor of a linguistic analysis.

Table 5.3.4 Verbs used to describe how improvements were achieved

	Jardim Jacqueline	Imperatriz
	%	%
1. Meeting	(33) 50.0	(13) 37.0
2. Struggling	(4) 6.0	(5) 14.0
3. Asking	(5) 8.0	(2) 6.0
4. Making it	(4) 6.0	(5) 14.0
5. Got it	(5) 8.0	(1) 3.0
6. Others	(5) 8.0	(3) 8.0
7. No answer	<u>(10) 15.0</u>	<u>(6) 17.0</u>
Total	(66) 100.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2_o \approx 5.41$   $\chi^2_c = 12.592$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 6 N.S.

Although the population in the two favelas present differences in emphasis expressed in the language used, these are not significant. Verbs such as 'to struggle' and 'to fight' were more often used by dwellers at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline, where, both by the creek and at the top, the emphasis is the same as that observed in the interviews, and suggests a greater passivity; they talk of 'meetings' or 'getting together in meetings'. The limitations of this analysis, amongst others, lies in the fact that there is no way of telling what connotations these verbs have for the population. The fact that such language is more often used at Imperatriz can indicate: 1. That the population adopted a political jargon which was used by political activists and/or by the leadership, and/or 2. That these verbs do express their feelings about what form of action they undertook.

If they adopted the rhetoric of the leaders, this could be interpreted as an indicator of differences in the intensity and amplitude of the movement. Its absence from the language used at Jardim Jacqueline could indicate the opposite - that the movement was less widespread and intense than at Imperatriz because although this rhetoric is also used by the leaders at Jardim Jacqueline (as will be seen in Chapter 8) it has not been incorporated into the dwellers' descriptions of the actions which they associate with the achievement of the benefits.

As the descriptions suggest more passive action on the part of the population at Jardim Jacqueline, an analysis of the language of the protagonists could clarify whether there were differences in the way they positioned themselves vis-a-vis this action, I therefore searched for the pronouns used in the description of how improvements were obtained.

In some of the answers it was not possible to identify who was involved in the action: these were grouped in the category 'unclassifiable'; some exclude themselves, identifying as responsible for the action either 'they-other dwellers', 'they - the leaders' or 'they - the government'; and finally some include themselves - 'we'.

Table 5.3.5 Pronouns used in the description of how improvements were achieved

	Jardim Jacqueline	Imperatriz
	%	%
1. we	(15) 23.0	(13) 37.0
2. unclassifiable	(27) 41.0	(7) 20.0
3. they (other dwellers)	(4) 6.0	(3) 9.0
4. they (the leadership)	(5) 8.0	(2) 6.0
5. I	- -	(4) 11.0
6. they (government)	(8) 12.0	- -
7. no answer	(7) 11.0	(6) 17.0
8. total	(66) 100.0	(35) 100.0

$$\chi^2_o = 15.50 \quad \chi^2_c = 12.5912 \quad \alpha .05 \quad \text{d.f. } 6 \quad \underline{S}$$

The differences between the two favelas are significant. There is more attribution of the benefits to their own efforts at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline suggesting that the differences detected in the interviews do not represent exceptions but express wider differences. At Jardim Jacqueline it is more difficult to identify the main actors suggesting roles were less clear. The differences between participants and non-participants in each favela are not significant. The use of the pronoun 'we' is symbolical. It suggests some idea of collective identity, that is, of group feeling in the psychological sense.

Some respondents readily associated the improvements with the Dwellers' Association but these were few. The movement for improvements, to outsiders (and experts) has crystallized in the actual Dwellers' Association, but this does not mean that the favelados see it this way too. Moreover as I defined 'participative' and 'non-participative' favela in terms of a ratio of participants to non-participants, it was necessary to examine knowledge about the Dwellers Association and participation. The two favelas differ,

significantly, in both knowledge about and participation in the Dwellers' Association. Furthermore, at Jardim Jacqueline participation is associated with knowledge, that is, people who know there is an Association tend to participate (Table 5.3.6 overleaf).

At Jardim Jacqueline, the population again is less aware or less informed about the Association than at Imperatriz, the ones living by the "creek" being less conscious about the Association. There is a discrepancy between the percentages of dwellers "by the creek" who perceive the improvements as a consequence of "meetings" (57.0%) and those who are actually aware that there is an Association (43.0%) which indicates that the knowledge that meetings took place (and even perhaps participation in such meetings) does not necessarily mean awareness of a structured movement.

The lack of awareness and of information is also reflected in the actual participation in the movement.

Table 5.3.7 Do you take part in the dwellers' association?

	Jardim Jacqueline %	Imperatriz %
yes	(19) 29.0	(21) 60.0
no	(40) 61.0	(9) 26.0
occasionally	(7) 11.0	(5) 14.0
total	(66) 100.0	(35) 100.0

$$\chi^2_0 \approx 12.78 \quad \chi^2_c = 5.99147 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad \underline{S.}$$

The differences between the two favelas are significant. The survey data reveal that Imperatriz is de facto a participative favela for nearly two in every three respondents define themselves as taking

Table 5.3.6 Is there a Dwellers' Association? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Yes	(19) 29.0	(15) 23.0	(7) 11.0	(41) 63.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0
No	-	(20) 30.0	-	(20) 30.0	-	-	-	-
Does not know	-	(5) 8.0	-	(5) 8.0	-	-	-	-
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for participants, non-participants and occasional

at Jardim Jacqueline  $\chi^2 = 22.80$   $\chi^2_c = 9.48773$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 4 S

$\chi^2$  for the totals between the two favelas  $\chi^2_o = 17.51$   $\chi^2_c = 5.99147$   $\alpha .05$  d.f. = 2 S

part (active) in the Association, which is one of the definitions of participation given by the population. From the viewpoint of the dwellers, participation is generally defined as taking part in the meetings, cooperating in collective activities, showing interest, that is, seeking information, and providing information. There is a consensus between the leaders and the dwellers in relation to this definition.

This means that the differences between the two favelas could be even greater than the one identified. The questions "why they participate" and "why they do not participate" and "how they participate" provide further information about the differences detected so far.

The population in the two favelas do not differ in their reasons for participating. This means that when people participate they do so for similar reasons; the same applies to non-participation. At Jardim Jacqueline and at Imperatriz, people participate because they want "to get improvements", to "be informed" or because "it achieves something". While answering this question participants in both favelas criticized the movement: "it is worthless", at Imperatriz or "they are not inviting people to meetings" at Jardim Jacqueline. Participation is not unproblematic, it seems, and is mostly justified as a means of giving support to the movement and of keeping in touch with events. (Table 5.3.8 overleaf).

The reasons for the lack of participation reveal there is no "free-riding", at least not as a conscious decision not to take part. Lack of participation seems to be a consequence of "lack of time" and of "lack of information" about the existence of a Dwellers'

Table 5.3.8 Why do you participate? X Participation

	Partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
To get improvements	(4) 6.0	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(6) 17.0	(1) 3.0	(7) 20.0
To be informed	(4) 6.0	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(8) 23.0	(1) 3.0	(9) 26.0
Because is invited	-	-	-	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
To be united/show support	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Because it achieves things	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	-	-	-
It is worthless	-	-	-	(3) 8.0	-	(3) 8.0
They are not inviting	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	(3) 5.0	-	-	-
No answer	(5) 8.0	(1) 2.0	(6) 10.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(3) 9.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(7) 11.0	(26) 39.0	(21) 60.0	(5) 14.0	(26) 74.0

$$\chi^2 \text{ for the totals in the two favelas } \chi^2_0 \approx 11.48 \quad \chi^2_c = 14.067 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 7 \quad \text{N.S.}$$



Association. These are the same reasons for lack of participation observed by Walsh and Warland (1983) in their Three Mile Island study. The population in the two favelas does not differ in the reasons not to participate.

Table 5.3.9 Why you do not participate x participation

	Jardim Jacqueline %	Imperatriz %
lack of time	(13) 20.0	(4) 11.0
does not know the Association	(10) 15.0	-
he/she is not invited	(5) 7.0	-
a lot of people take part already (it is not necessary) or other members of the family already take part	(1) 2.0	(1) 3.0
it does not work	(1) 1.0	(2) 6.0
went once and did not like it	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0
no answer	(3) 4.0	(1) 3.0
others	(5) 7.0	-
total	(40) 61.0	(9) 26.0

$\chi^2_{\alpha} = 8.44$   $\chi^2_c = 14.067$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 7 N.S.

The respondents who do not take part in the Dwellers' Association stated that their working schedule did not allow them to attend the meetings, or mentioned their lack of confidence that the movement could succeed, or lack of information.

Participation is defined in behavioural terms. It consists basically of attending the meetings (Table 5.3.10 overleaf).

Table 5.3.10 How do you participate? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Particip. %	Occasional %	Total %	Particip. %	Occasional %	Total %
Attending meetings	(16) 24.0	(6) 9.0	(22) 33.0	(19) 54.0	(5) 14.0	(24) 68.0
Paying fees and attending meetings	(2) 3.0	-	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
Taking part in the leadership Dwellers' Association	-	-	-	(2) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0
Voting (elections)	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	-	-	-
No answer	-	(1) 2.0	(1) 2.0	-	-	-
Total	(19) 28.0	(7) 11.0	(26) 39.0	(21) 60.0	(5) 14.0	(26) 74.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$$\chi^2_{20} \approx 3.75 \quad \chi^2_c = 9.48773 \quad \alpha = .05$$

d.f. = 4

N.S.

The populations in the two favelas, again, do not differ in the definition of participation. They do differ from the interview data, to the extent that in the interviews, other aspects such as cooperation, taking part in the collective tasks, showing interest in the activities of the Dwellers' Association, keeping informed, giving support to activists were also mentioned as types of participation in both favelas, Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz. The meetings seem to be important, both because they represent the opportunity to manifest interest in the improvements and to keep informed.

Taking attendance at the meeting of the Dwellers' Association as evidence of participation, the differences observed above emerge even more clearly. The data from the survey (see Tables 5.3.11 and 5.3.12 overleaf) indicate that more dwellers at Imperatriz had taken part in recent meetings.

At Imperatriz there seems to be more continuity of participation. most participants had attended recent meetings of the Dwellers' Association: the differences nevertheless are not significant. Data concerning the themes covered in the last meeting attended replicates this evidence.

At Imperatriz, water, passages and sewerage are the themes covered by the meeting which took place immediately before the survey was carried out. These data reveal, again, that at Imperatriz meetings are taking place at shorter intervals and the dwellers are kept informed about the meetings, whereas at Jardim Jacqueline they were not taking place as frequently. In fact, the last meeting mentioned in the interviews was one about the electricity rates, which resulted in a petition to the governor to get a minimum electricity rate for all

Table 5.3.11 When was the last meeting (of the Dwellers' Association) that you attended?

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Participates %	Occasional %	Total %	Participates %	Occasional %	Total %
1. 1 week	-	-	-	(7) 20.0	(1) 3.0	(8) 23.0
2. 1 month	(3) 4.0	(1) 1.0	(4) 5.0	(4) 11.0	-	(4) 11.0
3. 2 months	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0
4. 3 months	-	-	-	-	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0
5. 4 months	-	-	-	(2) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0
6. 6 months	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	-	-	-
7. 10 months	-	(1) 2.0	(1) 2.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
8. over one year	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	-	-	-
9. does not remember	(5) 8.0	(3) 4.0	(8) 12.0	(3) 8.0	-	(3) 8.0
10. no answer	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	(4) 6.0	(3) 9.0	(2) 6.0	(5) 15.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(7) 11.0	(26) 39.0	(21) 60.0	(5) 14.0	(26) 74.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals irrespective of participation

$$\chi^2 \approx 15.65 \quad \chi^2_c = 16.919 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 9 \quad \text{N.S.}$$

Table 5.3.12 What was the theme (of the last meeting attended)?

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Participates %	Occasional %	Total %	Participates %	Occasional %	Total %
sewerage/water/ passages	-	-	-	(8) 23.0	(1) 3.0	(9) 26.0
electricity rates	(3) 5.0	(3) 4.0	(6) 9.0	-	-	-
electricity	(6) 9.0	-	(6) 9.0	-	-	-
water	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
land ownership/ subdivision	(1) 2.0	-	(1) 8.0	(3) 8.0	(1) 3.0	(4) 11.0
water & electricity	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
creek	(1) 1.0	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
new headquarters of the Dwellers' Association/ passages	(1) 2.0	-	(1) 2.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
elections	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
church	(1) 1.0	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
Mothers' group	(1) 2.0	(1) 1.0	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
creche	(1) 1.0	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
does not remember	(1) 2.0	-	(1) 2.0	(3) 9.0	(1) 3.0	(4) 12.0
Total	(19) 28.0	(7) 11.0	(26) 39.0	(21) 60.0	(5) 14.0	(26) 74.0

dwellings. This along with 'electricity' is, again the theme of the last meeting attended in the survey.

#### 5.4 Present participation

How do the dwellers and the external agents perceive the present participation of the population in the Dwellers Association? I will examine first the perception of participation at Jardim Jacqueline.

##### 5.4.1. Jardim Jacqueline

Interviewees from the Regional Administration evaluating the movement at Jardim Jacqueline considered it as attracting the population and as having good attendance at the meetings with the population actively discussing and interested in the movement. The interviews with the population did not corroborate this evaluation. They see the movement as "cold", "nothing is happening", "it has stopped". They trace comparisons with what they see on television or hear through other channels is happening in other favelas concerning their "advancement" in achieving improvements. Again and again they mentioned organized or legalized favelas, by which they most often meant physically organized favelas where the houses are correctly positioned and aligned and the roads and passages are regular, where there is space between the houses and especially where most timber has been replaced by bricks or cinder blocks.

The movement is "cold" because the dwellers are not interested, because they do not respond, take no initiative. There are again no criticisms of the leaders. The following excerpt comes from a conversation between Nadia, Nair and a neighbour of theirs, Tereza.

Tereza: "This (the movement) needs some force, here, no-one helps anyone here to do anything.

Nair: They have no interest.

Nadia: There is force only in the pool tables.

Nair: It is different from the other favelas. I see how the women get together, they march to the palace door, you have men, women, they boycott (sic) and go here and there. I do not see anyone moving inside here. These people seem afraid to go out, to talk, of going out, of daring 'we want water, we want sewerage'. Those women (the other ones) no, they are not afraid, they scream out to the world, for God, everyone to hear. Here, this people here, look as if, even the men are afraid of talking to the men (...). If the women here were more daring, more active, more, and if the men were more daring, this would not be like this any more. It could already be a very pretty district."

Jairo used to take part in the movement but distanced himself as had Jaime and Laura. He justifies his absence by saying,

"People who don't go (to meetings), ask you what happened there. If you tell them they don't believe you. So, it is like this, no-one gets together. You suggest, 'let's do this and that'. 'Ah, that's not going to work'. The drunks, there are some drunks who go there to speak, you can't understand a word they say. Everybody fights, argues, one screams at the other, each one wants to talk more than the other, in the end, you don't even remember what was said. That's it."

Belmiro was never a constant participant, occasionally he watched the meetings, he says,

"I don't have much prestige, to talk to them, the good ones talk more. When you are going to speak, it is at the end. First the good ones speak. When you are going to speak, what you have to say is at the very end, and all the big heads (cabecudos - the important people) have left. Who are you going to speak to?"

The suggestion that the meetings were ill-conducted and that this led some people to give up is not a common justification for the slow down in the activities of the Dwellers' Association (and in the campaigns). Generally the blame is laid on the population: "conformist, without will".

Jaime raised two reasons for this slow pace:

"I don't know if they don't trust the leaders, or what, maybe they don't care (...) Lately there have been no meetings. Elections took place. But I haven't heard any more. I think it is because of the story of COHAB.<sup>21</sup> certainly it is true that they will take this over (...) Because before they were talking of getting a football field, a creche, the sewage. Now, no-one says a word, the building of the headquarters has stopped."

Jaime interprets the Cohab project as a threat which will eventually lead to his moving out of the favela through not being able to afford it. Nair contemplates it with hope. The other families interviewed ignored the existence of such a project. Both Jaime and Nair had been informally told of it by Antonio.

5.4.2 Imperatriz

At Imperatriz, of the interviewees who were participating in the Dwellers' Association,<sup>22</sup> some were complaining about the lack of participation of their neighbours. Zaira blamed the population, others blamed Alvaro. Zaira says,

"Alvaro puts so much effort into it, why don't people cooperate (...) and after the meeting they ask what happened. We can lose our time telling them what happened, why can't they use their time to go into the meeting? But they want to sit at home and watch the soap opera on the television, or a film."

Sonia, "I think it slowed down. The people are not caring much for the meetings here. This was the problem when the water came, when the sewage came to the front, and the water did not reach us (...) It was a mistake, the water, to come like this."

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<sup>21</sup> The Cohab story consists of the regional administration project for housing for the favelados in the Butanta area. The area surrounding the favela is the largest unoccupied area in the Butanta. There is a project organized jointly with Dwellers' Associations of favelas in the area and approved by all the other Dwellers' Associations for the government to buy the land and use it for housing projects for the favelados. It is unclear what will happen to the area already occupied. As the leadership of their Dwellers' Association (Jardim Jacqueline) took part in the project, one assumes that they will not be removed. But many may not be able to benefit from the project because they will lack the means to cope with the financial costs.

<sup>22</sup> With the exception of one family - the elderly ladies, everyone else was directly or indirectly taking part. Josefina and Marlene's daughters and son-in-law took part. Zenaide, Zaira, Dulce, Sonia, Oda, Amelia, participated directly.



Her husband, Gumerindo, says,

"the meetings are empty because there is lack of communication between the administrative part of the favela and the people. People go to meetings thinking one thing will be discussed and the theme is another".

Joao, Oda's husband, commenting on the silence of the population during one of the Dwellers' Association meetings said,

"if all the aggrieved spoke through one mouth only (meaning if all had the same opinion), maybe the things would move faster, because it would be stronger. But they just sit there, listening, and stay in this life. Only he (Alvaro), Aldo and Hamilton were talking.

Oda: This talk of theirs is old, this talk of theirs (the leaders).

Interviewer: Why?

Joao: I don't know. It seems their mouths are locked. If one said, 'I want this, that, and that, I want sewerage, I want water and everything, the passages, I want all, let's do it to-day.' (Other) says let's do it tomorrow (and other) it is useless. Because I want sewerage, water. But nobody says anything."

The population in the two favelas evaluate their respective associations as "slow", the movement is "cold". They differ in the attribution of responsibility for this state of affairs, at Jardim Jacqueline the blame is placed on the dwellers, whereas at Imperatriz it is placed also on the leaders. This could mean that the leaders at Imperatriz have established vis a vis the population their own roles and responsibilities in the Association and the Association's role in the movement for improvements.

### 5.5 The organizational structure and societal reactions

The differences in present participation could be attributed to differences in the actual functioning of the organizations and on social controls applied to the movement. The fact that the two Associations have the same charter does not mean that they function in similar ways. Moreover the fact that both favelas succeeded in achieving the material benefits they sought does not imply there were

no social controls applied to them or if so that they were similar and had similar results.

I will examine the organizational structure first, and then the social controls. The data for the analysis of the organizational structure is basically interview and observational data. Melucci's (1977) typology of social movements organization was useful in clarifying some aspects of this structure.

The organizational structure would be classified as bureaucratic since there is a charter and there is a definition of roles and functions, at least in theory, if not in fact.

(a) Type of objective

The two associations have the same objective: satisfaction or fulfilment of instrumental objectives, external to the organization: they wish to obtain basic items of urban infrastructure and services.

(b) Membership requisites

The two associations are open, there are no rigid mechanisms underpinning the selection of their members. The level of investment demanded is relatively low, there are no specific duties or ideological demands. Being a dweller and attending the meetings, or expressing one's support, are the requisites. The expression of support consists of verbal approval and/or cooperation in collective tasks.

(c) Type of incentives

The two associations theoretically provide all three types of incentives: material, solidarity and value. Participation increases the chances of demands being fulfilled, and therefore of improvements

in the level of physical comfort, or a decrease in the costs of certain utilities (it is cheaper to pay for individual water or electricity connections than for collective ones); again, in theory, it also allows the satisfaction of goal fulfilment and improvement of relations within the community. This nevertheless does not ensure that benefits will come to the participants nor that non-participants will be excluded from the benefits.

(d) Relations with society

The two organizations are integrated into the environment. They maintain relations with organizations in other favelas and with the neighbourhood associations of other organizations and with their leaderships. The associations represent their populations in the federation of the Favelas of Butanta, are involved in community projects such as Sacolao (Big Bag) a food programme and are also involved in different projects concerning education, transportation, health, cultural projects, housing, etc., sponsored by the Regional Administration and which are being developed through the participation of the community. There is multiple affiliation, that is, the leadership is affiliated to a diversity of organizations such as political parties, Housing Committees, food programmes, religious movements, etc., and these intercommunicate.

(e) The background of members

The question of homogeneity or heterogeneity of their members is more problematic. If heterogeneity/homogeneity is defined in terms of socio-economic class, then they would be homogeneous - lower-income group. If it is defined in terms of class values and self perception, then it should be heterogeneous, and if this definition includes their background, origins, social class in their home towns, values,

expectations and aspirations they are different. The homogeneity implied by "working class", "popular" classes or "low income group" obscures differences which are for the present study extremely important: small differences in wages result in different patterns of consumption, different backgrounds result in differences in values, in expectations, and aspirations. This has led me to consider both populations heterogeneous, especially because they tend to differentiate themselves and to perceive their own group as diversified, and sometimes even an area of conflict.

(f) Power system

The two associations have different power systems. At Jardim Jacqueline the decision making process is authoritarian. Antonio and Fernando centralize power, information flow, calls for meetings, construct the agendas of meetings, the solutions, the priorities and monopolize the conversation during the meetings. At Imperatriz it is participative, the leaders have to follow certain rules: decision making always has to be a collective process, information must be disclosed at meetings, meetings with the population must take place every two weeks, and every week for the formal leaders (the organization). The population can suggest items for the agenda for the meetings, participation from the population during the meetings is encouraged.

(g) The leadership style

This is another problematic area. The two categories suggested by Melucci, "mobilizing" or "articulating", do not cover all the situations identified. At Imperatriz the leadership is concerned with mobilization, encouraging the participating of the dwellers (as will be seen in Chapter 8). At Jardim Jacqueline the leadership is neither

mobilizing nor articulating. It is unclear what the broader goals of this leadership are (this also will be seen in Chapter 8).

These organizational structures are similar to the ones identified by Diniz (1982) in Rio de Janeiro. Imperatriz differs from both Jardim Jacqueline and the associations studied in Rio, in the emphasis that is placed on the participation of the population whether defined as "being active in collective tasks" or as "taking part in the meetings" which are held with greater frequency than either at Jardim Jacqueline or in the associations studied in Rio.

Melucci's analytical typology reveals, then, that a similar charter does not mean similar operationalization, and that the organizational structure should not be analysed only in terms of whether it is bureaucratic or informal, because within such categories there are subtypes which may be relevant if we are to understand differences in participation.

#### 5.5.1 Societal reactions and social controls

As far as the social controls are concerned, there are two main sources of information: (a) the interviews with the leaders and population, and (b) societal reactions as expressed in the newspapers. The first source provides specific information about each favela, the second source provides an overall view of the reactions of the society to the movements. This last source complements the population and/or the leaders' information.

Different authors have called attention to the fact that repression or other forms of social control can affect the movement (Melucci, 1977, 1982; Piven and Cloward, 1977). There are no

differences between the two favelas in the improvements obtained from the public authorities, that is, the response of the authorities was similar. The basic demands for water and electricity were partially fulfilled, since water did not reach every dwelling at each settlement. There are no indications of repression from the authorities. At Jardim Jacqueline Antonio says that during the PDS administration the Regional Administrator made some veiled threats to the leaders of the Associations, but this did not stop the movements. At Imperatriz Alvaro says that a politician from the PDS tried to buy him out offering him a job and a house, during the political campaign of 1982. He says that the Regional Administrator had given his name to this politician because he, Alvaro, was considered a key figure in the neighbourhood.

There are no indications that there has been broader societal pressure against the movement either. In fact, some of the neighbourhood Associations,<sup>23</sup> at first competed with the Dwellers' Association and claimed to be responsible for the improvements (at Imperatriz).

At Jardim Jacqueline one neighbour, the owner of a large food store, tried to stop electricity being brought to the favela. The dwellers claim that his attitude was a form of retaliation because the favelados had stopped buying from him when a supermarket opened in the vicinity.

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<sup>23</sup> These are the Sociedades de Amigos de Bairro (SABs) which have existed since the 1950s as mentioned in Chapter 2.

### 5.5.2 Societal reactions: The newspapers and the social movements in favelas

The first movements to receive coverage from the newspapers were the ones in the Butanta area. In February 1979, persons from favelas in the Butanta area, having as representatives a group called "union of Dwellers' Associations from Butanta",<sup>24</sup> went on a demonstration to the City Hall to present a proposal to the mayor. Those favelados wanted to obtain water and electricity for all the favelas in the area, the construction of creches, schools and health centres, and finally to buy the land they occupied.<sup>25</sup> This demonstration was unique. It was the first time that favelados organized themselves and took the initiative of presenting a plan. A month later<sup>26</sup> they went back to the mayor to get an answer. This time they had 2,000 dwellers along with them, plus state representatives and municipal legislators from the PMDB. The answer was that the Municipality would install water and electricity in all the favelas in Sao Paulo. It would also carry out certain improvements such as cleaning creeks, cleaning the favelas, construct rainwater drains, and creches. The major newspapers carried headlines discussing the meaning of this resolution, and reviewed the changes in the public policies towards the favelas from eviction to consolidation. This was considered a watershed in the treatment of the favelas. The day after this announcement the papers were denying the novelty of the measures. The Water Company had released information that since 1977 it had been installing water in favelas, in the shacks facing official streets.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> That was the first attempt at unifying the Favelados' Dwellers Association which led to the formation in 1981 of the Federation of Favelados from Butanta.

<sup>25</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 11.2.79.

<sup>26</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 29.3.79.

One important aspect of this decision is that it was based on advice from the Municipality's legal counsellor who justified the decision on the grounds that the favelados were tax-paying citizens whose well being had to be catered for.

There was a gap between this decision and its implementation. Jardim Jacqueline, for instance, received water in 1982, Imperatriz in 1984. Electricity arrived at Jardim Jacqueline in 1983, and at Imperatriz in 1982. Although announced in 1979, these measures became programmes much later. In December 1980 the Pro Agua (pro water) and the Pro Luz (pro electricity) programmes were created.<sup>28</sup> Once the programmes were created, it meant that without organization the population would not be able to benefit for representatives had to be appointed to represent them vis a vis the authorities. In March 1982<sup>29</sup> the papers were covering demonstrations for water and electricity by favelados from the eastern area of the Municipality. By April 1983 there was still news of demonstrations and requests for these services.<sup>30</sup> The implementation of the programmes therefore was slow. Another change of attitude from the Municipality was to activate a housing programme for the favelados - FUNAPS. FUNAPS was organized so that two representatives of favelas' associations sat on the administrative council.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 31.3.79; O Estado de S. Paulo, 31.3.79.

<sup>28</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 17.12.80.

<sup>29</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 9.3.82.

<sup>30</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 13.4.83.

<sup>31</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 9.5.79.



After the announcement of the programme of improvements in March 1979, the pressure for these to be implemented started to grow. In September, the mayor announced that 36 favelas would be reached by the programme in its first phase. The favelados immediately denounced<sup>32</sup> the choice of the favelas as "manipulative and punitive" since all favelas which were mobilized and had been pressuring the Municipality were excluded.

By the end of 1979 the papers were carrying news items about the favelas almost daily. There were alternative projects for improvements - the favelados were rejecting official housing programmes and presenting their own alternatives.<sup>33</sup> They were resisting evictions and removals,<sup>34</sup> and organizing protest demonstrations to the City Hall.<sup>35</sup> Leaders from the favelas were attracting attention and being interviewed by newspapers.<sup>36</sup>

The image of the favelado as portrayed by the press changed. The myth of the favelas as a transient place for "ill prepared migrants" was gone. The favelas were a consequence of the economic policies.<sup>37</sup> Industrialists were referring to the favelas as a sign of "social bankruptcy".<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 13.8.79; Jornal da Tarde, 13.8.79.

<sup>33</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 23.8.79.

<sup>34</sup> Jornal da Republica, 13.10.79; Folha da S. Paulo, 6.11.79.

<sup>35</sup> Folha da S. Paulo, 30.7.79.

<sup>36</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 23.8.79.

<sup>37</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 16.1.80.

<sup>38</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 28.11.79.

The intense mobilization dominated the newspapers. Favelados were taking part in public debates with urban experts to discuss the problems and solutions. The self-help programmes organized by the favelados to provide themselves with better houses, and with creches,<sup>39</sup> received attention and were presented as examples of the initiative and imagination of the population.<sup>40</sup>

In 1981, the associations of favelas in the Butanta area organized their first meeting of the favelados in the area. It was decided that a broad consultation with the communities should take place before they planned a new project for improvement in the area.<sup>41</sup> The resistance to evictions became more organized, with the support of the Metropolitan Curia.

Some of the favelas which had acquired improvements received attention from the papers doing "follow-up" work on their progress. The articles emphasized the strengthening of the community ties brought about by the changes in their environment. The efforts of the favelados in maintaining the communal areas, and in beautifying their surroundings (planting trees, etc.) were also highlighted.

The change of themes and of language, from those used half a decade before, is very suggestive. These papers cater for audiences which are an elite in terms of the income distribution of the country.

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<sup>39</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 17.1.80; Jornal da Tarde, 9.1.80; Jornal da Republica, 14.1.80; O Estado de S. Paulo, 16.4.81.

<sup>40</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 4.7.81.

<sup>41</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 7.7.81, 25.8.81, 26.8.81, 12.11.82; Jornal da Tarde, 14.10.81, 28.4.80.

The presentation of the favelados as worthy, hard working, dedicated citizens, trying to make the best of a very difficult situation could be reflecting the fact that other sectors of the society aside from the experts were beginning to discard old stereotypes.

In 1982 the movements were extremely active. This was election year and the pressure against the municipal and state government grew. The favelados seemed to have become more aggressive in their demands and in their rejection of government projects. The favelados started to justify their demands on the basis of their rights as citizens who contributed to society by paying taxes and producing goods.<sup>42</sup> Attempts by politicians to exchange services for votes were denounced by the press.<sup>43</sup> The Regional Administrator of Butanta (from the PDS) was publicly accused of trying to buy votes in exchange for jobs.<sup>44</sup>

At the end of 1982, a group of six leaders from favelas in the Butanta went to Brasilia for an audience with the President of Brazil to request that the federal government took some action to allow the favelados to clear their land titles.<sup>45</sup> No promises were made but again it was the first time that such a group had talked to the highest authority.

In 1983 the opposition party, PMDB, came into power at state and municipal level. The demonstrations and protests declined from then onwards. In mid-1984 one demonstration of protest with 3,500

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<sup>42</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 9.3.82.

<sup>43</sup> Folha da S. Paulo, 27.4.82.

<sup>44</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 26.9.82.

<sup>45</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 20.10.82.

favelados, marched to the State Government House. They demanded lower water and electricity rates and the clearance of land titles.<sup>46</sup>

During the period between 1983 and 1984, there was no news of removals, the newspaper articles covered themes such as the difficulties of daily life, the hardships of life in the favelas, and the growth of the favelas. Meanwhile another major change took place; for the first time the Municipality sold land to the favelados.<sup>47</sup>

Two other changes have also taken place since the movements started:

1. Rejection from the neighbourhoods surrounding the favelas grew, with people living in poor or middle class neighbourhoods accusing the Municipality of devaluing their properties by bringing improvements to favelas since this would encourage the population to stay.<sup>48</sup>
2. The favelas became attractive grounds for politicians. Competition grew amongst political parties to win the support of the favelados.<sup>49</sup> The main opposition party, PMDB, competed with the PT (Workers' Party) and the PTB (Brazilian Labour Party) for areas of influence. According to Belik (1984) writing for the Folha de S. Paulo<sup>50</sup> the favelas had become areas over which the politicians disputed. At the Butanta area the majority of the favelados had allied

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<sup>46</sup> Jornal da Tarde, 14.6.84; O Estado de S. Paulo, 14.6.84.

<sup>47</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 2.2.84; Jornal da Tarde, 2.2.84.

<sup>48</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 23.2.80, 4.3.80, 10.4.80; Folha da S. Paulo, 12.4.82, 13.7.82, 20.7.83.

<sup>49</sup> O Estado de S. Paulo, 18.4.82.

<sup>50</sup> Folha de S. Paulo, 24.4.84.

with the PMDB and with two specific politicians both connected with the PCB (Brazilian Communist Party). Recently with the legalization of the PCB, these two politicians have left the PMDB and joined the PCB. Only one favela in the area is credited as independent, although informally it is supporting the PT.

In other words, in 1984 the favelas in Sao Paulo were established as attractive areas in which to win votes, as had always been the case in other urban areas, such as Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife, where the favelas have had a long history.

#### Summary

The two organizational structures studied here seem to differ basically in the power system and in the leadership styles there seems to be no difference in social controls applied to the movement. This will be further investigated in Chapters 7 and 8. The investigation of the history of the movements in the two favelas points to trends which endorse the adequacy of approaching sustained participation as an emergent and interactive process. This history suggests that despite the initial similarities and the similar "objective" success rate, the process of the movement was not the same in the two favelas and furthermore that the actual experience of taking part was different. I am deducing this from the differences in the stories told by the population in the two favelas, by the possible presence of a collective identity at Imperatriz and the differences detected between participants and non-participants in each favela.

While at Imperatriz, they narrate the history of the movement, as the product of a collective effort at Jardim Jacqueline it is the product of the efforts of individuals or external agents. If the use

of a "we" in the description of how benefits were achieved can be interpreted as an indicator of a presence of collective identity in Melucci's terms, then this identity is present in a minority of the population at Jardim Jacqueline, but is present in the majority at Imperatriz. Collective identity was defined as presupposing the attribution of causality to the actions of the group, the acknowledgement that such effects result from the group's actions, the permanence of the subject in time, and the presence of 'solidarity', of an objectively recognised "we", which is affirmed by the subjects. Most of the dwellers at Imperatriz would be considered as having a collective identity in these terms. The improvements are a consequence of their own actions and of the group's own actions. At Jardim Jacqueline the majority attributes the improvements to the leadership's actions and/or to external agents. The accounts of how the improvements were obtained reveal that while at Jardim Jacqueline the dwellers' role is passive: (they seem to have been spectators or witnesses being present at meetings, or visiting favelas), at Imperatriz the activity of taking part in demonstrations and marches, and the language used to describe these past events, all suggest a greater involvement and investment in the process. The quality of the memories is different, there is a sense of pride, of achievement in the "myths" about their own participation in the movement. This is not present in the narratives the people from Jardim Jacqueline produced, nor in their "myths" of the leadership. This suggests that the emotional investments and gains from past experience are different. This would seem to point to the importance of the actual quality of the lived experience if the effort is to be continued. Sustained participation would be affected not only by the future investment needed but also by past investment and gains.

In sum, the history of the movements reveals that both Dwellers' Associations started at the same time, with the help of the same political party and with a similar 'cast' of external agents acting in the favela. The movements started when there was a political opening-up (abertura) which allowed 'opportunities for action' to emerge. Some such changes reached the social workers in charge of the favelas who then changed their policies towards the favelas and the favelados, having started to support the Dwellers' Associations which were being formed. The needs and grievances of the favelados which until then were dealt with by the favelados as individual problems started to receive collective attention. The narratives of this history by the population at Jardim Jacqueline differs from that at Imperatriz in the level of information and in the role ascribed to themselves and to outsiders. Although in both areas the history is 'better known', that is, more detailed when told by the leaders, at Imperatriz, the narratives of the population reflect more information about, for instance the Dwellers' Association and about the external agents and their activities than at Jardim Jacqueline where there is lack of information about the Association and confusion about the different external agents. At Imperatriz the role played by the dwellers is more active than at Jardim Jacqueline: the role the external agents played at Imperatriz in the perception of the population was a supportive one and not as basic as in Jardim Jacqueline. In their narratives the obstacles faced are also distinct. At Imperatriz the descriptions refer to unhelpful authorities while at Jardim Jacqueline there were uncooperative neighbours.

The effects of this past experience on present participation can only be hypothesized. It is not possible to prove that this has caused the present differences: the descriptions suggest that there are links

between a collective identity and this experience. Although in both favelas the majority perceives that the meetings resulted in improvements, not all are aware that there is a Dwellers Association or that this is related to the achievement of the past improvements. This is the case at Imperatriz where, despite the fact that all the respondents in the survey know there is a Dwellers' Association still some do not associate the improvements with its actions: at Jardim Jacqueline by "the creek" more people are aware that the meetings resulted in the improvements than are aware that a Dwellers' Association exists.

Participation is defined by the two populations as attending the meetings of the Dwellers' Association and as cooperation in the collective tasks. There is more participation at present at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline despite the fact that both populations consider the movement 'cold', 'quiet' and 'slow'. The respondents in the two favelas differ in the attribution of responsibility for this: at Jardim Jacqueline people blame the other dwellers, at Imperatriz they blame the leaders as well. As found by Walsh and Warland (1983), non-participation is justified on the basis of 'lack of time or information' and not by a conscious decision to free-ride. The role of information on participation is stressed by the relation between participation and information. This seems to be more true at Jardim Jacqueline than at Imperatriz for at Jardim Jacqueline people who are informed about the Association take part and this is not the case at Imperatriz where more people are informed about the existence of the Association than there are participants.

The benefits achieved are congruous with the main grievances at the time the movements started. The distribution of such benefits was



uneven in both settlements, at Imperatriz they blame the leader for it,<sup>275</sup>  
at Jardim Jacqueline they blame their neighbours.

The organizational structure developed on paper is the same, but the actual structure is different. While at Jardim Jacqueline there is a formal, bureaucratic structure which in practice is not effective, at Imperatriz there is an active intermediary leadership. This suggests that some differences in present participation may result from differences in how the organizational structure is implemented. This means that one should consider not only aspects such as whether the structure is bureaucratic or informal but how it is made effective. In order to understand sustained participation, the power system and the leadership style seem (from this history) to be more important than the structure.

This history of the movement suggests that differences in the two favelas in their social climate, in the interactions between the dwellers, and between the leaders and the dwellers, their contrasting structures of leadership and differences in the information and in the roles ascribed to the different actors in their past experience, may help explain the present differences in participation.

## Chapter 6

**The Social Ambience, or what the social networks and the social relations tell us about sustained participation**

The social networks and the social climate in the favelas are said to affect participation, because they affect recruitment into the movement. Interactions which constitute the basis of the social networks are considered to be facilitators of participation because the more people interact, the more communication there will be and the more communal problems will be identified as such. Interactions also provide the basis for some form of solidarity to be established and therefore for the emergence of a collective identity. Moreover, social networks have been linked to bloc recruitment (Snow, Zurcher and Eckland-Olson, 1980) into religious (or personal change) movements. In fact, these authors discovered that the probability of being recruited into a particular movement is largely a function of two conditions: (a) links to one or more movement members through pre-existing or emergent personal ties, (b) the absence of countervailing networks.

Walsh (1978) studying Farmers' Movements in California observed that social networks helped recruitment because communal ties and kinship ties facilitated the establishment of solidarity. Implicit in these studies is the idea that the interactions being considered are of a positive nature, that is, the interactions<sup>1</sup> taking place in such

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<sup>1</sup> Social interactions are defined as the 'actions which take place in and with respect to a situation and constructed by interpreting the situation, identifying and assessing things that must be taken into account and acting on the basis of the assessment' (Stryker, 1981, p. 9). This construction and interpretation is not necessarily correct and clashes or conflicts may take place: negative interactions, generating tensions and disagreement, do occur.

networks are of a positive kind such as these expressed in helping (or solidarity), cooperation and altruistic behaviour. How can these primary and secondary associations (Zurcher & Snow, 1981) affect participation? It would seem that they do so by providing recruitment channels, and through the overlapping of networks and interpersonal ties. Furthermore, experiences of cooperation and of helping, build up trust and can facilitate some of the behaviours involved in participation such as acting jointly to solve problems in the favela by enhancing positive aspects of group membership. The psychological group membership can be an asset to participation because if the group is recognized as such and positively evaluated, the chances are greater that group pressure will be efficacious in stimulating participation. In my view, certain aspects which are said to facilitate participation such as 'noticeability of individual action' associated with altruism (Marwell, 1982) are efficacious when psychological group membership exists.

The existence of social networks does not necessarily imply the existence of a group in psychological terms. It means that interactions take place, but not that there is a feeling of group, that is, a cognition and an evaluation of this membership.

The data analysed in this chapter come from the interviews, from the observations of formal and informal meetings, visits and parties and from the survey. The focus is on the interactions which, according to the literature, constitute positive assets to participation: helping (solidarity), cooperation and altruism and also on the favelados' belief and value systems and on the identification of their reference groups.

The observational data revealed that quite often there are spontaneous groups based on physical proximity and/or kinship ties. Kinship was broadly defined to include not only blood ties but also people who were born in the same village and who have migrated together - those who have, in sum, been friends for a lifetime. Such ties generally have some degree of formalization through the christening of their children or through the marriage of relatives.

Altruism has been positively associated with participation in social movements (Marwell, 1982; Walsh & Warland, 1983), as have solidarity or helping behaviour (Walsh, 1978) as mentioned in Chapter 1. In fact, solidarity or helping has been associated with both participation and non-participation. In their work on Three Mile Island, Walsh & Warland (1983) found that non-participants presented more neighbourly solidarity and were more integrated in the neighbourhoods than participants. Their interpretation was that participants were non-conformists and unconventional and, therefore, not integrated. This evidence reinforces the need to look at values and beliefs systems in order to understand differences in participation.

Helping (or solidarity) is defined here in Schwartz & Howard's (1982) terms (as mentioned in Chapter 1). Helping behaviour involves 'unilateral dependence of people in need on others perceived as able to help, whereas cooperation is a relationship of mutual dependence among actors' (p. 328). Dependence involves relations in which the costs and benefits (rewards) that one party obtains from his/her own behaviour are determined at least partly by the actions of another party. Altruism is defined here in Marwell's terms (1982) as based on personal norms, which are situation specific - it is a form of

helping behaviour backed by self administered sanctions and rewards.

### 6.1 The nature of the social networks

The interactions analysed were observed mostly during formal and informal interviewing, at meetings in the streets, in the associations, visiting (between neighbours and acquaintances) and at parties. Besides when talking about their lives, and explaining their views about the community, and about life within the community, expectations concerning behaviour emerge. These expectations are charged with values and beliefs. They are similar to the rules of action proposed by Harré (1979) because they are held by all members of the group as "representations of legitimacy and acceptability" (Marsh et al., 1978, p. 17). My choice of 'expectations concerning behaviour' refers to the fact that the presence of rules presupposes a system of sanctions for occasions on which rules are broken or disrupted. Since this system is absent, for reasons which will be discussed later, I chose to approach this as sets of prescriptions, whose infringement does not lead to penalties or punishment, but to tension and/or to a breakdown in communication, to a general limitation in the interaction, not with the intent of punishment but as a strategy to avoid friction or confrontation.

The heterogeneity of the population in the favelas is expressed in the groups which exist within the favelas. This is almost a "physical" segmentation. These groups are social clusters characterized by intense contact and exchange which can constitute a psychological group or not. The groups reflect kinship and friendship ties and frequently physical proximity. The presence of various members of a family in the same favela, as well as of friends from the same home town may explain their initial formation but does not explain their continued existence.

Data from the survey indicate that the presence of various members of the same family, constituting different households within the same favela is not negligible (see Table 6.1.1).

This trend was identified in both favelas and among participants and non-participants in the Dwellers' Associations. Friends from their home town constitute another source of access to the favelas and this also suggests that some of the favelados have strong ties which precede their residence in the favelas. This raises the possibility that when moving into a new environment they may interact more intensely, at least at first, with the known group or persons. The differences between the two favelas are significant, and suggest that at Jardim Jacqueline there are more dwellers who have kinship ties.

The equilibrium between new social networks and old ones is more established at Imperatriz where nearly one third of the respondents did not have friends or relatives in the area when they first moved in (though they may have nowadays). This may be reflected in patterns of communication as it will be seen later on in this chapter.

The data from the observations suggest some patterns of interactions and social networks which will be examined next.

## 6.2 Jardim Jacqueline

### 6.2.1 The "creek"

The "creek" for some reason it is a violent area.<sup>2</sup> Either because

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<sup>2</sup> By violent area I mean there are frequent shoot-outs between rival gangs; there are armed robberies resulting in deaths; there are police raids with machine guns, helicopters, trained dogs, etc. People being  
(Footnote continued)

Table 6.1.1 How did you hear about Jardim Jacqueline/Imperatriz? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz				
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
1. Had relatives living there	(11)17.0	(21)32.0	(5) 8.0	(37)57.0	(14)40.0	(3) 9.0	(2) 6.0	(19) 55.0
2. Had friends living there	(7)11.0	(13)20.0	(2) 3.0	(22)34.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(4) 12.0
3. Lived nearby	-	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	(4)11.0	(3) 8.0	(2) 6.0	(9) 25.0
4. Passing through the area	-	(2) 3.0	-	(2) 3.0	(1) 3.0	-	-	(1) 3.0
5. No answer	(1) 1.0	-	-	(1) 1.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	-	(2) 6.0
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(7)11.0	(66)100.0	(21)60.0	(9)26.0	(5)14.0	(35)100.0

$$\chi^2_0 \approx 11.74$$

$$\chi^2_C = 9.48773 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 4 \quad \underline{5.}$$

$\chi^2$  for the totals in the two favelas

criminals<sup>3</sup> use it to hide from the "outside" world, or because they have actually bought a place there, somehow a climate of fear has been established and law-abiding dwellers feel powerless to act. Coexistence with violence is not an easy task, especially because the criminals, according to the dwellers, make a point of intimidating them so as to maintain fear and therefore inaction. As the history of the favela goes, at "the top" they have been active in trying to prevent criminals from establishing themselves in the area. They have occasionally resorted to physical aggression (including lynching) to stop those elements from having any foothold there. For unknown reasons this reaction has not spread to "the creek". This makes "the creek" a very different place and before discussing the groups, I shall describe the overall climate in this area.

One of the tactics used by the population to protect themselves is to keep silent. This means that contacts with neighbours are restricted until they are proven trustworthy. According to the population, any conversation arouses suspicions that one is gossiping about illicit affairs. One woman summarized it by saying "it is dangerous to hold a conversation".

During the survey by "the creek", 12 respondents (out of 23) spontaneously spoke to the interviewer about their fears: their children are beaten up and/or mugged on the way to or from school, they cannot play alone in the yards because of stray bullets. They are threatened by neighbours, they are afraid to talk because they can be

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<sup>2</sup> (continued)

knifed in broad daylight or shot at is not unusual.

<sup>3</sup> Identified as such by the population; according to their reports there are both juvenile and adult criminals inhabiting the area.



overheard; they have to limit their activities in the open areas - even domestic tasks such as washing clothes are done with fear.

Most of the interviews were dominated by one theme: strategies to protect themselves and their children from stray bullets. The frailty of the thin timber walls of their houses with respect to their ability to stop bullets is a frequent topic of conversation. The restriction on contacts outside the family unit, and the careful selection of friends are other strategies for survival. Another one is to keep polite relations with the criminals, responding to their greetings and questions. They also avoid witnessing any scene which may be "embarrassing" to criminals such as police raids, fights between gangs, family discussions at delinquents' homes, etc. Inaction is being fed by lack of trust in police efficacy to solve the problem. They told me these problems are not discussed except with people they trust. This lack of contact means that shared problems, collective problems, are treated as individual problems and individual solutions are sought. For instance, to try to get water, a problem faced by most families in the area, or to clean the creek, a main source of problems and health hazards, they are still approaching the Regional Administration on an individual basis.

Rats from the creek are a major problem. They cause damage to the houses, gnawing through all sorts of materials. They cause loss of food, and cleaning materials. Different persons revealed that each one had tried procedures to diminish the rats; each one knew these to be doomed because the creek is the main source and they are fed by the refuse thrown into the creek, despite the fact that there is refuse collection two or three times a week in the street on the other side of the creek. Each one had thought about ways of organizing the refuse

collection, about collective dustbins, etc., but there had been no exchange of ideas about it.

As relations between neighbours are kept to a minimum, this minimum is defined generally by need. Potable water is the main need. Piped water was installed in the area further away from the creek. The people living closer to the creek have to either borrow water, or to use contaminated water because all wells in the area are contaminated.

Borrowing water is done through the extension of water pipes from someone who has a water meter. This process is legal and is called condominium. The person who has the water meter is responsible for the bills vis a vis the Water Company. This person decides whom and when he/she will allow the extension of the pipes and controls the bill, determining how much each one is to contribute. The "established" procedure expected to take place is a simple division by number of households sharing a source, but this is not necessarily done. Condominiums are open to exploitation from both sides, the supplier and the user. More often the supplier exploits, sometimes by multiplying the bill, instead of dividing it among the households, but the user can fail to pay the bills and harass the others. From the viewpoint of the users, it is an unsuitable arrangement - a lesser evil.

The groups I identified by the creek are mostly family based and small, consisting of two households. Maira represents an exception. When she first moved in, she was very close to her sister-in-law who lived for many years in the area. When this sister-in-law moved out, the people who moved in became very close to her. Maira's house is a place where neighbours are constantly coming to ask for ice, cold water, or to ask to leave perishable food in her refrigerator. She is

well known in the area because she organized a petition list to Regional Administration asking that the creek be cleaned. Along with Luzia she made a few attempts to get some attention from the Regional Administration. She was told to go to the Dwellers' Association at "the top" and organize some joint meeting. She says she has tried but no meeting was called. While fieldwork progressed, two changes took place which changed Maira's contact with the community: she started to work full-time, and her family (parents and sister) migrated to Sao Paulo and came to live with her. Later on, her sister-in-law returned to the favela. Her ties with the community became more tenuous. She stopped talking to neighbours or seeing them, restricting her free time to her family.

Before this happened she had a superficial acquaintance with several women. She knew they lived there, and had children, but did not visit their homes. She knows them because she sees them going by her house, which faces a main access "bridge" over the creek. The petition list put her in contact with others. People come to her house, but she does not go to theirs.

The water she uses is provided by a woman who lives further up from the creek. There are four families sharing this water. Maira says she has no freedom to use the water because the "owner" keeps surveillance on what she is doing: how often she is washing clothes, the yard, how many people are in the house, to whom she gives water, etc. The interpretation of this is that the woman is afraid that if the water bill is high, the "sharers" will not pay, leaving her to pay for it alone. Maira and her neighbours who share this water are aware that they pay more for this water than they would for individual

connections, but they accept this as the only way at present to have clean water.

Neighbours are perceived as lacking in cooperation because many stones are thrown on the roofs by children from the favela, destroying the asbestos tiles. Furthermore, adults throw refuse into the creek, the passages and alleys; neighbours admit that raw sewage runs from the houses into neighbours yards; others still raise pigs in small areas right next to the houses. Some of these behaviours may be called aggressive or hostile, but the population describes them as examples of "lack of cooperation". Cooperation takes place between Maira's family and with Ada, the next door neighbour, and Luzia. They look after each others' children, they lend medicines to each other, and their husbands share moonlighting jobs or odd tasks. Maira provides this group and others with the refrigerator; they share the activities of building, repairing and maintaining the access bridge and cleaning the creek.

Other interactions also take place: competition is expressed in Maira's perception of her neighbours', Ada's and Luzia's husbands as unworthy because the former is an alcoholic who "lives off his wife" and the latter "is not responsible, he is here to-day, gone to-morrow". Maira says her house is cleaner than the others, and that in general her family is more hard working than the others. Because they work harder, she says, they can afford to buy some domestic appliances (sound system, refrigerator, television, etc.). The neighbours witness this and are envious. Maira says this is expressed in how they talk about her and her family. She feels threatened by this "envy" because "bad people could come into her house and steal or destroy" the objects and appliances. Helping behaviour takes place only within the family, although Maira does give food to neighbours when they need it.

By the end of 1984, Maira had withdrawn into her family network. The fear of criminals had increased because now robberies directed against the dwellers of the area were no longer the exception. They were not the small thefts which took place before (clothes drying in the yard, chickens, small objects left in the yards, etc.), but inside the houses, and in the presence of the occupants. Maira was afraid because she had in the past been called the "wealthy one", since she had more household goods than the others.

The people at "the top" are seen as clean they say "because their streets and yards are clean, therefore their houses also must be clean"; "they fight for improvements", "they have expelled the criminals", "they work", they are altogether nicer than themselves. Luiza said: "I think that when you go to their houses they invite you to come in, to sit down, and they give you a cup of coffee. I think they know how to treat people and how to talk to people". This perception is ratified by the people from "the top". They consider themselves nicer, cleaner than those by the "creek" and they do think that because the alleys and passages are dirty, the houses close to each other and close to the creek, the people and the houses must be dirty, "they are 'laid back'", "they want to be spoonfed", "they are less houseproud".

There is little communication between "the creek" and "the top". The people by the creek feel rejected by "the top" and are afraid to approach them. The people from "the top" do not know them and in fact feel afraid of them because they cannot dissociate the fear from criminals living in there, or from fear of establishing contact with new people. Each group keeps distant from the other. This distance is

exemplified in the lack of knowledge about the Dwellers' Association's activities. Most people by the creek not only ignore that there is an Association, but only hear about jumble sales, religious gatherings, meetings, etc., after they have taken place. This increases the feeling of exclusion, of being "unwanted". In this context, episodes like the lynching of a supposed criminal from the "creek" area by the people from "the top" is interpreted as another sign of "dislike". "You know they killed a guy from down here don't you? They don't like us up there. This guy was no good ..."

In sum, this community is formed by small groups linked by kinship ties. There is little intergroup communication, because of the suspicions which permeate the interactions. These suspicions concern not only the criminals but also people who are seen as profiting from their neighbours' needs - the water "distributors". There seems to be some degree of hostility which surfaces in its milder version as competition around levels of cleanliness, of being dutiful citizens (hard-working, decent, honest, law abiding) and in its most aggressive version, as stones thrown on the roofs, physical threats, or even actual physical aggression. The population then perceives the community as split between the good and the bad; the criminals and the hardworking families, the exploiters and the exploited, the slovenly and the houseproud, the disrespectful and the respectful, the ones who annoy and the annoyed. The lack of communication allows such perceptions to remain unchanged.

#### 6.2.2 The "top"

Fear diminishes as one goes up the main road from the "creek" to the top of the hill. Part of this road is a no-man's land in terms of the perceptions of the population as to whether it belongs to the

"creek" or the "top". On the other side of this hill, moving towards the second creek, live most of the families interviewed at the top.

At "the top" of Jardim Jacqueline I interviewed 10 families. The "top" is the largest part of the favela and comprises most of the dwellings in the favela, although it is not as densely settled as Imperatriz.

Nearly each family at the top is either at the centre of a group or part of one. Friendship ties generally preceded the move to the favela. Out of the 10 families at the top, 8 belong to some group, mostly based on family ties (kinship ties 5), followed by family and friendship ties (2), and one based on friendship and faith. The affiliation in the group changes when people move out of the favela. As this is becoming rare, it seems that "membership" is stable.

Luiz lives by the main road which cuts the favela. His family constitutes one group. In the house next to his live his parents, and in another house his married sister and her family. At the top of the hill in two separate houses live two of his brothers. A third brother lives by the second creek. All close contacts, cooperation and helping take place within the family. They help each other with money and food and to repair their houses and find jobs. Luiz expresses concern and cooperation with his neighbours. He presented detailed plans for improvements in the favela which included a new access road so that water pipes could reach the families still without water. He verbalized his concern about sewerage running through the streets. He also said that he provides labour to maintain the main road and that he takes part in the meetings of the Dwellers' Association.

Nevertheless, he is perceived by his neighbours as uncooperative. His neighbour at the back, Flor, says she "begged with him to extend water" to her, but he refused. She says he did not consider her credit worthy. His children are considered by Flor to be a nuisance; they throw stones at her roof. His sister is said to throw the water from the washing tub against the walls of Flor's house. To aggravate matters, banana stalks from a banana tree in Luiz's back yard fell on to her roof causing extensive damage.

Relations between the two neighbours are tense. At first, I thought Flor was exaggerating her complaints, perhaps because of his refusal to provide her with water, but throughout the interviews I witnessed Luiz's children throwing stones at the roof and swearing at Flor. Complaints about Luiz's behaviour, and that of his children also came from another neighbour, who lives across the street from him. According to Jaime, Luiz throws his refuse in the road instead of putting it in the collective dustbins, does not cooperate in keeping the road clean, and his children throw stones on to other people's roofs.

Complaints about his family's behaviour came from other favelados also. The lack of congruity between his verbal behaviour and his actual behaviour can be interpreted partly as a reaction to the research and the researcher. This type of incongruence suggests that (a) he possibly wanted to convey an image of a concerned dweller (and then it would mean that his behaviour was somewhat contaminated by reactive effects), (b) this reveals the gap between his attitudes and his behaviour; The fact he is concerned about the improvements and that he uses his time and energy to think and draw out plans does not mean that he will act in a cooperative and helping way.



Belmiro and Flor constitute another group. They knew each other before moving to Sao Paulo. Belmiro had worked with one of Flor's sons-in-law before moving to Sao Paulo. He actually followed them to Jardim Jacqueline. Once there, the ties were strengthened by the marriage of Flor's son to one of Belmiro's daughters. This group also includes Arnaldo, who is Belmiro's brother-in-law, and another married daughter of Belmiro.

This group is very poor. Flor is a widow still with a small child. Despite having four other grown up children, her married daughters and son cannot help her financially. Belmiro is seriously ill, living off a small State pension on which he has to support himself, his wife and six small children. They help each other by exchanging information about charity organizations which are giving food parcels or medicines, and by sharing some items of food. The interaction between them is mostly helping behaviour.

Both Belmiro and Flor have borrowed water. Flor borrows water from a neighbour who also provides her married son with water. She feels exploited by the neighbours because although her consumption is small, she has to pay as much as her neighbour who keeps a vegetable patch which requires "a lot of water" in Flor's words. Belmiro's water is provided by his other married daughter. She extended water to him and his neighbours. All this group was left without water because a neighbour refused to remove a fence and therefore enlarge an alley so that the water pipes could be laid down. This "exclusion" from the regular water distribution makes them feel even more isolated from the rest. They already have such feelings because they perceive themselves to be worse off than the other dwellers in the favela. Belmiro

describes himself and his relatives as "the iron feet" (pes de ferro)<sup>292</sup> which he explained meant the "poorest ones".

Cooperation, nevertheless takes place vis a vis their neighbours. Belmiro, for instance, extended his borrowed water to them, helped them with odd jobs, blessed their children<sup>4</sup> without charging, and joined in the cleaning and maintenance of the passages. The house is always full of the neighbour's children, who come to play with his children. Belmiro is very critical of the other dwellers in the area because he sees them as egotists and as causing problems by gossiping. One sign of egotism is to have vegetable patches when there are so many families looking for land to build a house. "Favelas are not farms," he says, "if you want to plant, go to a farm, favelas are for people to live in."

His wife is a child minder, paid by working mothers. Lately she had lost part of her clientele because other mothers have started their own child minding "businesses". Belmiro wanted to see a creche in the favela. This would solve the problems with "competition between child minders" and the children would have better care "we cannot afford to feed them properly".

Flor says that there are two types of people living in the favela: the "haves" and the "have nots". The "haves" receive cards on Mother's day from the Mothers' group, and the "have nots" do not: the "haves"

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<sup>4</sup> He is described by his neighbours as a blessing man. When a child is restless or has an illness which is not diagnosed, it is said that an envious person has cast "an evil eye". The blessing man is someone who has the powers to eliminate this. He never told me this, but this would explain why, despite his alcoholism, he is respected by the community, who tend to be scornful of alcoholics.

send their children to school wearing proper clothes, the "have nots"<sup>293</sup> cannot send their children because they have only rags to wear.

Belmiro divides the favela into "good ones" and the "exploited ones". The "good ones" share food, water, benefit from donations, they get free medicines, get toys for their children and throw it all away because they do not need it. "Their bellies are full while ours here are making noises because they are empty". They have cars in front of their houses: they have a bar. The poor ones do not have food, water, never get donations and have to calm their children who get desperate because they do not get toys. The poor ones live off discarded things picked up in the refuse depots.

Jaime, similarly to Luiz, lives by the main access road. Nowadays six houses in the favela are occupied by members of his family. His sister lives in a house at the back of his plot. He has one married daughter living in a house next to his. His married son lives in another. Two nephews have married and have set up their houses nearby. He provides water to four of the houses of his family. He restricts water to members of his family because of the problems in the division of the bill, caused by the bad "sharers". His family has strong ties. He convinced his sister to come and live next to him because of the price of rents. They were afraid because they had never lived in a favela before. Neither had he. They find jobs for each other, they help with construction, with food, and with money in emergencies. They are always visiting each other. Most of the social contact is within the family. Helping takes place within the family: cooperation takes place with the close neighbours with whom they have no other ties.

His family works together to clean and maintain the street in front of their houses. Routinely they clean up the ditches so water runs freely. He worries about the sewage water and is searching for ways to avoid it causing problems to his neighbours. His family is active in the Dwellers' Association.

Jaime perceives the favela as divided between people who are interested: those who clean the streets, want benefits for all the community; and those who are not interested: who do not cooperate and want benefits just for themselves. As an example of egotism he describes a neighbour who took possession of a collective dustbin and deprived the neighbours of a place to dispose of their refuse.

Next to Jaime lives another family grouping: Raimundo, who has three children and two grandchildren living in the vicinity with their families. One of their children lives in a house next to theirs. The others are close by. Nadia, his wife, walks some of the children still of school age and grandchildren to and from school.<sup>5</sup>

Raimundo alternates between his home town and Sao Paulo, but the rest of the family is rooted in Sao Paulo. When he is at Jardim Jacqueline he is always doing small jobs, cleaning the street, tidying the water drains. The street used to be narrower ;he enlarged it, made it into a proper street using left over building material to make it more compact and reduce the mud when the rains come. He has installed sewage pipes to carry sewage water from his house to the second creek. His neighbour's sewage, though, seeps into his yard. He has had no

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<sup>5</sup> The children have to be accompanied to school because they must cross a major highway on the way to school, and because of the muggings and robberies on the way to school.

help from the neighbour to cope with this. He is active in the Dwellers' Association.

Their house is a playground for their children, grandchildren and neighbours' children. As Maria looks after the grandchildren so that their mothers can work, every day the married children come around.

The family ties are very close, they are always visiting each other. Outside the immediate family they are very close to two neighbours: Tereza, who used to be a neighbour of their oldest daughter in another favela, until both were evicted by the Municipality in the early 70s and found a place for themselves at Jardim Jacqueline, and Fernando and his wife, Ida, from the leadership of the Dwellers' Association. Their grand-daughter is married to Ida's ex-brother-in-law, who was left a widower with a small baby.

Raimundo and Nadia share their water with his daughter, Nair. They used to have individual electricity, but it was cut off because of lack of payment:<sup>6</sup> now Nair is sharing her electricity with them. Helping takes place within the extended family (which includes distant in-laws) and cooperation takes place with neighbours with whom they have no kinship ties.

Raimundo sees the "community", as he calls it,

"united - people are different, have different natures, you know, like everywhere else, some take more care, some do not. You should not complain, though. It is better to do things yourself, little-by-little. If you get angry it is worse. It is more important to be united."

His daughter, Nair, and Nadia disagree. Nair says that people there

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<sup>6</sup> A faulty meter produced high bills they could not afford to pay.

are

"too complacent, they want everything ready for them to eat it. They are very laid back. They have not finished the headquarters (of the Dwellers' Association), they have no will to help each other, they are not interested, they do not get together, the only thing they do is drink in the bars ..."

Nadia says that the worse thing about the favela is the bars; these should be forbidden because men spend their wages gambling (playing pool) and on alcohol.

The whole family visits and is visited by Ida, one of the leaders. She and her husband, Fernando, are also close to three other families: Antonio (from the leadership) and his wife, Dora, Janaina and her husband, Adolfo; and Fernando's sister. These four families are very close. With the exception of Janaina, they all knew each other in their home state before migration. Janaina's children have been christened by Dora and Ida and this has brought them closer. Janaina says Ida is her "mother". Ida provides all sorts of information to women in the group: when to enrol children at school, what they need to do, where to take children presenting learning problems, where to go for health check-ups, where to buy cheaper school material, how to obtain free medicines, etc. She has a vegetable patch and distributes the produce among friends. She sews clothes for the neighbours, mostly free of charge. All the women of the neighbourhood come to her for advice. She visits sick people at the hospital and at home.

Fernando helps the neighbours with repairs, giving them advice on building techniques, etc. Their house and Janaina's house are the two foci of attention and activity in this group. Janaina is very active in the kitchen and she is always teaching neighbours how to make home-made food which is cheaper than the industrialized equivalent. Helping is widespread among this group, as are altruism and

cooperation. Ida, in fact, establishes helping relations with other dwellers who are not in such close proximity.

Close to this group lives Laura, who was one of the earliest persons to settle there. Various members of her family followed her and nowadays there are three other houses occupied by her relatives: a sister next door and two brothers-in-law. She knows many of the dwellers but has a superficial contact with most of them. She is regarded as short-tempered by her neighbours, because she complains about everything which she considers wrong.

Laura is independent from her family. In fact, she is the person who lends money, food and gives advice to all the members of the family, and to neighbours. She acquired some experience with the National Pension Scheme when her husband died in a traffic accident. This experience she has passed on to other neighbours who went through similar situations.<sup>7</sup>

Her relations with her neighbours oscillate because she complains about their "misbehaviour"; one of her sons was beaten up by an older boy from the neighbourhood. She went to the Police to complain, but not before she almost had a physical fight with the father of the aggressor. She stopped talking to Ida and Antonio because she felt her children had been excluded from the children's playgroup, where now only the children of the leadership and their friends could play. She used to have a vegetable patch in her garden, but chickens kept by the neighbours kept getting into her garden and eating her plants. Despite

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<sup>7</sup> There is a relatively complex bureaucratic process involved in receiving a pension from the Government.

her image of being short-tempered, neighbours do come to ask information about school, jobs, pension schemes, etc.

She cooperates with her neighbours, cleaning the street, maintaining the collective dustbin next to her house making sure it is clean and tidy. In emergencies she will give a hand to neighbours. When the old couple next door lost the roof of their house during a storm, she brought them to her house and organized help from the social workers at the Regional Administration to get them a new house.

She has water and electricity<sup>8</sup> individually connected and has never shared it with anyone. She helps her family but her family does not offer to help her. She competes with her neighbours in values. She considers her values better than theirs, her children are more disciplined than theirs, she is hard working (she is an industrial worker) and considers anyone who does not work as hard as she does lazy. Her children are also encouraged to work. Both her oldest sons (12 and 14 years old) work in supermarkets part-time. The neighbours criticize her for this and she says that this is how she was educated - to work hard.

The people in the favela are perceived by Laura as divided between those who work and those who spend their days drinking at the bar or playing dominoes and pool; people who are interested and people who are

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<sup>8</sup> Sharing electricity can only take place illegally, before electricity was installed in the favelas, the dwellings facing official streets were served with electricity. These, then, extended electricity to as many dwellings they would reach; sometimes there were 20, 30 dwellings connected to one source. This was precarious, dangerous and costly: short-circuits, damaged appliances, were frequent occurrences because the "impromptu" connections could not cope with the energy demanded.



not interested; those who cooperate (attend meetings, care for the place) and those who do not; people who trouble themselves to avoid annoyance to others and people who do not care.

By the end of 1984, Laura was working full-time, frequently doing overtime, in a nearby factory. Her work was consuming all her time, including weekends. She was paying a neighbour to look after her house and the smaller children. She said she lost contact with what was going on in the favela because she no longer saw anyone. After her discussion with Antonio and Ida she no longer wanted to speak to them because she felt there should be no privileges in access to benefits and services.

Close to the top on the main access road, coming up from the "creek", lives Vilma. Her husband "bought" the plot, in partnership with some friends from Otavio (one of the leaders). Their friend in the area is the godfather of their daughter. They have polite relations with the neighbours, but are not close to them.

When they moved in electricity was "informally" provided by a neighbour who served 60 houses. Short-circuits occurred frequently and damaged their electrical appliances, until they discovered that these were not accidental, but provoked by the son of the electricity "owner" as a means to reduce the "clients" consumption of electricity. Her husband had a fight with the neighbour and demanded his deposit back.

When she goes out to work she leaves her children (aged 8 and 3) alone in the house, because there are no vacancies in the creches. She has had problems with the little one, who was left alone and panicked: her neighbours rescued the child. In emergencies she relies on the

godfather of her daughter. He will lend them money and food.

She perceives some of her neighbours as helpful and some unhelpful. For instance, when they needed transportation to take someone to the hospital, one neighbour with a car said he had no petrol; after he discovered they would pay, he did have petrol. Another one is a taxi driver and he will take them anywhere at any time, on credit, that is they pay him when they get money together. Neighbours come to her house for ice, and cold water. When she needs free medicines she asks Ida where she can get them.

Close to the second creek live Jairo and his wife Meire. Next door to them live Meire's cousin, and next to them an old friend from the Pentecostal church. The three families are very close, and help each other, for instance they were all transforming their houses from timber to bricks. They were working on each other's house so that the construction would be quicker. They share food and money, according to the principles of their church.

Jairo attends the meetings at the Dwellers' Association and used to take part in the visits to other favelas. He says that people at Jardim Jacqueline are not helpful. When water was being installed one of his neighbours refused to remove a fence, which meant that 12 families would be left without water. A group of men defied the resistance of this dweller and removed the fence without permission. He said he owned the land. "How can he own anything? No-one bought anything here." This same man refused to cooperate with Jairo and a neighbour in building a new passage to make the access to their houses easier, but was using a short cut across Jairo's yard while he was rebuilding his house and had put down the fences.

Like all the others, Jairo sees two groups of people: some who are more clean, some less clean; some more interested, more optimistic, while others "are always saying it is not going to work out". Non-cooperative people are those who "got used to this life, if the water is running up river or down river, it is the same". These people do not believe in change, "any improvement, they think we are doing it for our own benefit not theirs".

Summary:

All the people at the top refer to "the creek", as the "other favela". When talking about the people from "the top" without reference to the "creek", they make a distinction between the good ones and the bad ones. When talking about the people from "the creek", they compare them with their own group and the dichotomy disappears: all at the top "are better than the ones at the creek".

Although friendship ties can also be established in the favelas and these can be strengthened by marriage, by christenings, and by shared experience, the most enduring ones seem to precede the move into the favela. That is, the most enduring ties seem to be the ones based on kinship or coming from the same home town.

The more intense the relationships are, the closer are the groups. It is possible to establish a hierarchy of groups according to the intensity of relations: extended families produce very close groups, in spite of the actual location of their dwellings; groups based on kinship ties, that is cousins, uncles, etc., would come next, alongside groups based on friendship ties; followed by neighbours with whom they have established friendship and/or share religious faith (especially

those belonging to Pentecostal sects).

Generally, helping cooperation and some competition take place between individuals in these groups; exploitation, competition and lack of cooperation generally take place between individuals from different clusters or groups. This suggests that negative interactions would demand some form of emotional distance and lack of contact if they are to be manifested.

### 6.3 Imperatriz

At Imperatriz there are similar clusters based on the same ties: kinship, proximity, friendship, and place of origin. The difference is that the overcrowding offers less chance for relatives to live close together. Most of the groups observed at Imperatriz are friendship-based and not kinship based, although in the survey it was shown that the majority had a relative living there when he/she moved in. Six groups were identified at Imperatriz. Five are friendship-based and only one is kinship based.

The lower side of the favela, where the problems with sewage, rain water and space are more severe, presents four groups, one of which is a large one composed of some 4 families living right next to a creek. They are all neighbours, Sonia, Oda, Amelia and Joana. The last three are old friends from the same home town. Their friendship ties have been solidified through the years by acting as godparents to each others' children. Jurema and Diva, two of the leaders also circulate in this group.

Sonia is a cousin of Benedita, another leader. She also has a

sister and a brother living in the favela. In emergencies she counts on her sister's, her cousin's and her mother's help. Her mother lives close to the favela but not in the favela. Her day-to-day life however is lived closely with her neighbours. Next door to her lives Oda and her family. Amelia lives at the back of Oda's house, facing the creek. This used to be only one house, and was Jurema's first house in the favela; when the chance to move to a larger one appeared, Jurema subdivided it. Jurema is the godmother of one of Oda's daughters.

This group interacts more closely in relation to problems with the settlement, whereas personal problems are sorted out by the more intimate group which excludes Sonia. Oda's house is at the centre. She is always at home because she has small children, and the neighbours come in to talk to her while she does her housework.

Sonia "dropped in" at the first interview with Oda,<sup>9</sup> leading me to include her in the interviews. She is an outspoken person, and Oda and Amelia are very careful with her because she is considered short-tempered. Joana is not so concerned because she is also short-tempered. From their descriptions of life in that area it seems that everyone has to "give in" a little to avoid tension and fights.

Sonia says that her other neighbour blocked the sewerage drains of her lavatory which ran through the neighbour's yard. She was left without a lavatory for months until she could afford to build a new one. Amelia says she had to move her bathroom to stop water coming from Sonia's yard into her house. She says she did not mind the water

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<sup>9</sup> She overheard Oda talking to me and started to complement Oda's stories from her house - a voice without a face - later on she came into Oda's kitchen and took control of the conversation.

but her mother did, and every time Sonia washed her yard there was a quarrel between the two. So far, Oda was the only one who had not been forced to alter parts of the house to stop problems with neighbours.

They all had to share electricity and water in the past and all were not only exploited in the prices paid, but twice the water and electricity "owner" ran away with their money, leaving several bills unpaid. Nowadays they all have electricity, but water did not reach their houses because of the width of the passages. Sonia's brother was supplying water to Sonia, Oda and an old lady who lives by herself in front of their houses.

Sonia and Oda moved into Imperatriz at the same time and faced together some of the serious problems with sewage water and floodings. They have built ditches for the sewage to run through, and when the sewerage network was built they pooled their resources together and also paved the passage in front of their houses. Both share the tasks of cleaning the external part of their houses. Frequently they discuss their problems with water, lack of space for the children to play, the overcrowding, the smell of sewage, the problems with neighbours, or of neighbours. These discussions lead to the formulation of opinions which are held by the group because on individual contacts each one formulated similar points of view and proposed similar solutions to the others.

The division of water costs among them is arranged so that the old lady pays only a token amount, for, as Sonia says, "it is not fair to divide equally, we have 5 or 6 children each, the water we use is many times more than she uses". There is no borrowing or lending between this group. There is more exchange of information, support, discussion

about their problems and sharing of practical chores.

Amongst the difficulties due to lack of cooperation, this group mentions stones thrown by children from within and outside the favela (one stone seriously injured Sonia's eldest son in the eye) and the presence of teenagers smoking marijuana in the passages close to their houses. They are afraid of generating conflicts with them, and have tried to establish a *modus vivendi* with them: they do not disturb them, hoping the youngsters will not be aggressive towards them. Oda finds their presence more disturbing than Sonia. She does not trust them and fears that they may get "carried away" and do crazy things. In spite of these youngsters the favela is considered quiet. Sonia says, "it is the dirtiest favela in the Butanta, but also the quietest".

Amelia and Joana get water from another condominium. The responsible person or "owner" of the water is Amelia's cousin. She is slowly building her house with cinder blocks. She is sharing the cost of the materials and labour with a neighbour. This is an arrangement which is becoming common at Imperatriz for two reasons - to save space and money as well as labour. Her employers were late with her wages<sup>10</sup> and she found it difficult to pay for her share of the water bill. She explained the problem to her cousin who then loaned her the money so she could pay for her share. Another "sharer" in the water was also late in her payments when asked by her cousin to pay she threatened, according to Amelia, to cut the water pipes which serve the whole group. The situation was still unsolved by the time I left. Amelia mentioned this case as an example of lack of cooperation. It is

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<sup>10</sup> Her husband went back to their home town to look after some family business and spent over 6 months there, leaving Amelia on her own.

acceptable to be late with payments if an explanation is presented, and<sup>306</sup> if one voices the intention of paying.

Oda's house is, as mentioned, an informal meeting place for the women of the area. There they discuss health problems, birth control, workers' rights, issues related to the improvement of the area, the education of their children, jobs and creches. Despite the problems of overcrowding, lack of space and lack of water, they all agree that they would rather stay in that favela because they are close to their jobs, to school, to shops, to creches, to hospital and transport.

They all perceive differences in the population. Sonia says that some want high standards of cleanliness, some do not; some educate their children, some do not; some cooperate, some do not, this is considered to be more true of those who already have all the basic benefits. Some are hardworking, whereas others are supported by their wives. Oda complains about what she considers lack of freedom - social pressure to show you are hard working, "if a person stays in bed until 9 in the morning, immediately they call you a bum", and about the lack of cooperation from neighbours in cleaning up the passage. People differ in concepts of hygiene, in cooperation, in taking part in the collective tasks, in habits of paying their bills, in trustworthiness. Amelia does not emphasize the differences: to her the biggest difference between the people is that some are not doing anything to improve the place, whereas others are working too hard.

Close to this group live two women who are considered to have very difficult lives by their close and distant neighbours: Cecilia and Ester. Cecilia lives with four children in one small room built beside a large sewage pit. The smell is very difficult to stand. After two



interviews I had to discontinue because she was taken into hospital with a pulmonary infection. Her neighbours took charge of the children, despite the fact that she said she could not count on any help from her neighbours. For two years she had been trying to move to another house in that favela, but she could not find anything she could afford. New works on the alleys and passages to bring water to the houses which had not yet been reached by the water pipes made the removal of her house imperative. She was waiting for the social workers of the Regional Administration to find her a new place. She wanted to remain in the area because of the school: her children had adapted to the school and the smaller ones had places in the creche. The favela also gives her easy access to work. Her neighbours agree with her resistance to being sent to another favela, for they say they would personally feel the same. Cecilia says that the only help she receives is from a small shopkeeper inside the favela, who gives her credit. She also says that in case of illness everyone she knows disappears, leaving her alone. However, while she was in the hospital, the neighbours visited her, and also looked after her house, making sure her possessions were safe and put pressure on the leadership to find her another house. Since the project for the passages became public and the imminent removal of her house known, her neighbour had built a bathroom next to her wall, and now everytime they had a shower, her only room was flooded with their water. She interpreted this as a manoeuvre to expel her from the place.

Ester lives with her 6 children, including a newborn baby, and her father, in a house partly built on top of a pool of raw sewage. Needless to say, the odour is quite strong. She has no water because no water "owner" considers her credit-worthy. The reason why she is known all over the favela, is because her children are seen all over .

the favela asking for water. Sonia and Oda give her small quantities to drink, but they cannot provide much more or Sonia's brother will complain. Ester is considered by all to be a little bit crazy, but she is also the focus of pity because they all empathize with her, as they say "it is possible to live without electricity, but not without water".

Lack of space in the area forces them to wash and dry clothes in communal areas. Clothes then are at risk of being stolen, thrown on the ground and dirtied. Children are found playing in the communal areas and are constantly being admonished by adults about noise or rough play. This is a constant source of tension for Oda and her neighbours. The number of children in the area means that these problems are frequently faced. One day counting how many children there were in that group of houses, Sonia and Oda realised that there were 63 children in the neighbouring 10 houses.

Near this area lives Diva, one of the leaders. She lives in a small alley which houses 3 dwellings. Although Diva knows most of the families in the area, the one she relates closest to is Benedita's, whose family is like an extended family to Diva. In terms of personal problems, they support each other with food, money, clothes, etc. In terms of problems concerning the improvement of the settlements, Diva is a source of information and encouragement. She visits and is visited by a diversity of neighbours. There is intense social contact between her and her neighbours. She takes the initiative of cleaning up the alley and the passages and she tries to make the other neighbours assume some share of responsibility for maintenance of the communal areas. This has led to some antagonism from neighbours: "they want to live on dirt", she says, "they were used to going into the

woods to do their business and they think they can do the same in the favela". Her constant admonitions have led to a polarization: she is very popular with some and very unpopular with others.

One of the houses in the alley where she lives, is occupied by a person who has been there longer than Diva and the people in the third house. Lately this "older settler" has started what Diva interprets as a "campaign to get us out of here. They say they have more right to be here than we do, because they have been here longer." They extended their house so that now it is almost wall to wall with Diva's, and in the process have covered up one of her windows. Rainwater falls from their roof and penetrates into Diva's house. Those people also harass the other neighbours in the same alley. They have been smashing the walls of the neighbour's house. There have also been some threats of physical violence. Meanwhile the aggressive neighbour invited Diva to christen her child, which she did, although she refuses to enter their house. She is hoping that if removals (to diminish the density of dwellings) take place, that this family will go for "they don't know how to live in a community".

Besides cleaning up the area, Diva is always following what is happening with the families, providing information, giving advice, visiting sick people at the hospital, convincing mothers to enrol children at school, convincing husbands to allow their wives to take part in community projects and programmes, calling people for meetings, and telling them what is happening inside and outside the favela.

Jurema is another leader who has a lot of contact in the favela. Through the Mothers' group she has established a variety of contacts inside and outside the favela. She is a source of information about

family planning centres, mothers' guidance centres, the Catholic church's services and groups, jobs, and literacy courses for adults. She is very close to Oda and her neighbours and visits them often. She is visited by people who come by to inquire about the activities of the Mothers' group, to pick up material to crochet or paint articles for the group, or to collect toys for the children's play group. She is also in charge of collecting donations for jumble sales to raise funds for the Association, and this increases her contacts not only with those living in the favelas but with outsiders as well.

Jurema, like Diva is always calling on people to take part in the activities of the groups and to cooperate in the maintenance of the passages and alleys. One of her campaigns is to keep the creek free from refuse. She complains that it is a very difficult task because some people refuse to cooperate and in fact seem to do it as a provocation. Another source of friction is the lack of cooperation in carrying out collective tasks.

Another leader in the area, whose house is a centre of people visiting and chatting, is Claudio. Besides being a leader he is also the president of one of the football teams in the favela. His house is visited by the members of the team seeking advice, discussing matches, picking up the team's uniform, or getting medicines for injuries. He helps his neighbours not only by providing information about what is going on at the meetings of the Dwellers' Association and in the Municipality, but also by advising how to build their houses, and occasionally provides labour. He takes care of the sewerage network, which runs behind his house. He considers that to be a very important task because "it is also the sewage from my house and if I don't look after it, I may be harming my neighbours who have to live with it

running next to their houses".

Across the main road is the other side of the favela. Five families, only two of which constitute groups, were interviewed on that side. The other three have as head of the household persons who are not very involved with the community or with neighbours. All three live in the houses facing the street.

Marlene's family consists of 12 persons living in two rooms. It is an extended family, for her eldest son has married and remained with his parents. Marlene's daughters play in the volleyball teams, take part in the activities of the community, and are her source of contact with the neighbourhood. She is always at home looking after the house, her small children and the grandchildren. She has a sister-in-law living in the favela but they do not have much contact. She does not share water or electricity. Her experience of the difficulties of living there are approached individually. Her contact with the rest of the life in the favela is Ester, who comes around asking for water. She feels sorry for Ester and lets her come to wash the baby's clothes. She says that Ester's neighbours are selfish for not giving her water, and that they probably do not let her have it for fear she will not pay for it. She adds that is probably an accurate judgement, but that no-one can live without water.

Josefina lives close to Marlene. She has her own electricity and water. She moved to the favela in 1982, and says that she neither knows nor wants to know anyone. For instance, the communal telephone is in front of her house and she feels she has to answer it when it rings because it may be an emergency: when she calls the person requested, she says she avoids looking at the person so they do not

think she wants any contact. Her family, like Marlene's, is quite large and is also an extended family. Her life is centred on the house and on the family. Throughout the interviews it became clear that she is informed about what is going on at the Dwellers' Association, that her daughters take part in the Association, and in fact one of her sons-in-law takes part in the leadership. She not only knows the activities of the Association but also the different leaders, and even gossip. She sees herself as different from the rest of the dwellers, and refers to the people living in the core of the favela as "poor little ones", and says that she only lives there because she faces the street.

Like Marlene, she also knows Ester and also gives her water. She knows Marlene and says that the family is under hardship and that she occasionally gives them milk for the children. Next to her live two elderly ladies known by the favelados as the "grannies". Ana is in her late 80s, Eugenia her daughter, is 72 years old. The mother is healthier than the daughter, who has a heart condition and takes high dosages of medication. They have been in the area for a long time and are well known to neighbours both from the favela and the surrounding area. Although neighbours such as Jurema, Claudio and Alvaro come by to help them with repairs in the house, etc., they see themselves as helped basically by the chemist, the baker and the fishmonger, because they all provide them with credit, and by the social workers who bring them food parcels. The neighbours are described as causing annoyance; children playing in the street hit their house with balls; the neighbour whose house is above theirs (up the hill) extended his house and has caused landslides, threatening their security, and finally they are afraid that they will be evicted from the favela because they will not be able to follow their neighbours in improving their own house.

Up the hill live Linda and Zaira. They are related to each other, Linda is married to an uncle of Zaira. The latter is active in both the Mothers' group and the Dwellers' Association. She informs the neighbours and relatives about what is taking place, the events, and the meetings. She also teaches her neighbours techniques she learned at the Mothers' group because not all neighbours can attend the meetings. She informs them about collective tasks and is involved in fund raising activities for both the Mothers' group and the Dwellers' Association.

There are other relatives living both in the vicinity and in the favela. Linda and Zaira live next door to each other: their children are the same age and play together. They spend their days together, doing their work and talking, and being visited by relatives on the way to and from work. There is more contact with the other family members than with the rest of the community. Zaira has been in Sao Paulo longer than Linda. She provided Linda with support when she first arrived, lending her and her husband food and money until they settled down. She used to be a worker in a factory close to the favela, until she had an accident and was dismissed. Most of her relatives work at the same factory, including her own husband.

Relations between this group and the neighbours are tense. The neighbour on the other side of Zaira's house, according to her, tried to force her out of there saying that the land where her house stood belonged to him and that they wanted to grow vegetables there. She said she remained quiet and gave him "no grounds to expel her". Before water was installed in each house they also used to share it. A feeling of mistrust developed between the neighbours because of the

division of the bills. This feeling remains despite the elimination of the problem. This emerges whenever a collective task is taking place, for instance, when they were building the sewerage network her husband made a steel grill to cover the top of an "inspection base", so that should the drains block it would be easier to gain access to them. Zaira says the neighbours got upset with this, interpreting her husband's intervention as an "undesirable interference".

Both she and her husband clean and maintain the passage and the ditch, but, again, feel the neighbours do not cooperate. Neighbours have a habit of sweeping the dirt into little piles and leaving these to be blown again by the wind, which infuriates Zaira. Linda is very calm and does not seem to be disturbed by this. Zaira perceives herself and her husband as more organized, and sensible than Linda. She competes with all the other members of her family, emphasizing that she and her husband have a structured life plan. They try to save money, budget their expenditures, are not impulsive, are down to earth, the other relatives live in "phantasy land". She tries to give her relatives advice on how to organize their money, and what decisions to make. She complains about their lack of interest in the Dwellers' Association, as well as her neighbours' lack of interest, "they don't go to the meetings and afterwards want me to tell them what happened. I have to waste my time telling them, when it would be much simpler if they went to the meetings themselves". She complains mostly, though, of 'free-riders', "people who know that they don't have to do anything because if we fight for things to improve, they will also gain". She was the only person interviewed there who said that she was afraid to be alone in the house. She is afraid that someone will set the house on fire, or that the other neighbours or passers by will hear or see her through the joints of the wood boards. The fear of fire is related



to an incident with a neighbour who set her own house on fire in what one person called "madness" and others said was "bad character". Since then, the people in the area became aware of the danger due not only to the material used in the houses, but also implied by the proximity of the houses.

Zenaide and Augusto live close to Zaira and Linda. They are some of the oldest settlers in the area. Zenaide is very active and is in partnership with a neighbour producing sweets to sell to school children at the school door. She produces ice cream to sell at the weekends: the neighbourhood knows this and throughout the weekend "clients" come around to buy it. She also washes and irons clothes for neighbours and looks after a neighbour's child. All these activities put her in contact with her neighbours. She is another source of information about the activities of the Dwellers' Association, calling people to meetings and/or telling them what was discussed at the meetings. Augusto is a bricklayer and cooperates providing his labour in building the sewerage network, cementing the passages, arranging fences.

They used to be water "owners" before water was installed to individual dwellings. They say they had many difficulties with the neighbours in getting them to pay their share of the bill. Sometimes the bill would be paid late and interest was charged: this caused another problem because no-one wanted to contribute to pay the interest. In the end, when water was installed, they were left alone to pay the last "collective bill". Their own water was disconnected because they could not afford to pay for this bill and now they are "sharers" with another neighbour.

The house which was burned down used to be in front of theirs. Zenaide says that the community extinguished the fire quickly by breaking down the water pipes and using all available water to contain it. They expelled the woman from the favela, and according to Zenaide, there is anxiety that this could be repeated.

Zenaide and Augusto have relatives living in the district but not in the favela. Their social relations are mainly with the old neighbours. Although their interactions are entrepreneurial, they do not include borrowing or lending money, food, or medicines. These two groups are more circumscribed than the ones on the other side of the favela and have intense relations within the groups but not outside them.

#### 6.4 The two favelas: the rules and values

I had expected the social relations between the dwellers in the two favelas to be similar, that is, I expected that helping, cooperation and altruism as well as lack of cooperation and exploitation would take place in both favelas. I expected these interactions would be differently interpreted in a participative favela. In a certain sense I was right: although there seems to be tension, lack of cooperation, mixed with cooperation, and some solidarity, with competition and exploitation, in both favelas these do seem to vary. The "creek" represents a special case. Relations there are made difficult by fear and lack of trust. While violence dominates, and consequently fear is constantly present, the chances that people will interact and exchange ideas about their circumstances seem limited. This brings back some observations of Piven and Cloward (1977) about how the Black Movements could only have started in the South of the United States after fear was lifted. There is

consensus about the danger in the area. Both "insiders" and "outsiders" (such as the people at "the top") see it in the same way. When fear appears among dwellers at "the top", it is fear of violence from outsiders, which is different from fearing a neighbour. Fear of the outside allows the community to unite, having a common ground to stand on. The continued violence by "the creek" is leading to the "better families" moving out. By this I mean families which have more conditions to take part in the movements because more interested in improvements, in changing conditions in the area. If this is true it means that there is not a balance between "good families" and the "criminals" or "disruptive ones". There is a feeling, by people who are affected, of powerlessness which could lead to a tendency of adopting individual solutions. The physical conditions being worse than at the top, would be another factor that would "push" some people out. The situation is such, that without external help this group will not join in with "the top". Their perceptions of being excluded are an added barrier to establishing some contact with the Dwellers' Association. It is a vicious circle: they are considered apathetic, unwilling, and content to leave things be. They see themselves as unwanted, excluded, second-class citizens. The difficulties of communication inside the community and between the two communities seem to demand external help if they are to be sorted out.

Although tension results from the non-observance of expected behaviours, of what could be termed the rules of conviviality, exploitation and fear are the predominant feelings . the rest seems to be secondary.

At "the top", on the other hand, the predominant feeling is tension from the perceived differences, from the rupture of the

expectations about other people's behaviour. The unspoken, non-verbalized rules, which people seem to establish for themselves, but which they implicitly expect others to comply with, are detected from the conversations between the dwellers and during the interviews. These do not vary from one favela to another, they are basically the same:

- (a) People should be interested in the community - that is they should take part in the actions for improvements, attend meetings, follow the decisions of the meetings, unite, cooperate with the efforts of others to improve the community, and carry out the decisions made at the meetings.
- (b) They should not disturb neighbours with loud noise or music, fights, etc.
- (c) They should not provoke damage to neighbours' houses, or aggravate existing difficulties, either in the settlement, or their neighbours' houses or yards.
- (d) They should keep the communal areas clean, and dispose of refuse adequately, not in creeks or open areas.
- (e) They should educate their children, keeping them under control, disciplining them so as not to disturb or cause damage to neighbours.

People perceive some basic differences in values between themselves and the others, and use these to differentiate between themselves and the others, thus allowing for evaluations, "I am better than he is" to emerge.

Work is a basic value, the meaning of which varies in intensity. Those who work hard tend to see themselves as better, more worthy than those who are not perceived as so devoted. The consensus is that one should work, should not be seen during week days drinking at the bars,

playing cards, pool or dominoes. A man should not be supported by his wife, but work for his family.

Children's education is another basic value. Children should attend school, they should be given formal education and be disciplined by their parents.

Other values are not so emphasized but are also present. You should pay your bills, not have people knocking at your door to be paid; be polite to the neighbours; keep your house clean; show care for your possessions; not attract or encourage the presence of undesirable characters; not be selfish, but consider other people's needs as well as your own. The values do not change from place to place. They are held by people living by the "creek" and by those at "the top", in Imperatriz, and in Jardim Jacqueline.

Helping in terms of lending money is rare in any of the favelas. Even food sharing is rare. This can be interpreted as a sign of hardship: these goods are so scarce that there is hardly any surplus to be lent. Exploitation takes place everywhere too. The reaction to exploitation varies. At Imperatriz there is an implicit acceptance that some water and electricity "owners" profited and profit from these utilities. What is not acceptable is to run away with other people's money, leaving unpaid bills behind. This is stealing. At Jardim Jacqueline to make a profit out of distribution of the utilities is a criticized activity. In both favelas the surveillance, or lack of freedom in the use of water, is an aggravation which is resented, for their interpretation is that they pay for it, more so than others do, and cannot use it as they please.

Lack of cooperation is seen in both favelas, but neighbours seem to be more cooperative at Imperatriz, that is, there are more activities or tasks for the benefit of the community which are carried out by groups and involve more than just individual action.

Competition also takes place in both communities but is expressed over different items. At Jardim Jacqueline, competition is over values, "I am better than him/her", or over the distribution of goods donated to the community, or over roles in the children's play group, roles in the Mothers' group (that is, for a certain status in the group). At Imperatriz, competition seems to be for space. The houses are improving and the problems with space are becoming more severe. People are aware that it may be necessary to remove some houses, and incipient territorial claims are being made with some neighbours attempting to "push" others out.

The mechanisms for dealing with tension also differ between Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz. At Jardim Jacqueline there is more confrontation, that is, at "the top" people complain to each other, and to the "source of annoyance". My interpretation of the dynamics of this process is the following: the groups at Jardim Jacqueline are mostly family based, and closely-knit with strong barriers against outsiders or non-family members. Most interactions take place within these groups. If the interaction with neighbours to whom they are not related by friendship ties mostly takes place over conflicts, tension is not abated but possibly increased. The barriers to contact are strengthened and not diminished. The size of the groups at Jardim Jacqueline, the physical distance between neighbours (the space between the houses) and the overall conditions of the settlement, less critical than at Imperatriz, make it possible for these groups to co-exist with

little intercommunication, independently of each other. This maintains prejudices, suspicions and stereotypes.

At Imperatriz it seems that tension is dealt with by avoiding direct confrontation with neighbours, for this is interpreted as possibly "making matters worse". There seem to be two mechanisms: physical changes are introduced to diminish the possibility of annoyance and/or the annoyance is reconceptualized into a collective problem which demands action from the leadership. This neutralizes the problem because it is deindividualized. It is no longer a problem between neighbours, but a problem of the infrastructure, etc. Individual confrontations are avoided and the leadership is forced into a mediating role, even if it is only a symbolic one.

Tension has different relevance at Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz. Although people perceive there to be different groups holding different sets of values in both favelas, at Imperatriz these differences are used to describe situations, and the centre of attention is on changes and on improvements. There is an assessment of the situation in which differences are outlined, but the emphasis is on solutions to the situation. At Jardim Jacqueline the emphasis is on the description of the needs and on the harassments caused by non-cooperative neighbours, as if they had stopped at the assessment stage, and had not yet pursued solutions.

The possibility of stronger boundaries between the groups at Jardim Jacqueline is reinforced by the lack of intergroup movements. Ida is the only person who circulates between groups and even she has no access to Belmiro and Flor or Jairo, or to the other side of the "creek". Belmiro is approached by many people as the "blessing man"

but this is a special and limited contact. At Imperatriz the boundaries seem to be more flexible and this may be not only a consequence of the basic nature of the groups - they are friendship-based - but they may also be due to the actual physical conditions and to the urgency and size of the problems. The kinds of contact within the groups are more "specialized". These more often than not refer to their problems in the settlement and not personal, individual problems. There is more intercommunication. Jurema, Diva and Claudio move around different groups bringing and taking information.

#### 6.5 Perception of the interactions in the communities by the dwellers

Some of the ideas discussed above are reinforced by the data from the survey. This covered a few topics concerning social networks, communications between the groups, sources of information and overall perception of the social climate in the favela.

The overall view that the dwellers have of the settlements, as far as cooperation, collaboration and unity is concerned, was covered by the survey through the question: Is there cooperation, is the community united? At Jardim Jacqueline there is a slight trend to see the community as united. At Imperatriz there is both a perception of "lack of union", and of "union". These differences are not significant. (See Table 6.5.1 overleaf.)

Although the population in the two favelas does not differ significantly in the perceptions they have of the interactions among the dwellers in the favelas, within each favela there are interesting differences. At Jardim Jacqueline mostly non-participants perceive the neighbours as non-cooperative, whereas the same perception at Imperatriz is held mostly by participants. However, they do not differ



Table 6.5.1 Is there cooperation between the neighbours? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
Yes	(11)17.0	(14)21.0	(5) 8.0 (30) 46.0	(12)34.0	(5)14.0	(1) 3.0 (18) 51.0
No	(8)12.0	(26)40.0	(2) 3.0 (36) 55.0	(9)26.0	(4)11.0	(4)11.0 (17) 48.0
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(7)11.0 (66)100.0	(21)60.0	(9)26.0	(5)14.0 (35)100.0

$\chi^2$  for the two favelas (totals) irrespective of participation

$\chi^2_{20} \approx 0.34$

$\alpha = .05$

d.f. = 1

N.S.

in their explanations for their perceptions (see Table 6.5.2). In both favelas the perception of cooperation is rooted in actual behaviours. The category "people cooperate" includes answers such as: "when someone dies people help with money" (to pay for the funeral), "when someone is in need, others help", "they care for one another", "when someone has a problem, they discuss it". Absence of problems is another category: this covers answers such as: "there are no problems", "one does not disturb the other", "people don't meddle in other people's affairs", "people don't have enemies". The third category, "because it is necessary" comprises the answers referring to the need to unite to achieve their goals; the fourth category includes answers which contain implicitly the idea that life in a favela demands cooperation to mitigate the problems faced there.

Again, the populations in the two favelas do not differ in the reasons they give for their belief that there is lack of cooperation (see Table 6.5.3). The first category "lacks condition to help" refers to financial conditions, and lack of means to help each other. The second category "because they do not cooperate" groups answers such as "if people can, they steal from the others", "when one agrees the other doesn't", "because there are fights", "no-one helps", "there is too much gossip", "they are not caring with their houses, with the area", "they don't share (in the activities)". And finally the third category, "only among close friends" means that the kind of cooperation which exists among members of a group is interpreted by some dwellers actually as a sign of lack of cooperation within the community.

It is interesting that people explain their perception of the existence of cooperation on the basis of the existence of behaviours

Table 6.5.2 Why is there cooperation among neighbours? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
1. Because there is cooperation	(8) 12.0	(5) 8.0	(13) 20.0	(6) 17.0	(1) 3.0	(7) 20.0
2. Because there are no problems	(2) 3.0	(4) 6.0	(6) 9.0	(3) 9.0	(2) 6.0	(6) 17.0
3. Because it is necessary (to achieve benefits)	(4) 6.0	(4) 6.0	(4) 6.0	(3) 9.0	(1) 3.0	(4) 11.0
4. Because it is necessary (it is a favela)	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	(3) 4.0	-	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0
5. Others	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
6. No answer	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	-	-	-
Total	(11) 17.0	(14) 21.0	(5) 8.0 (30) 46.0	(12) 34.0	(5) 14.0	(1) 3.0 (18) 51.0

$\chi^2$  for totals

$\chi^2_0 \approx 2.77$

$\chi^2_c = 11.020$

d.f. = 5

N.S.

Table 6.5.3 Why there is no cooperation? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
1. They lack "conditions" to help each other	(1) 1.0	(4) 6.0	(5) 7.0	(2) 6.0		(2) 6.0
2. Because they do not cooperate/communicate	(3) 5.0	(8) 12.0	(11) 18.0		(3) 9.0	(6) 18.0
3. There is only among close people	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(8) 14.0	(5) 14.0	(1) 3.0	(6) 17.0
4. Others	(1) 1.0	(4) 7.0	(5) 8.0	(2) 6.0		(2) 6.0
5. No answer	(1) 2.0	(4) 6.0	(5) 8.0		(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0
Total	(8) 12.0	(26) 40.0	(34) 55.0	(9) 26.0	(4) 11.0	(17) 49.0

$\chi^2_{0.43} \approx 9.488$  = .05 d.f. = 4 N.S.

which refer to their day-to-day interactions, whereas the perception of lack of cooperation is also interpreted on the basis of people's behaviours towards the improvements: "no-one helps", "when one agrees, the other doesn't", "they are not interested", "they don't share" (in the tasks), "they don't keep the place (tidy)".

## 6.6 Communication

As mentioned in Chapter 5, participation seems to be related also to communication between the dwellers. The crucial role of communication between the dwellers has been outlined in the description of the groups. A social ambience of mistrust and fear seems to be maintained by lack of communication between the people at Jardim Jacqueline. The history of the movements described in the previous chapter already suggested that there were differences in the formal communication networks of the two favelas, represented by the Dwellers' Association's access to the dwellers. This is further reinforced by the informal networks. Their answers to the question "Whom do you talk to about problems<sup>11</sup> in the favela?" indicate that at Jardim Jacqueline most people talk to other members of the family, the next largest number do not talk at all: talking to next-door neighbours comes third on the list. At Imperatriz, people talk to their next door neighbours, at meetings of the Dwellers' Association, to their relatives and to members of the Association (the leadership). There seems to be more diversity in the type of ties between them and the people they talk to about their problems concerning the area (see Table 6.6.1).

The differences between the two favelas are significant, the difference between participants and non-participants could not be

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<sup>11</sup> Problems concerning housing, the physical environment.

Table 6.6.1 Who do you talk to about problems referring to the house and the place? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
1. Neighbours	(7)11.0	(4) 6.0	(4) 6.0	(15)23.0	(7)20.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	(9)26.0
2. Meetings of the Association	(2) 3.0	-	-	(2) 3.0	(5)14.0	(2) 6.0	-	(7)20.0
3. Relatives	(3) 4.0	(14)21.0	(1) 2.0	(18)27.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(5)15.0
4. No-one	-	(12)18.0	(2) 3.0	(14)21.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(6)18.0
5. Leadership	(3) 4.0	-	-	(3) 4.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	-	(4)12.0
6. Leadership and neighbours	(1) 1.0	(2) 3.0	-	(3) 4.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0
7. Relatives and neighbours	-	(6) 9.0	-	(6) 9.0	-	-	-	-
8. Meetings and others	-	-	-	-	(2) 6.0	-	-	(2) 6.0
9. Others/no answer	(3) 5.0	(2) 3.0	-	(5) 8.0	-	-	-	-
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(7)11.0	(66)100.0	(21)60.0	(9)26.0	(5)14.0	(35)100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas  $\chi^2_0 \approx 16.02$   $\chi^2_C = 15.50$  d.f. = 8  $\alpha = .05$  S

regardless of participation

tested because of the numbers of categories with zero frequencies. Most non-participants seem to talk only to relatives or to "no-one". This suggests that there is a relationship between lack of communication (no-one to talk to) or communication limited to the close group (such as relatives) and lack of participation.

This seems to be the case at Jardim Jacqueline, especially by "the creek". In other words, people talk to each other when there is no fear, when neighbours can be trusted. The role of the Dwellers' Association is also highlighted. At Imperatriz it seems that it is clearly identified as the place for the dwellers to discuss their problems about housing, infrastructure, and about life in the favela, whereas at Jardim Jacqueline, the Dwellers' Association seems to have failed in establishing this role.

Another topic covered is their access to news in general. How do they hear, know, the news? Answers show that it is basically through the formal media: T.V. and radio. The radio programmes they listen to are musical programmes and "news" programmes which dramatize crimes. The people by the "creek" listen to such programmes less often than those at "the top" and at Imperatriz. These programmes theoretically condemn violence while dramatizing it and advocating the death penalty and the occasional summary execution of criminals as a crime deterrent. They are also perceived by the favelados as portraying a biased picture of the favelados, reinforcing the "marginality" stereotypes.

Television sets became more common in the favelas when electricity was installed in individual households. The "informal" networks were too risky and too fragile to cope with electrical appliances. The impact of television coverage of favelado movements, of housing

programmes for the poor, of upgrading projects, of evictions and removals, was detected in spontaneous statements by the interviewees, and suggests an interesting topic to be explored.

The low newspaper readership is a consequence of the cost of newspapers and of the literacy problems which combine to make newspaper readership a restricted activity.

In sum, news is obtained mostly from formal sources, the informal sources being less frequently mentioned. This suggests that the conversation in contacts with neighbours, etc., either centre round topics which concern their individual lives or the problems in the favela, or events they heard or saw elsewhere.



Table 6.6.2 How do you hear the news?

	Jd. Jacqueline Creek %	Top %	Imperatriz %
<u>Radio</u>			
Music/News programmes	52	46	46
Crime programmes	13	44	49
Religious programmes	-	-	6
News programmes	4	-	6
Do not listen	35	9	11
<u>T.V.</u>			
News	52	42	40
Soap operas	17	33	26
Sports	-	2	-
Films	-	7	14
Shows	13	-	9
Do not watch	30	30	17
<u>Newspapers</u>			
Read	9	7	9
Do not read	91	93	9
<u>Informal</u>			
Hear from			
relatives	9	9	-
neighbours	26	9	20
at work	17	9	-
at home	-	12	6
at Dwellers' Association mtgs.	-	-	9
n	(23)	(43)	(35)
Multiple answers			

### Summary

The aim of studying the social networks and the interactions taking place in the community was to identify whether some of the differences in the participation of the population in the two favelas could be accounted for by differences in the pattern of the social networks and interactions. Previous studies (Snow, Zurcher & Eckland-Olson, 1980; and Walsh, 1978) had observed that the probability of recruitment was affected by social networks. Furthermore, recruitment was affected by the occurrence of altruistic, helping and cooperative behaviour in the social networks (Marwell, 1982). There is some evidence that the two favelas differ in overall social structure. Whereas at Imperatriz there are social networks based on physical proximity, at Jardim Jacqueline they are based on proximity and on kinship ties, that is, on ties which preceded the move into the favelas. This brings into focus another aspect which is the physical structure of the area.<sup>12</sup>

I hypothesized that groups based on kinship ties, in a new environment, will tend to be less open to new people than groups which are based on friendship ties or which were established after the move into the favela. My suggestion is that not only is the pattern of social networks important if we are to understand recruitment, but that the pattern of interactions, communications and even the physical layout of the favela must be considered also. In both Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz most respondents had a friend or a relative living there before they moved in, but while at Jardim Jacqueline years

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<sup>12</sup> As mentioned before, the favela is unique in being the place of residence as well as the locus of a movement. This is generally ignored by the literature on social movements especially that which focuses on personal change movements.

later the original social networks remained unchanged, at Imperatriz the later social networks are composed of neighbours and friends from the place of origin, suggesting that some adaptation has taken place. That is, the groups at Imperatriz seem to be formed by people who had different experiences before moving into the favela.

My interpretation is that at Jardim Jacqueline, the availability of space allowed, in the past, for the members of the same family to settle next to each other, so that the physical pattern roughly follows the kinship pattern. People did not have to adapt to strangers, or new people, but could live almost autonomous lives. The physical proximity of the dwellings at Imperatriz makes it difficult for people to ignore their next door neighbours. Mutual adaptations have to take place because of the high potential for annoyance due to the proximity of the dwellings and the overall lack of facilities and installations. At Imperatriz, it is difficult to avoid contact with neighbours, whereas at Jardim Jacqueline this is still possible. In fact, there is little incentive to adapt to the larger group. The existing tensions and fear add to the reasons to stay within the small group. As a result, it is my suggestion that at Imperatriz because there is lack of space, and there is less choice about the location of one's house, the groups are more heterogeneous than at Jardim Jacqueline and formed by people with different ties and different degrees of intimacy from those at Jardim Jacqueline. This, of course, would need further exploration, since they are ideas suggested by the observations and the interview data. Similar observations were made by Festinger (1951) in his study about architecture and group membership. In this study Festinger observed that the attitudes of the dwellers toward community organization and its collective activities as well as their participation in the organization were to a major extent "determined by their small-group

memberships within the Westgate project" (p. 159). This was related to<sup>334</sup> the location of their houses.

The major consequence of the differences in the composition of such groups is their availability for intergroup communication and interaction. To understand differences in participation it seems important, then, to understand the differences in intergroup communications and interactions. This means that the social networks or the interactions within the small groups alone do not affect participation but that the contact between different groups must be examined because when this contact is lacking there will be more obstacles for a collective identity to develop. In such cases there is a lack of reciprocal influence on behaviour. There is little or no identification of common values and beliefs, that is, of what they share despite apparent differences. They can, therefore, maintain prejudices about their neighbours. Finally, this represents a source of further difficulty for the reconceptualization of meaning. The basic idea is that meaning arises out of interaction but if interactions between groups are kept to a minimum or if mostly negative interactions take place, this means that feelings of exploitation, fear and exclusion are stressed and reconceptualizations of their daily experiences are either kept to a minimum or made difficult because there is little access to new information which would allow them to reinterpret their negative experiences.

Furthermore, the lack of reciprocal influences on behaviour means that a reference group within the favela cannot develop. This presupposes some inter-group contact since it is, in fact, related to the socialization and social control process. For a reference group to develop as such, people would have to adopt the stand of the other as

one's own frame of reference. This is, by definition, to be socialized<sup>335</sup> by the other. To be socialized is to undergo the process of social control (Lauer & Handel, 1983). When people are not aware that they share values and beliefs the chances that they will relate perceived evaluations of others to their own self-evaluations are small. As a consequence, the chances for changes in personal efficacy are also diminished.

In a sense it seems that groups which are based on kinship ties or any strong tie previous to the move into the favelas are something of an obstacle to inter-group relations and to participation if the prevailing social climate is one of fear and suspicion. Such groups may limit the availability for intergroup contact. Helping behaviour, altruism, cooperation and intense communication within a kinship (or similar) group would not necessarily result in greater availability for participation because such in-group interactions do not result in reconceptualizations of the experiences taking place in the broader group. These behaviours would constitute assets for participation when taking place within heterogeneous groups (that is, groups of neighbours, friends and relatives, groups formed after the move into the favela), because these would enhance the chances that such behaviours would be generalized to members of other groups, that is lead to more intergroup interaction or communication. That is, they could establish the ground for reciprocal influence on behaviour.

Part of the difficulty in intergroup relations can be related to the nature of the social identity of the favelados (see Tajfel, 1981). This will be further explored in the Discussion (Chapter 9). Partly it arises from the social climate in the favela which seems related to the perceptions the dwellers have of each other. The intergroup

interactions seem to be affected by their perceptions of the other dwellers as rigidly divided into two groups: good/bad. There is the feeling that there is an in-group, and an out-group. This leads to difficulties in acknowledging similarities in values, beliefs and aspirations.

Availability for intergroup contact and communication is related to the structure of the small group and to the overall climate in the community. The more self-sufficient the small groups, the less need there is to interact: the more fear and suspicion there is in the community, the less likely are people to make themselves available for intergroup communication.

At Imperatriz similarly to Jardim Jacqueline, prejudices are present in the perceptions dwellers have of other dwellers. There is, again the perception of in- and out-group but these are not as often mentioned in the interviews as they are at Jardim Jacqueline. This suggests that sustained participation may be indirectly affected also by a combination of the structure of the groups, the physical characteristics of the area, (the physical density, the lack of space, and the consequent lack of choice about the location of the dwellings), the level of fear, and by the patterns of communication in the community. This will be further explored in the Discussion.

## Chapter 7

### The individual level, or what one can learn from the individuals about sustained participation

In this chapter I explore the individual characteristics which have been considered to explain political participation and which are hypothesized to influence sustained participation.

The studies on political participation have found that there are some socio-economic demographic and psychological traits which are consistently associated with political participation. As discussed in the literature review, variables associated with SES, educational level, age, gender, integration in the community, feelings of political efficacy, subjective competence or personal control, group consciousness or collective identity, feelings of relative deprivation (fraternal), and the self-esteem component of self-concept, have all been related to political participation. I had expected that the population in a participative favela would be both similar and different from a non-participative one. Among the differences I expected to find in a participative favela was the presence of a cadre of committed members. Otherwise I expected that the individuals from a participative favela would be similar to those in a non-participative one in terms of their overall socio-economic and demographic profile, specifically in terms of the income distribution, type of occupation, type of family (nuclear or extended), gender and age of the head of household and size of the household.

The populations in the two favelas were expected to differ:

1. in the length of time of residence in that favela - the longer they stay, the more contact there will be and the higher will be the chances that there will be widespread communication and that the dwellers will perceive their needs as having a collective nature demanding collective action;
2. in the development of group consciousness, that is, psychological group membership, or collective identity;
3. in the participation in trade unions - whether by simple affiliation or activism. It is said that this experience of participation generalizes across areas;
4. in their occupational status. People with higher status are said to participate more;
5. in the ratio of families as opposed to single individuals constituting households. Single individuals are said to be more apathetic, alienated and non-participative;
6. in the homogeneity of the social, economic and demographic characteristics within each favela. It is said that the heterogeneity of the population is an obstacle to participation;
7. in the feelings of political efficacy or subjective competence or personal control. The inefficacious are said to participate less;
8. in the feelings of relative deprivation and self-esteem;
9. in the awareness of their shared needs and interests in the need for joint action;
10. in the presence of a cadre of committed members.

This cadre was defined as providing the community with an alternative reference group to that represented by the leadership. This was considered to be a basic condition to ensure a democratic leadership style. This group would provide a countervailing system for the formulation of ideas, identification of problems and the proposition of



alternative lines of action. This cadre of committed members would be similar enough to the larger group to be a reference group for the dwellers. The political consciousness of this cadre of committed members would be different from that of the larger population: they would present feelings of relative deprivation, system-blame, causal attribution and personal and group political efficacy.

This cadre of committed members represents another social psychological component which helps us to understand sustained participation. In the framework developed here the individual characteristics along with the group characteristics are interactive and produce emergent participation. The decision to take part and to continue investing one's effort in the collective action is individual. As such it is affected by individual characteristics which constitute predispositions both to participation and to respond to the group's effect: that is, individual characteristics affect the group and are affected by the group.

This cadre of committed members plays a double role: as a reference group it affects the population's self-concept and specifically their self-esteem, and as an alternative system for the formulation of ideas, for identification of problems and for the formulation of lines of action, it affects the population's conceptualizations of the movement. This cadre is affected by the population in that it reformulates ideas and lines of action in response to what it detects among the population, since their role as a reference group is kept on the basis of their similarity and sensitivity to the population's ideas and needs. This role of reference group would be lost if they were to grow distant from the rest of the population.

The basic indicator of political resocialization as a result of continued participation would be the presence in a favela of such a cadre of committed members. They would also be an indication of the possibility of this process extending to other members of the community because of the effects that this group would have on the feelings of political efficacy and self-esteem of the population. This group ensures a democratic leadership style because it would represent a significant other to the leadership. The assumption is that a democratic leadership style, to develop in an authoritarian society, demands the presence of a countervailing group to the actual leadership. Otherwise the leaders will fall back into an authoritarian style of leadership because of the characteristics of the political socialization of the population which lacks feelings of political efficacy. This introjected lack of competence provides fertile ground for authoritarianism to develop.

The data analysed in this chapter come from the interviews, observations and the survey. Initially I discuss the relevant socio-economic and demographic data concerning the population in the two favelas and look for explanations for participation or lack of participation. This is followed by a discussion of data from both formal and informal interviews and from the observations. These last data are checked (in an attempt to expand some of the interpretations made) against data from the survey to see whether the identified tendencies hold for a larger number of people.

### 7.1 The socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the population in the two favelas

As mentioned in the Methodology (Chapter 3) there were problems with the sampling in both favelas. The data from the survey have a heuristic value, suggesting trends but not allowing for precise conclusions. In the present analysis two types of comparisons were attempted: between participants and non-participants within the same favela and between the two favelas (total population regardless of participation). Most of the first type of comparisons - between participants and non-participants within the same favela turned out to be non-significant. There were some difficulties due to the small size of the samples and the dispersion of the responses which resulted in many categories with low or zero frequencies which could not be grouped together. Still, with respect to most variables, there seemed to be internal homogeneity: that is, participants and non-participants within the same favela did not differ according to socio-economic and demographic variables such as characteristics of the head of household, age, gender, educational level, length of time of residence in the favela, income, occupational status, origins, type of family, size of the household or trade union affiliation. This means that in each favela participation and non-participation cannot be explained by the characteristics listed above. Differences appear nevertheless between the two favelas, that is, when comparisons are traced between the two favelas irrespective of the respondents' status in relation to participation. In sum there are subtle differences in the overall composition of the two favelas. These will be examined next.

The two populations differ significantly in the following aspects: the origins of the head of the household, income and length of residence in the favela. Jardim Jacqueline differs in that it has

Table 7.1.1 Origins of the head of household

	Jardim Jacqueline	Imperatriz
Bahia (North-east)	(8) 12.0	(10) 28.0
Other North-east states	(23) 35.0	(14) 40.0
Esp. Santo and Minas Gerais (South-east)	(11) 17.0	(9) 26.0
Sao Paulo (South-east)	(15) 23.0	(2) 6.0
Parana (South)	(9) 14.0	-
Total	(66) 100.0	(35) 100.0

$$\chi^2_0 = 17.56 \quad \chi^2_C = 9.48773 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 4 \quad \underline{S.}$$

more migrants from the South and the South-east, whereas at Imperatriz there are more migrants from the North and the North-east. The South and the South-east are the wealthiest and the most developed regions of the country: the North and the North-east aside from the lack of development have traditionally represented areas of more political corruption. Elections in the political system were marked by patronizing relations ('clientalismo') and by nepotism. Economic feudalism is the term commonly used to describe the economic and political context of these regions. The South and the South-east are considered the progressive, liberal and modern areas of the country. That there should be participation in a favela which contains more migrants from the North and the North-east is therefore paradoxical because it is the opposite of what the political participation studies have found. They would show the relationship tends to be between modern urban society and high political participation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I can only speculate about the reasons for this. Most migrants from the North and the North-east are small landowners whose land was not productive enough to support them or small shopkeepers driven out of their home towns and land by droughts, whereas most migrants from the  
(Footnote continued)

The next variable, length of time of residence in the favelas does follow the patterns observed in other studies, that is the longer the residence the more people participate. Longer residence suggests more stability in the groups, less fluctuation and less moving out. This means that the chances that people interact and acknowledge the collective character of their needs is also high (see Table 7.1.2 overleaf).

More people have been living for longer than ten years at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline. This could be explained by the location of this favela which is closer to a more densely occupied area than Jardim Jacqueline. It is a smaller favela and there is no availability of space for new dwellings whereas at Jardim Jacqueline there is still room for new dwellings. Nearly one third of the population at Jardim Jacqueline have been living there for three years or less. This raises the possibility that in general at Jardim Jacqueline the group is not stable, in spite of the overall tendency for people to stay (since the majority have been in the area for more than 5 years). By stability I mean that the continuous arrival of new dwellers suggests that arrangements are continuously changing, social networks are changing, rules have to be communicated, that is all sorts of adaptations have to take place. The implications for participation are that the interactions would be tentative and exploratory, and that

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<sup>1</sup>(continued)

South and the South-east are sharecroppers or seasonal workers (boias-frias) who moved around the countryside searching for work. This difference in their 'position' in society combined with the differences in the political, cultural and economic contexts they come from may have exposed them to different political socialization processes which are reflected in differences in their availability for political action.

Table 7.1.2 Length of time of residence in the favela and participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
< 3 years	(2) 3.0	(15) 23.0	(20) 31.0	(4) 11.0	(3) 9.0	-	(7) 20.0
3 → 5	(2) 3.0	(8) 12.0	(10) 15.0	(3) 9.0	-	(2) 6.0	(5) 15.0
5 → 10	(13) 20.0	(11) 17.0	(26) 40.0	(4) 11.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(8) 23.0
≥ 10 years	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(10) 15.0	(10) 29.0	(4) 11.0	(1) 3.0	(15) 43.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  totals of the two favelas regardless of participation

$$\chi^2_{20} \approx 9.78 \quad \chi^2_{C} = 7.81473 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad \underline{S.}$$

more energy would be spent trying to establish some common ground. At Imperatriz the chances are that such an 'exploratory' phase has been lived in the past and that some common ground has been established, so that newcomers are the ones who must adapt to the group and not the whole group that must do the shifts and changes. It must be remembered that there are indications that the nature of the spontaneous subgroups in Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz differ. There are more kinship groups at Jardim Jacqueline than at Imperatriz. These are hypothesized to be less permeable to newly arrived people, more self-sufficient with stronger boundaries. In the climate of fear and suspicion which characterizes Jardim Jacqueline if such newly arrived people do not have previous ties (kinship or friendship) with established groups, their integration into the community would be made more difficult by the characteristics of the groups and of the intergroup relations. It is possible that it is their integration in the communications network that is affected, and the consequences of this for participation would be that newly arrived people would be less likely to be informed about collective activities, invited to take part in such activities, and that people would talk to them less about their problems in general and of the settlement in particular.

The two populations differ also as far as income is concerned. The income distribution is 'better' at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline. By better, I mean that although still concentrated on lower income brackets, there are more people earning higher wages at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline. That there is more participation at Imperatriz, where people are earning more money than at Jardim Jacqueline, follows the findings from political participation studies that people who have higher SES and higher wages are more participative. This finding suggests that even within the low-income

bracket differences in income may complement explanations for differences in participation. This implies that people earning a little bit more would be less concerned with survival and more available for participation. The data about income corroborates the evidence about the reasons for participation (Chapter 5). As previously discussed, most non-participants state that they do not participate for 'lack of time' due to their working schedules. The income of non-participants is concentrated on the lowest brackets (lowest incomes or no income). Workers in the lowest paid sectors generally try to improve their earnings by working overtime during rest periods (the weekly day of rest), therefore they would not be available either to participate in the meetings or in the collective tasks (see Table 7.1.3 overleaf).

As far as the other variables are concerned, the two populations do not differ. Trade union affiliation, for instance, is generally low. Although non-significant, the data indicate that there is more trade union affiliation (present or past) at Jardim Jacqueline than at Imperatriz. This goes against the findings from the political participation studies and suggests that the trade union experience has not been carried over to participation in political action. Although in both favelas the majority has never been affiliated to a trade union, much less activist, at Jardim Jacqueline nearly one quarter of the population has been (or is) a member of a trade union and most are non-participants. Considering the nature of the trade unions in Brazil and the role that they have been allowed to play (Chapter 2), this is no surprise. It means that the experience of trade union affiliation has had no political resocialization effect, at least as far as these populations are concerned (see Table 7.1.4 overleaf).



7.1.3 Family income X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
no income/ < 2 m.w.*	(12) 18.0	(29) 44.0	(4) 6.0	(45) 68.0	(4) 11.0	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0	(8) 23.0
2 → 3 m.w.	(3) 4.0	(6) 9.0	(3) 5.0	(12) 18.0	(6) 17.0	(3) 8.0	(2) 3.0	(11) 31.0
3 → 4 m.w.	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	-	(4) 6.0	(7) 20.0	(2) 6.0	-	(9) 26.0
≥ 4 m.w.	(2) 3.0	(3) 5.0	-	(5) 8.0	(4) 11.0	(3) 9.0	-	(7) 20.0
Total	(19) 28.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 59.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 15.0	(36) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$$\chi^2_0 \approx 19.95 \quad \chi^2_C = 7.8143 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad d.f. = 3 \quad S.$$

\* the minimum wage at the time of the research represented = US\$67.00 a month

Table 7.1.4 Trade Union affiliation X participation. Is or has been a trade union member?

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Yes	(5) 8.0	(8) 12.0	(2) 3.0	(15) 23.0	(4) 11.0	-	-	(4) 11.0
No	(12) 18.0	(30) 45.0	(4) 6.0	(46) 70.0	(17) 49.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(31) 89.0
No answer	(2) 3.0	(2) 3.0	(1) 2.0	(5) 8.0	-	-	-	-
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$\chi^2_0 \approx 4.19, \chi^2_C = 5.99147 \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad \underline{\text{N.S.}}$

The other variables on which the two populations do not differ are characteristics of the head of the household (gender, occupational status, educational level) and characteristics of the family composition (type of family and size of the household).

Most of the households are nuclear. The frequency of extended families is small, as is that of single individuals (see Table 7.1.5 overleaf). The size of the household, in terms of average number of persons, does not differ. There are differences within each favela. Most "non-participants" at Imperatriz have larger families, whereas "occasional" participants seem to be single individuals or come from small families. At Jardim Jacqueline there are no differences between participants and non-participants.

Table 7.1.6 Average size of the household

	Jardim Jacqueline persons	Imperatriz persons
Participation	4.6	4.4
Non-participation	4.8	5.2
Occasional	4.3	2.8
Total	4.7	4.7

As far as the age of the head of the household is concerned, there are no significant differences between the two favelas, despite the slightly higher incidence of younger (below 40 years of age) heads of household at Jardim Jacqueline. The findings from the political participation literature state that middle-aged persons participate more. This would explain the higher participation levels at Imperatriz where the majority of the heads of household are 40 or more years old (see Table 7.1.7 overleaf).

Table 7.1.5 Type of family X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
Nuclear	(18)27.0	(32)48.0	(56)84.00	(19)54.0	(7)20.0	(4)11.0 (30)85.0
Extended	-	(6)9.0	(6)9.0	(2)6.0	(2)6.0	- (4)12.0
Single individuals	(1)2.0	(2)3.0	(4)7.0	-	-	(1)3.0 (1)3.0
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(66)100.0	(21)60.0	(9)26.0	(5)14.0 (35)100.0

$\chi^2_0 \approx 0.12$   $\chi^2_C = 5.99147$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 2 N.S.

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

Table 7.1.7 Age of the head of household X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
20-29	(3) 5.0	(10) 15.0	(2) 3.0 (15) 23.0	(5) 14.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0 (7) 20.0
30-39	(8) 12.0	(15) 23.0	(4) 6.0 (27) 41.0	(5) 14.0	(3) 8.0	- (8) 22.0
40-49	(4) 6.0	(6) 9.0	(1) 2.0 (11) 17.0	(8) 23.0	(3) 9.0	(3) 8.0 (14) 40.0
≥ 50	(4) 6.0	(9) 14.0	- (13) 20.0	(3) 9.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0 (6) 18.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0 (66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0 (35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas.

$$\chi^2_0 \approx 7.23$$

$$\chi^2_C = 7.81473$$

$$\alpha = .05$$

$$d.f. = 3$$

N.S.

The two favelas do not differ as far as the gender of the head of the household: most households have a male as head (see Table 7.1.8 overleaf).

The educational levels are similar too. The slight differences involving the higher incidences of secondary schooling among dwellers at Jardim Jacqueline are not significant (see Table 7.1.9 overleaf).

The differences in income could be explained by differences in occupation and in the incidence of skilled labour (that is, higher paid workers): nevertheless, the populations in the two favelas do not differ as far as occupational status or type of occupation is concerned (see Table 7.1.10 overleaf).

The type of occupations found amongst the favelados (using the Brazilian definitions) are unskilled labourers and skilled manual labourers (composed basically of bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, painters, tile specialists, and workers in other specialized building industry trades). There are also drivers (bus, lorry and car) and some industrial workers: metal workers, seamstresses, etc. Amongst the unskilled manual labourers some are connected with the building industry such as bricklayers' mates, but most are in the "service" sector: office cleaners, guards, attendants in supermarkets or petrol stations, gardeners, maids or animal caretakers (at the Jockey Club, and at the Butanta Institute where immunological vaccines are produced).

The differences in income could be explained by differences in working opportunities which stem from the actual location of the

Table 7.1.8 Gender of the head of the household X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	
Male	(16)24.0	(31)47.0	(4) 6.0	(18)51.0	(5)14.0	(3) 8.0	(26) 73.0
Female	(3) 5.0	(9)14.0	(3) 4.0	(3) 9.0	(4)11.0	(2) 6.0	(9) 26.0
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(7)10.0	(21)60.0	(9)25.0	(5)14.0	(35)100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas.

$$\chi^2_{0.12} \approx 0.12 \quad \chi^2_c = 3.84146 \quad \alpha = .05$$

d.f. 1

N.S.

Table 7.1.9 Educational level (head of household) X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline				Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Illiterate	(4) 6.0	(10) 15.0	(2) 3.0	(16) 24.0	(7) 20.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(10) 29.0
1st grade	(12) 18.0	(22) 33.0	(4) 6.0	(38) 57.0	(11) 31.0	(7) 20.0	(2) 6.0	(20) 57.0
2nd grade	(2) 3.0	(7) 11.0	(1) 2.0	(10) 16.0	(3) 9.0	-	(1) 3.0	(4) 12.0
No answer	(1) 2.0	(1) 2.0	-	(2) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 15.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$$\chi^2_{20} \approx 0.42 \quad \chi^2_{3C} = 7.31473 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 3 \quad \underline{\text{N.S.}}$$



Table 7.1.10 Occupation (head of household) X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	
Working	(15)23.0	(29)44.0	(7)11.0	(19)54.0	(8)23.0	(4)11.0	(31)88.0
Unemployed	(2)3.0	(6)9.0	-	(2)6.0	-	-	(2)6.0
Retired/health leave	(2)3.0	(5)8.0	-	-	(1)3.0	(1)3.0	(2)6.0
Total	(19)29.0	(40)61.0	(7)11.0	(21)60.0	(9)26.0	(5)14.0	(35)100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$\chi^2_{20} \approx 1.71$        $\chi^2_C = 5.99147$        $\alpha = .05$       d.f. = 2      N.S.

favelas. Despite the fact that they are only 2 or 3 kms. apart, along the same motorway, Imperatriz is situated in a densely occupied area. The immediate neighbourhood is very busy and diversified. There is lower income, lower-middle and middle class income housing, and new tower flats are being built. There are commercial areas - nearby supermarkets, building industry suppliers, food depots, small industries producing small household goods and the university campus. In contrast, Jardim Jacqueline's immediate neighbourhood is not as intensively occupied, although this is beginning to change. There are some lower income houses and some middle income houses being built as well as some expensive tower blocks built in enclosed areas. There are some large industries in the neighbourhood: these include electronic and large building industries, which specialize in government-contract work such as highways and hydro-electric power plants, etc. There is some employment from the services sector: the houses, motels and drive-in cinemas in the area provide employment for maids, gardeners, attendants, guards, etc. (see Table 7.1.11 overleaf).

This suggests that there may be differences in access to formal and informal employment and to other sources of income-generating activities as a consequence of the location of the settlements. Most of the self-employed at Imperatriz are from the building sector and are earning higher incomes than their equivalents at Jacqueline. This again underlines the importance of the location. The dense settlement of the neighbouring area, by different income groups, seems to be reflected in better earnings for the favelados.

In terms of participation in the movements, the slightly higher educational level and lower pay at Jardim Jacqueline would be indicators of the potential for feelings of relative deprivation.

Table 7.1.11 Type of occupation X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz				
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Skilled/manual labour	(8) 12.0	(11) 17.0	(2) 3.0	(21) 32.0	(11) 31.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(14) 40.0
Unskilled/manual labour	(7) 11.0	(18) 27.0	(5) 8.0	(30) 46.0	(8) 23.0	(6) 17.0	(3) 9.0	(17) 49.0
Not applicable (not working)	(4) 6.0	(11) 17.0	-	(15) 23.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	(4) 12.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$$\chi^2_{20} \approx 2.07 \quad \chi^2_{C} = 5.99147 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad \underline{\text{N.S.}}$$

There is the possibility that their expectations that life would improve are not being met when their education is not bringing in rewards such as higher wages, especially if some type of downward social mobility is involved.

On examining their previous housing conditions, it becomes clear that in both favelas most of the population come from other types of housing in Sao Paulo, especially from rented accommodation, into the favelas. Jardim Jacqueline differs from Imperatriz in that a slightly higher percentage had no other dwelling in Sao Paulo, having migrated directly to Jardim Jacqueline. Lack of experience with other types of accommodation in Sao Paulo along with a long stay in the favelas have been associated with conformism. Such persons would be less likely to experience feelings of downward social mobility and therefore of relative deprivation than those who have experienced other housing conditions. If one considers other characteristics such as their relatively better educational level and lower income, the opposite prediction could be made that there is fertile ground for feelings of relative deprivation (see Table 7.1.12 overleaf).

This socio-economic and demographic characterization has to be considered with care. The fact that the sampling was jeopardized by the problems discussed in the Methodology chapter combined with the sample size, does not allow me to draw a definitive profile. There are indications, nonetheless, that more important than certain isolated individual characteristics are combinations of factors; length of time of residence (that is, opportunities for interaction), origins (suggesting different patterns of political socialization), income (suggesting differences in availability for participation). There are also indicators that the specificities of the political socialization

Table 7.1.12 Previous dwelling X participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
No other dwelling	(7) 11.0	(19) 29.0	(3) 4.0	(6) 17.0	(3) 9.0	-	(9) 26.0
Rental	(7) 11.0	(11) 17.0	(4) 6.0	(10) 28.0	(4) 11.0	(4) 11.0	(18) 50.0
Favela	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	-	(3) 9.0	(2) 6.0	-	(5) 15.0
Owner occupied	(1) 1.0	(1) 1.0	-	-	-	-	-
Others	(3) 4.0	(7) 11.0	-	(2) 6.0	-	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$$\chi^2_{20} \approx 7.43 \quad \chi^2_C = 9.48773 \quad \alpha = .05 \quad \text{d.f.} = 4 \quad \text{N.S.}$$

process in authoritarian societies cannot be overlooked. The evidence concerning trade union affiliation (suggesting that more trade union activity does not carry over to participation in other spheres) and the origins of the head of the household (the less participative coming from urban and/or modern parts of the country), caution against generalizations about political behaviour across different political, cultural and social contexts.

This characterization does endorse the idea that the two populations would not differ much as far as such variables were concerned because there was no reason to suppose that the two favelas would attract widely different populations. Homogeneity within the favelas in the sense of lack of significant differences between participants and non-participants in their socio-economic and demographic characteristics does not, however, seem to lead to participation, at least not in Jardim Jacqueline.

I shall discuss now the data from the interviews: formal and informal, and from the observations. These allow for a closer examination of the other variables which are relevant, the social psychological variables.

## 7.2 The social-psychological variables

Sustained participation, in the framework developed, would be partially the consequence of a process of political resocialization in which the favelados' powerlessness, helplessness and fear have been overcome or diminished. This process implies a reconceptualization of the stigma of favelado and the achievement of a collective identity or psychological group membership. This psychological group membership facilitates the awareness of collective needs which demand for their

satisfaction, collective action.

Political resocialization would be evidenced also by feelings of relative deprivation, by a system-blame attribution of causality, that is, the favela understood and interpreted as the consequences of broad economic policies and societal conditions and not as due to failure; and by feelings of political efficacy. Moreover these feelings and perceptions demand awareness of their rights as citizens.

This was not expected to be widespread among the population, but to be identified in a cadre of committed members. There would also be heterogeneity in the type of commitment made. The literature reviewed has identified three types of commitment (Kanter, 1972): utilitarian, affective and moral commitment. The last two suggest the effects of altruism in commitment and in participation.

People living in the favelas are attributed (by the outside world) a social identity - favelado - which is negatively stereotyped, and which represents a sort of stigma. This could be an obstacle in the development of a collective identity. I shall first examine how the population in the two favelas react vis a vis this stigma. Favelado is a stigma with little visibility (in Goffman's terms, 1963). When outside of the favelas the favelados are not identified as being favelado. The favelados can control this information. In Goffman's terms it is a stigma which can make them "discreditable". This is related to the "visibility" and the control of information, that is, the fact that the person is a favelado can make him/her discreditable, in the sense that people who initially reacted to this person in a positive or neutral way may reject him/her after the information is disclosed.

The question of favelado stigma was never raised by the interviewers. It was spontaneously mentioned by the interviewees and explored with "why" or "can you explain that", and "how do you feel about it?" All the comments analysed in this section are spontaneous statements. Also, the population in the two favelas did not differ in their reactions to this stigma or in their attributions as to the causes of the favelas.

Being a favelado is related to the causes of the favelas - "we are here because we cannot pay rent and we cannot buy land to build a house". In other words, they lack an alternative. They cannot afford to pay for housing because their wages are low. There the reasoning seems to stop. There is no questioning of why wages are low. Only one person related the low wages to the broader society. Sonia at Imperatriz said,

"Why are we poor, thrown in the favela? Because of the minimum wage. Because we earn the minimum wage. Aren't they the ones that do that to us? And they don't recognize us, we, we struggle, we suffer, and our children suffer. Our children are not raised, they are pushed. Until they reach a certain height that they can step out. Aside from that there is no solution".

This is a rare perception of the genesis of the favelas. Maira at Jardim Jacqueline says, "Because you see the money Arthur (her husband) earns is not enough for anything". Nair, also at Jardim Jacqueline, says, "it is the rent, with my husband's wages, the rent is continuously rising. We couldn't eat." At Imperatriz they offer the same interpretation. Josefina says,

"the wage is enough if you are in the favela, we pay the water, the electricity ....., well I think that the favela is good for the poor, because if they have capacity to climb up the ladder, then the favela helps. Doesn't it? Because they are here, they are not paying rent, he is not having much expense. Well at my house there is not a penny left over to do anything."



There is a consensus that favelas exist only because of low wages.

All the 20 families interviewed in both favelas attribute the favelas and their presence there, to their lack of means to live elsewhere.

They do not use the word "favelado" to refer to themselves. They talk about living in the favelas not of being favelado. They do not use expressions such as: "we favelados". My interpretation is that favelado (or maloqueiro)<sup>2</sup> is such a derogatory word, it has acquired offensive connotations. Being a stigma of criminality, of uncleanness, it is used to offend people. This emerges at different moments throughout conversations the people engage in. One example is this dialogue between two sisters-in-law at Jardim Jacqueline. They were discussing the behaviour of a common acquaintance, Gilda, who had joked about Dulce's being a favelada while introducing her (Dulce) to a new person.

"Dulce: Then Gilda said, 'This is Dulce' (I was offended by Gilda, do you know?). She said, 'Ah, ah, Dulce is a maloqueira, she lives in that maloca, in that favela down there.' Then do you know, I was. I was. I did not reply Maira, I did not say a thing. Then she said: I was joking, Dulce and she turned to her friend and said: 'Dulce is a nice person, she is a friend of ours'.

Maira - How offensive!

Dulce - She said it was just a joke, but one thing I am sure of, my shack has this floor, but my shack is much cleaner than her house  
....

Maira - And afterwards they talk about our houses. It is incredible. I have never seen so much dirt."

The use of the word favelado is restricted to, "they say the favelados do this or that, or are this or that". They do not say "we favelados", but "we, who live in favelas." This suggests there is a

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<sup>2</sup> Traditionally malocas were the Indian straw covered houses - and which acquired the connotation of improvised, uncared for, unfit housing. It is used interchangeably with favela.

difference between living in the favelas and being a favelado. It could mean that the stigma is rejected because favelado is not defined by living in the favelas only, but by being a criminal and unclean. It is the difference between a transient state and a permanent (so to speak) condition.

Other means of dealing with this stigma are through information control and through differentiation, both within the favela and between the favelas. Both mechanisms were identified in the two favelas.

Information control consists of concealment of their condition, either because they are ashamed or because they feel they will be discredited. Zaira from Imperatriz says,

"Favelados are persons of the lowest level, that is what they consider, because if I go to the health centre I hear the women saying 'that favelada did this and that'. We feel badly. Although we don't declare 'I live in a favela', I feel hurt and ashamed. Whoever is well dressed does not live in a favela. It is too much prejudice (sic) from people. Because we are all human beings, no-one is better than the other because we are all going to die some day. Everybody is going to die."

Maira at Jardim Jacqueline justifies the concealment in order to have access to credit and to jobs,

"If you go to a shop and want to buy on credit, you can't say you live in a favela or they will not give you credit. They think all people in favelas cannot pay for the things (...), my employer does not know I live in a favela. She would not trust me and she might fire me."

Her feelings of being a suspected citizen are not based on fantasy: she said that when she first went to a shop to buy something on credit the salesman told her to keep all the receipts so that should the police ever come around, she could prove she had legally obtained those goods. She also described how once her husband was arriving home late at night with shopping he had done, the police were in the neighbourhood and stopped him as he stepped out of the taxi and demanded he proved that

he had bought the goods. Experiences such as this do not enhance their self-esteem and feelings of self-worth.

They differentiate themselves from groups which act in a way that justifies the adequacy of the stigma, stressing their characteristics of hardworkingness and dedication to the improvement of their lives without disturbing their neighbours. Sometimes in this process, they can align themselves with opposing groups. Josefina, for instance, from Imperatriz aligns herself with the surrounding neighbours in rejecting the favela:

"Because if I could, do you think I would live here? No, no, I would live in a nice house, I would live in a beautiful house. Everybody says, say that everyone who lives in the favela is the same (...) no-one is better than the other. I think it is (...). People who live in good houses don't want to see shacks in front of them. I would not want it also. I am not against their dislike for the favela. You know that the favela is ugly. You can see it, when we are inside it we have to stand it. But there, look from out there, from the top, this is the ugliest thing there is, the favela. It is the ugliest thing."

Others differentiate by acknowledging that there are individuals who justify the stereotypes but that there are others who do not justify them: "there are good people and bad people". At Jardim Jacqueline, by the creek, the bad people are the "in-group" as far as outsiders can see. At the top and at Imperatriz it is "outsiders". Luzia by the creek delineates the difference between long-time residents and newly arrived ones:

"there are those people who grew up here, they came from nothing. Now, I didn't, I always paid rent and so did Maria. It is the first time in our lives."

At the top, Jaime says:

"the people from the favela have a bad image. Because everybody is afraid of the favela. Here we hear a lot of things, but thank God everything is all right, there is no problem. If there is any confusion it is from people who come from other places. (People) who don't live here."

At Imperatriz, Augusto says,

"many people do not say they live in a shack because many people think, think that that's where there is this business (Zenaide - his wife, of marginals) bandits are always in shacks. Shacks only have unworthy people. But you know, good families live here forced by the economic situation (.....). This favela is the calmest one. Everybody is family, all the persons are family persons (pessoas de familia - meaning respectable people). Sometimes someone comes in here to make a mess but they don't live here".

There is rejection of the stereotype, in both favelas. The effects of the stigma seem to vary. The hurt caused by the social rejection seems to be more deeply felt by some rather than others, irrespective of the favela. Maira, Luzia, Dalva and their husbands (at Jardim Jacqueline) and Sonia and Zaira (at Imperatriz) speak vehemently about shame, pain and hurt. The others, while acknowledging the existence of a prejudice, control information about their place of residence but do not seem to take it as a personal offence. Zenaide (Imperatriz) does not think it is necessary to control the information,

"I will not lie and say that I live in a house. I say I live there in the shacks (.....) There are people who think it is a bad thing, that it is ugly. What is ugly? Ugly is to steal. I said (when meeting a person) I live in the favela. She said, 'ah, you live there?' She became my friend. She lives in a two-storey house. She has been my friend ever since. But there are persons, persons who do not say that they live in favela, they want to say that they live in houses. I don't. I will not say such a thing. I like to say the truth: 'Where do you live? Do you live in a house or in a shack?' We live in a shack. That's it. I am not ashamed of it."

At the same time they reject the image of criminality and uncleanliness. They agree that some favelas meet the stereotypes and that favelados can fulfil the stigma. Josefina (Imperatriz):

"Because there are favelas that we hear a lot about do you know? Not this one, here the people are educated. It is difficult to have a fight, very difficult. Sometimes there is a quarrel, but it is rare to have a fight (.....) but there are favelas, such as that one I mentioned, where in one day 6 people died, three girls, two children and a boy, I don't know, a fight. It is outlaws, men, everything. Not here, here it is calm. It is excellent this favela."

Nair (Jardim Jacqueline), "There are some favelas around, that God forbid! Full of outlaws, old, dirty (...) people who often get used to that life of living like pigs."

This suggests that the mechanisms for dealing with the stigma are diversified. My basic assumption concerning the collective identity was that this identity would be centred around their condition of living in the favelas, that is around being a favelado. It would necessarily involve the word favelado and therefore the stigma. Being a negative identity, I hypothesized that this would demand some reconceptualization in order to be publicly assumed. It seems that this is not necessarily what happens. There is some form of collective identity, defined by Melucci as the group's control over the effects of their own actions at Imperatriz (as seen in Chapter 5). Most of the respondents there do attribute the achievement of benefits to themselves, to their joint action, to the collective effort expressed by "we did this, and that". However, there is no evidence of a reconceptualization of the favelado stigma. One possible interpretation is that there is a difference, as already mentioned between "living in the favelas" and "being a favelado". If this word 'favelado' is so full of negative connotations as to suggest a personal offence, the reaction may be that of developing a collective identity based on some other trait, so that this word is not used. This means that perhaps psychological group membership can be achieved without tackling the favelado stigma, based on some other aspect, like "living together in the same place", separating it from favelado.

A possible interpretation for the differences in the reactions to the stigma, since some reacted to it more intensely than others, may be that whereas for some the reference groups are to be found within the favela, and therefore living under similar circumstances, others may have their reference groups outside the favela. For the first group, the sense of being unequal, rejected, and despised may be lessened or

even non-existent, because they get all the respect, prestige and acceptance from people living in the same circumstances. Whereas the others, if they have their reference groups outside of the favela when in need of this respect, prestige and acceptance receive it only when concealing their true identities. This means that they could perhaps feel unworthy of the respect because it was gained under false pretences. This is suggested by the fact that Luzia, Maira, Dalva, Zaira, and Sonia often compare their lives and houses with those of people outside the favelas. However, these points, and the connotations and denotations of favelado, deserve further investigation.

Their explanations for the existence of the favelas do not suggest that the question of rights, or of failure of government policies are involved in their analysis of the causes of the favelas. There are no indications of feelings of relative deprivation. They do not present such feelings (in Kinder & Sears, 1985, terms) in relation to what they want in the favelas or in their houses. The improvements they want are not perceived as rights they have, nor do they deny that their situation is their own fault. There is no perception that the Government should provide workers with proper housing, or facilitate their access to proper housing (as will be seen later). There is hope that the government will act, but there is no evidence that they see it as a duty of the government to do so. The question of rights which emerged spontaneously from the interviews concerned the rights granted by the laws and these concerned mostly the labour legislation: pension on retirement due to age or health problems, health treatment, paid vacations, 13th salary,<sup>3</sup> paid maternity leave, and redundancy payment

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<sup>3</sup> Labour legislation in Brazil obliges all employers to pay 13 months  
(Footnote continued)

when dismissed. There is some vague notion that rights relate to contributions such as paying taxes. When they pay taxes, they have some rights. Vilma (Jardim Jacqueline) says, "because we pay a lot of taxes - I don't think that there is no money, what is lacking is the government, the mayor and the President to unite there."

When talking about their housing situation, what is salient is their feelings of insecurity vis a vis the present situation. This is rooted in the fact that they have not paid for the land, and therefore they cannot own it. It is the lack of security and not their rights to decent housing which is stressed. In other words, the fear of eviction is still present and is a result of the lack of documents proving that the occupation of the land is legal. This is present in both favelas. Raimundo (at Jardim Jacqueline) states,

"as we are not sure about the land, if one is against us, and we have to leave, then we cannot sell what we put in here (...) the people are building, they 'buy' and build. Now, now I mean, I do not feel I can sell or to buy from them (from the people who say they 'own' the land). Nobody can give us a piece of written paper, and the Municipality they say we have the right to the land, but I believe they are going to charge us. We have not paid, we cannot have the certainty".

Or Nair (Jardim Jaqueline): "We live here in disquiet (sic), maybe tomorrow we will have to leave here without knowing where to go. People who have not bought the land (...) we don't have a paper, there is no security. We sleep, but we sleep worried that it is not ours, that we have not paid. We sleep, but sleep thinking about this. If it is going to last one year, two years, or if it is one month or two."

Augusto (at Imperatriz), "The Municipality can get us out, then we lose. The land belongs to the Municipality, no-one is sure if they are going to sell it (...). If the Municipality move us out, I don't know where to go to."

Josefina (Imperatriz): "The land is not mine, if I had bought it, with a paper and everything, I could say, 'no, I will stay here for as long as, oh no I can stay.' But, I can't do anything, I can't have any happiness (...) it is in God's hands. My husband is

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<sup>3</sup>(continued)

of wages a year. The 13th salary is paid at the end of the year as a Christmas bonus.

afraid, we are poor we can't waste our sweat."

Sonia (Imperatriz): "Saving money, little by little, we could pay for the building material and then we can build one room (...) and where is our security? Do you think it is fair? 'Well, we need this area. We have to demolish because this area belongs to the Municipality.' The land is not ours. It belongs to the Municipality. We are here borrowed (sic) we are here spending a season. Because this belongs to someone else. That is, they are already doing us a favour by letting us stay here."

The feeling of insecurity persists even after water and electricity have been brought in, and after the Municipality has stopped the removals and evictions. In other words, despite evidence that the Municipality has changed its policies, and despite their organization with the formation of the Dwellers' Associations, it does not seem likely to disappear until one of two things happen: they are granted the legal ownership of the land or they acquire some awareness of their rights and/or of their strength as a group.

This intimidation, or fear, is extended even to what is clearly seen as rights - their labour rights. Among the 20 families interviewed in the two favelas there were five<sup>4</sup> whose employers had not registered them with the social security and were not paying any tax to the government while depriving them (the respondents) of any access to health care, paid vacations, etc. They were illegally employed. This was met with compliance from the respondents. None of the women working as maids were registered, nor were the bricklayers, although theoretically they were regularly employed. Another had not received her pay from the company she worked for, for the past three months. The fifth had not received proper compensation for an accident at work, and had not taken the employers to the Labour court. They justify

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<sup>4</sup> This cannot be called 'black economy' because they were not getting any benefit from the irregular situation, their wages were not higher, they were only getting negative side effects of this situation.



their inaction on the grounds that their choice is between being without work or submitting to those conditions. This occurs despite their knowledge that it is an irregular situation and that they can take the employers to Court.

Zaira (Imperatriz), "I made an agreement, I was afraid to be left without anything. If it's a case of messing around and then receiving nothing, it is better to stay quiet and leave it, at least I receive this pittance."

Arthur, Maira's husband (Jardim Jacqueline), "work is very scarce, they (the employers) don't worry. If we ask to be dismissed, there is another one to take your place, waiting to take your place. The streets are full of unemployed bricklayers."

They do not believe they can get their employers to obey the laws. The choice is seen as between accepting the conditions or searching for other work. They do not have any trade union affiliation for the reasons exposed in Chapter 2. Most of the unions did not develop the image of defending the workers vis a vis the employers, but that of bureaucratic, distant organizations which served the government and sometimes the employers but not the employees. The recent changes in the trade union movement in Brazil have not reached the mass of workers, but mostly the industrial elite represented by skilled workers such as metal workers and those in the professional trades.

Laura (Jardim Jacqueline) and Oda (Imperatriz) are more aggressive in defending their rights vis a vis employers. Laura has refused to work without being registered, and Oda was dismissed when she was pregnant, and has taken her employers to the Labour court. When labour rights are known and their enforcement is sought, this does not generalize to the perception that other rights exist and must be defended as well. Caldeira (1984) observed this in research about how the powerless related to the powerful. Writing about women and young people she says:

"They are not aware of what I am calling the 'principle of political citizenship', therefore they cannot think about themselves as citizens vis a vis the State, not even to identify themselves as marginal. They are, in fact, just individuals without rights vis a vis the State, which is seen as dictating the law, which establishes obligations and against which there is no appeal. They do not think of themselves as a category - 'the workers of Brazil' - who recognised as such, would bring to mind some (notion of) 'rights' (...) they have information (about labour rights) especially the men, even if fragmented. They know that elections are important and that decisions are made 'by them, out there', they know the workers lack means to make known their position and to demand, they know that, if dismissed, they are entitled to compensation, but these are facts which are not articulated in discourse as rights and duties." (p. 242)

Caldeira interprets this as a consequence of the lack of political experience of citizenship which would be expressed by taking part in electoral campaigns, political parties and trade unions, and as direct consequence of the regime established in 1964: in sum, it is to be attributed to the political socialization process. There are more opportunities for the reinforcement of their powerlessness than for changes in it in their interactions with representatives of the State, social workers, doctors, nurses, politicians, etc. These are always marked by an asymmetry in power; these persons have the power to open or block their access to some good they need. Civil servants, for instance, are continually reaffirming their power over the population. Vilma (Jardim Jacqueline) discussing how doctors treat people like herself: "There are some hospitals where the doctors say: 'if you knew anything, you would not need to bring your child here.' So I don't say anything, I keep quiet." Maira (Jardim Jacqueline), "You go to the Regional Administration and they treat you like a dog, they don't even look at you." Zaira (Imperatriz), "If they demand that we do it, we cannot do anything. We have to stay quiet because if you say anything they won't hear." My guess is that the population does not perceive these civil servants as fulfilling an obligation, a duty to be of service to them (the population), but as gatekeepers to services and

goods the population needs. It is not an obligation, but a favour that is provided.

To some extent this is a mixture of lack of awareness of certain rights and fear of insisting that the rights be fulfilled. The fact that they are aware of their labour rights, then, is not necessarily translated into demands for their enforcement. It is my interpretation that feelings of lack of individual political efficacy prevents them from pressing their claims: this is expressed in their justifications for their compliance in employment situations in which their rights are being ignored: "it's better to have little now, than nothing". They do not trust that they can influence decisions, and that the system will respond in their favour.

When the issue of improvements in the area is examined, different types of efficacy and inefficacy emerge in their statements: feelings of lack of personal efficacy in relation to other dwellers; feelings of group political efficacy - feelings that the favelados, if united can succeed; feelings of lack of system responsiveness - that although the group can pressure, the system will not respond; mediated political efficacy - the leader or leaders have the ability to succeed in negotiating with the government; and mediated personal efficacy - the Municipality can succeed in enforcing certain rules of communal living and in improving their lives in the area. It seems that some types of lack of efficacy result in withdrawal, others in the attribution of efficacy to groups, persons or institutions (mediated efficacy).<sup>5</sup> The

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<sup>5</sup> In the case of labour rights, their withdrawal from action could be interpreted as a result of the lack of an agent to whom they might attribute efficacy. The trade unions should have been, or should be, such an agent. That they are not could be interpreted as an indicator of the 'success' of the government's legislations and policies to  
(Footnote continued)

people in the two favelas have different reactions, they do not present exactly the same pattern, but show subtle differences in perceived efficacy.

### 7.2.1 Jardim Jacqueline

The different types of personal and political efficacy are better visualized through their statements. By the creek, people were discussing the problems with the lack of cohesion and cooperation from the other dwellers in improving the area. The Municipality is seen as the only agent which can interfere and actually do something. Luzia (by the creek),

"I think the Municipality should come here and say what is better. Because it is the greater power (forca maior), we don't have any power. We cannot beat on our own chests and say 'I am' or 'I am not'. They would send a person here who would say: 'Look, this is going to be this way: you are going to live on top of this cigarette Luzia', then I, 'Ah, but': 'Ah, this is what I can give you to live in', Right? (...) With an order from the Municipality, nobody jokes, and afterwards the government comes in. Because the Municipality next to the Government is nothing, right? Because everybody is afraid of the Government."

Maira (by the creek), "The people here, no, the dwellers here, because if we want to talk they are going to get violent and start a fight with us (...). The land is the Municipality's and it can get us out."

Such lack of personal efficacy appears also at the top, Jairo: "If we talk, we get nowhere. It is useless, you are going to make bad blood yet. Because there are people who, sometimes, if you talk they still understand, 'no, it is all right'. But if the social workers come then they believe and they accept (...) What is needed is an order, to come here and give an order: 'you are going to do it, and you have to do it, and if you don't do it you are going to vacate the land, or vacate the land because I am going to put here some person who does it'. Then they will do it because otherwise .. (...) there must be an outside authority because from inside it won't work."

In the spontaneous statements, lack of personal efficacy is expressed in the proposed solutions for internal tensions through

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<sup>5</sup>(continued)  
divest the unions of their basic functions.

forceful action of an external agency. It is a request for an authoritarian, rigid ruling. The action suggested is one which "disciplines" the favela and its inhabitants. Flor, for instance, says,

"It was necessary that someone walked around here, a person who knew things, too, and he ought to go into the houses to tell them to discipline their children. To stop them from throwing stones on our roofs. To stop them from swearing at us. Because they do all their bullying, and afterwards if we complain, it is much worse, it is heavy swearing. A person of capacity. It was good to go into the houses and tell them to discipline their families (...). A man, wearing a uniform, like a policeman."

Or Belmiro, "The favela has to be disciplined, it must be disciplined. There has to be someone to discipline the favela. Do you know whose fault this is? Why the favelas are like this? Because of the Municipality. Because the dweller in this favela, he is living, occupying the land of the Municipality. Because the favela, every favela belongs to the Municipality..."

Nair and Raimundo say,

Nair: "I think that if the Municipality had a meeting and said what was to be done that would be a good thing.

Raimundo: Some dwellers here need surveillance to see how it is and so they would be disciplined.

Nair: To change, you have to have someone on top of them, to guide and be firm, to see if they obey."

It is expected, then, that the Municipality or some external agent, should come in and not only mediate the relations between the dwellers but also determine who should and who should not live there. This would assure them that only the hardworking families would remain in the area.

Maira says, "The ones who do not want to organize the favela, the Municipality should come and tell them 'since you do not want it, you have to move out'. It would clean it up, wouldn't it?" This view is also sponsored by Eliza (a neighbour) and by Luzia, who suggests screening on the basis of working or non-working, "You don't work? Out".

The lack of personal efficacy expressed vis a vis their neighbours is also expressed vis a vis the Municipality itself when they consider individual or small group action. Eliza,

"So many women from here have gone to the Municipality, there is no use in calling me again. I am fed up with going after this. The people go there to complain and they don't do a thing. They don't bring water or anything. I am tired of it, they don't solve it. They make promises that's all. I have heard them say for about four years now that they are going to bring in water."

These are feelings of lack of individual personal and political efficacy, they are powerless vis a vis the Municipality and their fellow neighbours as individuals. The comments from the other interviewees all follow the same line. The defence of strong action from the Municipality suggests some compensatory mechanisms: their lack of power will be reduced by the strong power or force from the Municipality.

Group political efficacy is expressed in their statements about who is responsible for achieving the improvements, since, when talking about this they indicate that both the Municipality and the population have roles to play. Most of the improvements sought (land tenure, sewerage, water, schools, creches, improvements on the roads) depend on the Municipality's decisions and actions. To the Municipality is generally attributed the role of deciding to make the investment and provide resources, material and effort. To the population is attributed the role of pressuring the Municipality and providing labour for some of the improvements, which do not demand special skills. To play these roles the population must unite. The problem is lack of unity, not lack of group political efficacy.

Vilma, Laura and Jupira say it is the Municipality and the population getting together. Vilma says, "I think it is a responsibility of the Municipality, the money, because there is no money, and another thing is to get together. Everybody, uniting we get strong." There is awareness that joint action is needed. Maira says,

"the favelas which are better are the ones where the people are more united. If one struggles, everyone struggles isn't it so? But in this favela it is like this, if I struggle no-one else struggles - it is like the rats, we went there, they come and put poison. But it is worthless, one person to be united (sic) if the others aren't (...). It is necessary that everyone is united. If there is no union the rat will continue to invade."

At the top, those who advocate action from the Municipality also see the need for "union":

Jairo says, "What is missing is everybody to agree, to unite more. If everybody united. When the electricity was about to come, we said, we were going to rent a bus and go together to the Regional Administration to make a conflict (sic), but then they dropped it. No-one said anything and the electricity came, it was not necessary any more".

Belmiro also says, "It depends on the Municipality and it also depends on an agreement of the people. Because as you know, without accord, do you know the saying? Without agreement, no-one lives. It has to be agreed and those who don't want to agree should be kicked out".

Nadia, like Maira, compares their favela with the other favelas,

"This is the reason this favela is like this. In the favelas, where there were more meetings, where all the people went, everything is more organized. Like Jardim d'Abril, Sao Jorge. Then it is lack of union because, as they say, everything is, is like a family problem. Everything with union has prosperity and without union there is no prosperity isn't it? It is ugly".

The group discussion by the creek ended with the suggestion that perhaps

"if we get a group of women together and go to the Regional Administration and stay from morning until night they will give us everything. If we stay there. But if one person goes and the other doesn't"- Cida - "But then if there's a strike, and I work, I cannot make (sic) strike, isn't that so?"

This awareness of the need to unite, to get together and act as a group does not lead to the actual behaviour of getting together. It is my interpretation that this is the result of a combination of factors:

- (a) the lack of communication between the dwellers (Chapter 6) sometimes grounded on fears, on prejudices and stereotypes, possibly representing a vicious circle; (b) the structure of the spontaneous

groups with their strong external boundaries, which provides people with an independent life within the favela, and diminishes the need to interact with other groups or persons; (c) the leadership style and its effects on the process of the movement; (d) the permanence of feelings of lack of individual personal and political efficacy; (e) finally, the fact that these improvements although necessary are not perceived as extremely urgent, or pressing enough.

### 7.2.2 Imperatriz

At Imperatriz, personal and political inefficacy were less salient. When talking about means to get the improvements they describe the actions people have to carry out. The emphasis is on the dwellers, the leadership roles and on the different steps or type of work that the improvements demand. The Municipality's role is left implicit. One example of this attribution of roles is water: water is brought by the Water Company, but the dwellers are responsible for creating the conditions for the water to be brought into the area.

Oda (Imperatriz) commenting on how the water will come in and what is happening to the passages,

"They have to get those 3 or 4 shacks out of there. The ones on top of the sewage. To get us more air, and to remove the filth. The people can't go on living on top of this filth breathing that air. It is Alvaro's idea not to remove them. He says it is not necessary. And we have to make ours smaller. Nothing is going to improve this way because the filth will remain. (...) We will have to change our shacks, the Water Company will bring in the water. I am not going to let my husband go under these shacks in the sewage, he may catch a crazy fever. Let's see how Alvaro is going to do it. He will have to do it himself. It was his idea."

Zaira talking about the land tenure: "the support of everybody. If everybody got together with Alvaro we would have it by now (..) But people promise and don't do it."



At Imperatriz, some dwellers do evince feelings of lack of personal efficacy and those like the people at Jardim Jacqueline call for action from the Municipality. These dwellers coincidentally take no part in the Dwellers' Association.

Marlene has a viewpoint similar to the people at Jardim Jacqueline:

"The Municipality has to decide this. They should come and mark it, measure the land say who is leave. Because if the neighbours do it, even if one says that, that one can't stay, there will be fights, and they won't leave. I think that if it is the Municipality they have to accept the agreement. But from another person I don't believe it."

Cecilia, discussing the need to move to a better place and the delays in such a move:

"When they speak, you have to stay quiet, because I can't do anything. I am even tired of going around, of talking."

Josefina, "If they say (the Municipality) it is 'yes', it is 'yes'. If they say 'no', it is 'no'. What can we do? We can't do a thing. What can we do? We can't do a thing, that's it."

The data from the interviews was complemented by data from the survey, this is discussed next and the two favelas are, then, compared.

### 7.2.3 The survey

Most improvements sought by the population in both favelas are collective. There are differences between the two as was observed in the interviews (see Table 7.2.3.1 overleaf).

This collective/individual agenda for improvements is not related to participation, that is, whether people participate or not, predominant importance is attached to collective items. By collective I mean that these cannot be provided for one dwelling only. If one

Table 7.2.3.1 Which improvements are needed here? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz		
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %
Collective items	(19) 29.0	(36) 54.0	(7) 11.0 (62) 94.0	(20) 57.0	(8) 23.0	(4) 11.0 (32) 91.0
Individual items	-	(4) 6.0	- (4) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0 (3) 9.0
Totals	(19) 29.0	(40) 60.0	(7) 11.0 (66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0 (35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas:  $\chi^2_0 \approx 0.24$   $\chi^2_{C} = 3.84146$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 1 N.S.

individual approaches the agency in charge of the provision of that service he/she will not get the service: sewerage, water, creches, security, light in the streets are the improvements frequently mentioned.

The Water (and Sewerage) Company will not bring a main pipe or drain into a street or passage to service one house only; the Municipality will not build a school, or a creche because one person or two asked for it; lights will not be installed in the streets for one dwelling only; the police will not provide protection for one house only. Issues such as clearing land titles again will not be solved for one dwelling as it involves clearing the titles for the whole area which is being illegally occupied. Cleaning a creek may sound like work that could be carried out individually, and to a certain extent this is the case since the families living by the creeks try to clean them. But the cleaning that is needed and which is mentioned in the list for improvements demands the use of heavy equipment because people throw all sorts of things, like rubbish from construction sites into the creeks, which cannot be removed without such equipment.

This list of improvements suggests some differences between the two favelas; (a) at Imperatriz there is more similarity between participants and non-participants in the definition of improvements needed than at Jardim Jacqueline; (b) although basic services are sought by the people in both favelas, there are some differences which can be explained on the basis of what they already have. This is what seems to occur both at Jardim Jacqueline and at Imperatriz. At Jardim Jacqueline sewerage is most often mentioned. The next items, water, school, creches, lights in the streets, cleaning the creek, reveal differences between participants and non-participants. Participants

want school and creche, whereas non-participants are asking for water, lights in the streets and cleaning the creek. This suggests that most participants already have water.<sup>6</sup> There is no creche in the vicinity and the children from "the top"<sup>7</sup> attend a school on the opposite side of a busy motorway. There is a bridge for pedestrians but to use it people have to make a detour. Most children and adults avoid it, crossing the motorway instead. Parents at "the top" are not always able to supervise their children on their way to school because of their working schedules. Most participants live at "the top" while the non-participants are distributed throughout the two areas, "the creek" and "the top". Their agenda for improvements is dictated by the areas they occupy. Cleaning the creek is a need expressed by the people next to the creek, water is needed by those who are still sharing water or who have to use wells, and lights in the streets are needed to increase security and so on (see Table 7.2.3.2 overleaf).

At Imperatriz the difference between participants and non-participants lies not in the items mentioned, but in the fact that non-participants mention fewer items: this suggests that they already have most of the basic services, whereas the participants still are in need of sewerage, water, and of improving their houses (the most often mentioned items).

This raises the issue of lack of participation when the benefits which are wanted, or sought, have been achieved. That is,

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<sup>6</sup> Water was not installed in every dwelling, but only in those located in streets or passages wide enough to fulfil technical requirements.

<sup>7</sup> The children living next to "the creek" attend other schools. The area occupied by the favela is divided in terms of school areas. The children from the top are assigned to schools beyond the motorway.

Table 7.2.3.2 Which improvements are needed here? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Sewerage	(10) 15.0	(16) 24.0	(4) 6.0	(11) 31.0	(2) 6.0	(3) 9.0	(16) 46.0
Water	(1) 1.0	(9) 14.0	-	(7) 20.0	-	(2) 6.0	(9) 26.0
Improve the houses	-	(5) 8.0	(1) 1.0	(6) 17.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(9) 26.0
School	(5) 7.0	(1) 2.0	-	-	-	-	-
Creche	(9) 14.0	(5) 7.0	-	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	-	(3) 9.0
Passages	-	-	-	(4) 11.0	(3) 8.0	-	(7) 19.0
Improve roads	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(1) 2.0	-	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Lights in the streets	-	(8) 12.0	(1) 2.0	-	-	-	-
Security/more police	(4) 6.0	(5) 7.0	(1) 2.0	-	(1) 3.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0
Clean creek	(3) 5.0	(8) 12.0	(2) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	-	(3) 9.0
Remove litter	-	(3) 5.0	-	-	-	-	-
Local health centre	(3) 5.0	(4) 6.0	-	(1) 3.0	-	-	(1) 3.0
Land tenure	(1) 1.0	-	-	(1) 3.0	-	-	(1) 3.0
More space between houses	-	-	-	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(5) 15.0
Others*	(1) 1.0	(4) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0	(3) 8.0	(1) 3.0	(6) 17.0
Total	(35)	(74)	(10)	(38)	(14)	(11)	(63)

MULTIPLE ANSWERS

\* Most respondents, in both favelas, answered the question by referring to improvements to the area, not to their houses or their personal lives. The people who gave answers referring to personal life (employment, good health, etc.) were grouped under "others".

non-participants at Imperatriz seem to be the ones who have been satisfied as far as the needs which were associated with collective action are concerned, while participants are still trying to get water and sewerage. The opposite seems to be true at Jardim Jacqueline, where most participants appear to have water, while non-participants still list it as a need. This suggests that the uneven distribution of services which were fought for, such as water, may be a demobilizing factor at Jardim Jacqueline, whereas at Imperatriz, people continue to participate despite this unevenness. This, if true, would raise yet another issue, why would some people at Imperatriz have maintained their participation despite the unevenness in the benefits achieved? One answer is that there are other gains from this participation aside from the actual services. This is related to political efficacy and self-esteem and will be discussed later.

The list of desired improvements and the proposed means through which improvements are to be obtained, reveal more information about the respondents' political efficacy. The question about means of getting the improvements was: how should they be sought? Nevertheless, many respondents answered instead the question: "Who should provide it?", because their answers were: the Municipality or the government agencies (see Table 7.2.3.3 overleaf).

The need for dwellers to unite is stressed by both participants and non-participants at Jardim Jacqueline and only by participants at Imperatriz. These differences are not significant, and, in general, the means for action and the confusion between "Who is to obtain these" and "How improvements are to be achieved" occurs in both favelas among participants and non-participants.

Table 7.2.3.3 What should be done to achieve the improvements? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline		Imperatriz		Total			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %				
Dweller unifying meeting getting together	(9) 14.0	(13) 20.0	(4) 6.0	(26) 40.0	(7) 20.0	(3) 8.0	(10) 28.0	
It is the government/ Municipality's responsibility	(4) 6.0	(16) 24.0	(2) 3.0	(22) 33.0	(11) 31.0	(4) 11.0	(1) 3.0	(16) 45.0
It is the leadership's responsibility	-	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	(3) 9.0	-	(3) 9.0	
It is the Municipality & Dwellers together	(1) 2.0	-	-	(1) 2.0	-	(2) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0
Petitions/others	(1) 1.0	(3) 4.0	(1) 2.0	(5) 7.0	-	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
Does not know/ no answer	(4) 6.0	(7) 11.0	-	(11) 17.0	-	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 60.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas

$\chi^2_{30} \approx 8.49$   $\chi^2_{C} = 11.0705$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 5 N.S.

This question was followed by who is responsible for making the improvements. In the case of some respondents, this was redundant since they had already answered the previous question. The Municipality is seen as the main responsible agent for making the improvements. The leadership is also identified as responsible for making the improvements by respondents at Imperatriz, regardless of whether they are participants or non-participants (see Table 7.2.3.4 overleaf).

The answers to the questions about improvements and means for improvements provide indications that the Municipality and the governmental agencies in general are perceived to have decisive roles. Moreover, they suggest that some differences in participation could be explained by differences in the actual gains from the movement; they also reveal that unity is valued as a means of obtaining improvements leaving implicit the notion that there is some perception of group political efficacy. Unfortunately, these questions do not clarify the issues raised about personal and political efficacy in the interviews. Besides the problems with the misunderstanding about the questions there was one question missing: "Why". Most respondents spontaneously stated "why" the government should carry out the improvements, or why the leadership or again why the Dwellers meetings or getting together could achieve the benefits, but these were not answers to a standard question and were not analysed.

The question "Which improvements are needed here?" cannot be interpreted as revealing their priorities. When asked about "Which are the most pressing problems here?" the discrepancy between participants and non-participants at Jardim Jacqueline disappears: criminality/violence is seen as the most pressing problem by everyone. At



Table 7.2.3.4 Who is responsible for the improvements? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz			
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	
The Municipality	(13) 20.0	(33) 50.0	(5) 7.0	(13) 37.0	(3) 9.0	(4) 11.0	(20) 57.0
The leadership	(4) 6.0	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	(6) 17.0	(5) 14.0	(1) 3.0	(12) 34.0
The different government agencies	-	(3) 4.0	-	(3) 4.0	-	-	-
The dwellers	(1) 1.0	(1) 2.0	-	(2) 3.0	(2) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0
Does not know/ no answer	(1) 2.0	(2) 3.0	-	(3) 5.0	(1) 3.0	-	(1) 3.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 10.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(5) 14.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas  $\chi^2_0 \approx 9.28$   $\chi^2_c = 9.48773$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 4 N.S.

Imperatriz, the differences between participants and non-participants remain but are, again, not significant. The differences between Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz are, however, significant (see Table 7.2.3.5 overleaf).

At Imperatriz the respondents are most concerned with water/ sewerage, there is more dispersion of items than at Jardim Jacqueline where most respondents are concerned with criminality/violence and then water/ sewerage.

The solutions to these pressing problems again present significant differences. The solutions are dependent upon the problem: criminality/violence demands action from: the police, from the dwellers themselves (lynching): answers such as "There is no solution", or "does not know", suggest a certain helplessness. Water and sewerage demand action from the Municipality or that the dwellers get together in meetings. This "pressing problem" could be interpreted as the grievance which would bring people together to participate. At Jardim Jacqueline it refers to a problem they do not feel they can solve as it is not in their sphere of action, whereas at Imperatriz it refers to a topic they can act on to speed up its solution: water/sewerage (see Table 7.2.3.6 overleaf).

This suggests that the nature of the grievance and its solution are also related to participation. At Imperatriz the grievance is water/sewerage, at Jardim Jacqueline these are improvements which are needed, but the pressing problem is something quite different - it is violence/criminality vis a vis which they do not feel there is anything they can effectively do. To act against the criminality/violence the group would have to get together and press the authorities. This

Table 7.2.3.5 Nowadays which are the most pressing problems? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz				
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Total %		
Criminality/violence	(9) 14.0	(29) 36.0	(3) 5.0	(36) 55.0	(5) 14.0	-	(5) 14.0	
Water/sewerage	(3) 4.0	( ) 5.0	(3) 5.0	(9) 14.0	(7) 20.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0 (10) 29.0	
House/structure	-	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	(3) 9.0	-	(1) 3.0 (4) 12.0	
There are none	(2) 3.0	(4) 6.0	-	(6) 9.0	(2) 6.0	-	(2) 6.0 (4) 12.0	
Others	(5) 8.0	(4) 6.0	(1) 1.0	(10) 15.0	(4) 11.0	(5) 14.0	-	(9) 25.0
No answer	-	(1) 1.0	-	(1) 1.0	-	(3) 9.0	-	(3) 9.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 6.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 26.0	(5) 15.0 (35) 100.0	

$\chi^2$  for the totals in the two favelas.  $\chi^2_0 \approx 18.66$   $\chi^2_c = 11.0706$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 5 S.

Table 7.2.3.6 How can these (most pressing problems) be solved? X Participation

	Jardim Jacqueline			Imperatriz				
	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %	Partic. %	Non-partic. %	Occas. %	Total %
Police	(7) 11.0	(13) 20.0	(3) 4.0	(23) 35.0	(3) 8.0	-	-	(3) 8.0
Municipal government	(5) 8.0	(4) 6.0	-	(9) 14.0	(5) 14.0	(1) 3.0	-	(6) 17.0
Meetings	(4) 6.0	-	(1) 2.0	(5) 8.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(2) 6.0	(6) 18.0
To kill the criminals	-	(4) 6.0	-	(4) 6.0	(2) 6.0	-	(1) 3.0	(3) 9.0
There is no solution	-	(6) 9.0	-	(6) 9.0	(2) 6.0	-	-	(2) 6.0
Others	(1) 1.0	(4) 6.0	(1) 2.0	(6) 9.0	(4) 11.0	(3) 9.0	-	(7) 20.0
Does not know	(2) 3.0	(6) 9.0	(2) 3.0	(10) 15.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	-	(3) 9.0
No answer	-	(3) 4.0	-	(3) 4.0	(2) 6.0	(1) 3.0	(2) 6.0	(5) 15.0
Total	(19) 29.0	(40) 61.0	(7) 11.0	(66) 100.0	(21) 60.0	(9) 27.0	(5) 15.0	(35) 100.0

$\chi^2$  for the totals of the two favelas  $\chi^2_{0.05} \approx 19.88$   $\chi^2_{C} = 14.0671$   $\alpha = .05$  d.f. = 7 S.

presupposes that the individuals talk to each other and discuss their problems. To do so the climate of fear and suspicion which exists must be lifted.

### 7.3 The leaders and the leadership as seen by the population

All the verbalizations analysed here are spontaneous. No direct questions were asked about the leadership only clarifications such as "who is this person", "why", "what do you think about this", "how do you feel about it?"

It was essential to be non-directive to check that the fact that the leaders had introduced me to the dwellers had not contaminated the data by raising suspicions about my role, my relations with the leaders and the purpose of the research.

These comments emerged when they discussed means for improvements, how past improvements were obtained, their problems with water, electricity, and neighbours. Through these comments emerges a picture of their perceptions of the leaders of the leadership, their political efficacy, the roles and functions attributed to them, an evaluation of their performance and skills, the quality of their interaction and their information about the formal set-up of the Dwellers' Association. The leaders in both Jardim Jacqueline and at Imperatriz are perceived to have political efficacy or mediated political efficacy. However, the role attributed to them in the achievement of the improvements varies.

At Imperatriz the leaders are perceived to have a prominent role in the effort to obtain improvements, so much so that it is difficult to isolate in the population's comments the issues concerning

leadership role from those concerning improvements. At Jardim Jacqueline the perception is more ambiguous.

### 7.3.1 The leaders, the leadership and their roles as seen by the population at Jardim Jacqueline

At Jardim Jacqueline, the formal president is Fernando. Although he is also seen as a leader, the de facto leader in the population's eyes is Antonio.

The roles or functions attributed to the leadership emerged when the population described the means for improvements and when they reported how they dealt with specific problems. Formally, the leaders at Jardim Jacqueline are responsible for all contact with the Municipality and external agencies. However, there is not much clarity about this because the leaders' behaviour seems ambiguous. They say people should always go to them first, and that the people should go to the social workers at the Regional Administration only to solve or attempt to solve personal problems. In reality the evidence is that when people go to them (the leaders) with problems, they generally advise them to go straight to the Water or the Electricity Company. The contacts with the Municipality seem to be done through the leaders, but when they do not respond quickly to the population, the population ends up going to the Regional Administration alone. Although at first when discussing means to obtain improvements, the interviewees did not immediately mention the leaders, in subsequent contacts and interviews, the link between the leaders and improvements was made. Jaime, for instance, says,

"Like the sewerage, the creche, etc., only the leaders know how to deal with this. Antonio is involved in that. He even told me something about a decision to build a creche there at Celeste (a nearby district)."

The other functions attributed to the leaders are: (a) solving problems with neighbours. They go to the leaders to complain about children's misbehaviour in general (stones), and damage inflicted on their property by neighbours. Conflicts between neighbours include fights (physical fights); disagreements over refuse thrown in communal areas, problems over water and electricity bills; inequities in the distribution of benefits; the presence of unwanted persons; problems about the school; (b) providing advice about building with durable materials, building sewerage networks, finding a plot upon which to build; (c) solving "technical problems" water leaks, faulty electricity, broken telephones, and refuse bins, are also brought to them.

Their role is entitled "the mayor" of the favela (in Belmiro's word) "the surveyor" (Nadia's expression), "the president", "the head", "the person in charge", "the responsible person".

Another function which was not mentioned but which was observed is that of "opinion maker". The leaders disseminate ideas, solutions and perceptions. The leaders' ideas about how to solve the criminality problem are advocated also by the respondents. The leaders' views about the people by "the creek" appear also in people's perceptions. It is possible that the leaders have captured the people's moods and that such consonant ideas are indications of their empathy and sensitivity, but the actual content of these suggests that the influence is the other way around. The leaders represent not only a reference group but a "significant other".

The leaders are perceived as efficacious in dealing with the Municipality, but not so much so in their "control over the population"

either in obtaining the cooperation of the people in the collective tasks or in "disciplining them". This failure is not always attributed to them, sometimes it is attributed to the Municipality. Jairo describes the incident with a neighbour who wanted to close the access to a few houses,

"He came out here and told the guy he couldn't do it, it was the same thing as if he hadn't come. The guy did not move an inch. Do you see? The president has no voice, he says something, the guys go against him (...) It is necessary to have a responsible person, 'now, this is what has to be done, this will be done!'"

Belmiro says that a head, a boss in the favela must come from the outside.

"Every favela has a boss. This one here also has but he can't legalize it because when he assumed the job there was already a fight (sic). So if he is to create a fight, people will get cross with him. So he can only help a little (...) If the Municipality sends an outsider to say, 'look ... you look after, you are going to be the boss, to enforce the law,' then there will be law, but someone from inside can't set (sic) the law. Because if he does, he creates (sic) bad blood, fights, misunderstanding. If the Municipality orders, then there will be law in the favela."

There are two perceptions: (a) lack of individual-personal efficacy mixed with political efficacy - the leader can be perceived as lacking in efficacy as individuals vis a vis other dwellers in the area and still have political efficacy vis a vis the Municipality; (b) lack of personal efficacy because they lack political efficacy in the system responsiveness dimension. This is Belmiro's perception. The leaders are efficacious in the sense that they try to influence the Municipality: they are not more successful because the Municipality (the system) does not respond well and this jeopardizes the leaders performance inside the favela.

Belmiro: "I understand that, and I think that, Antonio is the person who can take responsibility for this place, because all he did up to now is very valuable. Antonio knows how to discipline the favela. He doesn't discipline more because he doesn't have great power (...) Because the Municipality doesn't adopt him ("adota ele" - sic) to give him much power. But he has capacity. He and



the other Fernando. Because this electricity here, which came here, it was Antonio and the other Fernando who gave power for it. And afterwards it was the water. Water didn't come for me not because of the Sabesp (Water Company), not because of Antonio or Fernando, it was because of the neighbour (...) But poor ones, they have the will, but lack power, because they don't have fame ("Cartaz"),. it is weak, and they are not valued. They have the will, but the Municipality, let us say, should do this: 'if someone is wrong you expel them (...) Because they are in charge of the favela (...) But the Municipality has to legalize it."

From their narratives, the type of contact established is one where they take the initiative of contacting Antonio and Fernando for advice, guidance and action within the settlement. There is some suggestion that problems with government companies and/or agencies (such as the Water and Electricity Company)<sup>8</sup> have to be solved by themselves.

The information the people have about the Dwellers' Associations formal functioning is meagre. Spontaneously, only one person spoke about the electoral proceedings and how the lists of candidates are organized. This lack of information is generalized (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). It is a further indication that the population has limited contact with the Dwellers' Association.

#### 7.3.2.1 The leaders image

Most of the comments concerning the leader's image and the population's perceptions of the leader refer to Antonio. He is seen as capable, strong, as a fighter and as the person who achieved the past improvements. Fernando is seen as dedicated, hardworking, but sometimes not as efficacious as Antonio. Frequently he is compared

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<sup>8</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, the Water Company and the Electricity Company are state enterprises whose policies are established, to a certain extent, by the municipal and state government.

with Antonio, which results in a less attractive image. Otavio, the other leader, is mentioned mostly in a critical way: he is considered to have an unsympathetic attitude. The general idea is that Antonio, with Fernando's help, obtained all the improvements. Before him nothing was done, and without him nothing happens. There are no direct criticisms of his performance. Although the population may criticize "the leaders" or some specific leaders, Antonio is exempted from it. He is considered by and large the most important person in the Dwellers' Association.

Nair, talking about the movement nowadays,

"Ah, the one who, the most united one said he is leaving - Antonio. If he leaves this will get nowhere (...) If it were not for Antonio we wouldn't have water and electricity here. There wouldn't be because before he came here everybody was already here and nothing happened, no-one ever stood up to say, 'let us ask for electricity'. They only said, 'Can't you see, can't you see, that here? Here? Here is a favela, who is going to bring water here? Who is going to put electricity here?' This is the talk here (...) Antonio is not afraid of talking, he knows how to speak. He goes into any place and speaks."

She was interrupted by Nadia, who complemented,

"Yes, Antonio knows how to talk. If it was not for Antonio the dwellers here would still be in the dark, there would be no water and he would miss work. Antonio lost working days and sleep at night, to go to meetings. Late at night he would come back from meetings here, alone with God. The little or much we have, we thank him for. There are a lot of people here who don't deserve even that much."

Otavio is the third person described as leader, and is seen as someone who does not care for the population. Francisca (by the creek) at the women's group said,

"They (the Municipality) sent me to talk to him so he would set up a meeting to discuss the problem and so we would go to the Regional Administration together." He did not as much as look at

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<sup>9</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 5, the social workers at the Regional Administration adopted a policy of helping the Dwellers' Associations by refusing to attend to individual requests from the population, thus encouraging them to use their representatives.

my face. He picked up the piece of paper and disappeared."

No meeting was organized which led Francisca to conclude,

"he is disgusting, that one from the bar (he owns a bar in the favela) doesn't do a thing."

Flor (at the top) says, "Otavio is not a nice person, you go to talk about these problems, and he, well he should take care of it shouldn't he? He is in that business. But he does not help. He is too proud, he pays no attention to us. To explain things to us. Now, Fernando, Antonio, he is very attentive, he is nice. He explains everything clearly".

Jairo is one of the few who is critical of the leadership in a generalized way. From his remarks the image that emerges is of a relaxed, laissez-faire leadership that postpones taking action.

Talking about his decision to build his house with bricks he says,

"As I said to the chap, the president, 'You could give an authorization for us to build. Because how about if some stupid person shows up and asks for it, what are we to do?' He said, 'Don't worry, they (the Municipality) have given an order that anyone who can afford to build can go ahead and build.' But I am still afraid, because should they come, against us. They will want us to present a paper that we don't have. I hope they won't disturb us," or "When electricity was taking a long time to come the neighbours suggested that we ask the Municipality. We spoke with the president, 'Look, it won't help to talk to them, they have many problems and we are not the only favela, there are many favelas with the same problem. So, we have to wait for them to solve it out there and then see what happens.' Antonio said, 'We are looking after this, but let's wait, let's be calm' (...) But they are like this here, they don't go after it, do you understand? Because sometimes the person has to go after it."

Or again when he thought about organizing the sewerage disposal, "Then I spoke about it with Antonio, with the chaps from the Committee, I said, 'Can we set up drains for the sewage and take it to the creek?' He replied, 'That will be done later, we will set up drains here and there.' Afterwards no-one said another word about it. Now if we ask them what is going on they say, 'The Municipality is deciding, the social workers.' To tell you the truth, I think they (the leaders) don't know much. You ask them something, they never have an answer."

Although Jairo interprets the situations he reported as examples of laissez-faire, his accounts indicate that at least in his case, his contributions, initiatives and suggestions were not encouraged, approved or somehow integrated into the solutions advocated by the

leaders. They seem to have always been turned down and dismissed. Jairo does not seem aware of this, or this is not relevant to him. Considering the sensitivity to exclusion detected in the population and which is documented in their complaints about exclusion from participation in the Mothers' group, in the children's play group, from access to donations distributed to the favelados (medicines, clothing, toys), their protests about lack of information about jumble sales, meetings, religious gatherings, etc., and considering the fact that the leaders are significant others in relation to participation, my interpretation is that Jairo is actually unaware of the lack of incentives to his participation (and perhaps to the other dwellers as well) expressed in this type of interaction. As will be seen in the next chapter (Chapter 8), the leaders also seem unaware of the effects of their behaviour and attitudes on the participation of the dwellers.

### 7.3.2 The leaders and the leadership and their role as seen by the population at Imperatriz

Although the roles and functions attributed to the leaders at Imperatriz are similar to these at Jardim Jacqueline, the emphasis, and the scope of those functions are different, as is their interaction with the population.

Alvaro is the main leader and as such he mediates the contacts between the population and the Regional Administration and the Water and Electricity companies.

When requested by the population he gets in touch with the Municipality or the Water Company, either concerning decisions about what to do about individual improvements or moving people to other dwellings. Cecilia describes how the sewerage drains next to her house

were made,

"This sewerage was made by Alvaro, the material came from the Municipality. We went all together to ask for it. I went to complain, I had a horrible fever. He (Alvaro) took me. He got a group of people together and we all went to the Regional Administration, I told them about the smell, then we struggled and got the sewerage. It was the people from the favela, they got together with Alvaro and did it."

He is also called to help solve problems concerning bills, conflicts between neighbours and disputes in the informal water networks, etc. In sum, the people take to him all problems concerning services, relations between neighbours and even problems such as lack of money to pay bills which would usually be taken to a social worker. This is similar to Jardim Jacqueline. The difference is that Antonio provides information about what they have to do and where they have to go, but is more restrictive as to how much action he actually takes, Alvaro is not. Antonio takes action in the conflicts between neighbours and plays the role of mediator between the Regional Administration and the dwellers on issues concerning collective improvements, but not on individual problems. Alvaro acts whenever requested.

Zenaide takes her problems to Alvaro whether they concern the water bills or be it the neighbour who keeps 12 dogs in a small area,

"I went to Alvaro, he took the bills to the Regional Administration and told me not to pay. A second one, also large, came, I went to him, he told me not to pay again." "The woman with the dogs, barking and smelling, she doesn't clean the mess. I spoke to Alvaro, he wrote her an admonition."

Amelia needed water, "Before travelling my husband talked to him, told him he was going away and that the water might be cut off. Alvaro said it wouldn't. Then they did it, cut it off. Where was Alvaro? I was cross with him for assuring something he could not assure (...) I went to talk to him and he tried to get me a water meter but the men from the Sabesp said that the pipes couldn't come in, because of the sewage."

Information about the proceedings of the Association about how they meet and who does what, seems more widely distributed than at

Jardim Jacqueline. Zenaide did not take part at the beginning of the movement, now she does and knows the group is large. Augusto (her husband) says - "There are 2 or 3 working with him. (Alvaro)

Zenaide - "Working with him? There are many. There are many men and women. Only from this side there are two in the Association, Leonor, Mario, and more. Whoever wants, gets on the list, if you don't want you don't go on the list. Because there is a lot of work, and headache. There are many meetings at the Municipality, the Regional Administration, etc."

Zaira: "Depends on the presidents, there are many, there are presidents, a treasurer, and I don't know what, but Alvaro has the greater power, he is really the one who encourages (...) there are meetings of the team only. They discuss their problems, who goes to the Municipality, who is going to do that and this. Afterwards he tells us, he comes around and says: We had a meeting and such and such. They discuss what is going to be done, and if they have to go to the Municipality, when one can't go the other one goes in his place."

Sonia, "Everything with the Municipality they do. We don't have to go to meetings there. They go and tell us about it. And they have their meetings with the team only and other meetings with everybody else."

The role of outsiders (the external agents) such as Yvete, Aldo and the engineer from the Municipality, the social workers, the church workers, the volunteers, is perceived as distinct from that of the Dwellers' Association. Zaira says: "Quite a few people from the Municipality come around, and it is not their duty, they are giving us strength." Josefina who does not attend the meetings, nor has attended in the past, also knows the people from the Municipality. "There is Yvete, who comes around, she is from the Municipality, she has helped too."

Amelia says, "After Aldo, this Yvete started to come here to the headquarters, things are getting done. They come here in their free time. Saturdays, Sundays, then they are inside the favela, they see the problems (...) this means that they are giving us strength (...) because I think they have more practice in handling people, they talk, and they convince people with talking. They organize the people and give them courage for people to solve the problems, right? Because the people here, they didn't know how to deal with people, with convincing people to go to the meetings. There are persons who still say, 'this is foolish, they are just talking'. The majority now say, 'ah well, let's do that, it is good for us'."

The presence of the people from the Municipality is also acknowledged by Sonia and Oda. As in Jardim Jacqueline, there were spontaneous mentions of the leadership during the survey. Alvaro was named as the leader by 40% of the respondents.

People seem more informed about the activities taking place, persons involved and organizational procedures than at Jardim Jacqueline, regardless of whether they are participants or non-participants. This will be discussed in the next section.

#### 7.3.2.1 The leader's image

Alvaro is the main leader, he is described as dedicated and hard working, and in general he has a positive image. This does not exempt him from criticism. Although most attribute the achievement of improvements to his leadership, this is seen as a shared conquest, in contrast with Jardim Jacqueline where Antonio is seen as having 'conquered' the improvements by himself. Alvaro is seen as having provided guidance, encouragement, support and strength. Zaira describes it in this way:

"Alvaro set the day for the demonstration. All the strength here was his, because before he came, there was another one who, God forbid, did not achieve anything. Not even meetings really and we had none. Now, I like to take part in the meetings down there because I am told about what is happening and what is going to happen. Alvaro says that because of our fight, we got this here. The idea was always his, always the power here (sic). The energy is given to us by him."

Sonia criticizes Alvaro and the population because she disapproves of the solution that is being implemented to bring in water to areas still unserved. She says,

"Here we are not having power. Power from the population and our president. His power is also small. I think he is trying, but he is not trying that much (...) as Alvaro is our president, he should be more active (...), no-one is afraid of him, 'Ah, he is talking too much, to-morrow we are going to play ball and we will change his mind' (...) Alonso is not going to solve the problems

here, not him nor the team (the rest of the leadership), I think everybody should unite, everybody united with him, and if he doesn't get it. Alone, to go there by himself, because he may feel that if he goes alone, he won't achieve anything, he should take everyone."

Alvaro is compared to Diva who is seen as a strong and determined person. Amelia says,

"She puts in a lot of effort. She is also involved in this business. She ... some even threatened to kill her because they didn't want to do something, because she says, 'we are going to do it, and we are, and there is no business of saying no, we aren't' (...) I think this is good a person like this. Because at least she has the courage to face it. Because everybody needs. But many say, 'oh I am tired, I am not going to this, ah, leave it for another day! Then time goes by and nothing is ever done, and having a person who has the courage to face it, no, at least she says, 'no, we are facing this to-day, it is to-day (...) I think she has more courage than the president."

Most criticism of Alonso's performance comes from the people who are still without water. This was considered unfair. Sonia says it was a mistake to install water only in some dwellings because this gave the opportunity for a feeling of privilege, of difference to develop. This is seen as having "created differences" between the dwellers, a feeling that some had received not a service but a gift, which was given to some and not to others.

Sonia says, "the meetings used to be very crowded, so crowded, people had to stay outside the room. I remember these meetings ... everybody fought, with enthusiasm, now we are going to have water (...) with the water it went down, (...) we never commented but I think people became unhappy, people were dissatisfied (...) because it came for some and not for others, and if it is an improvement it should be, because it used to be equal."

Some dwellers such as Oda, were angrier because of what they saw as an injustice; they had worked for years in the Association attending meetings, going to places, using all their free time to try to get water and did not get it whereas people who had not worked at all got water (the free-riders).



Oda says, "I think we help him and he does not help us. He does not help us. Because as you can see. This man fought for three years with him. There were days when he arrived at 9 in the evening, he left his food to go to the Municipality to meetings, while everybody was in bed or watching T.V. The poor man would come back at 11, he worked far away and he would walk, every day, to and fro. For three years he followed. He (Alvaro) made no effort for us to get water, that's my complaint about him. We help him, he doesn't help us."

They are aware that the water did not get that far for technical reasons and that this is a problem of the Water Company, but still they blame Alvaro personally. Asked for an explanation for the limited water, Oda replied,

"Yes, we had people from Fabes (social workers), the engineer from Sabesp (water company) explaining that there was no way that water could come to this part, because of the lack of sewerage, lack of a passage. It was explained (...) now he (Alvaro) complains about us. He say, 'oh you talk too much, because I am helping you.' What help is he giving us here? No, we talk about the wrong things we see, that's what we talk about."

Sonia and Oda reveal that not only do they criticize Alvaro but that they voice this criticism to him, personally. This is also true of other dwellers such as Zenaide who was in charge of a water meter serving ten families, a function which was always giving her problems. She says, "Every time a new water bill arrived, I would swear at Alvaro, every time there was a fight." The quality of the interactions between the leader and the population is captured by her description of Alvaro asking for help or requesting that they take part in demonstrations:

Zenaide, "When they were building the headquarters, he asked for help, he said 'people who can help are welcome, those who can't are not forced to' or 'when they go to (demonstrations) one has to go too. If you work, you have to miss work to go. When they have those things in town. Alvaro says, 'If you can't go, Zenaide, because you must work, then send your daughter or your son'. And I do. All those meetings we take part along with Alvaro."

Zaira describes that when the sewerage network was being built, her husband was recovering from surgery. She went to Alvaro and explained

the situation, "he said, 'don't get upset, the healthy ones will work for him'."

He is perceived as calm and patient. To some these are virtues and to others these are weaknesses. For instance, Sonia says the problem is that he is too soft and that those who do not want to work manipulate him. To change this he should be more forceful:

"So I think that as Alvaro is our president, that he should come and say, 'Look we are going to do it - and we are going to face. Who does not want improvements? Then you decide what is better? A shack or a viaduct?' I think that if he spoke seriously with everybody, if he scared them it would improve (...) He has to be brave to face this problem, because as he is the president, helped by us, because we made him. We put faith in him. He has to help."

Moreover the leader is considered accountable to the population.

Oda says,

"Alvaro won (the elections) again, Aldo said (the Regional Administrator) said, 'He won and now all the problems that appear here, you have to go to Alvaro to solve them. You have to pressure him.' This is what I heard Aldo saying. This means that any difficulty we have, we have to run to his house (...) now he has to scare people so that they get together to help."

The evaluations from the population about Alvaro suggest that

- (a) they feel efficacious vis a vis him - they are aware that leadership implies an exchange; they elect him and he must serve them. These are relations which must be balanced. When Oda complains about Alvaro she is expressing the fact that there is a lack of balance in the relations. She is giving more than Alvaro is giving her;
- (b) they feel the leader is politically efficacious vis a vis the Municipality and personally efficacious vis a vis the other dwellers. They criticize him, as has been outlined, for not exercising his duties and not for lack of efficacy - he could obtain a positive response from the dwellers if he tried.

Furthermore issues related to lack of individual personal efficacy (towards their neighbours) are not raised as often as at Jardim Jacqueline. The conflicts with neighbours, whether present or forecasted are considered to be something that the leader has to solve instead of the Municipality (as suggested at Jardim Jacqueline).

The lack of criticism of Antonio's performance at Jardim Jacqueline could be attributed to a reaction to my introduction to the families by the leaders. However, I was introduced, mostly, by Fernando and not by Antonio. As people were aware I was talking to Antonio, perhaps they still refrained from criticizing him for fear that I would tell him about their ideas. They did, nevertheless, criticize Fernando and Otavio, the two other leaders, in spite of also knowing I was talking to them. My interpretation is that the absence of criticism of Antonio is a consequence of his refusal to assume the formal role of leader. This "informality" gives him extra power, because people are kept aware of the fact that he is doing them a favour, that at any moment he may step down. The relationship is uneven, people are not aware of the reciprocity in the relationship between leaders and those who are led. People do not realize that he is a leader because they give him this role: in sum, their need of a leader is stressed by Antonio's behaviour. Antonio's need of followers is not.

### Summary

I had expected to find a cadre of committed members as an informal leadership which would 'compete' with the formal leadership. I did not find such a cadre in the participative favela. Throughout the interviews, formal and informal, and the observations, aside from the leader, the people who appeared as influential were the members of the

intermediary leadership. This suggests that in situations where resources are scarce people with skills, drive and competence to participate will join in the formal organizational structure. This will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter (Chapter 8).

The population of the two favelas when examined in relation to the variables which, according to the literature on political participation, are said to explain political action differ only in their length of stay in the favela, their origins (states they have migrated from) and family income. They are similar in all other relevant variables such as family composition, gender and age of the head of the household, educational level and occupational status. The socio-economic and demographic profile of the two populations suggests homogeneity inside the favelas and also between the favelas. The major differences evidenced, although partly confirming the political participation literature, also point to possible differences in the political socialization process. This would explain the discrepancy between this evidence and that of the literature on political participation. Modernization does not necessarily lead to higher levels of political participation: in contexts such as the Brazilian one where there are large regional discrepancies in economic, cultural, ethnic and social factors, the study of the different political socialization processes may enhance the understanding of the present political behaviour of migrants in the urban centres.

These findings suggest that there are differences between the people at Jardim Jacqueline and at Imperatriz in their perceptions, attitudes and expectations about their respective leaderships. This is expressed in the evaluations of their performance, in the interaction between the leaders and the population and in the proximity of the

population to the leadership, exemplified in the information about the procedures used. As a result, at Imperatriz it seems that people are better acquainted with the Dwellers' Associations and more demanding of their leaders.

What are the repercussions for continued participation? The movements in the two favelas are different. There is more participation at Imperatriz, yet there is no evidence of political consciousness. The population in the two favelas explains the existence of the favelas in a similar way. The attribution contained in this explanation is neutral: they do not blame themselves or the government. They are aware of the stigma of favelado and this awareness does not lead to a reconceptualization of the favelado identity. The collective identity, which seems to exist at Imperatriz, seems centred on "the living place" without labelling it. The evidence seems to indicate that both populations reject a favelado identity. Their awareness of citizens rights is limited to labour rights. They are relatively aware of the need for joint action. Unity, getting together, pooling efforts are all positively valued. This does not necessarily crystallize as behaviour though the idea of unifying is defended. The evidence seems to lead to a different explanation for the differences in participation observed in the two favelas. The indications are that the differences in the two movements may derive among other things from differences in personal efficacy and in the populations relations with the leaders - the leadership style. This does not rule out the explanation that political consciousness is necessary for a long-term, self-supporting movement to evolve, that is, a movement which is independent from external support. The fact that I did not find a such movement does not allow me to rule out this hypothesis. It does suggest, nevertheless, that in a context such as

the Brazilian one, where there are few chances for the poorest sectors of the population to participate in political action, then perhaps it is necessary to have "opportunities" for political participation which are 'artificially' sustained at least initially, until people acquire some political competence. In this case, widespread political consciousness may not be a necessity: although certainly essential at the leadership level, it need not be so vital from the viewpoint of the population.

The ideas developed here are tentative in the sense that I cannot establish causality. My data refer to a specific historical moment. I did not follow the movement in the two favelas throughout the years and I am not able to say that the population is reacting now, differently from at the beginning. I have indications (from the testimony of the interviewees) that changes took place; that at Imperatriz before the Dwellers' Association started there was no cooperation, and that earlier attempts failed, according to them because of the lack of skills of the presumed leader. These data suggest that some change in personal efficacy took place, and that this was related to the experience of participating in the movement. Where does the evidence come from? At Jardim Jacqueline, there is an agenda for improvements; these are of a collective nature and refer to infrastructure. The operationalization of the agenda is mostly passive. They identify who should provide it, not how it should be provided. The main theme of conversation is still the problems, not the solutions, that is, 'we do need water' and not 'to get water we should do this'. The frustration caused by the lack of solutions seems to be turned against the group - who should be disciplined by an external power. The leader is respected uncritically. The successes are attributed to him and his companions. The population having benefitted from these, sometimes is

seen as being unworthy of them. The participation was passive: they listened, visited favelas, and were visited. This passivity is reflected in the lack of strategies to obtain new improvements. Their initiatives for action do not seem to have been encouraged. Personal efficacy is lacking; people do not seem to have changed with the experience. It is my interpretation that this experience did not present them with a new framework within which they could reconceptualize their roles. The idea that the benefits come without their help, through the action of the leader only, thus maintains their sense of inefficacy. Their feelings of lack of power, helplessness and fear do not seem to have changed with this experience either. The physical conditions of the favela Jardim Jacqueline are not as desperate or unfavourable as at Imperatriz. This allows the situation to continue, because the level of discomfort caused by the deprivations and the tensions between the small groups can be more diluted. There is more space between the houses, and there is greater proximity within the spontaneous groups. They can live separate lives, like self-sufficient micro-collectivities. The issues which are serious enough, violence/ criminality, are not issues that they can act on because they presuppose some type of trust between the dwellers if they are to act jointly.

At Imperatriz, the population discusses solutions, rather than problems. There are strategies for acting - 'prescriptions' for how the improvements should be demanded and achieved. In this action the role attributed to the population is active. They embody 'repertoires of action' (Tilly, 1979) which are to be put into practice: the population is seen as doing things in the area - providing actual labour, carrying out the activities agreed by the dwellers in the meetings of the Dwellers' Association, organizing and signing

petitions, taking part in street demonstrations, etc. These 'prescriptions' concern not only their own behaviour but also that of the leaders - they must get the other dwellers to cooperate. These suggestions are similar to the descriptions of what took place in the past. The means through which they succeeded in the past are advocated to be used in the next stages of demand-making. It seems that they have learned from their past experience. At Jardim Jacqueline there is evidence that a similar learning process took place, but with a more limited repertoire of action: 'to participate in the meetings' or to 'provide labour' for implementing benefits are two mentioned means for achieving their goals. In both Jardim Jacqueline and Imperatriz whichever action was successful<sup>10</sup> in the past is advocated for the future. This suggests that if leaders do not introduce changes, the differences in their participation in the past may be maintained in the future because there are no changes in terms of the expected involvement of the population. At Imperatriz, this does not seem to be a problem because the involvement advocated is intense. At Jardim Jacqueline this is problematic because little involvement is suggested in their actions. There is frustration with the behaviour of other dwellers at both Imperatriz and Jardim Jacqueline, specifically with the 'lack of cooperation' or 'free-riding', and action is demanded, again in both to change this. The population in the two favelas differ in the source of action and in the attribution of responsibility for taking the actions but they agree on the form of the action - authoritarian. At both Imperatriz and Jardim Jacqueline forceful action is demanded, but while in the former it is from their own leader, in the latter it is from an external source - the Municipality. Such differences seem to be the result of differences in personal

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<sup>10</sup> In the sense that the improvements sought were achieved.



efficacy and in the efficacy attributed to the leaders in the two favelas. At Jardim Jacqueline the leader is seen as politically efficacious towards the Municipality but as lacking in personal efficacy within the favela. At Imperatriz the leader is seen both as efficacious in political and in personal terms. Their attitudes and behaviour towards the two leaders differ. At Jardim Jacqueline there is near absence of criticism of Antonio's performance. My interpretation is that there is a respect based on fear of losing him as a leader and an obliviousness to their own role as legitimizing agents of his leadership. This expresses differences in the population's own sense of personal efficacy towards the leaders. While at Imperatriz people express personal efficacy in relation to their own leader, at Jardim Jacqueline the opposite occurs. At Imperatriz there is the feeling that the leadership can be challenged, because there is the perception that leadership actually means an exchange between the population and the leaders - 'we made him' says Sonia, furthermore, such relations must be balanced - Oda says, 'we struggled for him (Alvaro), he did not struggle for us'. The result for participation is that even when complaining about the movement's 'coldness' they continue to take part in the meetings, suggesting solutions, challenging the leaders and collaborating in the collective activities. At Jardim Jacqueline there is no such perception of the meaning of leadership. They perceive the duties of the dwellers, not those of the leader. Changes in the participation of the dwellers are visualized only through the action of external powers because the leader is not seen as having the ability to get this response from the population, not because of his personal characteristics but because of the people's characteristics. This crucial role of the leaders suggests a complex process of legitimization which will be further explored in Chapter 9

As to the role of grievances in participation, the situation in Imperatriz also suggests that whereas at first the intensity and nature of grievances may not explain participation, once this initial participation has taken place the intensity of grievances may fuel the development of the movement. At least from Imperatriz this would seem to be the case. The intensity of the problems and their nature - the raw sewage causing all sorts of health problems - is something no longer tolerable, although for years before the movement took place, the population quietly co-existed with it.

The data also reveals some of the effects of deeply introjected authoritarianism, the demands for "scaring", "pressurising", "forcing", "disciplining", suggest that even the persons at Imperatriz who have benefitted from a more democratic experience still appeal to force, to "convince" people to cooperate. Amongst both populations there is a belief that strong rule is the best. There seems to be no awareness of the costs to themselves and to the collectivity of such procedures. And most serious of all, it indicates an unawareness of their own rejection of it.

The nature of the relations between the leaders and the two populations will be examined next.

## Chapter 8

### The Leaders, the Intermediary Leadership and the Leadership Style

I had expected to find in a participative favela a cadre of committed members. I did not find such a cadre but found an intermediary leadership. This will be discussed later.

I had also expected that in the participative favela the leader would have feelings of relative and fraternal deprivation; system-blame causal attribution; individual personal political efficacy and group political efficacy. In addition, I expected the leader to see the favelados as significant others; to feel empathy and show insight towards the group, and to demonstrate political consciousness. The leader's actions were also anticipated as likely to be congruent with his verbal behaviour and he was expected to be in communication with different groups and subgroups in the favela. The leadership style was hypothesized as likely to be democratic. This implies that the leadership would be mobilizing, that is, it would stimulate the participation of active members and the expansion of the ranks; would have a participative decision-making process; would stimulate the development of a collective identity by presenting the community with resources to reconceptualize a negative social identity and to develop psychological group membership, and would interact with the population in a respectful and warm way (empathy and insight).

The data analysed in this chapter comes from the observations and from the formal and informal interviews. In this chapter I have drawn

extensively from the formal interviews and from the observations of the leaders. This was done to allow the reader more contact with their ideas as well as to provide evidence for my interpretations.

### 8.1 The intermediary leadership

The size of the leadership at Imperatriz suggested to me the possibility that this group represented my hypothetical "carry-overs", the critical mass of politically conscious committed dwellers who represented an informal intermediary leadership, or alternative leadership and who helped to establish balanced relations, that is, democratic relations between the leader and the population. This group would represent an alternative source of information, and as such would be "public opinion"makers; challenging the leader; making the leader more accountable to the population; providing a heterogeneous reference group and allowing for different individuals to identify with them.

The evidence indicates that some of the leaders did take an active part in an informal way before they formally joined in. This would suggest that there has been some encouragement for people who showed interest to join in formally. This may be a consequence of the scarcity of resources. Why this did not take place at Jardim Jacqueline is an issue which will be tentatively discussed in the next chapter. Although political consciousness seems scarce, in general, there is more involvement in the participative favela. The emergence of potential leaders at Imperatriz whether it was the consequence of a stimulating climate - where there are continuing activities, such as discussions, collective tasks or whether it was the result of the fact that the settlement had gathered a more interested, motivated, articulated and forthcoming population, or whether because past experience at Imperatriz had been more educational in that it had

allowed people to gain the confidence to externalize their ideas and opinions, the fact is that although what happened is nearly impossible to determine exactly nowadays, there is a broader leadership base at Imperatriz than at Jardim Jacqueline.

I will examine their feelings of psychological group membership (group identity), altruism, personal and group political efficacy, relative deprivation, internal personal control, system-blame causal attribution, political consciousness (awareness of their rights, of the need for joint action, and of a collective identity), communication with different groups within the favela, rules of action, that is, their beliefs and values, and finally, their reasons for joining in the movement and the rewards experienced from participation - the basis of their commitment.

#### 8.1.1 The socio-economic and demographic characteristics

According to the literature on political participation, activists are expected to have higher occupational status and higher education, or to have participated more in other voluntary organizations, to be middle-aged, male and white, to have higher SES, to be politically efficacious (or competent, or high in personal control) and to demonstrate system-blame causal attribution.

In socio-economic and demographic terms this group is not distinct from the rest of the favelados. They do not constitute an elite in economic or educational terms. Their urban experience is similar to that of their neighbours. They had a similar history of moving from rented accommodation into the favela, their length of time of residence in the favela, again, follows the pattern of the other dwellers. They are not more skilled, nor do they have a history of previous

participation in trade unions, other voluntary associations, or other movements for improvements. They have nowadays more political experience, for they are active in the local branch of the PMDB, and possibly the experience of being in the movement also counts.

### 8.1.2 The psychological variables

Feelings of relative deprivation, system-blame, political consciousness and group identity in the sense of psychological group membership were examined by looking at their explanations for the existence of the favela, for the genesis of the movements, and its successes and failures and by examining their reactions to the favelado stigma.

Their explanations for the favela and their reaction to the favelado stigma are similar to those of the rest of the population. As in the interviews with the population, the themes of favela and favelado were not suggested by the interviewer but emerged spontaneously. The context within which these themes emerged suggests that sometimes it is a reaction to the researcher and to the research. Benedita, for instance, was talking about her work and working women in general:

"I think that the most important thing for a couple is that the two work. I think that it is not a shame to be poor. Sometimes I say this to my husband and he gives a laugh. I don't remember how he said it, but on Sunday we went for a walk, and I don't know what I said. I said, "Ah, this is something a favelado does! Ah! My son was playing with matches. Then he said, 'My god! But even when we are out you have to talk about this damn favela.' I said, 'what is this? Well, I live in a favela and I am proud because this is where I live and raise my children. What should I do? If I don't have better conditions to live here. Am I going to leave here and pay rent in a beautiful house, to show I am in a beautiful house and see my children go hungry? No way! One day I want to have my house here. Because I am very hopeful that one day I will build my own house here, to live in. I don't want to leave Sao Domingos. I like it here, the people and everything. Everybody is my friend. Thank God. I have no enemies. Everywhere I go I am welcome. So, I think this is a very good place indeed."

Claudio was describing why he refused to distribute water and electricity to neighbours,<sup>1</sup>

"Because you know how people are. When they are in need, they present one face and when they have been served they present another. So you already know this, as we know from the experience, you know. This is not only from weak people, but also knowledgeable people too. You see, people criticize they say favelado is this and is that, and then you see that people living in houses, that sometimes their lives are more hellish than that of favelados. (...) I have to put my mark on the place where I am right? Just like the owl. The owl is sitting on that branch. She has to mark her place, right? So, I, I have consideration for my place. I find my place a good place. So, I see people around, talking about favelados being this and that. But I also see that in the houses, I know. And I know quite a few places here in Sao Paulo. There are bad places, as there are bad favelas. Because sometimes I don't know if you have noticed, but there are some favelas, that if you have to go in because of your work. Because if you work is to talk to bring information and receive information, right? When you ask me, I answer you, when I ask you, you answer me. That is it. So. But there are places that you are afraid to go in. Because before you go into someone's house, someone tells you, 'Look, I would advise you not to go in there. That is a heavy place, and so on'. So, thank God, our favela here. I think you have already noticed, but any shack, the worst shack, still you can go in. And you will be welcome. No-one will say to you, 'but you had the courage to go in there?' No-one is going to say that."

He goes on talking about the advantages of that favela, the easy access to downtown and his pride in it.

Celso talks about it while answering a question about conditions in the favela when he first moved in.

"Look, sincerely, I had never lived in a favela before. In the first days, I was scared. But here is a place that has no problems. Thank God we never had any problems, so it is the same thing as living in a house. In terms of security, the only thing that leaves us insecure is that some timber could fall on our heads, but there are not so many bad people as people think that there are in the favelas. This favela has only working families. So there is no problem. At first, when we look at a favela we are a bit scared. But afterwards we accept it as normal. Life is almost like in the houses next to us. I am not talking about them. I am talking about this favela. I am not talking about others. Because there are some quite dangerous ones. (Interviewer: Really?) Such as we heard about Sape. They say

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<sup>1</sup> He lives facing the official street and had access to individual water and electricity long before the others.

that you cannot walk by there after 6 in the afternoon, because someone 'borrows' what we have (he laughs) (Interviewer: Really?) Yes, so I heard. I also knew other places we didn't have the courage to walk by, at 3 in the afternoon. I hear that Sape is a bit dangerous. That there are some little people keen on crime. Here, thank God, there is no problem."

Diva talking about the movement says,

"If I see we get nowhere, I won't sell here and move out to another favela. I would stay here. To leave this favela for another. How will I know what I will find out there? At least here I know, here there are no bandits, who come and disturb the children, the women, or who kill people. Here. And elsewhere, I know there are. If one shows up here, he comes from outside. And the ones that show up here if you talk to them with respect, and with good intentions, they respect you. They come in to smoke (marijuana) and if I go and say, 'Look here, you were children once, and you know there are children here,' they say, 'O.K.' and move off."

The statements above suggest that somehow they felt they had to defend the "differentness" of that favela justifying the normality be it of the favelado or of the favela. Benedita is ambivalent in her defence of the favelados. She labelled her son's action as a favelado gesture: when her husband indirectly called her attention to it, she changed her argument to a defence of her option for the favela and her proudness of it. Ambivalence is also presented by Claudio, Celso and Diva in their need to differentiate Imperatriz from other favelas. In other words, the image of criminality associated with the favela is accepted in reference to other favelas. Some favelas, therefore, justify the stigma, whereas others, such as Imperatriz, do not. These statements could also be interpreted as subtle ways of checking the position of the researcher on these matters.

Throughout the interviews, formal and informal, and observations of these leaders feelings of relative deprivation or fraternal deprivation were not identified. The grievances which constitute the basis of their movement are not interpreted as something which they want, and are entitled to. Nor do they express the judgement that it



is not their fault that they do not have such services. They approach the grievances in an ambivalent way: they need to have a sewerage system and all the dwellings must have water, but this is still approached as a need not a right. When talking about the favelas they personalize it, that is, they interpret their own personal experience of moving into the favelas, not the generic condition - "favela". Their explanatory system gives salience to their lack of means to pay rents (personal blame) and not to a combination of low wages and high rents. Furthermore, they do not express any awareness of injustice, but show relief at having found an alternative.

The fact that they are all acting jointly for further improvements, and in so doing they are in contact with politicized people and are constantly dealing with political issues and even politicians has not led them to see the issues contained in their agenda for improvements as rights. Mostly they are still needs which have to be fought for and not rights which should be fulfilled. Their perceptions of the rights and duties of citizenry are still blurred. Jurema, for instance, described how she changed her voting behaviour. Her statement provides some indications of the process of political socialization she has undergone:

"If I told you that I used to vote in Minas Gerais and I did not understand it.

I - How did you vote?

J - I voted randomly, I don't know why I voted. I voted because I had the card. And the voting card was a document. So I voted because of this. In Minas it was like that. So they used to say, there were two parties, right? The people there voted for the side that pays more, or who gives you something. So the people would come to you and say, 'I give you so much', and the person goes by the money. It is like this. But I used to go by the person who asked me, 'Well, will you vote for me?' 'Ah, O.K. I will'. I didn't understand. When I arrived here, with the girls guiding us about politics, what was and how it was, they spoke about communism. I didn't know what communism was. I didn't know a thing about politics. I still don't understand very well. But I know a little. I can't explain, but for myself I know that people can't

go by money, or anything. You go for the people you know are going to improve the state, Brazil, right? But I don't understand politics. But at least I am not as blind as I used to be (...)

I - And how do you vote now? I mean, how do you choose?

J - I voted for the PMDB, that is, that girl guided us, so I voted for the PMDB. So when I was voting there was that group of names on one side. I got the papers (pamphlets) from everybody but I threw them out and I voted right. I don't know if I did the right thing, but at least.

I - But how did you choose the names?

J - There was a group, right? And, there were the names of the persons. The city legislator, he came here, I voted for the one who came here. Who had a meeting here with us. So we met him. And the persons in that group all came out here and we met them and voted for them. We voted, otherwise it was a mess (...) I brought the names in my purse, from home, I was afraid to get nervous and make a mistake.

I - And now what do you think will happen?

J I don't know. Because sometimes I am worried and confused after the election. I can't complain, but suddenly I think 'and what if the president changes?' They want this indirect (election). They don't want an election. I thought it would be good if we had an election so everybody could vote to be elected by the people. And if we have to fight for that I am in it, to choose. Because it is not right to put whom they want there (...) It has to change, has to change. At least changing, we will know that one day if it didn't work out you can say, 'we put him there, we have the right to demand some things. To say something.' But if they put him there we have no right to speak (...) I want to know more about politics."

Jurema provides some evidence as to the process of political resocialization which can take place as a result of the experience of participating in political action. It suggests that there are changes not only as a result of the greater contact with political activists (party workers), but as will be seen later there is a generalization of certain awareness of rights into the movement and from the movement to the broader, political arena. This notion: "if I vote I have a right to a say," is also present in the other leaders' verbalizations as is the need to pressure authorities to respond to the population. What is not present is a clear notion of citizens rights, some of which are

directly related to their needs and to their movement. These rights are granted by the Constitution, and should be ensured by the tax contributions they make, but have not been implemented in areas such as housing, creches and schools, not to speak of water and electricity. They are not aware, for instance, of the fact that the National Housing Bank is supported by monthly contributions from their employers and by resources from their savings accounts, and that the main objective of this Bank is to provide housing for the low income population. They are not aware of legislation which demands employers to provide creches for their children, or of schools not being entitled to charge registration fees, as they do.

Jurema's description of her voting behaviour although indicating she is still insecure about making decisions and still relying on people she considers more experienced than herself, does reveal some change. The perception of the value of the vote, as entitling her to make demands, even if such right remains more of a possibility than a reality, is in itself a considerable change from the perception of vote as duty which if not exercised would result in the penalty of a voting fine.

Jurema does exercise this right to make demands within the favela. Having voted for the leadership, she feels she is entitled to hold them accountable, to see that they are fulfilling their promises. If she does not exercise this right outside the favela, she is at least practising this at the local level. She says,

"I voted for all the group because I didn't think that the other people did the same that they do. But I warned them, I said, 'I voted for you, I voted but I am going to charge you for a lot of things, I am going to charge you just as they charged us. I am going to. I am not going to stop here, no way.'"

One day, as I spoke to Claudio, she came to demand an explanation for

the slowness in finishing the Association's headquarters. She was in charge of organizing a special inaugural mass which was to be held in ten days' time and was angry because no work was being done. This started a long discussion between the two about how the activities of the Dwellers' Association were progressing. Claudio kept pointing out throughout the conversation that she was 'charging' him for the work and that she was right to do so because the leaders were accountable to the population. One of the topics they discussed at length was the role of the other leaders in the Dwellers' Association, Alvaro's role, and that of the population. They then extrapolated from their discussion to the role of the population vis a vis other powers, such as the government. This dialogue provides an example of the complex interconnections between their awareness of how things should be changed and of their perception of their rights and feelings of group political efficacy.

Claudio - "The government is wrong, it has to be pushed like this: 'if you are with me, you have to do such and such', because it will be ordered by the people. Just like they say. They say, then it will be afraid. 'No, you are really needing it.'

Jurema - We need more honesty, they shouldn't exploit anyone, and they should understand that the poor also need to live. It is not only for them. It is not a question of getting the crops only for them. Then, things would change.

Claudio - The people are to be blamed.

Jurema - We are to be blamed.

Claudio - Because when we speak with the people who understand, they say, 'charge them, demand it from so and so'. But without demanding it, it is of no use.

Jurema - It would have to be one thousand people.

Claudio - Yes, to push. But they say, 'ah, you are going to provoke a tiger with a short stick'.

Jurema - They are afraid (...) we need, the people who know more than us. We mothers and fathers, we need to be guided, without it we can't do anything. Even 'avoid' children.

Claudio - That's what I say, no-one is born with knowledge. There is

always someone to teach. I think that the problem is like I see people saying, 'I won't take so and so because he never worked before'. But if he never worked before one day he will have to work. No-one was born working, no. But some people don't want to see things. Then, that's why I believe that the people up there don't want us down here to know anything. Because if the people know, what will happen? The people have a strength like an ox. An ox doesn't know the strength he has. If he knew, if he saw a closed door, he would break that door (...) this is the question with the people. The people don't know, need someone who will put on an effort and say, 'No, you have an enormous strength'. But there are people who, while one is giving force, the other is taking away, 'No, don't believe in this talk, it is empty talk'. And people lose their bearings and don't get anywhere."

They do not attribute the responsibility for all their difficulties to the government, but perceive that the population has to exercise some control over the government. This is not done because the population feels powerless, and in a sense lacks personal political efficacy. This lack of efficacy is perceived as rooted in a lack of information, and in general in a lack of knowledge about their rights.

In other words, they are aware of the connection between lack of efficacy and lack of knowledge and power. In their interpretation this situation is maintained by both the population and by those in power. The former does not recognize their own power and do not unite and apply pressure, the latter are not interested in providing more information (education, birth control, and training on political issues) because this will affect their power.

Collective identity in Melucci's terms that is, as the attribution of the fulfilment of the goals of the Dwellers' Association to the action of the whole community, exists among this group of leaders. In fact they are the few who refer to "we favelados". There is no doubt that the improvements were obtained through their efforts and their organizational build-up.

They are proud of the achievements which they attribute to collective action. The achievements are not narrowly defined in terms of the actual benefits to the community only, but especially to the psychological gains from their activism. They also indicate a sense of belongingness - "we favelados". Although it is impossible to affirm that this is a consequence of their participation, some of their statements suggest that their feelings of psychological group membership may have evolved as a consequence of their participation. The experience of having taken part in the movement has stressed the positive aspects of group membership. This is not to say that all problems of interacting have been erased but that what is emphasized by them nowadays are the positive aspects and their psychological gains.

They stress rewards to their self esteem, to their sense of personal efficacy. They feel part of a group which is respected by the community, and which has access to information, to people and experiences which otherwise they would not have. Jurema says that not only her knowledge improved, but also her health,

"It has been very good, this Association. I have improved a lot because I have learned so many things. People came to talk to us. I didn't use to talk to people. But I listened with a lot of attention and I learned (....) I have no need for medicines any more."

Benedita says, "I am thankful to be in the Association. I went to Brasilia, something I never dreamed of in my life that I would do. I was invited to go to Brasilia with the Committee for the Direct Elections, with other women from Sao Paulo. It was something marvellous, to see a place I always wanted to. I think it has this advantage, and all the friends I have made. Because I was raised in the countryside, I had no experience. The only experience I had was to hold a shovel and work the fields (...) and we have met people. The Secretary of Women from the Soviet Union came to visit us, and some people from Mozambique too."

Diva says, "I am not as ignorant as I used to be. I learned to live with people, to solve problems that sometimes I don't have a solution for. I know how to ask other people's advice. And all came from being with other people in the meetings. When everybody said, 'I am tired I am leaving this.' I said, 'I won't'. I said to Alvaro, 'I will not leave. Do you know why? Because of the years of work I am not going to give them up for someone who never fought before (...) I think, I think that living with other people

teaches you to treat your children better. Because sometimes we don't even know how to raise a child. Living with people, with new people we learn a lot (...) I went to Brasilia. It was a trip. I went with Benedita and I felt like a young girl who is about to marry. Because a girl when she is 15, 16 years old, her dream is to marry. I feel proud. If you are at work, and a person comes to call you, 'telephone for you' and you hurry to find out who is calling and a person says, 'Diva, your name is here' and says the name of a faraway place, where the mayor, or whatever is, the name - House of Something - 'for you to go to Brasilia'. If you receive news like this, how do you feel? Happy. That's how I felt."

There are changes in status vis a vis their own group and the external world. This seems to mean that there are new grounds upon which to understand and evaluate their group membership. The experience has allowed them to interact in new ways and to discover other aspects in their relations with neighbours, and this experience was not only satisfying because of the achievements but also because of the quality of the interaction between the people. Benedita says,

"I know it was very nice, everybody came with such guts. No-one earned anything with this. It was very good, it was excellent for me. At first my husband would not even hear about it, now, he is not only a leader, but very interested."

Or Diva describing how she felt when she ran in the first election and was not elected,

"Everybody came to me and said, 'Diva, don't give up, go ahead, continue the work', I said, 'No, I am not going to give up', I don't give up because if you start a house and abandon it, one child comes and takes out one brick, another one comes, and the house disappears. If you start a work and stop, it never gets anywhere. I think that people have to fight together to get somewhere, otherwise nothing goes forward in the favela. So I continued. I was a candidate, I was not elected, but I said, 'I don't give up'."

It is interesting to note that the women are more outspoken about their personal rewards from participation, and also more spontaneous than the men. These did not make direct statements about their personal gains from their participation. They talk about their participation with enthusiasm and indicate that it gives them satisfaction to be part of the movement but this is not expressed as

forthrightly as among the women.

They have different reasons for joining the Dwellers' Association, that is, there is heterogeneity in their commitment which ranges from the actual fulfilment of needs for physical improvements to psychological needs of belonging, taking part. Jurema, for instance, says that she joined because she was very nervous. She went to see a doctor who referred her to a Women's Therapy group at the health centre. She attended a few meetings but she said that the problems discussed there were so serious that her own problems seemed irrelevant and she would go home feeling more depressed. The doctor said that she should be more in contact with people. She then decided that the group activities inside the favela and in the church could be a better way of "being in contact with people". She exchanged the group therapy and the sedatives for participation in the Mothers' group and in the Dwellers' Association. Diva joined at the very beginning, "I always try to correct something I see wrong. I can't keep quiet when I see something done wrong." She started to take part in the first group formed before Alvaro stepped in. Soon after she gave up,

"I went to the meetings and they only discussed things like the neighbour making a lot of noise, playing loud music, etc. A serious meeting is to discuss real problems not to gossip about neighbours (...) For us to get any improvement in the place we live, we have to unite. To get a group to fight together. Because one swallow does not make a summer. If you have, if you decide, you know that by yourself you are not going to solve anything, you know that alone you do not solve anything. You have a need. If it is something you need. If you fight you can get it (...) So I decided to take part because if I want an improvement here, I am not going to say, 'Ah, they worked alone', No I want to say, 'I also fought'. And I feel happy because fighting with the group I can say afterwards, 'I helped everybody to fight together and everybody helped. If I have something here or someone else has, it was not me alone who got it, neither was he alone. It was us together. I think that if everybody thought like me we would live more united. When we needed to solve a problem, we would solve it better. All the problems would go forward and not backwards."



Diva's ideas are put into practice: for instance, she has carried out the organization of a Dwellers' Association in a neighbouring favela. She organized meetings, told them how they should set up the Association, how to conduct meetings, and organize an election. She says,

"There is a little favela at Vila Pereira. They were discouraged. They invited me to a meeting there. I went, do you know what I did? I got them together and said, 'we are going to have an election'. We got them together and we had an election. When Vera (organizer from the PMDB) went there, she saw all was organized and the people said, 'Diva came here and did this work'. Now the group is encouraged and working (....) I told them that if they didn't organize and work together they wouldn't get any improvements. That we, at Imperatriz, we are in the first place in everything, we did (sic) because we worked together. Because we never abandoned our work."

Claudio can be considered the nearest to an "enlightened altruist" in the two favelas. He is sensitive to other people's needs, and to discomforts he may indirectly cause his neighbours, without losing his "realism", that is, the economic limitations to his actions. When he discussed why he would not share electricity and water, and how for some time while sharing he accepted that the group paid for his electricity and water, "I was having the headache." He was providing a service and paying a cost for it having to collect the money from the sharers and go to the water and electricity companies to pay the bills, using his time and money for transportation. The balance between his costs and the benefit he saw himself providing was upset by people's growing discomfort at paying for his share. He started paying his own share and realized that he was providing benefits to others at a higher cost to himself and then he gave up. Charging people was considered to be the cost he found difficult to "pay". He decided that he would rather give water to the needy ones than to share it. Giving water allowed him to feel he was being helpful, without feeling harassed. Doing a favour he can feel generous for providing it without feeling it

is an obligation. In sum, Claudio is interested in other people's well being without trying to exceed his economic limits in doing so. His reasons for joining the movement show this also. He already had water and electricity when he joined in,

"I always want everyone to have the same benefits I have (...) because as well, I am always interested in other people. I live by the street, I have a paved street, I have electricity, I have piped water, so I started in the Association because it was going to benefit others. That is, what serves me is also a benefit. People say, if you have something, keep quiet. But I thought, on the other hand if I have something, I would like everybody to have it, right? Well, then this Association is going to serve all those who have no conditions of having (...) I think, for instance, of Diva, she is my colleague in the leadership. My sewage goes to the back alley, it goes by Diva's house. I do her harm, indirectly, I do her harm because my sewage is polluting that alley."

Perhaps Claudio could be termed a pragmatist in his notions of common good. The difference between him and the others is that he is aware of these issues, so much so that he actually discusses them, and does so indicating that he has thought about them previously. The others may act in a way that leaves implicit some notion of common good but they have not necessarily thought these ideas through.

Benedita joined at the same time as Alvaro and Claudio. She had no water and had to walk a long way to get it. She worked outside the house. Having four children, running a house, and working full-time and without water, was considered by her as "too much". Recently Celso joined, formally. He had been active since the beginning as a participant,

"I always had a modest word to give and my colleagues were very kind and always listened. Small suggestions like letting everybody know what the Association was achieving. Documenting the works done, for instance, the creek before it was covered and after it was covered, taking photographs. They always accepted my opinion. I had a free entrance to the Association. Then they invited me and to my surprise, people elected me."

Their gains for participation are mostly personal rewards. Their

commitment can be described in Kanter's terms as based on gratifications and rewards stemming from participation; a sense of belongingness and the consequent anchoring of their self-conceptions by the movement. This seems to have evolved in time; initially their commitment was due to utilitarian reasons, but after having achieved individual benefits, the character of their commitment has shifted to "affective" and "moral commitment".

As far as personal efficacy is concerned, the leadership shows feelings of group political efficacy. Their call for unity, for people to get together to make their demands is centred on their awareness that as a group they have power.

There is one area where they all seem fragile, and that is in their sense of personal efficacy, specially in skills which involve formal education - literacy and knowledge in general. It is possible that this emerged as a reaction to the researcher and to the perceived social and educational differences. The fact is that all the intermediary leaders, on one occasion or another brought up, spontaneously, their feelings of inadequacy because of lack of education and/or literacy. Claudio, for instance, mentioned that he will not apply for jobs which demand that he fills in forms because this exposes his illiteracy. He feels competent to exercise the tasks involved in the job but not to get through the administrative procedures to get the job.

### 8.1.3 The interactions with the population

They also feel inefficacious in their interactions with other dwellers. This emerged when they discussed their roles in the Association.

According to the leaders their roles are not clearly defined. The population is seen as acting in an ambiguous way, demanding too much from them, and at the same time not respecting solutions they propose because they have "no authority, only Alvaro has it". There is consensus that they should inform the dwellers and keep Alvaro informed of the dwellers' viewpoints and demands, that is that they should liaise between Alvaro and the population. They should also take notice of all the problems, and provide an example to the population by obeying the basic rules: they should dispose of litter in adequate ways, not disturb neighbours, educate (discipline) their children, take part in meetings and collective tasks; fulfil their tasks, etc. Within the Dwellers' Association the tasks are well defined by the posts they occupy. The problem is in the relations with the community and specifically with the delegation of power. Diva and Claudio attribute all authority to Alvaro. Diva attributes to Alvaro the authority vis a vis the leadership in that she sees him as responsible for keeping the leaders in line and working. She feels entitled to demand cooperation from the population and to ask Alvaro to set up meetings.

There is also consensus about the leaders' role outside the favela, in their contacts with other organizations. Decisions about who is going to represent their association when and where are made at meetings. Those responsible for external contacts must report back to the president and to their colleagues. Alvaro is the only person who can enforce this division of labour. The leaders can criticize Alvaro and his performances, and those of other leaders. However, they criticize informally and generically; talking about "the leaders", without naming them. It is perceived as Alvaro's role to admonish individuals. To some this restriction is extended to their own

interactions with the population. These delimit their role to 'disciplining' the population in the case of 'minor' things such as children throwing stones, or litter being disposed of in an irregular way. Diva, as mentioned, breaks down this informal rule.

The leaders also differ in their sensitivity to criticism. Jurema and Claudio seem affected by criticism from the population. Jurema says,

"People knew I was in the Association and they were always demanding, people from here. They didn't do a thing. They never helped. They were always saying, 'This litter here, how come it's here?' Because she (Jurema) is in charge ('fiscal') how do you say it?"

Claudio - Yes.

Jurema - An auxiliary in charge (auxiliar de fiscal) She (Jurema) is and she didn't correct that. This means that I felt criticized. I felt they were only making demands that I should correct them. People from here (....) They thought I should walk around, looking at the sewage, the litter, seeing many things here. So I felt criticized. In fact, I was expected to watch over things."

This susceptibility to criticism according to an interviewer at the Regional Administration has led many leaders to give up their activities in the Dwellers' Association. It is pointed out as a major cause of the difficulty in maintaining a stable leadership. I interpret this as a consequence of their insecurities in other spheres, which affect their self-esteem. Jurema, for instance, also talks about shyness in speaking in public and feelings of being 'put down' by what she interprets as lack of attention and cooperation from her colleagues. Claudio reports similar feelings when people react to information he has provided them, in a way he interprets as challenging the veracity of it. He associates this perceived lack of credibility with his poor literacy. Diva, although also reporting criticism and even opposition to her activities, refuses to let this stop her from

carrying on with her tasks.

Jurema, for instance, said,

"I am ashamed to talk in front of a lot of people. I don't have the courage to open my mouth when there is a lot of people. I am afraid of being mistreated. If someone offends me, I will cry. I'll get nervous. So, I keep quiet. But I am capable of speaking when there are two or three people. But with a lot of people, I am afraid. It doesn't come out (...) I feel insecure. Even a message I must give, sometimes I ask Benedita to give."

Claudio says, "Here sometimes they adopt a system that they believe more the word of an outsider than ours. Our colleague (Diva) knows. When we say something they think we are lying (I - Why?) I don't know. I don't know. As I always say, maybe it is because my reading is poor. (Diva - They're easily led). Yes, easily led and bad information. Because you are here today. If I go out and tell three or four people that you came here to find out about my life, etc., then they will say, 'she will not come into my house, because what will the others say, etc.' Now, if I say, 'she came into my house, she is an excellent person, she spoke only good things, giving us hope', then they will say, 'Ah, I want her to come to my house too.' So this is what I call badly-informed. And my reading is weak too. So I have the opportunity to ... You are talking and I am writing. A person can do this if he can read well. But I can't. Although I wanted to (...) I feel a bit ridiculous when I have to ask a person, 'Can you tell me where is this street?' I have the paper in my hand and I can't read it. It is the same thing as not having anything (...) This is the only difficulty. It is reading. Now about observation, to observe what someone needs, the rights. I observe well. A person with a better culture is more favoured (trusted)."

Diva says, "When I was chosen to go to Brasilia some people here said that they should choose a better person. I was not good enough. I thought of giving up. Then I said, Why? To give them a victory? No way. I went ahead (...) In the election, there were people here campaigning against me, telling the people not to vote for me. (I - Why?) Because when I want to speak against something, I see it is wrong, I say it in front of everybody and the people don't like it (...) My life here is to complain, to scold."

These statements suggest not only may they be a reference group for the community but that the community is a reference group for them and that the way people react to them affects their self-esteem, their self-concept and their sense of efficacy. There seems to be some sort of feedback mechanism. In such relations with the population there is ambiguity and ambivalence: problems are sometimes seen as rooted in

traits of the population, sometimes in the lack of a clear definition of their own roles, sometimes on the unevenness of commitment ('interest') of the other leaders, and sometimes they are attributed to the performance of the main leader - Alvaro.

This is clearly seen in their evaluations of the movement which is perceived by some as strongly supported by the population which is seen as cooperative, helpful, and willing, struggling to transform the favela into a "vila". Those holding such perceptions are also supportive of Alvaro, evaluating his performance as one which catalyses people's trust and energies. Others perceive the movement as slowing down and declining and those are critical of the other leaders, of Alvaro and of the population. Those also see the population as a mixture of helpful, interested and cooperative people and of indifferent people. To change this, the movement has to be strengthened by (a) the leaders putting in more effort, Alvaro being identified as responsible for bringing the leaders into the activities; (b) the population unifying - again, this is Alvaro's role, to unite the population. This can be achieved through more frequent meetings with the population. The explanation is that the more people get together, the more ideas flow, the more interest there is, the more action takes place. The division of work amongst the leaders is seen as needing to be more egalitarian. Some leaders are overloaded with tasks while others are not doing anything, this should be 'corrected' because leaders should not only work but provide an example to the population and justify the trust the population has placed on them by electing them.

These ideas are not held homogeneously, there are differences in the evaluations produced. For instance, Benedita and Celso have an

optimistic view of the situation, whereas Claudio, Jurema and Diva are more critical. Celso says that participation is maintained by the continued renewal of the leadership, "Each change (election) we always get new blood. And new blood revitalises the heart." For Celso, Alvaro is "a dedicated fighter. He has been dismissed from his job to continue fighting. Nowadays he is employed but he has sacrificed himself for the community." Despite his optimism he also notices a drop in attendance at meetings. His interpretation is that once water and electricity have reached most of the dwellings probably people are no longer as interested in the meetings as before.

There is agreement about the agenda for improvements. It is the same as that presented by the population. Their priorities are water for the dwellings still not reached by the water system, improvement of the alleys and passages and land title. How these improvements should be obtained and the role of the government and of the community in this process does not reveal consensus. This affects their view of how the movement should proceed.

Benedita suggests that the Municipality should be responsible for the majority of the improvements, with the dwellers providing some labour when necessary and possible. Celso, Claudio, Diva and Jurema place emphasis on the efforts of the population. For instance, one of their requests to the Municipality is to have night literacy courses for adults. Claudio, Jurema and Celso would like to see such courses run by the dwellers themselves. They say that there are people in the favela who, with some training, could run the courses. Their reasons for advocating this are that the community would be strengthened by this experience: the people would feel less inhibited with someone from their own group than with an outsider, and they would give further



proof to the outside world of their interest and commitment to improving their conditions. Claudio says,

"Part of the leadership votes against the people from the favela working for the favelado (Jurema - Yes) I vote for it. I think it is very beautiful, well everything I know I can do for my fellow, equal to me. I do, I do so this is the problem, they want to be paid (Jurema - Yes, that is it. (But) I work without pay) So, what is missing? What they say at the meeting is that the person must be paid. I don't think so. Let's suppose, she (Jurema), she works, she is interested in doing something which helps her fellows. So the situation is the following, she says, 'No, I am not going to stay. I help other people's children.' And her, she helps her. There is an exchange. The other one does the same for Dona Jurema's children and Dona Jurema does it for her (the other children. Alvaro wants FABES (the social workers) to be responsible.

Jurema - In exchange for money, money is worth a lot. But unity is worth a lot more. The power, is how do we say? Unity gives the power.

Claudio - When people pay, they make demands, then there is a mess. The people who are ignorant become even more ignorant. Fabes (the social workers) will send here some poor teacher who is only paid to work from 8 to 9. If the pupil is late, he doesn't care, while if it is a neighbour, it is alright (...). Then, the outsiders, you don't even have to ask them for help. They will offer it. They will say, 'Well, you are doing a good job. Don't you want help? I can give you some help.' Now, when people don't see us doing anything then we have to ask them to come. Because they have to see you have the will to help (or else) they don't come."

For Diva, the priority is to get the leadership working together. This will demonstrate to the population that they must unite. Jurema says the same thing. Her image of the movement is, "If you take one log out of the fire, that log (left) by itself, the fire goes out. So for things to move we have to keep all the logs burning together." This idea of unifying the population is also defended by Carlos and Claudio. According to Claudio, this view is not supported by the people from the PMDB who provide them with guidance,

"When they say, 'you have to move,' they don't say you have to get everybody moving. No, they say we are the only ones that have to move. When we complain about some people not helping, not moving, people who don't want anything, what they always say is, 'No, leave them alone. You go on with your struggle.' But I don't agree (...). I don't know why they say that. 'Leave them alone and go on with your fight.' I mean it is right to say continue the fight. But I think they should say, 'well you are trying, I

am going to give you power to bring these people into the fight too, right?' Because then the fight will be stronger. They are very knowledgeable, but on this point I don't think we should accept what they say, '(...) They say that in a few years they will have seen our fight, they will help. But if everybody had helped in those years a lot more would have been achieved. Why should I wait until next year? Next year people are going to say, 'Ah! If you didn't get anything it was because you were alone'."

Claudio disagrees not only with this position that the participation of the other dwellers is unimportant - but also with advice given concerning the presence of other people coming to work in the favela.

"She always says (this). Look I am not criticizing her. What I'm saying is the truth (...) so, in many meetings here, she was throwing stones at us, about people infiltrating (sic) here to help us and so on. I am tired of hearing her saying, 'Ah you must be careful. Be careful with these people who come here.' Isn't that so Dona Jurema? Dona Jurema knows all that. So, they are very good people, they have infiltrated (sic) here now. I don't know why, if it is because they liked us, or what? I know they are with us.

Jurema - They helped us with the election, and we became friends. They are persons who helped us with jumble sales, giving clothes, and things like that and the women grew fond of them, now I don't know.

Claudio - Yes, yes, now I see a regularity (sic) Dona Jurema. Because until it's proven differently I believe they don't want to spoil things. They want to improve things. So let them be welcomed (...) I don't have anything against her. I am angry with this idea. Well if they can be infiltrated (sic), they are enjoying it, why not others? This is what makes me suspicious, and I want to ask her this question."

Claudio appreciates the help the people from the FMDB have provided, but he is not accepting their positions and opinions without criticism. His statement is an example of the critical thinking that goes on in this group of leaders and of the differences of opinions and approaches to the movements.

There are minor differences between their agenda and that of the population. One of them concerns the illegality of the land occupation and the fear of eviction associated with the condition favela, a theme

which was raised by the population and which emerged only from Diva, who is concerned about losing the investment made in her house. Coming from a leader this fear suggests that despite the close contact with the Municipality and the emergence of the movements the old fears concerning eviction have not been totally erased. The fact that the other leaders do not express such fears suggests that there is heterogeneity in the level of information or in the processing of such information, even among leaders. As a consequence while for some leaders the experience of participation in the movement, the achievements for the community and their personal gains have brought confidence that they will not be forcibly evicted, for others this is not the case.

They also differ on some ideological questions, such as on the issue of land ownership. Claudio discussing the agenda for improvements pointed to the problem of land ownership and expressed a unique viewpoint on this issue.

"I am not very interested in the land ownership. Because I have lived so far on other people's land and so I am getting along on other people's land. I don't have the land and it doesn't bother me. Because the important thing is to have a better wage and good health to work, right? (...) The land ownership doesn't interest me. I am more interested in improving the conditions of life. It doesn't matter if the land is mine or not. I want to be in peace. To be in peace is the following, I don't want to be attacked (sic) in my house. I want to sleep with tranquillity. I want to have my food, right? For me and my family I want to have my electricity and my water. Because these are things we can't live without, and health. If you live in your place without health, it is no good. Because people now talk about 'housing'. They want 'housing'. Here in our favela they talk about it, land ownership, they lack. But I believe we could have an improvement in life. We have been here all this time. We could stay twice as long, we could have a life improvement. We don't need the land to belong to us. Because the land, no-one owns the land. There are exploiters who sell the land to people to exploit but the land was practically, like... There are the Indians. The land belongs to the Indians, right? It is their land. So they arrive there, enclose it, kill the Indians and take it over and then sell it to others. But I believe that, like many old people, that the land was not made to be sold. It was never meant to be sold."

Celso, Benedita and Jurema include the land ownership in their agenda. Claudio is alone in his view about the land. Land ownership is an item considered by all of them as difficult to obtain, because of legal and political problems and the consequences for the community, since to be made effective, families will have to be removed. The advantage is that owning the land will give them security to make further investments in improving their own houses, and hopefully transform the favela into a district (vila). Again, Claudio has a different viewpoint: the idea of removal is explored by him, although he actually sees himself being removed. All the others talk about the removal of others, not themselves. Celso, for instance, said, "Sometimes it may be that it will even be a person who is very close to us, living next to us, then they will be removed to another area. In the projects being made by the Municipality, these people will be removed to other plots the Municipality has." Whereas Claudio says,

"If it comes to me having to leave, I'll do that with pleasure, because I'll leave my place to someone else, right? Even if I sell it and go to my own place, then that person who buys from me will pay me that amount, but he will save on rent. It is the same as me, I lived here without paying rent, so I say (...) if I have a place to go to, and I am already a little better off, I will leave this place for someone to live his life or to someone who is going through a rough patch. That's my objective here."

He forecasts two exits, a forced and a voluntary one. In both cases he would be happy because someone else would benefit from his move.

This intermediary leadership has intensive communication with the members of the community. They interact closely with different groups. Diva, Jurema, Celso and Claudio follow up problems, identify needs and keep Alvaro and the other leaders informed. They also provide information for the other dwellers. They have access to different groups both inside and outside the favela (as mentioned in Chapter 6). Jurema has links with the Catholic Church, with volunteers, and with

the women taking part in the Mother's group. Diva represents the favela in the Housing Committee set up by the Regional Administration to discuss housing projects in the area, and also in the Committee to establish a Food Programme. She is always in contact with the neighbours calling them to the Association's meetings, providing information about new projects, petitions and demands and taking to the leadership the complaints and grievances of the population. Celso and Claudio have informal contacts with most dwellers; Claudio is the head of one of the football teams: members of the team come to his house for equipment, medication, and to discuss football matches. In such contacts other themes are raised and discussed such as their plans to improve their houses. As Claudio has some experience in building, they seek his advice on technical matters concerning construction.

#### 8.1.1 Interactions with the leader

The interaction of this intermediary leadership with Alvaro is open in the sense that there is freedom for criticism from both sides. They criticize Alvaro and he criticizes them. Alvaro's control over the behaviour of other leaders is the focus of their criticisms. This they see as a lack of control on Alvaro's part. Diva was representing the Association in two different committees outside the favela. The committees meetings sometimes overlapped and she was frantically trying to do all her chores, which involved activities inside the favela, running her home and keeping two jobs going simultaneously. She felt overworked. Sometimes she asked Claudio to attend a meeting for her when there was an overlap. Claudio was upset because he felt she was doing too much work. In other words he sided with her in her complaints. Alvaro, Benedita and Georgina were all attending night school, in an adult education programme. This meant that the other leaders had to take over tasks which normally those three would

perform. This aroused a lot of criticism as did the lack of enthusiasm shown by new leaders or recently elected ones, who were not perceived as forthcoming with help. The last area of criticism concerned the lack of cooperation from the population in collective tasks. Alvaro and the population were held responsible for bringing everybody into line. Claudio said,

"I told Dona Jurema, we have a guide, so this guide has to be conscious that he has to pull the line of donkeys. We are dependent on our president and the people who elected him to demand. Because as we said, people have to demand from the leaders, 'What are you doing?' and the leaders have to demand regular support from the people, because if the people are messy, the leaders have to go out there and say, 'You can't do this, because when you need things, you come to us and charge us, and we go out there to solve it'. So both sides are guilty (...) the leader has to know how to use his position."

Jurema's criticisms focus more on other members of the leadership for ignoring her work with the Mothers' group:

"They are on the board of the Mothers' group, but it is in name only. They never show up to give us some support. I nearly had to implore one of them to take home some wool to do some crochet for us. They don't bother even to look. I feel they don't give importance to my work. It is not just for myself, or for Santana, or Thais. It is to improve the favela."

Diva complains about the absence of other leaders from the meetings and says it is Alvaro's fault, "He is the president, he sees the failures of some people who have missed 3, 4 meetings. He is afraid, as I said, to go to them. He thinks that if we don't go to complain, that they will not get angry at us. But if he goes, they will get angry at him."

Jurema expresses a need for the approval from her fellows, who represent significant others, while Diva reveals what could be interpreted as a strategic tactic by Alvaro to protect his image vis a vis the population. Instead of concentrating negative sanctions on himself he distributes these amongst the other leaders diluting the possible negative side effects.

Despite the criticism, there is consensus about Alvaro's qualities as a leader. They voice their criticisms to him and generally solve

these problems by talking them over. They also protect him from what they think are unnecessary burdens. Diva says,

"You can't let the president go alone to meetings. Alvaro goes to a meeting, I go to another meeting, afterwards we come back, I don't keep it to myself. Everybody has to be informed. If the people here don't know what is going on outside we can't fight here. We have to know what is happening and tell each other."

Jurema says, "They say, 'Alvaro didn't go to take a look into my quarrel' (a fight between neighbours), I say, 'The quarrel is with the police.' I want to defend Alvaro on this. 'You have to go to the police to resolve a quarrel, quarrel is the police's business not his' (...) He got people to trust him. People like him. To tell you the truth, if he was not in the front the people wouldn't do anything. I always say, 'This is not right, we have to learn to work alone'. The poor man is always at the head."

Celso describes how Alvaro conducts the Association meetings,

"People are always saying what they think. If they like it or not. Sometimes they do that with difficulty. Because they don't even know how to ask. But this is what gives us power. Because if the people say what they want, half of the work is done."

Despite her criticisms of Alvaro, Jurema says that there is a dialogue between them and that they have mutually accepted each other's faults:

"I was the person who spoke less at the meetings. One day I complained to Alvaro about something I didn't like and he said something like he didn't need me and that I could even leave if I wanted to leave. Then I cried, I spoke crying. But, I spoke. We said a lot of things to each other. I spoke, he spoke. Afterwards he apologised and things got better again. I like people like him. He says things in front of you, not behind your back (...) To tell you the truth, I like Alvaro. He is a (good) person, I voted for him again."

The predominant feeling is that the criticism is not destructive but constructive and that they are all stressing the need for unity in order to establish the conditions for the work to be done. Diva said,

"Unity is all, without it nothing happens. And I mean to say that we are going to feel like fulfilled people, because we worked. But we are seeing the result of the work. And if we work and we don't see a result, no-one feels like working."

This intermediary leadership presenting differences in opinions,

in styles of work, in style of leadership, and in commitment, satisfies different needs, and seems to be a relatively stable and mobilizing force in the community. Edinger (1972) quoting Bass describes the different role-types in leadership style: self-oriented individuals, task-oriented, and interaction-oriented individuals. These are ideal types. The self-oriented are concerned with personal rewards; the task-oriented derive satisfaction from group-action, finally the interaction-oriented obtain satisfaction from effective interpersonal relations within a group.

Benedita could be considered a self-oriented leader. She is political and is a politician.<sup>2</sup> She shines at the meetings. Being a good speaker, extraverted and responsive to the audience, she seems to know what to say and when to say it. Her satisfactions concern mostly the status she is getting, and the contacts she is establishing through her role as vice-president. This could be considered to represent an utilitarian commitment, one in which her participation is continued because of the balance between the costs and the benefits. Her private gains in terms of status are the ones which are stressed and not her involvement with the well being of others. Diva is a "doer". Her satisfaction comes from tasks done. Claudio, Jurema and Celso derive

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<sup>2</sup>The following incident illustrates what I call her politician's "touch". Shortly before a meeting of the Association, I asked her about the condition of Cecilia, one of the dwellers, who had been taken to hospital (this had taken place two weeks before). She was not aware of it and was surprised I knew about it while she did not. The meeting of the Association was an important one, with the presence of the Regional Administrator. During the meeting when people were commenting on the need and urgency for certain improvements, Benedita spoke about Cecilia's state of health and about the Association's responsibility for taking immediate action to remove her from the present site (which was affecting her health). While this was going on, Diva was silent. Nevertheless for the past two weeks Diva had been helping to care for Cecilia's four children as well as visiting her in the hospital. She never uttered a word about any of this.



their satisfaction from the interaction from being in contact with the others and also from the tasks being performed. Their commitment is cohesive or affective. The gratifications come from their attachment to and involvement with other members. Jurema is the trustworthy, active mother, Celso is the sympathetic, reliable neighbour, Claudio is the jolly footballer, Diva is the fighter, Benedita is the politician. They complement each other. Being similar to the population in other respects, having the same rules, expectations, but at the same time having a status within the community, they allow for different persons to identify with them. That is, they allow for a diversity of 'significant others' within the movement. This suggests that there is a diversity of links between the dwellers and the movement. Despite the fact that many people perhaps could not or would not identify with the leadership as a whole, they can have individuals as reference symbols or significant others and thus some connexion with the movement. The wider range of alternative leadership styles allows, therefore, more people to establish some close identifications and links with the leadership.

#### To summarize

The intermediate leadership does seem to, partially, explain the democratic leadership style at Imperatriz. Most of these leaders, despite their lack of political consciousness, lack of feelings of relative deprivation or system-blame causal attribution, do present some indications that they have been through some process of political resocialization. There is diversity in this, not all leaders seeming to have been through the same process. Similarly there is diversity in the reasons for commitment and in their gains from such commitment.

The data from this intermediary leadership seem to suggest that

- (a) feelings of relative deprivation or fraternal deprivation are not essential for political action, at this level of leadership;
- (b) neither is a system-blame attribution of causality or even political consciousness;
- (c) the presence of such leadership does relate to a democratic leadership style. They do communicate with the different groups and sub-groups in the favela. They do constitute alternative 'systems' for the formulation of opinions and solutions. In other words, they do seem to balance the relations between the leader and the other dwellers as well as ensuring that the decision-making process is open. Furthermore they provide evidence that their continued participation is a result of psychological gains resulting from participation, involving either changes in their status, their self-esteem, their self-concept or their sense of political efficacy. Despite the fact that some may lack feelings of personal efficacy, they do feel individual and group political efficacy vis a vis their leader and the government agencies. Moreover the leader and the other dwellers seem to function as significant others and form a reference group for them.

The data about the intermediary leadership suggest that aside from being a guarantee of a democratic leadership style this leadership may play yet another role in facilitating sustained participation. The heterogeneity of the members of the leadership as expressed in the heterogeneity of commitment in the different needs that are being satisfied by participation in the variety of styles and solutions proposed, etc., may allow for different dwellers to identify with some active member of the Association and, therefore, lead to the establishment of individual personal links with the Association and to the feeling that they also have a say in the decision-making process.

## 8.2 The leaders

### 8.2.1 The leader at Imperatriz

The intermediate leadership does not demonstrate feelings of relative deprivation and fraternal deprivation, but the leader, Alvaro, does. His interpretation of the favela is one of system-blame. He shows both personal political efficacy and group political efficacy, as well as political awareness. I shall now discuss these aspects and how they relate to his commitment and his leadership style.

His explanation of the favela, his activities in the party and in the trade union all suggest a political awareness, which emerged from his activism. Talking about the favelas he says,

"The worker doesn't live in the favela because he wants to. If the worker earned a decent salary he would pay for a house, for some land. He wouldn't live in the favela (...). But the Brazilian worker earns a pittance, it is not enough to live or solve the problems of food. Children go hungry on a minimum wage. He can't afford to pay for a house or plot. The favela is the only place left (...) He has to subject himself to it. So he comes to the favela to live with rats and cockroaches (...) We try to fight for our rights, to demand our rights, but the bigger ones, the powers, the authorities, don't give us backing. People here have a very bad image. For the people who have their own houses, for the rich, the favela has only bums, but it is not true. In the favelas, there are citizens, everybody is a worker, everybody is responsible (...) Whenever there is any problem of a robbery (Georgina - It doesn't have to be close to a favela), they go and say that the thief is from that favela. (Georgina - it must be someone from the favela) But it is not true. I always say that (...) The favelado is a worker demanding, demanding his rights (...) he is a worker who has been pushed into the favela."

"Some people here are revolted by this kind of thing, right (...) others have been here too long and have grown used to this idea (...) I think that for the favelado to get anywhere, he has to fight against the discrimination."

The favelas and being a favelado and being discriminated against, all go together. His wife, Georgina, is 20 years old, and she also interprets the favela in simple terms, she does not want her children to have the same life:

"Do you know I think about how we live, this life. We live this

life in the favela. I think: God is it possible that when our children grow up, is it possible they will live this same life? Then I think that if everybody got together and fought in 20, 15, 20, 30 years, or 100 years, there would be no more favela (...) If they fought. Right? Demanded the rights. Because what does a favelado earn nowadays? One, two minimum wages? Can't pay rent, can't even eat properly (...) To raise your children in a favela is not a good thing (...) There is swearing, there are too many low things. It is not the people from the favela who are the outsiders, bandits, criminals, they come from the outside."

All this led Alvaro to decide that, "We had to be in the streets, fighting and demanding. Sitting at home watching TV is not going to solve our problems." There is to him a great injustice in the discrepancy between his work and the housing he can afford. This drove him to begin to take part in the movement which had been started by someone else. Alvaro expresses not only feelings of relative deprivation but fraternal deprivation as well. His aspirations refer not only to individual rights but to the rights of the favelados as a group. Alvaro feels part of this group, he shows that he has a perception of the favelados as having a collective identity. With time, he has learned to use this identity in a positive way. That is how he identifies himself at the trade union and within the party, by being a favelado leader. There is a price for this in terms of the fact that he runs the risk of being ridiculed for being a favelado, but he seems capable of manipulating this in his favour. He says,

"At first I almost gave up, but then it gets to a point where you can't stop. You see too many things wrong. One of the things that revolts me is that there are so many things wrong in this country. I don't think I'll ever be able to stop fighting for the workers' rights, for the favelados' rights. I don't say this because I have a commitment to a party. I have no party commitment. I see wrong things. I like everything right, I like to see equality. The worker kills himself to earn a wage, when he comes home at night he has to live under a shack, he has to live behind four pieces of wood. This is not fair, do you know? This is the reason I fight here (...)

A place in the favela is not a proper place for a worker. I thought about it and decided to participate. I started to talk to the people and then something was created. Little by little, people believed (...) At first it was very difficult. We had no place to meet. One day, we were meeting here at home, people were everywhere, in the sidewalk outside, a police car drove by, they

stopped to see what was going on, they asked: 'What is it?' Someone answered, 'A meeting', they replied, 'A meeting? 'Yes, a meeting.' They were surprised because the people from the favela were meeting (...) They thought we had no right to meet. Nowadays when I arrive at certain places I have never been before, when I say I am a favelado, I have never felt ashamed and I am not, and I'll never be. Sometimes I say I am from such a favela, and I represent the favela. Everybody looks at me and says, 'Are you a president of the favela?' I don't know, some people poke fun at my face, and I feel a bit humiliated (...)

What is wrong with living in the favela? Aren't you a worker just like them? The important thing is to be responsible. If a man is a worker, it makes no difference if he lives in a favela (...) Now I am thinking about the trade union in the next election, I am going to look for a position, I want to be a candidate in the trade union. I am a trade union member already. And some friends from the trade union know me already, and know I am part of the Favelado Movement, and others invited me to run in the next election. I want to get more involved. I haven't done it yet because I am studying at night.

When I was in the building industry I wasn't a trade union member. I didn't even know about the trade union. Jose, Joao Jose from the favela Sao Domingos, invited me once, let's go and become a member of the trade union. I said which one? He said, 'Building industry, they have only pelegos there,<sup>3</sup> and we have to change it' (...)

It is difficult for a worker to be in the trade union. Some here are, metal workers, carpenters, but the others (...) I have already discussed in our meetings that it is important that the person be a member of the trade union. But some don't believe in it. It is not only here, at my work some think that a trade union brings you no profits. And I try to tell them that they are wrong. That we are the trade union, us. The trade union is the workers. If we want to get any improvement, we have to be united."

Alvaro indicates that in his case there has been a generalization of the experience from activism in the favela to activism outside in the political party and in the trade union. At the level of the leaders, at least, the experience of political participation seems to generalize.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The expression used to describe trade union activists who negotiate mainly in favour of the government against the workers. Literally it means the cloth which is used between the saddle and the horse's back to protect the horse's skin against the friction.

<sup>4</sup> It suggests furthermore that the movements could shift from being an arena for external activists (the external agents) to nurturing grounds for new activists from the favelas, who will act in other spheres of  
(Footnote continued)

The formation of the movement involved a learning process for everyone, for the leaders and for the population. Alvaro describing how electricity was obtained says, "We, me and my colleagues got the electricity, along with the people. My work here is along with the people, I never worked alone. All my work is (...) we search for improvement for the people, for everyone together. Our goal here is one only. There is no A or B, here we fight for everyone."

Furthermore, the leadership is legitimized by the elections in which people vote and by the decision making process:

"Alvaro - The majority of the favelas have their leadership legalized, elected by people's vote, no bionic<sup>5</sup> here. Here we don't have those things right? Here, specially my favela, in my favela, here, here there was never an election with 'You, so and so, you are going to be'. In my favela, here, the work, all the work, is the people living here take part isn't (He asks Celso) the dweller takes part and something else. I do not make any decisions here without the support of the people. The support of the people and of the other leaders. Even to loan the headquarters for a dweller to have a party I call the other leaders and want the opinion of each one. If they say no, no, is . . . I don't cut across them. They are equal to me. I am the president, they are also presidents to me. Because they have the same responsibility I have. And one day I want to fight for a Federation of the favelas in the Butanta.

Celso - I don't want to interrupt, but we had a discussion a meeting, I mean all the members of the leadership are also representatives or presidents in case of need (A - doubtless). Everybody here works as a group. I am controller and he is the president, but I have a say in a moment of need. I mean your position is not a problem. What we have here, it is a union, a union really, a brotherhood."

Alvaro perceives their Association as different from those in

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<sup>4</sup>(continued)  
the society as well as in the favelas.

<sup>5</sup> Reference to bionic senators, during a certain period one third of the senators were appointed by the Federal Government to avoid losing its majority in the Senate. Because they were not elected, these senators were called by the population bionic = artificial.

other favelas. He also perceives the population of his favela as changing as a consequence of the experience of taking part in the movement:

"Here we always had 7, 8 people fighting. The other favelas have 2 or 3. Here we had 8, even 10, united. We move slowly, we go, people understand they must take part in the meetings. And they believe in us. People here are very conscious. They take part. If I go around the favela from house to house inviting people, I am absolutely sure the headquarters will be filled up (...) I always explain the meaning of the meeting; we are going to discuss this, this and that. They come. As a president I don't value some work only, but everybody's. And I never went ahead of them. I have, always, all my work was discussed here. When people ask to use the headquarters for a private party, I always consult the colleagues and ask them what they think should be done. I don't disrespect their rights. I respect their rights. I respect their decision (...) I always worked right, I don't like coups and dishonesty. This is why they respect me. Because I never tried to solve a problem without their help, without their knowledge."

In spite of the changes, some people are still not aware of their rights. Alvaro says that this is changing because they, the leadership, insist on discussing issues like workers' rights:

"Georgina - Not everybody (knows their rights).

Alvaro - No, they don't know. I think that the majority know their rights. Do you know why? Because they take part in the meetings with us, and we have discussed a lot about favelados' rights, workers' rights. We had meetings, we talked about what the workers' rights are, what rights we have, right? We had many meetings with the population talking about this, talking about the law, with people who know about this. People who know the law, so I think that the majority knows and after we started to talk about this people started to take part. So I believe that people are more conscious of their rights. But before there was no-one that would come into a favela like here, and talk, talk about, 'Look to-day we are having a meeting and we are going to discuss the rights of the favelados, the rights of the workers.' There was no-one to say this, and now there are, persons like me, the other members of the leadership: 'We are setting up a meeting to discuss the rights of favelados.' Yes, I think that people know. I think that the majority know, know their rights and this is the reason they take part in the meetings."

Alvaro stresses the participation of all the leadership in decision making, the importance placed on people's participation in meetings and discussions, and the value placed on their opinions. He

sees himself as 'liked by the people': "People here like me. I speak the truth, I say what I have to say. I don't hide it, but I don't disrespect. I say the truth, people like me. I am positive. When I criticized Covas (the mayor) he said I was right." His self-perception is consonant with what other leaders and the population say about him. Jurema, for instance, despite criticizing him, said she liked him, specifically because he was honest, and if he had any criticism he made it to the person her/himself and not behind the person's back.

#### 8.2.1.2 The leadership style and the leaders' interactions with other leaders and with the dwellers

Alvaro is not a laissez-faire leader, but he is not rigid either. As expressed in the population's statements, he seems to understand the difficulties they have in taking part without exempting them from taking alternative forms of participation:

"We had an election recently, and at first the leadership had a lot of will to fight, will to participate, will to fight. People started to participate, but now some people are not attending the meetings, they go to one meeting and then don't show up at the next one because there is a family problem and we accept it. But the fight goes on, the people who were active in the former leadership are still there, and they are good people. They are still there, being part of this new leadership, we were all together in the fight."

His interaction with the population both formal and informal is marked by an equilibrium between understanding their difficulties and calling them to help out, between demanding and making concessions. Mostly he makes them feel free to criticize him, he listens to them, and discusses their suggestions with them. Celso, talking about his earlier days in the movement, says:

Celso - I have always been with the group, since the beginning when they were trying to organize it. I remember the first meetings we had, we, in the place where the headquarters are now. (...) So many things that I have said, suggested, even when I didn't belong



to the leadership, my words were always accepted. I always made my demands. Like when I asked to have a fumigation to finish the rats. it was accepted and soon enough the fumigation was carried out (...) And some other small things. I would go to Alvaro and the other leaders and say: Why don't you do this and that? Well, this is a good idea, let's discuss it in the meetings. Small things."

Other statements from Diva, Claudio, Jurema and Benedita confirm that there is receptiveness to contributions from the leadership and the population. The other members of the leadership can, for instance, call on meetings of the leadership. Alvaro is not the only one with the power to do so.

I observed three meetings of the Dwellers' Association with the population. The last meeting was more formal because the Regional Administrator was present. His presence was the result of a discussion at the previous meeting when the leadership and the population decided that they wanted to invite the Administrator (Aldo) to come and clarify how the Regional Administration could help them in the work which was to be carried out in the alleys and passages. The decision to invite him had been put to the vote by the population. Despite the 'formality' of this last meeting, the behaviour of both the leadership and the population was the same. In all three meetings after each idea, project, or suggestion was presented, the population expressed its views on the matter. Sometimes there was more discussion between the leaders than with the population depending on the theme considered.

Alvaro does not adopt rigid positions. He may change his views from the beginning of the meeting to the end, as a result of the group's discussions. For instance, in the first meeting, Sister Santana was present. She had brought along some dwellers from a neighbouring favela, Favela Joia, and a representative from a church

related foundation. This person was there to invite them to send some representative from Imperatriz to be trained in an adult literacy programme. The proposal was that this person would be trained so as to teach other members of the community. Alvaro and Benedita defended the idea that this service (literary courses) should be provided by the government and not by themselves. Claudio, Celso and Jurema disagreed, they defended the idea that the more skills the members of the community acquired the better. As the discussion progressed, they reached a consensus that making use of such an opportunity would give them more information to decide on which line of literacy programme would be more suitable to their needs. Alvaro changed his position in the course of the discussion and so did Benedita and in the end they appointed two members of the community to attend the training course.

During the meetings Alvaro does not dominate the discussions. When he expresses his opinions he stresses that it is his opinion, and that they must listen to all the contributions.

Alvaro's leadership skills and style are better visualized in the following example; at another meeting attended by people from the Regional Administration (engineers and the Administrator himself) Alvaro was late for the meeting and excused himself to the population. The Administrator was there to say what the government could do to help them and how much cooperation was expected from the dwellers themselves. Alvaro explained that although he could understand the administrator's difficulties, he was there to defend the favelados' interests. He coordinated the discussion, maintaining a balance between the population's expectations of help from the Regional Administration and the Administrator's limits. For instance, he expressed sympathy with the lack of resources coming from the Municipal

government but stressed the needs of the favelados. Contributions to the discussion came from the other leaders and the population. Alvaro used different techniques to maintain the attention of his audience, from humour to requesting the testimony of leaders from other favelas who had solved similar problems. When discussing the need for people to collaborate in the collective tasks, for instance, he said,

"If things don't get done, it will be your fault. Aldo is going to send workers here. They can't do the job alone, if you don't help, they are going to waste their time, and our money, because they get paid with money from our taxes - afterwards you are going to come to complain, 'I want water' as if I were the Sabesp (the water company) (a woman screams from the back, 'I am here and I want my water'), (Alvaro laughs.) If we decide you have to go out there and do it. If not you are going to go on living with rats and cockroaches and paying a lot for the water (...) The leadership is working, if not, Aldo and Hamilton wouldn't be here (...) You are always complaining, now it is time to do something (...) The women here already tried to beat me up. I am joking. She is a nice person, she was nervous, lost her calm. I was joking so the meeting wouldn't be so heavy. But it is serious."

In another instance his skills in negotiating between extreme positions was evidenced. They were discussing the problems caused to part of the favela because some dwellers had closed a passage. This was a double harassment to the other people, since they had to make a detour to reach their houses and the area was being used by teenagers to smoke marijuana. While the population complained, the Administrator said he was not to blame. They should complain to the person(s) who had built the partition: he then offered to send a bulldozer to destroy it. Alvaro suggested a solution:

"I assume the responsibility provided the Municipality also assumes theirs. The people there say they need some room between their doors and the passage. O.K. They can build their fences leaving some room between their doors and the passage, but the passage must be open. I will talk to them.

Tito - If you are going to talk, I'll go with you but I won't fight with them.

Alvaro - Our work is to unite, not to fight. We always solved our problems with attention, respect, talking decently, treating people well, so you will treat us well."

Alvaro uses his empathy and insight in this interaction with the population. This was evidenced not only in the meetings when outsiders were present, but also in everyday events, both when observed by me, and as reported to me by the dwellers.

A week later work started in the passages and alleys, which meant that people had to change the position of rooms and facilities, and make rooms smaller, etc. I met Alvaro walking around with a list of names. He was checking on their availability for work in the alleys. Sonia and her husband were changing their kitchen. She was furious with Alvaro, she said, "I am working as a bricklayer's assistant," as a reply when I greeted her. To Alvaro she said,

"This is a total loss. This is stupid, you can see our sewerage is all very well drained, and we have to change, while the other shacks, in a huge mess on top of open sewage, are not touched. They are the ones that had to move."

Alvaro replied that she had agreed to do it, that no-one had pressed her to do anything. Her husband Gumercindo remained quiet. Sonia said,

"Who is going to go under those shacks to make the sewerage? Because I'll not let my husband do it, because if he catches some illness, what am I going to do with all the children to raise?"

Sonia went on, "I am doing all this for nothing, nothing at all."

Alvaro was explaining how he interacts with the population, what happens when someone is angry with him, and expresses how he uses his insight and empathy to deal with difficult situations.

"So, I try to invent some other thing and I escape, when I see that people are getting over the top and that the person is very wrong, I am rough too. I say I am no fool. I also explain that I am not what they think. I am a man like any other. I work in the movement and that if I get pushed around now I will also push around. But I try to avoid this as much as possible. So the people, when they come to talk to solve a problem, I try to speak very low, but some want to speak loudly. I try to speak very low but if I see it doesn't work, then I give my 'pushes' but never a real push, do you understand? (...) I get upset at the right time and in the right place."

He has a clearcut idea of how he is to behave:

"In my case, we have to be bad and good at the same time. You

have to be weak sometimes otherwise you spoil the movement. This, this is the, is what I don't want. It can't happen. I can't go around fighting with the people. Not me (it is not), my part (role), when there is some problem like this, I leave them alone and come back later to talk.

Georgina - I am not like this, if I am right, I speak out.

Alvaro - No, I can't.

Georgina - I wouldn't put up with what he puts up with.

Alvaro - Ah, look even Sonia, Sonia in older days she ran after me with a stick, and said she was going to beat me up. She was very cross. She swore at me. But I say, O.K., I can't do this, and still she is my friend.

Georgina - The guys get drunk and...

Alvaro - Her husband is a decent person, what I do is, I say, 'Look you can say what you want, if you want to talk to your husband, I'll come back later and we will talk.'

Georgina - They get drunk and they swear at him ...

Alvaro - The problem is not that I am afraid. We are like everyone else, of course, we are also afraid. But we have to think that we already live inside a favela, and we are going to make it, I don't know, are we going to make it a place full of fights? Then, then everything will get worse. I have to be calm and try to solve things in the best possible way. Try to solve the best possible way, right? Because if every time, every mix-up that there is here we fight, then God forbid, then there is a mess. People get cross at me, but afterwards they change and become my friends, right? A lot of people didn't like me at first, didn't like my work, and even provoked me, but do-day they are with me, these people take part, come to the meetings, help in the work. This is my aim, to get the people to take part so as to solve our problems."

The work in the alleys and passages was not carried out as decided at the meeting. When the workers and engineer from the Regional Administration arrived they decided to finish the alleys on the other side of the favela. Alvaro explained how the decision was made,

"Look, I spoke with the other leaders, first when he arrived he said we should begin by the other side. I said we had agreed to start on the opposite side and that people were expecting that, right? Then I was confused, I said what should we do now? Some of the leaders were with me, I told them what was going on, and left them talking and came down to talk to the other people. I said the engineer wanted to start by the other side because people were running the risk of breaking limbs on the steep passages and that some people, including me, thought it was a good idea to finish that side first because there was danger there, because when the rain falls it is very slippery (...) People accepted

this including the leadership, right?"

Alvaro uses his skills in interacting with people to achieve his aims. The main aim is to get the improvements done: for this he needs the cooperation of the people. He understands that to obtain this cooperation, cohesion, unity must be achieved and that he has an important role in maintaining this unity. The direct and indirect rewards he gets from playing this role seem sufficient for him to cover the costs from the criticism he receives from both the population and the other leaders.

He is aware of the criticism of his performance both from the population and the other leaders. He reacts to this criticism by discussing the problems raised with the population and the other leaders and by confronting them.

Alvaro was telling the story of the movement when Celso, also from the Association, came by his house, and both were commenting on the first attempts to get the movement off the ground:

"Alvaro - At the beginning, a lot of people didn't believe (in us) but now 100% believe in us.

Celso - At first the leadership was very much criticized.

Alvaro - Yes, very much criticized. At first a group came in, with me (...) He assumed the responsibility of doing some work here and collected money for it. But the material was too expensive and there was not enough money to get the material for everybody who paid. Then people started to criticize. I was criticized too, because of this. Then I called a series of meetings and explained what had happened, the people exempted me and my colleague dropped out.

Celso - But the criticism was constructive. Because there is constructive criticism and there is destructive.

Alvaro - Of course, it still exists.

Alvaro - At the beginning the people didn't know what a movement was here. At the beginning as I said, there was this guy here, he started it. But people didn't like him. I think, I think. What

was his name? He lived in the past passage down there? He was a guy, a very hasty guy, he wanted to do things and didn't respect the right of the people. They say that in a meeting the colleagues told me that in meeting this guy, I think it was Eugenio (Celso - Eugenio), yes, Eugenio, he said he was going to talk to the mayor, alone. If people wanted to join him fine, if they didn't, fine too. Then the people said, 'You are crazy, how come you are going to speak to the mayor, you are disrespectful of us. To go to speak to the mayor you at least have to discuss, we can organize ourselves, to go everybody and not only one.' Then he left. Then I started, and I started to talk to the people and, I have always been a humble person, I am not the only one who says that, thank God. I am not. Everybody says that. And the people got to like me, they have always respected me in this favela and they have consideration for me. Now even the dogs in this favela know me, if you want to know. At first, when I could come closer to the dogs in the shacks, all tried to bite me, I had to walk around with a stick in my hand. Now they are my friends" (laughs).

One of the indirect rewards comes from his participation in the PMDB local branch. He takes part in the Executive Committee; this is the result of a slow process of having his skills endorsed by the party members. He describes this affiliation and his option for the PMDB:

"I met some colleagues from the favela who were in the party and the fight is not only inside the favela, just for a house (...) the fight is also outside discussing politics. It is fair, it is right, no, it is not a right, it is a duty of a Brazilian citizen to discuss politics (...) Nowadays the Brazilian worker has to be aware of and go into politics. So I take part in the PMDB branch. I don't agree with a lot of the ideas there. But, I am there. I take part in the Executive Committee (...) I started very low, but now I have climbed a little. People get to know you and your work and they believe you."

"I got there, I knew some people from there. Some colleagues who were active there. (...) I got used to them and the people had worked here with me organizing, and from then on. Now the people from here also take part there. The majority here is affiliated to the PMDB branch. I didn't send them there, I did tell the people that it was important to become affiliated, and they decided to participate (...)

I always voted for the PMDB, I thought it was the party that had more chance of being elected, so this was my idea, to join in and try to bring the people along with me, to get acquainted with the party agenda, with the candidates (...)

I am not satisfied with the governor (PMDB), but I still trust him a little bit.

I will stay in a party which defends the worker. A party that defends the worker is the one that is always beside the worker not only at election time. And which governs with the workers not with a minority. A party which discusses things with workers."

Alvaro seems to have good relations with the Regional Administration. Engineers and social workers are seen in the favela on weekdays and weekends. Work is being done continuously. Their requests are answered without delays. Finally, at least four persons in the favela were employed by the Regional Administration or through party branch personnel and work for the government or government enterprises.

Alvaro generalizes his activism into other spheres of political action and sees the movements for improvements as having to extend their support basis. They should not only encompass other spheres such as wages, health, etc., but should be broader, unifying the different Dwellers' Associations in a Federation of Dwellers' Associations. This is considered essential to strengthen the movement. Like Antonio, he was active in the failed attempt to develop such a Federation in the Butanta area:

"We were elected for the Federation, but the people there, there were some colleagues who were not in agreement with us, they made some campaign against us, some for us (...) The fights led people away, and then it became a ghost. I feel sorry for that, because we were at the beginning. Of course there was going to be barriers, some were going to support us and some were not. We did organize some favelas and elect leaderships. But suddenly it all disappeared (...) the colleagues became unhappy with the attacks and gave up. There was too much criticism and there were some fakes, there are still fakes in the favelados movements (...) they boycotted our work, they said people were not taking part in the meetings, and the people got upset. I feel very sorry about that. This is something I want to go back to. There were a lot of good people there, with good ideas, and they have stayed away, unhappy with what happened. One day ..."

### 8.2.2 Jardim Jacqueline

#### 8.2.2.1 The leaders

Antonio is not the formal leader, he is a "de facto" leader.



Fernando is actually the president. As mentioned before, this affects his leadership style, specifically in his interactions with the population. Because of Antonio's role I will focus the analysis on his ideas.

Feelings of relative deprivation and fraternal deprivation, system-blame, causal attribution and political consciousness are all present in Antonio's statements.

Antonio interprets the favelas as consequences of broader economic problems in the society. He says,

"The favelas are filled with migrants, who should have stayed in the North-east (...) Without land reform nothing is going to change here (...) So the guy comes from the Northeast because his land was taken, he arrives here, and he is not specialized, he has no culture (education), no work, has no guidance. What does he do? After three days without food he turns into a snake and steals and kills, this is the truth (...) So the big cake was produced and in the end the cake disappeared, and only the store was left over to burn and transform millions of young ones into monsters, this is what this society of ours has produced. With monsters we cannot build anything (...) the problem of the favela is exactly this one, there will be no change without consciousness (...) and this doesn't happen spontaneously. Only through very powerful and honest changes in the leadership."

Antonio's explanatory system connects the favelas to the national policies. Land reform policies have to be adopted to stop migration into the cities. The existing favelas will only change through movements organized by the favelados. Those movements require consciousness of the population about the origins of their difficulties. Unless such consciousness is achieved, nothing will change. On the one hand the population is to be held responsible for achieving this consciousness, on the other hand the 'system' confuses people, not allowing information to flow so that people may acquire consciousness. The movements, nevertheless still may not succeed

because they are prone to be used by politicians and destroyed by competing ideologies. Antonio accepts and rejects the dominant ideology. This is expressed in his statements and in his interactions with the population, the external agents and the public authorities.

Speaking of the solutions for the favelas he says,

"the problem of the favelado has not been solved yet because he is not organized himself. Because only the people can solve the people's problems. I consider myself anti-communist, I don't like the communist regime, I hate it, but once I heard a phrase from a communist which is true: the people have to solve their problems. Because the government will solve the problems of groups and the people will be left behind with the leftovers. So they have to organize, so that instead of only paying the dues, they will also receive the rights."

The favelas are affected not only by the opposition of powerful interest groups but also by the lack of consciousness and perseverance of the population in continuing with the movements. In other words, he attributes the responsibility for the present situation both to external circumstances and to the way people behave.

"The misery of the people, you see throughout the country legions of miserable people, toothless, in rags, full of worms (...) and we are to be blamed. The authorities are guilty and so are we because often we don't carry on with our movements (...) The favelados are the small farmers who are roaming around without housing, without land, without anything ..."

"Without arousing the consciousness of the people we are lost. In the North-east the politicians act like they can monopolize the people, set everyone against everyone wholesale and retail. Why? Because the people don't have consciousness (he then explains the myth of drought) they are like slaves ..."

"People are prostituted by alcohol (...) alienated. So the people don't have political consciousness. It is no use to speak beautifully, with difficult words because the people will not understand, you have to tell them exactly what is behind the (politicians) intentions."

This lack of consciousness is considered to be the people's own fault, for it could be transformed by the people's own efforts. He told me the story of Militao, a former employer he had in his teenage

years while still living in the North-east. It was Militao's thinking that led him to consider the inequalities of life.

"A certain person called Militao, he never married. One day I asked him why. He said, 'On Tuesday I'll answer it.' On Tuesday he came back and said, 'I never published it, but I wrote this in 1900. I was so old. (I think he was 17 years old), I started to write. In 1900, then he decided whether he should marry, how many children he should have, and because society was what it was, and the tendency would be for his children to become thieves (i.e. he decided to have no children and not to marry). Because society was putrefied. This at that time. He was brilliant, so he prevented it, he said he was not going to pollute society. He said this to me. I thought about it and said to myself, 'this old man is crazy'."

After this experience he started to think about other issues such as how wealth and political power are acquired. Because he did this work alone, he feels anyone else can do it too:

"They can become aware. Do you know how I started? I judge people by myself. I started as follows, I said to myself, 'Well this guy has 10 farms. I work all day long and I have none. Could it be he bought all those farms? Or he stole? Or someone took from A and gave to B.' I went to check and there was nothing else. Often the guy had killed someone, coerced another., all sorts of dodgy business. Soon he grew, he developed his empire. Honestly no, it was not honest. He usurped (sic) he twisted powers which were given him (...) All wealth is stolen (...) This comes from the times of the Colonial Regime (...) Do you know how the political leaderships are made? I call Mariazinha there is a pair of sandals and cheap dress, 'Now you vote for my candidate'. If Chico arrives and says, 'You are a liar, you are not going to fulfil your promises, etc.' Then if people start to believe in Chico, I have Chico killed. 'That's it, he threatened my leadership.' That's the North-east."

His ambivalence about 'self' help consciousness acquisition is evidenced by his own assessment that information is provided in such a way that it is made difficult for people to integrate the facts and interpret them. Also the politicians play an important role in maintaining the confusion and fear, and therefore the lack of consciousness.

"The miserable ones end up not knowing how to analyse. If you go to any favelado here and ask, 'Oh, my boy, where were you born? - I was born in Sergipe. Why are you here? - Well, to tell you Dr. Mangabeira there was a very good fellow, a good fellow. My great-grandfather fought with his father there, my grandfather too, was a farmer here and, despite the fact that Dr. Mangabeira is a very good person, he decided to raise cattle and I was left

without a job.' I tell you, here it is as follows in Brazil, that is, I am a father. So I am an employee of Licinio Ferreira Machado, an industrialist, I was his slave. Worked 12 hours a day, including Saturdays and Sundays. The children of Licinio with the profits from my work and from millions and millions of workers they will be able, they will have the opportunity to, he can with this income send his children to the University, but I will not have the same right, to send mine. What will happen? To-day I am Licinio's slave and to-morrow my children will be slaves of Licinio's children, and afterwards my grandchildren will be slaves of Licinio's grandchildren, and so on. So something has to change. People need to become aware that 'if you know, I also know and things are not like this. Let's share, let's divide.' Not equally, because equality does not exist. I have repugnance and hate, I really despise politicians talking about 'I am going to fight for equality'. Equality does not exist. I am someone who hates the communist regime, I want communism to go to hell. I don't even want to hear it. I feel sick when someone defends communism to me. Because this person should prove to me that the standard of living of Yuri Andropov is the same as that of the miserable peasant in Siberia. I will never believe that. Now between communism and capitalism I condemn the two. Both are harmful. One kills by force and the other kills in the silence of the night, through hunger, through ill-treatment."

The lack of consciousness is not a choice of the population:

"The population is not aware of this, 95% ignore it. Because here, there was always great care taken in Brazilian politics to avoid participation. If you don't participate, you won't know anything. This is what is done (...) People with consciousness won't be used as a tool. So the majority of the favelados don't know what brought them into the favela (...) 'Truth will free you', well the powers until to-day have been very careful, so that large sectors of our society do not know this truth. The proof is that the population was told that there would be a large concentration of income to create a large cake, this cake naturally was planned for the birthday of recession, of hunger, of the IMF, and so many other things, in the fashion of whoever planned it, and the population, according to them, would have a good slice of this cake when it was ready. Where is the good slice? The good slice, we are witnessing it: the hunger, the criminality, the recession, the unemployment, everything, you see that is bad for a nation (...) If the people knew the truth a lot would have been avoided, but it wasn't because the people know nothing."

Lack of consciousness exists both because the population does not make any effort to acquire consciousness and because the 'system' is such that it prevents this consciousness.

The movements in the favelas are one step in the direction of

changes, but a fragile one because they are subjected and susceptible to 'torpedoeing' by the politicians and politics:

"The politicians always manipulate interests. They will manipulate the movements too. They are already trying, there is a union of dwellers established by a political party, to elect mayors of favelas. This is going to cause tremendous confusion. If the people were conscious it would not. But as they are not, they will succeed in splitting the movements."

"Movements emerge, but are torpedoed by politics. Because politics have a well structured scheme to destroy any movement. Every movement is torpedoed."

The movements are affected by right wing 'manipulators' and by left wing tendencies:

Now I am going to get myself into trouble with a lot of people. The movements in the periphery are being mobilized through socialist insinuations (sic) or communist, and this is empty talk which may be even highly harmful. Because at least I don't agree with this. There is a series of proposals to be presented that, should they arrive here, I am going to create an enormous fight because I won't agree. I won't agree because the movements are being hindered by certain ideological currents, incompatible with our reality."

The organization of the population in a movement is, therefore, made more difficult by characteristics of the population and the broader society.

"The difficult thing is to organize people. Years will go by before you get people conscious. People are conscious of alcohol, carnival and football (...) Because it is a system which marginalises man, so he won't know how to defend his rights. Everything is in excess, football is in excess, carnival with excess, everything distorting the person's view of reality."

Antonio distances himself from the population, from the favelados. He speaks as an observer analysing or describing a process he witnesses but in which he takes no part. He does not have a role in maintaining the movement or in developing the population's political consciousness. These are considered to be responsibilities of the favelados, of each individual. Politicians, favelados, political party members are responsible for the manipulations which hinder the movement, but the

role of the leaders in preventing this, or in maintaining participation, is not raised.

Fernando, the elected 'President', emphasizes in his analysis of obstacles to participation not so much people's compliance in manoeuvres to keep them alienated but fear and shyness because of the violence used against them in the past.

"(It is) difficult to get the people together because the people are not informed, the people are shy, very shy and the majority ignores their rights. They are afraid, afraid to have their houses destroyed. They are afraid. When the government in the past destroyed the shacks in favelas, the people starved (...) afraid the police will come, and we will lose all the work done."

For Antonio a movement is strengthened by ideas, by acquiring consciousness of rights of the inequalities and by external support or a restructuring. Who should do this, he does not specify.

"Now it is lacking support, a bit more support. Well, I don't know if it is support or if it is badly structured. I believe it needs a fundamental restructuring inside this archaic structure of the movement. It was pushed almost without planning (it needs) a more efficient, concrete (structure). Do you understand? Because I think that you begin by one phase. In a favela, basically you need a security system. I have asked for this without success.

Fernando, meanwhile, although accepting that there are difficulties in bringing people together, interprets actual past gains as mobilizing factors:

The only thing which strengthens the movement is, with the three years that I have been involved in this Dwellers' Association, favela, this thing. The only thing which strengthens the movement is, we (if) we make a project to achieve something, and achieve. This strengthens it, because we achieved something, we demanded and people (then) start to believe that the Dwellers' Association is something which should exist, should exist. Now when we go to a place like the Regional Administration here or anywhere, and we don't achieve anything, the people criticize, 'How come? You went there, said that you were after this and that, where is it? Then it doesn't work, you don't get anything.' Then they criticize. But when we get it, people start to believe it. 'It works, we are going to help. Because they achieved it'."

#### 8.2.2.2 The leadership style and the leader's interactions with the population

Antonio theorizes, abstracting from the actual experiences. While doing so, he adopts a critical position vis a vis the population. He indicates throughout his statements lack of sympathy for the other favelados, and lack of psychological group membership. He does not seem to feel that he is a fully-fledged member of the group. Fernando does not adopt such a position but he has less impact as a leader than Antonio. The latter is the real leader in the population's eyes and the image of the efficacious leader is the one he (Antonio) provides. This leader is one who continually points to the population's faults and inadequacies, to what is missing, to what was not done, and not to what has been achieved.

Antonio does not mention criticism of the population at Jardim Jacqueline directed at his own activities, unlike Alvaro who talked about his mistakes, and about misunderstandings between him and the favelados. Antonio not once raised these themes, or reported problems in his performance as a leader. He talks about difficulties caused by some dwellers who were uncooperative, and about the measures adopted to stop them from carrying out further harassment:

"When we were doing things for the benefit of everybody and someone stopped us, I automatically excluded this person's right to give an opinion. If the fence is not removed, 20, 30 persons will be without some benefit. We didn't accept that."

At my first meeting with him he surprised me by answering my request for help in establishing contact with the population by saying, "The favela is hopeless. Do you know strychnine? Well, buy some and put it in the water and go from door to door distributing it because these people are hopeless. Only extinguishing (sic) them will work."

I thought he was showing me how original or peculiar a leader he was, scaring me off. Next he justified why he had that 'solution', he told me about the ambush he had been a victim of, when the electricity was brought in and the electricity 'owners' lost their profits. One of these 'owners' waited for him in the dark and threatened to kill him. He says he replied he was not afraid of him because he knew only a coward would do that, and that he, Antonio, was going to make sure he got a lesson. He says he went to the top of the hill to the main square and called all the people there to tell them what had happened and suggested that they lynched this electricity 'owner'. Twenty volunteers appeared immediately. Antonio said, "It was not serious, it was just to try them out. Sometimes you have to test people's allegiance to you." His attitudes and his behaviour vis-a-vis the population are both respectful and disrespectful, sympathetic and dismissive. More often than not, he acts in a way which denies the opportunity for others to express their views and or to reject the adequacy of the views expressed. At the same time he 'constructs' situations where his leadership skills will be acknowledged by the population, that is, he seems continually in need of receiving the acknowledgement of his own skills while he denies the acknowledgement of others' skills. This is expressed, for instance, in his attitude towards the Dwellers' Association. He was the elected president and stepped down so that a new person could come in. This person was a newcomer to the movement, young and inexperienced. He did not last as president because, among other things, his job drove him away from Sao Paulo. Antonio said that election had been "an experiment to teach the people a lesson". He did not clarify what lesson, but while this person, Danton, was president, Antonio would comment to other dwellers about "How can we trust a guy who obeys his wife, who doesn't want him to attend meetings which go late into the night?" Finally, Fernando,



the vice-president, assumed the formal leadership. This did not stop Antonio from continuing to act as president. At a meeting to discuss an alternative sewerage plan for the area, Antonio dominated the conversation with the professional involved. There were about 20 (male) dwellers taking part. The meeting was an informal one:

Antonio - "We have to do this, otherwise they (the population) will be bleating (sic), that is they will cry like children.

Dweller - Excuse me, can I come in? What if we asked the Municipality to let us have a skip?

Professional - That's a good idea, because it is easier to dispose of and probably the population will use it more often, also overflowing will be less of a problem.

Antonio - No, we already discussed this and it does not work.

Fernando - We took this idea to the Regional Administration and they said ..."

Continuing the conversation about litter disposal, Antonio started to talk about the 'creek' area. His comments suggested to me that the population's prejudices against the people by the creek could possibly be strengthened by Antonio and Fernando:

Antonio - "We choose the best people to look after the litter bins. Because you always have to fight with the scoundrels, because this is an evil, the Devil put on the face of the earth. That would only end if all powers were in my hand, only the good ones would be left (laughs). But unfortunately I have to struggle for the rest of my life. So we are going to suggest a system for litter. We are going to have a meeting with the animals, if you excuse me, and ask them to avoid damaging the litter bins, and to avoid throwing litter in the creek.

Fernando - Before there was great difficulty. I lived by the creek and nobody said anything. Now some people are complaining, they have been attacked by rats and so forth.

Antonio - Yes, we will have a meeting with them and, look we will clean the creek, in exchange you are going to stop throwing litter in the walkways, because it will be better for you, you will avoid rats killing your children, etc. Because the majority, well, there are some scoundrels, but the majority will agree (...) If they had done anything they would have been in a better place. We told them, if you make a row, a big mess, we will support you, we will go to the mayor, with the Welfare Secretary, we will have a tremendous movement. But no, the people wanted to sit and open one faucet here and get a mug of milk, here another, the coffee, so one only had to open it. Do you understand? (laughs) (...) The blame is theirs, because they didn't demonstrate, they didn't

move."

He also contrasts the people by 'the creek' with the people from the top:

"The people up here are more, 90% are workers, if they aren't 100% it is because of unemployment. But down there, there are more unemployed, there has always been unemployed there. And this unemployed element, they don't care about things, so there, no Dwellers' Association was formed. This means the Association started here and they didn't want to come to the meetings, they didn't want to take part. This is the difference, they are still divided among themselves, marginalized."

His view is also expressed to the people who live by the creek. One Sunday some of the people from the creek, two women and their husbands, went to Fernando's house to discuss what measures they should take to reduce the numbers of rats. On the way they met Antonio. I witnessed the meeting.

"Those people are responsible for their own situation. If they had moved, done something, things would be different. That's the reason I am leaving the movement. People don't help. They live with the rats, because of their own fault. They refused to move up the hill. The Municipality would have given support. We spoke to the Spaniard, and nobody accepted."

While he spoke, he walked around the group not looking at anyone, just talking. This attempt to establish contact between 'the top' and 'the creek' failed, because on the day Fernando agreed to meet them to go to the Municipality, instead of going to Fernando's house they went to Otavio's bar at the main square. Otavio told them Fernando would not be home at such a time of the day. Later on, the story told at the top of the hill was that "no rat from down there showed up here." The purpose of presenting this incident is to stress that Antonio's behaviour and attitudes disseminate, and perhaps make more difficult an already difficult task. Whatever good contacts Fernando had managed to achieve with these people may have been cancelled out by Antonio and later on Otavio's misinformation. In other formal and informal

contacts between Antonio and the population, similar patterns of behaviour were witnessed. During a group discussion among women from the top, Dona Fortuna, the landlady, appeared at the headquarters. The women invited her in to participate in the discussion. A few minutes later, Fernando and Antonio arrived and asked permission to come in. The women allowed them to watch and shortly afterwards say something. Antonio dominated the conversation from then on. His first intervention lasted 15 minutes non-stop. After half an hour, three of the ten women left. Antonio continued. His wife turned and said,

" - You arrived and the women left. You talk too much.

Antonio - The women are thanking God. You, the people, women, you have to scream out to this country to say, 'Look', I wanted to put some common sense into you, so you speak. Because you housewives are the ones who have to stop this shame. Because this, which is happening, is not our fault, it is society's fault, left as it is (the favela), this is my opinion. Someone else may even have a different opinion. Not everyone is forced to think the way I do, but I say that the majority of the people say that the sewerage should be resolved, that the creche should be made, that the necessary improvements should be made. All that concerns the social problems, all that is lacking and that the people should stay here. Am I right?"

All the women agreed with his comments. When I prodded them, one said:

"I think I am in agreement with what Antonio said, because he has said all. He understands a lot more than we do and he said all there is to be said."

Antonio, "No it is not a matter of being more knowledgeable. It is ....." and he speaks for more than 15 minutes about the legal status of the land, and of lawyers making fortunes out of people in a less than legal way.

His viewpoints are presented to the population, also in informal situations, and then he can be almost insulting. Dona Nadia is a very religious "crente" (believer - Pentecostal sects); Visiting Fernando

one day she made a comment about dying, "I don't mind, I will deliver my soul to God, I don't care what happens to the body." Antonio turned to her and made a speech about how religion is a plague because it tells people to get used to suffering here, while waiting for Paradise in heaven. "We have to have rewards here. Now I am in favour of the class struggle. This country will only change through class struggles. I am not a communist, I am realistic." Throughout this Dona Nadia kept quiet. She is a person who is shy, and who days before had said the following to me:

"It wouldn't suit me to be a politician. I am a person who is afraid of sometimes offending a person whom I like. Election is something I can't understand. It is necessary to be a person that confronts to be a politician, I wouldn't know how. But it is because I am very afraid at meetings and such to speak something and realize that. If I speak, I say something I know won't criticize anyone. I am not suitable for meetings. I go, I listen to everything, like when Dona Ida speaks against the government, against someone else. I only gave a word against the farmers but (...) but the Municipality has helped me. The social workers help me, that's why I say to you that I am afraid to give a word and offend someone. Because, thank God, I am helped. If I am weak it is because I am really weak, no-one is forced to put me up (help improve me) alone."

Despite this incident, Dona Nadia considers Antonio a very good man and has a very good image of his leadership. Such incidents could be interpreted as instances in which he was reacting to the presence of the researcher presenting an aggressive behaviour which to his mind exemplified his authority, or as a way of showing the difference between himself and the other dwellers. This could represent a contamination of the data due to his reaction to the researcher or to outsiders in general. If so, these behaviours would be presented only when outsiders, people he wants to impress, are present, but he would not act like this in his day-to-day dealings with other dwellers. The problem is that most meetings of the Association are attended by outsiders especially by representatives of the Dwellers' Association,

the Church and volunteers. If this aggressive behaviour is displayed whenever outsiders are present, then the dwellers are targets for his verbal displays in other circumstances aside from the ones covered in this study.

Such circumstances are relevant for the movement since the meetings have symbolical meaning in the sense that these are events which provide evidence that there is an Association.

Antonio's public interactions with the population thus are marked by the reaffirmation of his superiority, and of his skills; he names the population as responsible for the failures while he is responsible for the successes; he is validated as the real leader, but will not accept any formal role. This suggests that his participation in the movement is also allowing him to satisfy psychological needs. This means that the psychological traits of a leader cannot be ignored because directly or indirectly they will affect the leadership style and the involvement of the population. Not all psychological needs will demand for their satisfaction such behaviour. The problem seems to be when what is being sought is the repair of feelings of insecurity. Antonio's need to reaffirm his authority, his knowledge, his superiority, suggest that these are areas in which he is not sure of his competence.

His insecurities emerge in his dealings with the Regional Administration and with the party branch. In dealing with these, his mechanisms for reassuring himself of his position seem to have been less successful, despite the fact that he is also appointed by the staff at the Regional Administration and the party members as the leader at Jardim Jacqueline. This acknowledgement of his leadership position has

not resulted in more support from these groups as expressed in the fulfilment of the present agenda for improvements.

His descriptions of his relations with both the Regional Administration and the party suggest that the same mixed pattern of aggression and acceptance was used.

From Antonio's and Fernando's descriptions of their behaviour at the meetings of the party branch, they were not popular. Francisco says, "The people at the Diretorio (the party branch) don't like what we say, but it is easy for Jose Carlos (Secretary of Justice) to talk about Human Rights, but in the favela it is much more difficult. Here we have armed people running in the streets. They shouldn't be left around, they shouldn't be sent to prison to have food and entertainment. They should all be shot." Antonio not only defends summary execution of criminals but also lynching if necessary. His perception for ending violence is to create the Department for the Defence of Favelados - a civil police, a vigilante squad. This has met with criticism both from the police and the party. To make matters worse, vis a vis the party, they have good relations with the police.<sup>6</sup> Chiquito and Francisco have adopted a policy of denouncing to the police the presence of unwanted people and of helping them carry out police searches. This is not viewed as a good strategy. It suggests that they align themselves with the repressive system. Other leaders tend to establish "gentlemen's agreements" so that the criminals will leave the favelados under their jurisdiction in peace.

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<sup>6</sup> Which has been linked to the repressive apparatus during the dictatorship years.

Antonio's anti-communist views could be an added aggravation in that party branch which was a stronghold of the Communist Party. This could explain why (a) at the end of 1984 the party activists which set up the Dwellers' Association were no longer active in Jardim Jacqueline, the population did not mention them, and they were not seen there on the weekends when they usually visited the area; (b) the Regional Administration was not responding to their demands; and (c) none of the unemployed in the area had been called to work for the Municipality. This was strange because it was the common thing in other favelas. The Regional Administration had promised them jobs, but they had been waiting for months and nothing had happened. Meanwhile, at Imperatriz, three members of the leadership and one former member were working for the Municipality. Fernando had been unemployed and without odd jobs for months: with 7 children to feed, he was showing signs of stress. Some members of the party branch had, in fact, referred him to a private doctor. Still no job was forthcoming, while according to Ida and Fernando<sup>7</sup> employed people were leaving their work to go to work for the Municipality.

From the moment the PMDB had assumed government and Aldo became the Regional Administrator, they had been expecting 'preferential treatment', which seemed to be about to take place but never materialized. Fernando says, "At the beginning everything we asked for, Aldo used to send, lorries to remove litter, stones to lay in the streets, people to help us clean the area. But now, they don't."

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<sup>7</sup> They said that except for the president of the party branch, everybody else was working for the Municipality. One of his friends at the party was heading the Operational Department of the Metro and told him the Metro had vacancies. Fernando asked Aldo for a letter recommending him. Aldo replied that he needed him at the Regional Administration. Two years later and no job in sight, Fernando evaluated this as a 'manoeuvre' to keep him quiet.

Later on, Fernando was to explain that Aldo's change of attitude was a consequence of the question of the land status,

"The favelas in areas belonging to the Municipality are different. They have more improvements. For instance, this favela isn't in Municipal land, Uirapuru, is not. (...) So, the Municipality makes some improvements such as water, electricity, because it is an obligation, it is very, very difficult for a person to live in a favela without water and electricity. So, the Municipality brought these improvements. But sewerage, or a creche, things like this, in a private area is more difficult to get them to do. To obtain this benefit, because they say quickly, 'it is not Municipal land', when it is, then the Municipality puts more effort than when it is not. They try to get off the hook. When we make the demand, they say 'it is not our land', when it is, then it is easier to get the benefits."

This led them to start a small campaign to get the Municipality to make a compulsory purchase of the land they occupy. It seems from their own statements that the lack of support from the Regional Administration is not just a consequence of lack of resources or the land status, but also of their relations with members of the party. If this is true, it means that the autonomy of the movements in the favelas is not only partial, but also that the PMDB may use the same tactics it criticized the former Administrations for using, that is, of using benefits to get not only support, but compliance.

Despite his aggression and his verbalized claims of superiority vis a vis the other dwellers, Antonio does not show feelings of personal efficacy in relation to the dwellers and to the public authorities. He is ambivalent about such feelings; sometimes he expresses feelings of efficacy and sometimes he denies them. This is illustrated by another incident. Antonio said one day that the Regional Administration would never treat a favela and a wealthy district the same way,

"If I take some demand, (...) If I take one demand from the favela, Jardim Jacqueline, to the Regional Administration of Butanta or the Municipality of Sao Paulo and a group of ladies from here, the Jardim America (a wealthy district) or from Morumbi



(take another), even if they were all against the present administration, they will get 90% of the benefits. It is easier for the administrator to attend to their demands, from the people who came from Morumbi or Jardim America than from the favela of Jardim Jacqueline. Even though we all voted so that that person would occupy the position of Administrator. I don't know the reason or reasons for this. But it happens and it happens daily. (...) The favelado is the most needy and the most injured also. Because there is no organization (...) It is the people's (favelados) negligence, because if the people were organized, people would go there, but would not trust, and would let the guy know that they knew he was lying. But people living in (...) and favelas are the least informed, so it is easy to fool them. Now with a Dwellers' Association, it is more difficult. So the people should be with us, here in the Dwellers' Association to support and demand. But people only believe in things when they arrive. So it is difficult. Without the support from the Municipality it is difficult (...) The people from Jardim America know more things so they can convince the Administrator (...) He will say, 'I can't let Dr. so-and-so's request unanswered, but I can leave thousands of miserable people from Jardim Jacqueline waiting'."

Months later, this happened when six families who needed room to build their houses were told they could occupy an area across the second creek. Antonio and Fernando gave the families the permission to occupy the area after Aldo, the Regional Administrator, told them it would be alright. As the families started to put the walls up, a bulldozer from the Regional Administration arrived, demolished what was built, and confiscated the building material which had not yet been used. This aroused the anger of Antonio and Fernando. I had witnessed the different phases of the abortive occupation. When Fernando mentioned that they could occupy the area across the creek, Ida had asked, "But won't the neighbours from the houses complain?" The demolition of the semi-built shacks was ordered after the neighbours had threatened the Regional Administrator with legal action. Antonio was furious. He was considering other alternatives such as leaving the PMDB and joining the Workers Party (P.T.) (which competes with the PMDB) carrying the votes of the favela along with him, or setting the Church against the Municipality by sheltering the homeless families in the church building in the favela. In the end he did neither and eventually they found space for the families inside the favela, but from then on their

relations with the Regional Administration went sour.

Authoritarianism runs parallel to a lack of personal efficacy: this is apparent not only when talking about institutions outside the favela but in discussions about events inside the favela itself.

Commenting on the role of the Dwellers' Association, Antonio said,

"The Municipality should provide legislation giving authority to the Dwellers' Association. Without laws we are even ridiculed by people who do not want benefits, because these will spoil some illicit source of profit. Also without laws giving us the right to act, we end up having to ask for police protection, or protection from the authorities. The authorities say, 'no the Association has to decide it alone', but this can turn into a fight. If we approach a precinct the police tell us, 'You don't gain anything from this, forget it, move out, find another place to live in'. It is not enough to develop an Association only on paper without the conditions to implement changes."

Fernando also expresses the need for some external source of support to legitimize their right to get the dwellers to cooperate:

"The Association has to work along with the Municipality. Because we live here and we can at least provide guidance. Now if we meet certain people, they don't want to know. Because here, to put the houses in a line it is necessary to remove fences, which are here, and put them there, or wherever. So, there are certain persons who don't allow anyone to touch their fence. We, on the other hand, we from the Association could remove it. But the danger is that this can cause a fight. The Municipality is autonomous. It can come to us and say, 'this and this must be done, this and this must run along here, this fence'. The Municipality along with us, it can help us (...) because this area belongs, the Municipality has all the right to come and do things, only the Municipality can help us (...). There are many ignorant persons who don't agree but if the Municipality is there, with us, they say, 'No, the Municipality is telling us, we are not going to confront the Municipality because we can only lose'."

Fernando sees the need to get the people together, but he does not attribute to the leadership the responsibility for achieving this.

The population should understand this and take part:

"If we arrive in the Regional Administration alone, we get nothing. But if we have 30 or 40, then it is different. Because only one cricket making noise we can sleep well, but if there are many crickets making noise, people have to get up to shoo them away. That's why I am always saying we have to unite, let's unite because it is easier to get things done."

The people at the Regional Administration considered the movement at Jardim Jacqueline good, and their own response to the demands as also good. Their interpretation of the slowdown was similar to that of the leaders. They were waiting for a decision on the compulsory purchase of the land. This was the reason why things were at a temporary standstill.

This evaluation agreed with Antonio's opinion that the participation of the population was very good. He saw the movement as well organized and cohesive:

"Here? The president already knows, I taught him for two years, he knows (...) Here the project is that the Housing Secretariat is going to develop a project. Aldo sent us to talk to them. Here it is a priority area in Butanta. It is the largest free area in the Butanta. So the project is that Cohab will buy the land, and the land will be sold to the people, and there will be a financing system to acquire building materials for people who earn up to 2 minimum wages (...) This is the project, now if the people want to force it, to push it a bit, they can. I am not doing any more because I have wasted too much time with this."

Antonio's authoritarianism is expressed also in the lack of importance attributed by the leaders to how the decisions are made, to the role of the leadership in bringing the population together, and in creating situations, such as meetings, for the population to be together.

The participation of the population is considered satisfactory:

"It is very good, people are taking part, but there are no resources. Before a tax reform, we can't expect any improvement. This will continue to be a favela. The governor is not doing a thing, because of the presidential campaign. From now until next year, nothing will be done. There are many plans, meetings, etc., but to implement the plans is another business."

In the leaders' view the participation of the population consists of attending the meetings and cooperating in collective tasks when

summoned to do so. To the population, participation consists mostly of attending meetings and demonstrating support by cooperating with collective tasks. When meetings and collective tasks are not taking place, the idea that people have is that the Dwellers' Association is not active and that people are not participating, whereas to the leaders the 'indicators' of participation are different, and therefore they can maintain an image of the movement as 'participative and active'.

As the leaders carry on with their meetings, that is with the meetings amongst the leaders, they do not see the need to call on the population to attend their meetings or to decide collectively about the means to achieve the improvements or even to establish collectively the agenda for improvements. The passive role they assign to the population is not perceived as such by the leaders. This, combined with the family and financial problems they were facing, drove their attention away from the other dwellers and resulted in evaluations of the situation which reflected more their own problems and priorities. For instance, Ida, when questioned about how the other dwellers were perceiving the movement, stated:

"A lot of unemployment. Very few people are working here. A house with 10 persons has 1 person working. Fernando is ill (...) He is not as full of courage as he used to be (...) They (Antonio and Fernando) are still going to meetings for the Sacolao (...) we started the headquarters but there is no money for it and no building materials (...) The girls from the PMDB said that they would help with some of the materials, but nothing is coming of it. The headquarters would be of great help right? Because the children could use it as a meeting place, for a play group. Maybe we could get meals served to them there. To improve their diets (...) We are trying to see if it is possible to organize the materials somewhere (...) The movement is quiet, people only look around for jobs (...) we have had more meetings with the leadership. We invite the neighbours to watch, but we meet more with the 13 from the leadership to discuss what we will be doing. We call the people when outsiders come, and we want a lot of people there. Then people come. But generally it is just the leadership with us (...) Everybody from this area here goes. The people by the creek are the ones that come less. I don't know why they live like this. They are distant. It is all a favela, there

is no need for that. It could be one thing only. But they are reserved, I don't know if they think that the people here are different from them. But there isn't, we are not different from them. It is all one thing."

Fernando and Ida are less authoritarian than Antonio. They are warm, helpful people, but still they end up adopting the same practices which exclude the others from participating and from decision-making. For instance, the decision to ask the Municipality to buy the land, was not submitted to discussion with the population. This is a major decision, it has important implications for all dwellers. Should the Municipality buy the area, the chances are that the Housing Company, COHAB, will try to establish one of their mixed housing projects. This could be a benefit and a threat to the population. As it stands, that area, being the largest 'available' area in the neighbourhood is very valuable, and if the population is to benefit from it they have to present a cohesive front. Unfortunately they did not seem to be aware of this. Also, the leadership agenda was different from that of the population. The leaders set land title as the first item, whereas the population concerned with basic survival, was asking for a sewerage system.

The quality of the interactions between both Ida and Fernando and the population is better than Antonio's. But they seemed to have grown used to having the people come to ask them questions and not to take the initiative of going to people to find out what they are thinking. Also some of Antonio's ideas and perceptions about the population seemed to have been passed on to them. Ida could not understand why so many mothers had complained about their children being excluded from the children's play group,

"I am the only person who cleans the room, Jamira helps me, and so do the daughters of Dona Isabel, but the other neighbours don't help (...) I am the only one that has the duty to go. They want to get there, sit down and listen to the talk, and find everything

clean (...) there is no unity (...) The mothers complaining 'ah, so and so's child got in and mine was left out', I say 'but people it is not that'. I came from work another day and two mothers almost hit me. Because their children, 'ah, your children are not better than mine'. No, they are not better, we used to have 3 rooms now we only have one, that's the reason (we demolished) to make room for the new building. I said, 'Now, do you want them to teach the children in your houses? Because there are 10, 15 girls coming here to teach, no-one offered a room. They didn't offer a room'. 'Ah, why, the other one's children are better? Are they prettier?' I said, 'Of course. There are children who are prettier than others, but here the problem is not the beauty of the child.' Some mothers understand, some don't."

The problem is that in the selection of the children that would be part of this small play group, most of the children chosen are the ones from Ida's house and those of her closest neighbours. In other words, the selection raised the suspicion among the other mothers that only the leadership was having access to this benefit. Ida is not a malicious person. She is a generous neighbour who shares the crop from her vegetable patch, who cares about other people's conditions, and difficulties. But she genuinely could not understand the other people's point of view.

The contrast between Alvaro and Antonio is striking. Alvaro does not indulge in elaborate explanations. He has learned the skills of leadership from the experience of being involved in the movement at Imperatriz. These skills he is beginning to use outside the favela, in the party and in the trade union. His discourse is not focused so much on an explanation, or diagnosis of the situation but more on action, what has been done, what is being done, and what will be done to effect change.

As I said at the beginning of this chapter, the two leaders have different styles. I must stress that despite the fact that Antonio's interactions with the population are basically of an authoritarian

nature, and that the actual dynamics of the Dwellers' Association is such that the population are given little encouragement to participate actively, Antonio is respected and admired by the population. He is an entertaining story teller, who can hold people's attention for long periods. His ideas about controlling criminality with self-defence measures do find some echo in the population. His verbal skills are admired. Although replicating their experience outside the favela with the authorities, social workers and other persons with whom they establish unequal relationships, they seem proud of his ability whilst the possible 'injuries' he causes are not admitted at a conscious level.

#### Summary

My initial hypothesis about a participative favela and the relationships between democratic leadership and sustained participation were the result of the initial work on a non-participative favela with an authoritarian leadership. I failed to grasp the complexity of this process which is continually evolving. Needs and priorities in a rapidly changing socio-economic and political context continually alter. In a serious economic recession, when basic survival acquires priority in the absence of external support, the obstacles in the way of continued participation in movements to fulfil needs which are not directly related to survival are greater. The role of the leadership is then more essential if the movement is to continue than at other times.

Alvaro is in his third term as president of the Dwellers' Association at Imperatriz. He assumes the position of leadership, whereas Antonio refuses to take on the formal role although, de facto, he is the leader. It is my hypothesis that this refusal to accept the formal role gives him more power because then he dictates the

legitimization process. The population has to submit to his rules or else he does not participate and then nothing gets done. When he assumes the role he does so in a paternalistic fashion - "I am doing you a favour." Fernando is a quiet, dedicated man, an old friend of Antonio's and used to being overshadowed by him in front of crowds. They have shared work, opinions, information and ideas for so many years that they have almost a family relationship. He seems to be pleased with Antonio's success and not disturbed by his interruptions and verbal dominance. He seems to enjoy working with him. They do have a complementarity in the sense that Fernando works quietly, whereas Antonio is the star that comes out front. Francisco seems to enjoy staying in the background.

The background of the two leaders is similar. In fact, Alvaro's career as a leader is living proof that a long stay in the favela does not lead necessarily to conformism. Alvaro grew up, so to speak, in Imperatriz. They are all from the Northeast, from families who were small land holders or in commerce. Their political ideas are similar, and although Antonio and Fernando's political experience predates their participation in the movement and is longer than Alvaro's, the latter is being more successful in the sense that he is making a 'career' in the party branch and is getting continued attention from party members.

The leaders are similar in their explanation of favelas as a result of unjust economic policies. Antonio's explanations are quite complex and resemble the interpretations given by the wider society for the existence of favelas in the 50s and 60s. Alvaro's explanations are simpler. He does not trace the roots to migration, land problems and lack of skills for the job market. Antonio theorizes; he is an informed person, with broad information about the world; he discusses



and integrates this information. The general inequality in the country provokes in him a reaction of anger - at the government for its policies and at the population for what he sees as an acceptance of this inequality. Antonio is ambivalent towards the population. On the one hand it must be brought together in joint action. On the other hand, it is blamed for its own plight, for not uniting and for not being aware of the movements. These are working well and not working well, because the population cooperates and does not cooperate, and because of the effect of politics and ideologies which split the movements.

Antonio is therefore ambivalent in his alignment. Sometimes he aligns himself with the favelados, sometimes with the outside world. His attitudes, and his behaviour vis a vis the favelado reveal that he accepts some of the broader society's views of people as ignorant or incapable. If I am to adopt Edinger's language, his leadership seems to be for his self-esteem and is self-oriented.

Alvaro is task-oriented. His explanations, views of the world, contain theory in the measure necessary for him to act. He is a politician oriented towards a task. He has empathy and social insight regarding the population; he knows how to read their "mood". His needs seem to be different from Antonio's.

It seems that Antonio is a leader because he has a 'superior understanding of the situation'. It is through his discourse that he marks his leadership. It is his understanding of politics which differentiates him from his followers. Alvaro seems to be a leader because he understands what has to be done. He sees what is wrong and he captures the mood of the people. He knows when to confront and when

to retreat, and always stresses the similarities between himself and the population, their equality, and the importance of their ideas and contributions. Alvaro has assumed the identity of a favelado. He is a representative of the favelados. Antonio's actions suggest that he is passing through. He seems to be a person who should not be in a favela and who, passing through it, is giving a temporary hand with some problems. The two leaders also differ in how they developed their leadership skills. Antonio was already a leader before the movement existed, whereas Alvaro became a leader in the process of the development of the movement. Antonio was already apart, while Alvaro was 'another one of the chaps, the boy who played football in the streets'. His leadership and his success can be seen as symbols of achievement for his followers, whereas Antonio's support is a reward they can have when they are well behaved.

The two leaders have a similar level of political awareness. In fact, it is possible to say Antonio's is far more elaborated and complex than Alvaro's. I failed to realize that the quality of the interaction with the population would not be determined by political ideas, but by the leader's needs and his perception of his role and that of the population. Finally I underestimated the role of empathy and insight.

The study of the leadership style suggests that this may produce changes in the population's perception of their political efficacy and lead to the development of a broader leadership base. The two leaders share similar feelings of relative and fraternal deprivation and both demonstrate system-blame causal attribution. Both show a sense of group political efficacy and political consciousness. They differ in their individual personal and political sense of efficacy, vis a vis

their followers and the government, in their significant other (to Alvaro it is the other leaders, the dwellers and the external agents; to Antonio it is the external agents). They differ, moreover, in the empathy and insight shown in their communications with their followers specifically in the role attributed to the followers, in their interactions with the population, in the importance each one attaches to the participation of the population and in the congruence between their actions and their verbal behaviour. This seems important in the interactive process which leads to sustained participation.

The roots of the differences in the leaders' behaviour would have to be further studied. The data suggest that leaders' psychological traits and needs do affect their leadership style. The leadership style seems to be affected also by the source of authority of the leader, as well as the process of legitimizing the leader. Tajfel (1981) quoting Bell defined legitimacy as "the rightful exercise of power based on some principle (e.g. consent) jointly accepted by the ruler and the ruled" (p. 320). I did not focus my data collection on the source of authority of the leader because I had assumed the leader would receive his authority from the electoral process. In this I ignored the fact that the electoral process could be just a ritual. I interpreted it as necessarily making the leader more susceptible to censure by his followers and therefore more responsive to followers. I failed to realize the importance of the informality of Antonio's leadership and the effects this could have on the legitimization process, in fact, like the dwellers I came to accept Antonio as an elected leader, oblivious of the fact he was not.

There are two sources of authority according to Hollander (1964), the 'followers' and 'superior authorities'. The first source produces

an emergent leadership whereas the second leads to an imposed leadership. Both the leaderships of Antonio and Alvaro could be interpreted as 'emergent' in the sense that they have the consent of their followers, but this does not mean that they are legitimized in the same way. Hollander (1964) and Hollander & Julian (1971) point to the fact that influence and authority are linked to legitimacy: that is, the leader must have legitimacy if he is to influence his followers and be accepted. One of the most important aspects of leadership studies concerns how influence and legitimacy are sustained. This involves exchanges or transactions with the followers; the leader must show competence - verbal competence, social perceptiveness and motivation. The leader must be perceived as competent in those respects, and seen to adhere to the procedures decided by the group and to identify with the group. The followers must develop trust and esteem and witness the leaders' participation in fulfilling the group goals. This corresponds to some sort of exchange. The leader provides the resources for the attainment of the collective goals and receives status, recognition and esteem. This exchange is a sign of the acceptance of his position and influence:

"In social exchange terms, the person in the role of leader who fulfils expectations and achieves group goals provides rewards for others which are reciprocated in the form of status, esteem and heightened influence. Because leadership embodies a two-way influence relationship, recipients of influence assertions may respond by asserting influence in return, that is, by making demands on the leader. The very sustenance of the relationship depends upon some yielding to influence on both sides"

(Hollander & Julian, 1971, p. 517).

This influence over others is "purchased at the price of allowing one's self to be influenced by others" (p. 517. Homans quoted by Hollander & Julian, 1971). The influence is dependent upon esteem. This corresponds to the 'idiosyncratic credit' - "the person's potential to be influential which arises out of dispositions others hold toward him/her" (p. 518). At Jardim Jacqueline there is little reciprocity of

influence, it is not a two-way relationship but one way, whereas at Imperatriz there is reciprocity in this influence process. Although, as stated at the beginning, I did not go in depth into the legitimization process, this suggests that authoritarian leaderships are characterized not only by a concentration of decision-making power and information but also by a process of legitimization in which there is little reciprocity in influence. One of the questions raised is then how authoritarian leaders are legitimized and how their followers make up for the lack of overt influence over him. As this seems relevant for sustained participation it will be explored in the Discussion, (Chapter 9).

## Chapter 9

### Discussion

My objective in this chapter is to consider in greater depth some of the ideas which emerged from the analysis of the data. This discussion starts by approaching the possible effects on sustained participation of the nature of the group identity together with the interrelated influences of intergroup communications and interaction, the social climate, the leadership style and the process of legitimization of the leadership.

The ideas to be discussed here are rooted in what I considered intriguing similarities and differences between the two favelas.

Considering the comparisons between the two favelas, they were found to differ in:

- (a) the leadership style;
- (b) the interactions between leaders and followers;
- (c) the presence of an intermediary leadership;
- (d) the nature of the small groups which comprise the favela;
- (e) subtle aspects of the social interactions;
- (f) their reactions to the perceived lack of cooperation of other dwellers;
- (g) the communications between the dwellers;
- (h) the origins of the head of the household, family income and length of residence in the favela;
- (i) the development of a collective identity;
- (j) feelings of efficacy vis a vis the leader;

- (k) the awareness that there is a Dwellers' Association;
- (l) the characteristics of those who continue to participate;
- (m) knowledge about the procedures of the Dwellers' Association;
- (n) the dwellers' awareness of their role in the legitimization of their leadership.

The two favelas were found to be similar in:

- (a) their lack of feelings of relative or fraternal deprivation, political consciousness or system-blame causal attribution;
- (b) their lack of feelings of personal efficacy vis a vis their neighbours;
- (c) their feelings of group political efficacy;
- (d) the interactions within the small groups with regard to the balance of cooperative, helping and competitive behaviour;
- (e) their failure to communicate rules and norms of behaviour and enforce them;
- (f) their perception of the improvements as due to the meetings;
- (g) their agenda for improvements which was made up of collective items (collective in the sense that they have to be provided to the area and not to individual dwellings);
- (h) their awareness that the improvements demand collective action;
- (i) their adoption of repertoires for collective action which are similar to the ones which were successful in their previous experience;
- (j) their evaluation of the movements;
- (k) their defence of authoritarian measures to solve the problems of perceived lack of cooperation among the dwellers;
- (l) their awareness of favelado as a negative social identity;
- (m) their reference group preference for either the small group or a group outside the favela;

- (n) their perception of differences between the small group and the rest of the community as far as values and beliefs are concerned;
- (o) their leader's role as a significant other.

The similarities and differences between the two favelas suggest that some issues should be considered in greater depth. Two important considerations would seem to be first, the effects on sustained participation of the social identity of the favelados as it relates to the intergroup interactions and communications, and, secondly, the effects of the process of legitimization of the leader. I would like to note that some of the similarities would seem to merit further examination. For example, the call for authoritarian measures, the lack of personal efficacy vis a vis their neighbours, the lack of reconceptualization of the favelado identity, the lack of feelings of relative deprivation, political consciousness, system-blame causal attribution, all suggest that the assumed link between sustained participation and political resocialization represents a process in which gains in one sphere do not translate directly into gains in other areas, especially in the case of cognitions. This also suggests that the process of political socialization has left deeply internalized attitudes, beliefs and cognitions, which resist years of experience in a movement even when as at Imperatriz both ideology and praxis contest and deny the old ideas, beliefs and causal explanations.

The social climate in the two favelas differs, as I said in subtle ways. Despite the fact that the favelas present similarities in the type of interactions at the small group level, the two populations differ in other aspects related to the larger group.

At Jardim Jacqueline there are indications that there is more



aggression towards out-groups than at Imperatriz. Although in both favelas there is a certain frustration with the lack of cooperation of some dwellers, at Imperatriz the dwellers advocate forceful action from their own leaders, while at Jardim Jacqueline such action is requested from an external source such as the municipal or state government or the police. While narrating the history of the movement at Imperatriz, the main impediments standing in the way of improvements are held to be the public utility companies' policies or actions, whereas at Jardim Jacqueline the obstacles are described as the lack of cooperation from other dwellers. Although in both favelas, Imperatriz and Jardim Jacqueline, the people differentiate between themselves and others, at Imperatriz they differentiate between their favela and other favelas, while at Jardim Jacqueline they differentiate themselves from other people inside the same favela and sometimes even from neighbours as well as those from other favelas. Finally, while at Imperatriz they express fear of outsiders, at Jardim Jacqueline they express fear both of other people inside the favela and of forces from outside.

The people in the two favelas also present puzzling differences in their approach to their problems. At Imperatriz they focus on the solutions, while at Jardim Jacqueline they focus on the problems. They differ also in their attitudes to their leader, while at Imperatriz they criticize the leader, at Jardim Jacqueline no criticism is addressed to the leader or made about him.

Such differences in relation to their own groups made me consider the possibility that they reflected incipient changes in their ways of dealing with a negative social identity. In other words, I considered the possibility that the differences represented changes in the psychological consequences of being a member of a minority group.

These changes could be directly linked to the differences in their experiences within the movement which, in their turn, can be seen partly as a result of the differences in leadership style.

The impact of an imputed negative social identity on sustained participation had been a central concern of mine throughout the work, but I could not fully integrate it with the other dynamics of the movement which I had chosen to consider. I thought that a similar concern lay behind the sociologists' emphasis on the necessity for the development of a collective identity if mobilization was to take place. As I developed these ideas, I sensed that this negative social identity might affect group cohesion since it could lead to difficulties in assuming social similarity and commonality. It might therefore affect psychological group membership. These are the ideas I would now like to explore in a tentative way as an exercise in building up a model which may explain differences in participation. I am aware that these ideas merit more extended treatment than I shall be able to give them, but nevertheless feel that my research conclusions justify my raising these issues at this point.

The label "favelado" represents a social identity which is similar to that of a minority group in the sense that it involves a widespread negative stereotype<sup>1</sup> consisting of "a number of other characteristics assigned to all, or most, of those who share the attribute" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 313). The people who are designated in this way vary in their degree of acceptance and/or rejection of this low status minority identity. It is my interpretation that the interactions and communications between the favelados, their attitudes and perception of

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<sup>1</sup> As seen in Chapters 4 (Summary) and 7 (Summary).

withdrawal from the broader society in which the group highlights the differences between them and other groups,

- (b) conversely it may lead to a damaging acceptance of the prevailing image.

This would have deleterious consequences for the group because<sup>2</sup> of its inability to create a social entity with its own forms of interaction, its own values, norms and prescriptions" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 328). These are extreme forms of reaction to a negative social identity. More often than not what occurs is that there is a mixture of acceptance and rejection without such polarization. Tajfel (1981) also says that

"The continuous and daily interactions with the outside world and the consequent psychological participation of a group in the system of values and the network of stereotypes of the society at large create a degree of acceptance by the minority of its deleterious image; at the same time, some measure of protection is offered by the social and cultural links surviving within the group" (p. 328).

The favelados, as seen above, seem to have little protection from the stereotypes in the sense that there are few communicated norms,<sup>3</sup> traditions and functions. In my view, the protection they find is through a process of separating themselves as individuals, from the stereotypes associated with the group, and by emphasizing the individual differences between themselves and the members of the larger stigmatized group and withdrawing into their small groups<sup>4</sup> (the kinship or close neighbour group). They may also stress differences and distance themselves from the other favelas and favelados who may be seen to justify the negative image.<sup>5</sup> This situation is maintained by, on the one hand, the lack of communication between the groups, which is greater the more 'homogeneous' the small groups are, and on the other

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<sup>3</sup> As seen in Chapter 6 (Summary).

<sup>4</sup> As seen in Chapter 6 (Summary).

<sup>5</sup> As seen in Chapter 7 (Summary).

their own group and consequently the social climate in the favelas are affected by their acceptance or rejection of this condition. In such contexts a movement to improve the conditions in the favelas could represent an opportunity to reformulate their attitudes towards this identity. It could lead to a reconceptualization of their low status condition and to further changes in the dynamics of the group and thus indirectly affect their feelings of political efficacy.

This idea is related to Tajfel's (1981) suggestion that social change must precede psychological changes as far as minority groups are concerned. I am proposing that these processes actually feed each other and have a dialectical relationship.

The common criterion for defining the favelados is the illegality of their land occupation. It is generally accepted that this illegality has been conceptualized by society as a sign of deviance. The favelados, in my view, also have generalized this "illegality" to other aspects of their daily lives, specifically where the issue of norms and rules is concerned, they deny to other group members the right to establish group rules and norms.<sup>2</sup> This means that although a minority group, it is one where there are no perceived common rules and norms. This has serious consequences for the group.

It should be noted that their assumed minority group status is an externally imposed identity. Tajfel (1981) stated that this may lead to:

- (a) the appearance or strengthening of in-group affiliations in members of minorities resulting in some sort of psychological

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<sup>2</sup>As seen in Chapter 6 (Summary).

hand by some physical characteristics of the favela such as lower density where the greater availability of space leads to the possibility of leading a more autonomous life.<sup>6</sup>

The favelados could be said to present the opposite of ethnocentrism. To a certain extent they devalue themselves as a group. They try to maintain their personal identity rejecting the negative stereotypes at the individual or small group level but accepting it and even reinforcing it towards other favelados or favelas.<sup>7</sup> This psychological withdrawal does not protect them from direct and invidious comparisons with members of the majority. These comparisons are present even in the interactions within their small group because their values are the values of the majority.<sup>8</sup>

This would constitute an obstacle to sustained participation because it means that initially, at least, there is little group cohesiveness and solidarity, which might provide the basis for moral and affective commitment to participation. In fact, initially, there is some suspicion about other members of the community. They are, then, forced to act together, which is a situation which does not necessarily facilitate psychological group membership. This would need some reconceptualization in order to balance the negative effects of assuming a negative social identity. This reconceptualization, in my opinion, is related to the quality of their experiences within the movement, and the leadership style influences this in important ways. The role of positive experiences of interaction on psychological group

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<sup>6</sup>As seen in Chapter 6.

<sup>7</sup>As seen in Chapter 7.

<sup>8</sup>As seen in Chapter 6.

membership has been stressed by Hogg & Turner (1985) who stated that positive interpersonal relationships promote a perception of common category membership "even in the absence of an explicit membership ... whereas negative interpersonal relations do not" (p. 61).

Being a member of a minority group has serious consequences at the individual level also, and affects their ideas of personal worth:

"having to live with a contemptuous view of oneself coming from inside or from other people constitutes a serious psychological problem. The value loaded comparisons with other groups or their individual members may become an important aspect of a person's self-image, particularly so when he or she belongs to a minority which is considered to be clearly separate from others and (explicitly or implicitly) 'inferior' to them in some important ways. We discussed earlier certain relationships between the external and internal criteria of minority membership. As long as the external criteria and the value connotations associated with them continue to predominate, as long as the membership of a minority is defined by general consensus as a departure from some ill-defined 'norm' inherent ... in the majority, the self-image and self-respect problems of minority individuals will continue to be acute" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 321).

The emergence of the movements can be seen as representing a challenge to the legitimacy and stability of the power relations between the minority group and the majority group described by Tajfel (1981). When the favelados and their leaders demand improvements they are denying that the illegality of the land occupation justifies their lack of access to water, electricity, sewerage, and proper housing. At least some of them - the leaders - begin to perceive their condition of inequality as unstable and illegitimate and begin to entertain "cognitive alternatives":

"Something else is needed to shake the acceptance of what appears as inevitable. The building up of 'cognitive alternatives' to what appears as unshakeable social reality must depend upon the conviction, growing at least amongst some members of the minority, that some cracks are visible in the edifice of impenetrable social layers, and that therefore the time has come to push as a group" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 318).

Tajfel seems to be describing the origins of feelings of relative

deprivation and/or fraternal deprivation. Before these can be experienced, the 'system of differentials' must be perceived as unstable and illegitimate. This perception, as we have seen,<sup>9</sup> even years after the genesis of the movement, is held only by the leaders. This suggests that in the early days of the movements, the perception of illegitimacy and instability was a privileged perception held by very few.<sup>10</sup>

When the movements began it is my contention that the population still felt politically inefficacious, lacked experience in other forms of political participation, still believed in the legitimacy and stability of current power-relations and devalued their own group. They are not likely to have demonstrated what have been considered to be the basic ingredients for political action (Kinder & Sears, 1985), feelings of political disaffection, belief in their entitlement to improved conditions and the culpability of others for their present circumstances ('external blame' attributions). This would explain why the movements began through the combined effects of external agents and some interested dwellers. The conditions were lacking which might have inspired the emergence of spontaneous movements.<sup>11</sup>

This means that the population is likely to have been dependent on the leaders and the external agents, at least in the initial stages, to provide them with "favourable control-related experiences" (Seeman, 1981) if they were to undergo changes in their sense of political efficacy and be able to reconceptualize their low social

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<sup>9</sup> In Chapter 7 and 8.

<sup>10</sup> As suggested in Chapter 5.

<sup>11</sup> Chapter 5.

status.

All the initiatives would be in the leaders' hands: it is the leaders who would call meetings, propose means and strategies for action, and define the role the dwellers were to play. From the evidence gathered in Imperatriz and Jardim Jacqueline, the dwellers seem likely to have accepted this with a mixture of dependency and suspicion as a consequence of their reactions to their low status. If the leaders' initiatives do not actively combat the tendency, this situation is a fertile breeding ground for authoritarianism, because basically this is the only form of power relations the people have known and it gives them a sense of structure and order.

The leadership style is thus crucial to the fulfilment of the movement's potential for providing political resocializing experiences. The leaders who emerge in time develop their own leadership style. Whether this style is democratic or authoritarian<sup>12</sup> will depend on

- (a) the characteristics of the population,
- (b) the existence of competitors for the position of leader,
- (c) the similarity 'homogeneity' in the competence of the competitors with respect to their social skills, motivation and background,
- (d) whether an active intermediary leadership develops.

This is also influenced by the action of the external agents, their role will not be discussed, though they have to be kept in mind.

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<sup>12</sup> I am leaving aside the laissez-faire type of leadership because (a) I found no such leader, and (b) because due to the characteristics of the population, I doubt that in the favelas a movement with such leadership would be viable.



Since the characteristics of the population<sup>13</sup> make it so dependent on the leader, unless some competition occurs,<sup>14</sup> authoritarianism is the most likely outcome. If there is competition for the leadership, however, contestants have to convince their would-be followers of their aptitudes, and consequently the dwellers can exercise choice. The contestants in such a situation are faced with having to convince not only their would be followers but their peers as well, of their greater motivation and competence. This will depend on the exercise of their social skills and is likely to demand empathy, insight and verbal competence. They must also negotiate and bargain with their peers in such a way that the latter do not jeopardize the position of the eventual winner. The greater the similarity of the contestants, the more likely it is that the 'losers' remain available to participate and to counterbalance the power of the chosen leader, and the greater the chances that a democratic leadership develops.

These ideas have been suggested by what took place at Imperatriz and at Jardim Jacqueline. At Imperatriz, from the beginning, a large group of dwellers responded to the initiatives of the external agents. This group was comprised of people who were similar in the sense that no-one had any previous experience. They were all beginners. Their narratives reveal that there was some competition for the leadership position, and that some criteria by which competence might be judged had been established through comparisons amongst the contestants.<sup>15</sup> At Jardim Jacqueline the initial group was smaller and formed by people who were discrepant, in the sense that some had previous experience as

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<sup>13</sup> As seen in Chapter 7.

<sup>14</sup> Chapters 5 and 8.

<sup>15</sup> Chapter 5.

party activists and as workers in electoral campaigns, and had well-developed verbal skills. While others, although available for participation, had neither the verbal skills nor the previous experience. The competition for the leadership thus seems to have been something of a symbolic exercise since the discrepancy in the abilities thwarted the development of instructive comparisons, and led to the making of an 'obvious choice'.

At first, it is possible that the leaders would dictate everything not only because of their idiosyncrasy credit but also because of the inexperience of the population. Although the organizational charter establishes roles, functions and procedures which should, in theory, guarantee that a democratic process develops, it must be noted that this is not what happens.<sup>16</sup> As we have seen, the charter becomes a mere formality which is not observed. Concentration of power may be avoided if the former contestants and/or intermediary leadership continue to participate. The intermediary leadership is generally formed by contestants who received less votes than the leader. Its existence is not enough to mean it is a counterbalancing power to the leader because sometimes it is not active. This is what happened at Jardim Jacqueline, where the de facto leader had long ceased to be the elected president of the Dwellers' Association.

An active intermediary leadership means that the leader is continually reminded that others, similar to himself, are monitoring his actions. The leader in such a situation is kept aware that he is not the only source of ideas and guidelines for action available to the dwellers.<sup>17</sup> Moreover these 'others' having achieved some gains from

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<sup>16</sup> Chapter 5 and 8.

participation in terms of personal prestige, self-esteem, status, trust and respect from their followers, are likely to be aware of the source of these rewards and more encouraged to remain active.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the chances are that the similarity and the process of competition for power, between the leader and members of the intermediary leadership, would allow them to become reciprocal 'role significant others', to whom each side feels mutually accountable.

If there is a large discrepancy between the skills of the leader and those elected for the intermediary positions, it is more likely that the latter will present as few challenges to his leadership as the other favelados.<sup>19</sup> This fosters the development of an authoritarian leadership since the leader may base his power on the discrepancy between his skills and the perceived skills of the former contestants. The dynamics of his maintenance of power are then based on his 'unchallengable' superiority. This excludes reciprocity with regard to influence, respect, esteem and trust. It means also that the intermediary leadership would not become a 'role significant other' whose evaluations might affect the leader's self-esteem. Reciprocity demands a certain symmetry in relations and this is absent.<sup>20</sup>

In such a context personality traits of the leader are more likely to influence how he exercises his leadership because there is less social control from his peers. This means, for example, that the leader may use his power over the group to try to repair some of the

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<sup>17</sup> As seen in Chapter 8.

<sup>18</sup> As seen in Chapter 8.

<sup>19</sup> As seen in Jardim Jacqueline, Chapter 8.

<sup>20</sup> Seen in Chapters 7 and 8.

damages to his/her own self-esteem which have been caused by a negative social identity, thus adding to the difficulties of group interaction.<sup>21</sup>

By asserting his superiority in this way, the leader also can cut short any challenge to his position. The passivity and silence of the intermediary leadership may indeed be used to ensure the stability of his authority. In such circumstances, there is no 'corrective feedback' because the leader may come to perceive himself as holding the 'right' perceptions, since the others are not in a position to modify his/her perceptions. The passivity of the intermediary leadership and of the dwellers is not likely to be interpreted as symptoms of problems because this passivity is expected by such leaders.<sup>22</sup> The followers are expected to participate by responding to the leader's initiatives.

The continued legitimization of this type of leadership could be explained, perhaps, by the fact that:

- (a) this leadership may be successful in achieving the utilitarian, direct goals of the movement;
- (b) the lack of challengers could mean that alternatives do not emerge;
- (c) the continuing feelings of inefficacy among the followers would make them dependent on others' initiatives;
- (d) the continuing difficulties in interactions and communications at inter-group level would mean that there are no changes in group cohesion and, therefore, no alternatives emerging from that

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<sup>21</sup> Seen in Chapters 6 and 8.

<sup>22</sup> Seen in Chapter 8.

source;

- (e) the continued legitimization by the external agents.

At the individual level, a sense of inefficacy would probably be maintained if not strengthened.<sup>23</sup> A leadership of this type would not provide the favelados with a new kind of relevant experience. In fact, it is likely to replicate processes they live through in their interactions with majority groups. The leader may have ambivalent attitudes towards the favelados and behave in contradictory ways.<sup>24</sup> He/she may hold the followers responsible for their circumstances, and criticize their alienation and passivity while punishing them if they happen to take the initiative.<sup>25</sup> Their passivity may also be used as an example of their lack of capacity to act without a strong leadership to guide them, while at the same time generating it as a strategy to curtail the development of any opposition.<sup>26</sup>

This means that this type of leadership would not provide support for changes in their followers' self-concept, self-esteem, sense of efficacy and powerlessness and reactions to a negative social identity.

The self-concept is thus seen as being intrinsically related to the interactions taking place in daily life and to the interpretations people give to such interactions and to the meanings they acquire:

"Self-concept arises out of interaction and is modified in the course of further interaction. It is based upon the individual's interpretation of the responses of others and the individual's definition of the meaning of his or her own behaviour affects the

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<sup>23</sup> Suggested in Chapter 7.

<sup>24</sup> Seen in Chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>25</sup> Chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>26</sup> Chapter 8.

actual responses of others. The process becomes a circular one; self-concepts, responses of others and the individual's own behaviour comprise an on-going process, a process of fitting together developing lines of action"

(Lauer & Handel, 1981, p. 287).

The population's sense of control would not, therefore, be improved if:

- (a) they are ascribed a passive role in the meetings and in collective tasks;
- (b) there is no emphasis on the electoral process and on the followers' role in legitimizing the leadership;
- (c) the followers contributions are consistently rejected.<sup>27</sup>

When the relations at the larger group level are already marked by a lack of cohesion, by competition, by a need to differentiate and sometimes even dissociate themselves from the others, as is the case with the favelados, the way the leader asserts his/her superiority can exacerbate these problems. At the meetings when the dwellers verbalize alternatives to the leader's suggestions or guidelines, this may be interpreted by the leader as a minor form of challenge. If the leader consistently turns down such initiatives, he/she is not only restricting future competition for the leadership, but may also be feeding feelings of inefficacy, in-group aggression and differentiation. If the dwellers are socialized into quiescence, then expressing disagreement or even alternatives may generate ambivalent feelings: they may wish to contribute and at the same time fear making public their own inadequacy (making 'fools of themselves'). When the leader rejects such contributions he/she is reinforcing their fears and punishing their efforts to contribute. Moreover, the other dwellers who

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<sup>27</sup> As seen in Chapters 7 and 8.

witness such encounters have their personal difficulties, their own ambivalences about externalizing their ideas and opinions about what is being suggested.<sup>28</sup> It is possible that when they witness episodes such as these, that mixed feelings of guilt and envy are aroused when someone else speaks out; guilt for not having dared and envy because someone else has done so. Rejection by the leader would diminish the guilt and legitimize so to speak passivity. The frustration generated by the rejection would not turn against the leader, but against the 'speaker' (or challenger) further affecting in-group affiliation.<sup>29</sup> This idea is grounded on observations made at Jardim Jacqueline and on evidence reported by White & Lippett (1961), who observed that authoritarian leaderships stimulated intragroup aggression and frustration and the emergence of scapegoats, as well as more dependent behaviour and less individual initiative.

In contrast to the situation under this type of authoritarian leader, if a strong intermediary leadership emerges, it may ensure the democratic process.<sup>30</sup> It may do so not only by affecting the leader but also by presenting the dwellers with alternative lines of action, models for participation and the incentive to do so. If these individuals take initiatives, or propose alternatives or disagree with the leader and the leader responds positively, they are demonstrating that one can actually express opinions, and deviate from the mainstream and still be heard. They can in this way provide concrete evidence that power is not concentrated in the leader alone and generate situations in which through their contributions they provide positive

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<sup>28</sup> Chapters 7 and 8.

<sup>29</sup> Suggested in Chapter 7.

<sup>30</sup> Seen in Chapter 8.

models for participation. In their capacity as intermediaries they can also provide 'corrective feedback' for the leader.<sup>31</sup> This can have as a consequence an intensification of the flow of communications within the community not only between the leader and the followers but also between the followers.<sup>32</sup> Increased communications increase the chances that commonalities are perceived and that involvement with the movement is maintained because interest is generated in its affairs. The diversity among such leaders would allow for different members of the community to identify with the leadership and to establish personal links with some representative of the formal structure of the movement, thus allowing for the emergence of 'role significant others' for the followers.

This intermediary leadership represents a resource as well as a potential threat to the leader as they not only lighten the work load, but also share the stress and the blame when things go wrong and the responsibility for some of the 'nagging' which has to be done if people are to be brought to cooperate in the movement's activities.<sup>33</sup>

An intermediary leadership ensures that the leader adheres to the procedures and principles agreed by the group, that the decision-making process is participative and that information flows.<sup>34</sup> A democratic leader would base his power on his ability to bargain and negotiate between the different interests, needs and expectations that would consequently emerge. There is the potential for reciprocity in

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<sup>31</sup> Seen in Chapter 8.

<sup>32</sup> Seen in Chapter 6.

<sup>33</sup> As seen in Chapter 8.

<sup>34</sup> As seen in Chapters 5 and 8.



influence to develop, as well as mutual trust and respect and symmetry in the power relations with the followers. This means that such leadership moderated by the intermediary leadership could generate favourable experiences of control since it would define the role of the followers as an active, participative one in which they not only provided labour for the implementation of plans, but shared in the decision making process and in the development of ideas and the proposal of solutions. This would entail a break in the pattern of authority which the favelados have previously experienced in their contacts with figures who represent some form of power. Such new experiences then would provide the basis for:

- (a) the development and strengthening of communications and interactions at intergroup level;
- (b) the perception of the shared nature of their problems;
- (c) the perception of similarities in values, norms and beliefs; and
- (d) the breakdown of the pattern of in-group differentiation and of devaluation of themselves as a group.

This would be the basis on which a broader reference group might develop, as well as a sense of collective identity and psychological group membership. Changes in their self-esteem, sense of self-worth and political efficacy could potentially follow. Such developments would constitute basic psychological gains which in turn would encourage sustained participation.

Such experiences would then fulfil the potential of the movements to provide opportunities for the favelados to reconceptualize their social and psychological status. They would interact with each other, their leaders and external agents in more favourable circumstances and in roles which would enhance the possibility that they might develop mechanisms to reconceptualize the negative stereotypes attributed to

them.

The evidence from the research showed that the differences between the authoritarian leader and the democratic one were not to be found in how they explained the situation in the favelas which give rise to the need for the movements. They could also be said to present similar 'cognitive alternatives'. Where they differ is in their actions, and in their actual behaviour towards their followers, and in the broader changes they have managed to bring about. An authoritarian leadership in the Brazilian context gives little promise of any change in power relations. It presents the followers with known procedures and concentrates power in its own hands, while failing to encourage them to take responsibility for their situation, and increasing their fears of failing. At the same time an authoritarian leadership gives the people more direct access to what they have come to think they want: order, strength and control. In a context where there is little time and energy to devote to any other enterprise aside from guaranteeing one's earnings, people who lack previous experience with democratic procedures and who lack a sense of political efficacy and are sensitive to rejection and exclusion, submit easily to an authoritarian leadership, especially when the leader is seen to achieve the collective goals.

A democratic leadership offers the promise of changes in power relations but it also demands more of the leaders and the dwellers alike, although the psychological gains are commensurate.

Sustained participation seems more linked to some form of commitment which involves moral or affective ties with the movement such as those encouraged by a democratic leadership style. It is my

belief that authoritarian leaderships tend to generate social climates in which utilitarian or instrumental commitment only is likely to emerge. These fluctuate with the individual's interest in the success of particular projects and although such leaders may succeed in achieving the movement's goals they are not, therefore, likely to maintain the support of a cohesive community for long periods of time, or when confronted with an adverse social, political and economic context.

## Chapter 10 Conclusions

Here I present a brief review of my initial statements about the likely characteristics of the participative favela in view of the evidence from the research.

Sustained participation was approached as emergent within the process of the movements and as such was supposed to be affected amongst other factors by the interactive effects of the leadership style; the social interactions and social networks in the community; by social psychological characteristics of the leaders and the dwellers, as well as by some socio-economic and demographic features which characterized the participant citizen. The leadership style was considered to be the consequence of a combination of characteristics of the dwellers and the leaders. A democratic leadership style was considered likely to be associated with sustained participation and was defined as ensured by the presence of a cadre of committed members. Sustained participation was hypothesized to be the result of the interactive effects of a democratic leadership style which emphasized a broad participative base and which had repercussions for the social climate - facilitating the development of psychological group membership and changing feelings of political efficacy vis a vis the group, and significant others.

The focus of attention was on comparisons between a participative favela and a non-participative one, and not so much on the individual differences in sustained participation within a movement but in differences in the sustained participation between movements (represented by the two Associations in the two favelas).

The initial data from a non-participative favela allowed for the tentative conceptualization of how a participative favela might develop. The analysis resulted in a clearer picture of non-participation, as well as participation on the basis of which it was assumed that sustained participation required some form of political resocialization, which was related to the presence of a cadre of committed members demonstrating political consciousness, system blame causal attribution, feelings of fraternal or relative deprivation and a sense of individual and group political efficacy. The democratic leadership style was then hypothesized to be guaranteed by the presence of this cadre. This leadership style was believed to allow the dwellers to achieve some psychological gains from participation which would be revealed by the presence of political consciousness, the development of a collective identity and by the presence of feelings of political efficacy.

The completed research provides support for some of these contentions and fails to confirm others, while in addition it suggests other ideas which were not initially considered. The evidence is mostly tentative, indicating trends. Causality could not be established as it demanded more a priori knowledge about the problem and another research design.

The idea that sustained participation is a consequence of the interactive effects of individual and group processes found some support. For example, the presence of a democratic leadership style seems guaranteed by the emergence of an intermediary leadership (not a cadre of committed members). Such a leadership best exercises its roles and functions in a social climate where there is intense

interaction and communication at the small group level and where reference groups have been found within the community. The evidence also seems to support the idea that some subtle psychological gains may be derived from participation. In particular, feelings of individual and group efficacy may be enhanced or appear as a consequence of this participation.

Furthermore, the data also suggests that some of the socio-economic and demographic variables which have been found to be associated with political participation are not particularly relevant for the continued participation of the favelados in their respective Dwellers' Associations. Had the survey covered a larger sample or had the sampling process been more precise, then the evidence from the survey data could be held to be more conclusive. Some of the trends identified, although not statistically significant, corroborate the data from Inkeles (1969) and from Craig & Cornelius (1980) who found that the profile of the politically participant citizen in less developed, authoritarian societies, may be to a large extent, different from that of his/her equivalent in advanced, democratic societies.

The data also reveals that whereas the leaders show feelings of relative and fraternal deprivation, system-blame causal attribution and political consciousness, their followers do not. However, such feelings and cognitions seem to constitute essential prerequisites for the leaders if they are to perform their role in formulating the ideological framework which underpins the movement. The absence of such feelings and cognitions among the intermediary leadership and the dwellers suggests that feelings of individual political efficacy may be more essential to participation than relative (or fraternal deprivation), system-blame causal attribution or political

consciousness.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize:

The evidence from the interviews and observations seem to support the following initial formulations;

- (a) that a democratic leadership style is associated with sustained participation;
- (b) that this leadership style seems linked to the existence of a power source which counterbalances that of the leader;
- (c) that the social climate and the social network seem to be related to sustained participation;
- (d) that psychological gains may be related to sustained participation specifically through changes in feelings of individual, personal and political efficacy.

Sustained participation, therefore, seems to be the result of the interactive affects of these factors. The external agents, be it the political parties, the Church or the Municipality, seem to play a very important role which unfortunately could not be pursued in depth.

This research as stated in the introduction is tentative. The lack of previous studies concerning the favelas, the favelados and their attempts to organize and the intrinsic complexities of studying an on-going process such as a social movement where group and individual processes converge and overlap have contributed to make this an exploratory study.

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<sup>1</sup> One should bear in mind that I am always referring to movements in a very specific historical, social economic and political context. In other words, these observations are restricted to contexts where citizens have been politically socialized in similar ways to those of the favelados in Sao Paulo.

Issues such as the effects of a negative group identity on intra-group relations the relationships between changes in self-esteem and changes in personal and political efficacy (the issue of political resocialization) and the process of legitimization of an authoritarian leadership merit study, possibly as major topics on their own. In addition, the connection between an active intermediary leadership and the development of a democratic leadership style and the effects of a democratic leadership style on sustained participation would have to be further explored if causal relationships are to be established.



## APPENDIX 1

## Brief Socio-Economic Characterization of Greater Sao Paulo

I. Introduction

Brazil has, nowadays, nine metropolitan areas.<sup>1</sup> Sao Paulo is the most important one, both because of its size and the intensity of its problems. The intention here is to provide a profile of the Greater Sao Paulo encompassing socio-economic and demographic data in general, and some aspects of housing in particular, with emphasis on the low-income population. The demographic data refer to population growth, labour market, and income; the economic aspects presented describe the Greater Sao Paulo (or GSP) area as far as the spatial distribution of economic activities and their characteristics are concerned; housing is approached in terms of tenure is concerned and the relationship with income, density, infrastructure and services.

Sao Paulo represents a good case study of a Third World metropolis, with all its contrasts, contradictions and discrepancies. Wealth, prosperity and economic vitality run alongside extremes of poverty, deprivation and scarcity. One has to bear in mind that the distribution of all resources is unequal and that the concentration of social and economic power is one of the highest in the world. According to figures from the 1980 Census, 10% of the families in Brazil hold 50.6% of the wealth of the country. The upper 1% by itself

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<sup>1</sup> In 1970, 55.9% of the Brazilian population lived in urban areas, by 1980 the figure was 67.6%.

controls 16.9% of the wealth. The report on World Development produced by the World Bank in 1981 lists Brazil along with Honduras as the only two countries (amongst the 32 for which figures were available) where such extreme concentrations occur.

## II. Socio-Economic and Demographic Aspects of Greater Sao Paulo

Greater Sao Paulo encompasses 37 Municipalities (Map 1). Data from the 1980 Census (Table 01) indicate that the population of this area increased at a yearly geometric growth rate of 4.46% in the period between 1970 and 1980. This rate, although high is lower than the one detected a decade before (1960-70) (see Table 03 at the end of Appendix 1), when it reached 5.44%. The present growth rate of the population in Greater Sao Paulo (GSP) is similar to that of other metropolitan areas in Brazil. As indicated in Table 01, this rate of GSP is surpassed only by those of Curitiba (in the South of Brazil) and Belo Horizonte (South-east region of Brazil).

Table 01  
Population Growth in Metropolitan areas of Brazil

Metropolitan Area	Yearly Geometric Growth Rate	Total Population
Sao Paulo	4,46%	12,588,439
Belem	4,31%	1,000,349
Fortaleza	4,31%	1,481,588
Recife	2,74%	2,348,362
Salvador	4,44%	1,772,018
Belo Horizonte	4,70%	2,541,788
Rio de Janeiro	2,47%	9,018,637
Curitiba	5,79%	1,441,743
Porto Alegre	3,84%	2,232,370

Source: Demographic Census 1980  
Preliminary Synopsis of the 1980 Census

The metropolitan area of Sao Paulo has a high concentration of population. It houses 11% of the Brazilian population and 50% of the population of the state of Sao Paulo. When land area is considered,

the implications of these figures become clear: Brazil covers 8.456.483 km<sup>2</sup>, the state of Sao Paulo 247.329 km<sup>2</sup> and the GSP encompasses 7.951 km<sup>2</sup>. This means that 11% of the country's population inhabits 0,1% of its territory.

Two projections of tendencies of population growth have been made concerning GSP: 1. experts from SEADE,<sup>2</sup> forecast that the drop in growth rate will be maintained and estimate that GSP will reach 16.7 million inhabitants by 1990; 2. United Nations experts estimate that by the year 2000, Sao Paulo will be the second largest metropolis in the world, having reached by then 25.8 million inhabitants.

Table 02  
The largest metropolises in the world in 1950

1950		projected 2000	
Metropolitan areas	Population (millions)	Metropolitan areas	Population (millions)
New York	12.3	Mexico City	31.0
London	10.4	Sao Paulo	25.8
Rhine-Ruhr	6.9	Tokyo	24.2
Tokyo	6.7	New York	22.8
Shanghai	5.8	Shanghai	22.7
Paris	5.5	Beijing	19.9
Buenos Aires	5.3	Rio de Janeiro	19.0
Chicago	4.9	Bombay	17.1
Moscow	4.8	Calcutta	16.7
Calcutta	4.4	Jakarta	16.6
Los Angeles	4.0	Seoul	14.2
Osaka	4.0	Los Angeles	14.2
Milan	3.8	Cairo	13.1
Mexico City	3.0	Madras	12.9
Philadelphia	2.9	Manila	12.3

Source: United Nations Fund for Population Activities  
(O Estado de Sao Paulo - 3, 4, 5 June 1982)

In 1950 the Greater Sao Paulo was not even listed among the largest cities in the world (Table 02). At that time its population

<sup>2</sup> SEADE - Sao Paulo State Data Analysis Foundation.

was 2,743,466. Throughout the 50s the growth rate accelerated, having almost doubled by 1960. The population reached 4,791,246 inhabitants in 1960, and 7,139,730 by 1970 (Table 03, Appendix). This population is not evenly distributed across the Greater Sao Paulo area, but tends to be concentrated within ten of the 37 Municipalities which comprise it. The highest percentage (70%) is located at the Municipality of Sao Paulo, followed by the municipalities in the south-east area (an industrial conurbation) along with two other Municipalities - Guarulhos (in the northern region) and Osasco (in the centre). Altogether, these three Municipalities account for 90% of the population of Greater Sao Paulo.

This concentration of population is not recent, but dates back many decades: in the last decade - 1970-1980 - some Municipalities which showed a very high rate of population growth gave evidence of a slight change in trend. These Municipalities are mostly quite small and have generally less than 100,000 inhabitants. Some experts have suggested that these Municipalities with smaller population density (Table 04) will take the place of the "saturated" ones, by growing at a quicker rate.

The metropolitan area of Sao Paulo represents a concentration of wealth as well as of population. Thirty-two per cent of Brazil's capital investments are located there, as well as 11% of employment and 41% of national industrial income. Yearly per capita income in the metropolitan area is approximately US\$ 3,400, which is higher than that of Venezuela or Mexico. The internal gross product of the area is US\$ 42.5 billion<sup>3</sup> annually, which is higher than that of Portugal and

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<sup>3</sup>American billion, that is a thousand million.

Greece (Pippus, 1981). Nevertheless, as Camargo et al. (1975) points out "such concentration of wealth in Sao Paulo does not mean that the population of the state is generally wealthier. Datum about per capita income does not mean that each inhabitant has the same share. It only indicates the amount of income earned in the state in relation to its inhabitants, irrespective of the distribution of such income".

The metropolitan area is expanding in economic and in demographic terms, faster than the state or the country at large. In the 70's while its population was growing at 4.46% a year, the state's population grew 2.9% while Brazil's rate was 2.5%. Whereas in 1970, 9% of the population of the country was housed in the Sao Paulo metropolitan area, in 1980 this percentage was 11%. In 1970 11% of the dwellings in Brazil and 47% of the dwellings of Sao Paulo state were located in Sao Paulo while in 1980 these percentages had reached 12% and 53% respectively. The employment rate grew 6% a year at the metropolitan level between 1970 and 1980, while at the national and state level it was growing at 5% a year.

Despite the economic growth the country underwent in the 70s,<sup>4</sup> the inequality of income distribution was and has been maintained. Most people have income in the lower income brackets (from 0 to 3 minimum wages<sup>5</sup> a month). Data from 1979 (Table 05) for the metropolitan area indicate that the percentage of the population earning less than 2 m.w. a month has diminished since 1977, when it represented 26% of the population, to 24% in 1979.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> When the economic growth averaged 10% a year.

<sup>5</sup> One minimum wage, in June 1982, was roughly US\$ 100.00 dollars. By June 1983 it had dropped to roughly US\$ 67.28 dollars.

The working population has grown by 2% between 1977 and 1979: it represented in 1977 54% of the population of ten years<sup>7</sup> of age or over and in 1979 it represented 56%. The distribution of income among the working population has also changed with a slight increase in the percentage of workers earning between 2 and 5 m.w. and a slight drop in the percentages of those earning up to one (1) minimum wage (the lowest income bracket). To some authors (Pippus, 1981) this is an indication of some improvement in the income distribution: "there has been a noticeable improvement, although the percentages of working people in the lower income brackets are still relatively high" (Pippus, 1981) (Table 05).

As for the labour market, the industrial sector attracts most of the employment followed by "commerce" and "services". The agricultural sector is negligible as far as employment is concerned<sup>8</sup> (Table 06).

The industrial plants and commercial enterprises are distributed across the GSP following the same concentration pattern as that of the population (Tables 07, 08). Data concerning this distribution (Table 07) reveal the industrial boom which started in the 50's. In 25

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<sup>6</sup> Economic data have not been updated as no information is available for the metropolitan area since the 1982 international debt crisis and the resultant depression started to charge its toll. The estimates are that the GNP for instance dropped by 7.5% between 1980 and 1983 and that the per capita GNP dropped by 13.7% during the same period.

<sup>7</sup> The Census Bureau uses 10 years of age as the lower threshold for income distribution. The legal age for children to enter the labour market is 14 years, but de facto, especially in the countryside, this takes place much earlier.

<sup>8</sup> The Greater Sao Paulo encompasses Municipalities which constitute a "green belt" around the industrialized areas where agricultural activities still take place, with the production of vegetables and the raising of poultry.

years (from 1950 to 1975) the industrial sector jumped from 8.741 firms to 32,445 firms. The commercial sector had a very similar development (Table 08). The GSP is characterized, then, by great industrial and commercial activity. The "services" sector<sup>9</sup> is a very dynamic area, and it is growing fast as an employment market.

The revenue from the Municipalities that comprise Greater Sao Paulo is one more indicator of the concentration of industrial, commercial and service activities: 75% of the total revenue collected as taxes in Greater Sao Paulo come from the Municipality of Sao Paulo, 5% from Sao Bernardo do Campo, 4% from Santo Andre (both in the south-east region), 3% from Guarulhos (in the north-east) and 2% from Osasco (centre). That means that 90% of all revenues in GSP come from five Municipalities. These are the same five which consume 71% of the energy for industrial purposes in GSP.

The auto industry is responsible for most of the industrial activity. This is indicated on Table 09 under the heading of metallurgy and mechanic. In the late 50's the industrial boom was sparked by heavy subsidies to attract foreign investments in the form of automobile production. In the south-east region of GSP are located the main plants of the motor industries: General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen and Mercedes Benz (trucks and buses) among others. Besides all the industries that provide parts for the automobile industry, there is a diversity of industrial activities which runs from the manufacture of household appliances, textiles, pulp and paper, to the

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<sup>9</sup> The "services" sector is defined as advertising, entertainment (radio, T.V., health care, beauty care, banking, insurance, cinema, music, etc.), consultancy, etc., that is, the provision of some service and not specific products.

food industry (Table 09).

### III. Basic Characteristics of Housing in Greater Sao Paulo

Data from the 1980 Demographic Census revealed that there were 3,000,381 occupied private dwellings<sup>10</sup> in Greater Sao Paulo (Table 10). As far as tenure is concerned, (Table 11), most of them are owner occupied (53%) followed by rented (37%), 'yielded' and other (10%).<sup>11</sup>

As far as the quality of these dwellings is concerned, there are few available indicators.<sup>12</sup> The existing data indicate that for the lower income brackets, these dwellings are generally overcrowded (more than 2 persons per room) (Table 12). Table 13 indicates that in 1978, 98% of the dwellings had electricity regardless of whether it was formally connected (through the Electricity Company) or as an extension

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<sup>10</sup> The organization (FIBGE) responsible for the Census uses the following definitions:

1. Dwelling - any living quarters, structurally independent, made up of one or more rooms with a private entrance. Therefore also considered as dwellings were buildings under construction, boats, vehicles, barracks, tents, caves, etc., being used at the time of the census as housing.

2. Private dwellings are dwellings inhabited by up to three families; collective dwellings are those occupied by groups (such as guests in a hotel, people in convents and asylums; military personnel at forts or ships, etc.). Dwellings inhabited by more than 3 families or by families and unrelated individuals were rated "collective". Rented rooms and apartments or flats in buildings were considered as a group of private dwellings.

3. Permanent dwellings are opposed to make-shift dwellings, the latter being housing located in improvised buildings (stores, factories, that is buildings not suitable for housing, or shelters that are transitory, such as boats, tents, buildings under construction, etc.). The census dealt only with characteristics of the permanent private dwellings ignoring the others.

<sup>11</sup> FIBGE's definition of type of tenure-ownership: when the owner occupies housing of its own regardless of whether it is totally paid up or still is being paid for and whether the land belongs to a third

(Footnote continued)



(clandestine) from another dwelling. Treated water was available (formally connected through the water company) in 79% of the dwellings (Table 15). Most of these dwellings had indoor piping and the percentage of such dwellings has been growing (Table 16). Again, dwellings which have treated water as with other services, are concentrated within the wealthier and most populated Municipalities - Sao Paulo and the south-east area (Table 15).

The sewerage network reached in 1978, according to the statistics (Table 17), 52% of the dwellings in Greater Sao Paulo. One must be aware that although there is a network for sewage collection, there is no treatment. Sewage is thrown "in natura" into the rivers and streams of Greater Sao Paulo. The collection network serves basically the same Municipalities mentioned above (Table 17). In other words, the most populated, highly industrialized areas. The distribution of infrastructure and services within these Municipalities it not even. They exist within upper class and middle class districts. The dwellings not served by the sewerage network often have pit-latrines (22%) and septic tanks (18%) (Table 18). Generally, benefits overlap: so does scarcity. This means districts that lack treated water also lack sewerage networks. As a result, consumption of contaminated water (even in areas that do have treated water but lack sewerage facilities)

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<sup>11</sup>(continued)

person; rented - when the dwelling is rented even if the rent is paid by a third person (except if it is the employer of the dweller or when the rent is considered part of the dweller's salary); yielded - when the owner consents to the use of the house by someone else without charging; other - when the dwelling is occupied according to arrangement other than those defined above.

<sup>12</sup> The 1980 Census revealed that in the Municipality of Sao Paulo along 44.67% of the population inhabited very precarious conditions; 4,88% were in favelas and the remainder were in rented rooms sharing bathrooms and/or working areas - "corticós".

is a frequent event. Areas that lack treated water and sewerage, also suffer from other deficiencies, such as the lack or erratic provision of refuse collection, the bad condition of access roads, and consequently poor transportation. This is combined with precarious housing located in unfavourable situations in terms of topography (the steeper the land, the cheaper it is). Data available for refuse collection (Table 14) indicate that in 1978, 88% of the dwellings were served by it. Two aspects have to be pinpointed:

1. These statistics ignore the frequency of collection. In upper and middle class areas, collection occurs three times a week, whereas in the poorer areas it is erratic at best, varying from once a week to once a month.
2. Not all streets are served. In the poorer areas garbage trucks only go by paved streets (main avenues) and frequently one would have to walk a considerable distance to reach the point of collection.

As far as other infrastructure items, such as telephones, transportation and hospitals are concerned, Greater Sao Paulo has, according to official statistics:

1. Telephones: in 1980 1,949,171 telephones were installed, of which 1,643,759 were to be found in the Municipality of Sao Paulo. The telephone/inhabitant ratio was 138.8 telephones per 1000 inhabitants in Greater Sao Paulo and 176.1 in the Municipality of Sao Paulo.
2. Transportation: in 1977 the transportation system in the area made 18.7 million trips a day; 54% were made by buses, 35% by automobiles, 5% by subway and 6% by suburban trains. Until June 1983 there were 2,576,141 private cars registered within Greater Sao Paulo.

3. Hospitals: in 1982 there were 2.8 hospital beds per 1000 inhabitants in Greater Sao Paulo.

Infant mortality rate is an important indicator of health conditions, especially in the Third World. In the Greater Sao Paulo area the infant mortality rate (defined as the number of children that died before they were one year old, per 1000 live born) shows a decline between 1976 to 1981 (Table 19) from 82.59 to 54.48. Nevertheless, it is still very high and in certain areas even more so.<sup>13</sup> These areas where the rate is, in fact, increasing are coincidentally Municipalities in which the yearly geometric growth rate is increasing and which lack most infrastructure items (for instance, Itapevi - west region, Ferraz de Vasconcelos and Poa east region). Data as far as life expectancy at birth is available for the country as a whole. It has increased from 53.3 years in 1970 to 58.7 years in 1980.

Housing alternatives for the low-income population (usually defined in terms of a monthly family income between 0 to 5 m.w.) include the types of tenure described above with some special cases. Ownership, for instance, can be attained through different processes, amongst which self-help is the most frequent. In this situation, a plot of land is acquired in a legal or an illegal settlement<sup>14</sup> by the family's management of resources in the actual production of the house, regardless of whether the family actually provides the labour for the

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<sup>13</sup> Brazil is rated by UNICEF as a "high infant" mortality country.

<sup>14</sup> Legal or illegal settlement here refers to whether the land subdivision has or has not been submitted to the local authorities for approval. The approval depends on obeying legislation about land allotment and the provision of some basic services by the allotter. Illegal settlements are the ones which have not been approved or even submitted to the local authorities either because they do not obey the legislative requirements, or because the land title is not clear.

construction. Self-help can also occur in 'yielded' land, especially in cases in which extended families subdivide land. Other alternatives besides self-help include the acquisition of a plot with a building (be it a one-room dwelling or a full house) from the private sector; and the acquisition of an apartment, a house, a core-house or a plot with services ("sites and services") from the public sector. Rental refers to the rental of a full unit (a complete house), of rooms with collective use of bathroom and/or kitchen facilities, either in the periphery of the cities or in deteriorated areas downtown and may be within owner occupied units. Another type of tenure among the low-income population is "squatting": this refers to the illegal occupation of land or abandoned units. 'Yielding' can refer, as mentioned above, to the land or to the unit or even to rooms within a unit.

Historically, and in terms of frequency, the most significant alternatives used by the low-income population seeking shelter have been in order of frequency, self-help, rental of rooms, 'yielded' housing, and finally the occupation of land. It is very difficult to give exact figures for each alternative. The Census provides figures for general aspects of dwellings, such as tenure, in a broad fashion, regardless of differences such as ownership of the land, size of the dwelling, and socio-economic aspects of the population. Local authorities either have not attempted to keep statistics or have run into conceptual difficulties when trying to define each alternative. Self-help, for instance, has never been measured. There are only rough estimates. Part of the problem derives from illegal settlements.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Illegal in the sense that plans for the land subdivision were not approved by the municipal authorities, therefore, such subdivisions are not officially recognised.

Because these are illegal, the housing projects cannot be submitted for the approval of local authorities in order to acquire building permits. In fact, these settlements are not officially recognised as existing for tax purposes. Self-help in legal settlements is considered to be rare. Local authorities do have information about building permits for what they call "economic housing", that is houses whose total area run up to 72m<sup>2</sup>, built in legal (approved) settlements. Available data indicates that 52% of the building permits for housing in Greater Sao Paulo refer to "economic housing". One could safely presume that most of these are cases of self-help. In 1975, officials estimated that some 2,5 million plots of land in Greater Sao Paulo were located in illegally allotted areas. This represents roughly half of the settlements of GSP (data from the Secretaria de Economia e Planejamento, 1979). Within the Municipality of Sao Paulo alone, 4,600 illegal settlements were identified, each one of which may comprise as many as 5,000 plots.

There are no figures or estimates for housing produced by the private sector. From 1966 until early 1982 the public sector produced 45.549 units (apartments, houses and core-houses) for the population with a monthly family income of up to 5 m.w. in Greater Sao Paulo.

Rental of rooms and units by the low-income population, occurring mostly in the "informal sector" are estimated. The last estimate for the Municipality of Sao Paulo dates from 1980, and shows 3,377,571 persons likely to be inhabiting 123,550 collective dwellings.

The 1980 Census did isolate one type of "tenure" that refers specifically to the low-income population. That is, the illegal occupation of land - "favelas" - or slums. All data indicate that this

alternative is expanding very quickly and probably replacing other alternatives.

According to the Census figures, the favelas have grown in the Municipality of Sao Paulo, by 446% between 1970 and 1980, while the population grew by 44% (Folha de Sao Paulo, 23 May 1982). These Census figures are considered conservative for they ignored the small nuclei of favelas - those which have up to 10 shacks only, and which are the most frequent type of slums in Sao Paulo. The distribution of slums across Greater Sao Paulo (Table 20) indicates that slums are growing mostly in industrialized Municipalities where both population and employment concentrate. Seventy-one per cent of Greater Sao Paulo's slums are within the Municipality of Sao Paulo; 90% of all the slums of Greater Sao Paulo are located in four municipalities, Sao Paulo, Sao Bernardo do Campo, Diadema (both in the south-east area), and Guarulhos (north-east area). They are considered as evidence of the iniquities of the economic model of development adopted.

TABLE 03  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 POPULATION ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1960-1970-1980-1981

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	1960	1970	1980	1983 <sup>(1)</sup>	YEARLY GEOMETRIC GROWTH RATE	
					1970/1960	1980/1970
CENTRE	3.824.102	6.207.688	8.967.454	9.854.587	4,96	3,75
SAO PAULO	3.709.274	5.924.615	8.493.598	9.333.853	4,79	3,67
NORTHWEST	48.433	112.135	297.910	346.288	8,76	10,27
WEST	26.638	70.992	152.715	183.257	10,30	7,94
SOUTHWEST	37.103	101.954	287.650	339.420	10,64	10,92
SOUTHEAST	504.416	988.677	1.652.607	1.912.754	6,96	5,27
EAST	181.559	312.000	518.980	580.116	5,57	5,22
NORTHEAST	118.818	263.543	579.387	674.441	8,29	8,19
NORTH	50.177	82.681	131.736	145.761	5,12	4,79
GREATER SAO PAULO	4.791.245	8.139.730	12.588.439	14.038.664	5,44	4,46

SOURCE: FIBGE\*\*, SYNOPSIS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS OF 1960, DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS OF 1970, AND SYNOPSIS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS OF 1980.

\*The data for Greater Sao Paulo is presented for the different sub-regions.

\*\*FIBGE-Brazilian Foundation of Geography and Statistics.

<sup>1</sup> Estimate from EMLASA, the Metropolitan Planning Agency.

TABLE 04  
 GREATER SÃO PAULO  
 DEMOGRAPHIC DENSITY ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND  
 SUB-REGIONS, 1960-1970-1980(1)

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	DEMOGRAPHIC DENSITY (HAB./km <sup>2</sup> )		
	1960	1970	1980
CENTER	2.426,49	3.938,89	5.690,01
SÃO PAULO	2.458,10	3.926,19	5.628,63
OSASCO	1.713,85	4.224,97	7.072,48
NORTHWEST	99,45	230,26	611,72
WEST	58,16	155,00	333,44
SOUTHWEST	30,66	84,26	237,73
SOUTHEAST	679,81	1.332,45	2.227,23
SANTO ANDRÉ	1.541,81	2.634,13	3.476,71
SÃO BERNARDO DO CAMPO	258,34	632,17	1.334,73
SÃO CAETANO DO SUL	4.767,54	6.255,42	6.792,92
DIADEMA	512,83	3.288,08	9.524,75
EAST	86,33	148,36	246,78
NORTHEAST	150,21	333,18	732,47
GUARULHOS	296,99	694,46	1.562,78
NORTH	83,63	137,80	219,56
GREATER SÃO PAULO	601,39	1.021,68	1.580,07

SOURCE : FIBGE; SYNOPSIS OF THE 1970 DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS; DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS  
 OF 1970 AND SYNOPSIS OF THE 1980 DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS.

(1) Calculations based on the 1980 territorial area



TABLE 05  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 PERSONS 10 YEARS OLD AND MORE, ACCORDING TO MONTHLY INCOME 1977/79

MONTHLY INCOME (IN MINIMUM WAGES)	1977		1978		1979		1980		ANNUAL VARIATION (%)	
	PERSONS	%	PERSONS	%	PERSONS	%	PERSONS	%	1978/77	1979/78
UP TO 1 m.w. (1)	797.510	9	877.179	10	787.065	8	839.351	9	10,0	-10,3
MORE THAN 1 TO 2 m.w.	1.576.984	18	1.638.727	18	1.550.326	16	1.768.678	18	3,9	-5,4
MORE THAN 2 TO 3 m.w.	904.273	10	883.238	10	989.735	10	1.055.499	11	-2,3	12,1
MORE THAN 3 TO 5 m.w.	901.920	10	971.204	11	1.093.939	11	1.112.121	11	7,7	12,6
MORE THAN 5 m.w.	1.136.670	13	1.264.766	14	1.430.251	15	1.246.261	13	11,3	13,1
NO INCOME	3.412.620	39	3.452.488	38	3.691.042	39	3.696.393	38	1,2	6,9
NO ANSWER	29.119	0,3	14.916	0,1	18.056	0,2	38.703	0,4	-48,8	-21,1
TOTAL	8.759.096	100	9.102.518	100	9.560.414	100	9.758.006	100	3,9	5,0

SOURCE: FIBGE; PNAD\*, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SAO PAULO, 1977, 1978 and 1979

\*PNAD: National Survey by Dwelling Sampling carried out by the Census organization -  
 Brazilian Foundation of Geography and Statistics (FIBGE)

<sup>1</sup> 1 minimum wage in June 1982 was equivalent to approximately US\$ 100,00.

1 minimum wage in June 1983 was equivalent to approximately US\$ 67,00.

TABLE 06  
 GREATER SÃO PAULO  
 EMPLOYED PERSONS ACCORDING TO THE SECTOR OF ACTIVITIES 1977/79

SECTOR OF ACTIVITIES	1977		1978		1979		ANNUAL VARIATION (%)	
	PERSONS	%	PERSONS	%	PERSONS	%	1978/1977	1979/1978
Agriculture	41.910	1	50.779	1	41.900	1	21,2	- 17,5
Industry	1.789.949	39	1.936.065	40	2.025.345	39	8,2	4,6
Building	327.128	7	314.719	6	307.258	6	- 3,8	- 2,4
Commerce	522.465	11	558.559	11	600.084	12	6,9	7,4
Services related to economic activities	982.067	21	1.020.231	21	1.150.234	22	3,9	12,7
Other activities	958.979	21	1.014.021	21	1.048.410	20	5,7	3,4
TOTAL	4.622.498	100	4.894.374	100	5.173.231	100	5,9	5,7

SOURCE : FIBGE, PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SÃO PAULO, 1977, 1978 AND 1979.

TABLE 07  
GREATER SÃO PAULO  
NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES, ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1940-1950-1960-1970-1975

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	1940		1950		1960		1970		1975	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
CENTER	4,876	89,3	7,374	84,4	14,576	84,8	20,838	80,9	25,901	79,8
SÃO PAULO	4,876	89,3	7,374	84,4	14,576	84,8	20,543	79,8	25,444	78,4
OSASCO	-	-	-	-	-	-	295	1,1	457	1,4
NORTHWEST	-	-	65	0,7	71	0,4	259	1,0	287	0,9
WEST	14	0,3	45	0,5	171	1,0	150	0,6	262	0,8
SOUTHWEST	19	0,3	42	0,5	175	1,0	494	1,9	520	1,6
SOUTHEAST	376	6,9	741	8,5	1,236	7,2	2,255	8,7	3,468	10,7
SANTO ANDRÉ	376	6,9	643	5,1	457	2,6	781	3,0	1,048	3,2
SÃO BERNARDO DO CAMPO	-	-	133	1,5	284	1,7	589	2,3	1,077	3,3
SÃO CAETANO DO SUL	-	-	165	1,9	262	1,5	468	1,8	586	1,8
OTADEIRA	-	-	-	-	37	0,2	198	0,8	381	1,2
EAST	92	1,7	225	2,6	358	2,1	688	2,7	697	2,2
NORTHEAST	70	1,3	184	2,1	486	2,8	837	3,2	1,113	3,4
GUARULHOS	61	1,1	161	1,8	453	2,6	720	2,7	955	2,9
NORTH	12	0,2	65	0,7	125	0,7	267	1,0	197	0,6
GREATER SÃO PAULO	5,459	100,0	8,741	100,0	17,196	100,0	25,788	100,0	32,445	100,0

SOURCE : FIBGE; INDUSTRIAL CENSUS, SÃO PAULO - 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1975.

TABLE 08  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 NUMBER OF COMMERCIAL FIRMS, ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1975

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	1940		1950		1960		1970		1975	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
CENTER	12.948	90,6	19.103	87,8	28.135	86,0	51.729	82,7	53.438	82,0
SAO PAULO	12.948	90,6	19.103	87,8	28.135	86,0	50.157	80,2	51.947	80,0
NORTHWEST	57	0,4	125	0,6	192	0,7	506	0,8	568	0,9
WEST	57	0,4	78	0,4	107	0,3	292	0,5	326	0,5
SOUTHWEST	73	0,5	122	0,6	137	0,4	464	0,7	539	0,8
SOUTHEAST	627	4,4	1.274	5,9	2.362	7,2	5.976	9,6	6.327	9,7
EAST	342	2,4	695	3,2	938	2,9	1.749	2,8	1.812	2,8
NORTH	42	0,3	106	0,5	170	0,5	296	0,5	356	0,5
GREATER SAO PAULO	14.286	100,0	21.721	100,0	32.698	100,0	62.542	100,0	65.160	100,0

SOURCE: FIBGE; COMMERCIAL CENSUS, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1975.

TABLE D9  
 GREATER SÃO PAULO  
 NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES ACCORDING TO SECTOR 1970-1975

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	NUMBER OF COMPANIES		YEARLY GEOMETRIC GROWTH RATE (%)
	1970	1975	
01 MINERAL EXTRACTION	201	158	- 4,70
02 TRANSF. OF NON-METALLIC MINERAL PRODUCTS	2.564	2.263	- 2,47
03 METALLURGIC	3.046	4.411	7,69
04 MECHANIC	1.977	3.144	9,72
05 ELECTRICAL AND COMMUNICATIONS MATERIALS	1.249	1.388	2,13
06 TRANSPORTATION	879	1.027	3,16
07 LUMBER	643	816	4,88
08 FURNITURE	1.885	1.996	1,15
09 PULP AND PAPER	490	604	4,27
10 RUBBER	260	338	5,39
11 LEATHER, FURS AND TRAVEL LUGGAGE	132	116	- 2,55
12 CHEMICAL	660	908	6,59
13 PHARMACEUTICAL AND VETERINARY PRODUCTS	175	199	2,60
14 TOILETRY, SOAPS AND CANDLES	184	242	5,63
15 PLASTIC MATERIALS INDUSTRY	797	1.174	8,05
16 TEXTILES	1.786	1.923	1,49
17 CLOTHING, SHOES AND MANUFACTURE OF TEXTILES	2.761	3.912	7,22
18 FOOD INDUSTRY	3.371	3.639	1,54
19 BEVERAGES	105	70	- 7,79
20 TABACCO	8	5	- 8,97
21 PRINTING AND GRAPHICS	1.383	1.760	4,94
22 MISCELLANEOUS	1.232	1.356	1,94
23 SUPPORT ACTIVITIES AND SERVICES FOR INDUSTRIAL AREA	-	996	-
TOTAL	25.788	32.445	4,70

SOURCE . FIBGE; INDUSTRIAL CENSUS - SÃO PAULO - 1970 and 1975.

TABLE 10  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1980

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	TOTAL OF DWELLINGS					
	TOTAL	OCCUPIED	OCCASIONAL USE	CLOSED	VACANT	COLLECTIVE
CENTER	2.396.221	2.177.616	12.272	17.955	179.31	9.061
SAO PAULO	2.277.956	2.068.610	12.217	17.297	170.906	8.926
NORTHWEST	74.594	65.034	877	625	7.966	92
WEST	39.597	32.721	1.349	381	5.087	59
SOUTHWEST	76.480	62.807	3.150	656	9.777	90
SOUTHEAST	426.239	389.806	2.466	2.452	30.402	1.113
EAST	134.230	113.580	3.219	647	16.019	765
NORTHEAST	148.361	130.458	1.918	329	15.457	199
NORTH	34.720	28.359	1.860	112	4.348	43
GREATER SAO PAULO	3.330.442	3.000.381	27.111	23.157	268.371	11.422

SOURCE: FIBGE; PRELIMINARY SYNOPSIS OF THE 1980 DEMOGRAPHIC CENSUS

TABLE 11  
GREATER SÃO PAULO  
PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS AND INHABITANTS ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF TENURE - PERCENTAGE - 1971/72 - 1977/78.

TYPE OF TENURE	1971		1972		1976		1977		1978	
	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS
OWNERSHIP PAID	52,5	54,6	52,1	54,7	55,2	57,2	52,3	54,3	53,3	55,8
BEING PAID	41,8	42,5	43,5	45,3	40,8	41,6	-	-	40,7	42,6
RENTAD	10,7	12,1	8,6	9,4	14,4	15,6	-	-	12,6	13,2
YELOED AND OTHER	37,1	35,6	37,8	35,8	36,5	34,9	36,5	35,1	36,7	34,5
TOTAL (i)	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

SOURCE : FIBGE; PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SÃO PAULO, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1977 and 1978.

(i) Including "no answer" in 1976.

TABLE 12  
GREATER SÃO PAULO  
PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO MONTHLY INCOME AND DWELLING'S DENSITY BY ROOM - PERCENTAGE - 1978

DENSITY OF INHABITANTS PER ROOM	MONTHLY INCOME PER DWELLING (MINIMUM WAGES)					TOTAL
	UP TO 1	MORE THAN 1 TO 2	MORE THAN 2 TO 5	MORE THAN 5	NO INCOME	
1978						
UP TO 0,5	39,8	19,8	12,5	29,3	29,3	22,9
MORE THAN 0,5 TO 1,0	38,4	27,3	38,5	44,3	22,5	40,6
MORE THAN 1,0 TO 2,0	15,0	31,8	36,0	20,9	37,1	26,9
MORE THAN 2,0	6,8	21,1	13,0	5,5	11,1	9,6
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

SOURCE : FIBGE; PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SÃO PAULO, 1978.

TÁBÉ 13  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO ELECTRICITY - PERCENTAGE - 1976/78

ELECTRICITY	1971		1972		1976		1977		1978	
	DWELLINGS		DWELLINGS		DWELLINGS		DWELLINGS		DWELLINGS	
YES	94,2		94,9		97,5		97,2		98,1	
NO	5,8		5,1		2,5		2,8		1,9	
TOTAL	100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0	

SOURCE: FIBGE; PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SAO PAULO, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1977 and 1978.



TABLE 14  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS AND INHABITANTS ACCORDING TO  
 REFUSE COLLECTION, 1977/78

GARBAGE COLLECT	1977			1978			
	DWELLINGS	%	INHABITANTS	%	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	%
YES	2.276.253	87,6	9.774.338	86,0	2.438.018	9.960.483	85,6
NO	323.180	12,4	1.596.075	14,0	338.671	1.680.504	14,4
TOTAL (1)	2.600.052	100,0	11.372.578	100,0	2.777.601	11.644.969	100,0

SOURCE: FIBGE; PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SAO PAULO, 1977 AND 1978.

(1) including "no answer".

TABLE 15  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 WATER SUPPLY SYSTEMS ACCORDING TO THE MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1978  
 (percentage)

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	WATER SUPPLY SYSTEMS	
	URBAN POPULATION SERVED	CONNECTIONS UNTIL 30 JUNE 1978
CENTER	76.3	78.3
SAO PAULO	70.9	73.9
NORTHWEST	1.5	1.3
WEST	0.2	0.2
SOUTHWEST	0.5	0.5
SOUTHEAST	14.5	13.3
EAST	2.6	2.9
NORTHEAST	4.0	3.0
NORTH	0.4	0.5
GREATER SAO PAULO	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: SEADE: FOUNDATION OF SAO PAULO STATE DATA ANALYSIS

TABLE 16  
 GREATER SÃO PAULO  
 PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS ACCORDING TO WATER SUPPLY - PERCENTAGE - 1976/78

WATER SUPPLY	1971	1972	1976	1977(1)	1978
	DWELLINGS	DWELLINGS	DWELLINGS	DWELLINGS	DWELLINGS
TREATED WATER	59,9	61,6	74,9	75,3	79,4
WITH INDOOR PIPING	57,0	58,2	71,1	-	73,6
WITHOUT INDOOR PIPING	2,9	3,4	3,8	-	5,8
WELL OR SPRING WATER	38,0	36,3	23,3	22,8	18,4
WITH INDOOR PIPING	14,3	16,0	10,3	-	9,5
WITHOUT INDOOR PIPING	23,7	20,3	13,0	-	9,9
OTHER	2,1	2,1	1,8	1,9	2,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

SOURCE: FIBGE; PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SÃO PAULO, 1971, 1972, 1976.

(1) There is no discrimination for the piping

TABLE 17  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 SEWERAGE SYSTEMS, ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS,  
 1978 (percentage)

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	SEWERAGE SYSTEMS	
	URBAN POPULATION SERVED	CONNECTIONS
CENTER	71.1	70.0
SAO PAULO	70.7	69.3
NORTHWEST	0.8	0.9
WEST	0.0	0.0
SOUTHWEST	0.1	0.1
SOUTHEAST	23.0	23.3
EAST	2.5	3.1
NORTHEAST	2.1	2.2
NORTH	0.4	0.4
GREATER SAO PAULO	100.0	100.0

SOURCES: SEADE: FOUNDATION OF SAO PAULO STATE FOR DATA ANALYSIS

TABLE 18  
 GREATER SÃO PAULO  
 PERMANENT PRIVATE DWELLINGS AND INHABITANTS, ACCORDING TO THE EXISTENCE OF SEWERAGE - PERCENTAGE  
 1971/72 - 1976/78.

SEWERAGE	1971		1972		1976 (1)		1977		1978	
	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS	DWELLINGS	INHABITANTS
SEWERAGE NETWORK	96,3	97,2	97,5	98,7	95,0	94,9	97,7	97,6	95,8	96,2
GENERAL SEWAGE	46,0	47,9	49,3	51,4	53,9	50,4	53,6	40,7	52,0	48,5
SEPTIC TANK	31,9	32,3	30,7	30,6	14,0	14,8	25,6	26,7	18,1	19,3
PIT LATRINE	-	-	-	-	23,7	26,0	15,9	18,2	22,4	26,7
OTHER	18,4	17,0	17,5	16,7	3,4	3,7	2,6	3,0	3,3	3,7
NO SEWERAGE	3,7	2,8	2,5	1,3	5,0	5,1	2,2	2,4	4,2	3,8
TOTAL (2)	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

SOURCE: FIBRE: PNAD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF SÃO PAULO, 1971, 1972, 1976, 1977 AND 1978.

(1) For 1976 dwellings where inhabitants used sanitary facilities collectively were classified as without sanitary facilities.

(2) Including "no answer" in 1977 and 1978.

TABLE 19  
 GREATER SAO PAULO  
 COEFFICIENT OF INFANT MORTALITY ACCORDING TO MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981<sup>1</sup>

MUNICIPALITIES AND SUB-REGIONS	1975	1977	1979	1980	1981
CENTER	83.53	68.55	59.37	51.86	57.44
SAO PAULO	79.96	66.52	57.88	50.64	49.93
NORTHWEST	94.64	89.37	65.35	69.49	61.59
WEST	113.72	99.79	104.50	81.50	79.57
SOUTHWEST	95.56	76.09	70.14	57.55	58.81
SOUTHEAST	91.69	69.57	65.30	57.43	52.75
EAST	116.46	100.82	98.36	82.52	98.98
NORTHEAST	101.16	82.11	69.43	50.39	52.56
NORTH	123.51	100.07	76.99	66.95	70.55
GREATER SAO PAULO	88.15	72.20	63.70	55.79	54.98

SOURCE: SEADE; FOUNDATION OF SAO PAULO STATE FOR DATA ANALYSIS

<sup>1</sup>Deaths of children under one year of age per thousand children live born

## APPENDIX 2

Castells' theory on urban social movements

The literature on social movements has a sub-field, that of urban social movements. The basic difference is that urban social movements are contextualized, taking place in urban areas, and are interpreted and studied as incidental to social change and not as a sociological phenomenon per se. This literature approaches these movements as consequences of patterns of the capitalistic process of accumulation which generates contradictions between the needs of urban dwellers and the needs of capital accumulation. Social movements are interpreted as possible forms of social change, which alter the meaning of urban life, from one centred around exchange value to use value.

The theoretical production on urban social movements is best represented by Castells (1983) who has produced the most extensive and intensive theoretical and empirical work in the area. Castells (1981) started by defining social movements as an almost "automatic" consequence of the contradictions occurring in the urban area, but later he changed this perspective. Urban social movements literature tends to incorporate the contributions from the broader social movements perspective, but focusses not so much on the actual social movements organization but on their relations with broader society, their impact, and their meaning.

Castells (1983) has produced a theory of social movements while studying urban changes and the role of urban social movements, these were defined as "collective actions consciously aimed at the

transformation of social interests and values embedded in the forms and functions of a historically given city" (p. XVI). An urban social movement is, in practice, defined by its outcome. Urban movements are interpreted as having different degrees of success. If they produce effects on urban, political and cultural change, they will be urban social movements. If they have no autonomy from political parties but still have a basic structure for social change they are urban reform. When they are completely autonomous from the political sphere they are urban utopia, and when they refer to a neighbourhood which is purely dominated by politics, they are urban shadows.

A social movement is an urban social movement when it fulfils four basic conditions:

1. To accomplish the transformation of urban meaning<sup>1</sup> in the full extent of its political and cultural implications, an urban movement must articulate in its praxis the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture and political self-management.
2. It must be conscious of its role as an urban social movement.
3. It must be connected to society through a series of organizational operators, three in particular: the media, the professionals, and the political parties.
4. A sine qua non condition: while urban social movements must be connected to the political system to at least partially achieve its (sic) goals, they must be organizationally and ideologically

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<sup>1</sup>"Urban meaning is defined as the result of a process of conflict, domination, resistance to domination directly linked to the dynamics of social struggle (...) over the assignment of certain goals to certain spatial forms (...). It is a social process in its material sense (...) is cultural in the anthropological sense, that is, as an expression of the social structure including economic, religious, political and technological operations" (p. 302).



autonomous of any political party. The reason is that social transformation and political struggle, negotiation and management, although intimately connected and interdependent do not operate at the same level of the social structure". (p. 322)

These are conditions Castells identified in the different social movements studied (in Madrid, San Francisco, Paris) and through secondary data from Chile and Mexico. The transformation of urban meaning from exchange value to use value, has a parallel in Melucci's conceptions of social production. It is a form of gaining control, a power struggle over objectives which are not only concrete objectives, or needs, but which must also involve meaning, and values. They must, moreover, involve changes at the level of political power without being assimilated into this sphere. The independence of movements from the political system is connected to the separation (already mentioned) between civil society and the political system which is composed of political parties and the state. The autonomy of the social movements derives from the fact that they are a product of the civil society, which is aimed at the political system.

Castells (1983) observed that generally urban social movements are to be found structured around three basic goals: collective consumption, community, and citizen movements. Goals are defined as "purposive desires and demands present in the collective practice of the movement". These goals must be consciously expressed and "collectively acted on". The three goals are defined as (a) collective consumption, or what he calls collective consumption trade unionism, is defined as demands centred around changes in the value of goods and services, directly or indirectly provided by the state. These goods and services change from being organized around

exchange value, to use value, so urban services and urban living are no longer seen as commodities aiming at profits and distributed according to income, but the city is conceptualized as a place to live (p. 319-320).

(b) Community refers to the search for: cultural identity, for the maintenance or creation of autonomous local cultures, ethnically based or historically originated. It involves "In other words, the defence of communication between people, autonomously defined social meaning, and face-to-face interaction, against the monopoly of messages by the media, the predominance of one-way information flows, and the standardization of culture on the basis of increasingly heteronomous sources for the neighbourhood residents" (p. 19).

(c) Citizen movement refers to "the search for increasing local power for local government, neighbourhood decentralization, and urban self-management in contradiction to the centralized state and a subordinate and undifferentiated territorial organization" (p. 320).

These movements are then defined by the goals or set of goals. The search for fulfilment of these goals lead to confrontations with adversaries over the object of their goals, that is the city. Although the movements aim at power, and arise over definitions of use, these movements are not considered forms of class struggle, gender struggle or ethnic struggle but a mixture, varying according to the urban and national context. They are not class struggle because they do not relate directly to the relations of production, but to relations of consumption, communication and power. What defines these movements for Castells is their goals and their urban condition. Melucci would probably interpret these still as class struggles, because struggles over forms of consumption, communication and power would be interpreted by him as related to social production.

## APPENDIX 3

SCHEDULESInterviews with the population

definition of improvements

the history of how improvements came to be installed there

history of their life in the favela

the settlement when they arrived and their house when they arrived

likes and dislikes about life there

life to-day, hopes, problems

life plan when they moved in

life plan to-day

evaluation of the settlement, neighbourhood

strategies for obtaining more improvements

attribution of responsibility for the planning and implementation of improvements

incidents involving cooperation between members of the community, interpretation, solutions, criticisms

whenever problems presented - solutions: hoped for and settled for; his/hers and others solutions

interpretations for differences in degree of participation in community affairs

interpretations for differences between dwellers if perceived to exist

evaluation of the benefits which have been attained and those to come

evaluation of priorities for the community to-day

future perspectives for the settlement

future perspectives for life

concept of the favela, where are its physical borders?

evaluation of the relations between the community members, the community and the outside, leadership and favelados

meetings - who attends, what happens there, information about meetings

their perception of the favela

#### Interviews with the leadership

history of the movement

future of the movement

attributions for successes and failures

cohesion, importance, problems, strategies

their personal history in the favela

their perception of the favela, and of the dwellers

justifications for the existence or lack of cohesion

their concept of the favela, explanatory system for its existence

#### Interviews with external agents

role of the leadership

participation of members of the community

explanations for presence or absence of participation

role of outsiders

cohesion, importance, problems, strategies

history of the settlement

their own history within the settlement

stage of the movements for improvements as a whole

secondary data about that settlement

#### Observations

What is daily life like from the following aspects:

Cooperation      shopping

                         taking children to and from school

                         looking after each others children or house

                         helping in the maintenance of the communal areas  
(cleaning, repairing)

helping in improvements of individual dwellings  
 emergencies

Solidarity/  
 helping

sharing food  
 sharing medicines  
 providing shelter in emergencies  
 visiting sick neighbours at home/hospital  
 providing transportation in emergencies  
 lending money

Socialization

who visits whom  
 which children play together  
 which children go to school together  
 who goes to work with whom  
 who goes to the market with whom  
 who goes to the health centre with whom  
 who goes to talk to teachers at school with whom  
 who goes to whose social gatherings  
 who goes to the meetings of the Dwellers' Association  
 who goes to the meetings of the other groups  
 at the bars, which groups is it possible to identify?

Leaderships specific tasks, when are they called upon by the community?

Dealing with violence, what happens during police raids, invasions by  
 gunmen, etc.? Are there natural groupings? If so, do they have clear  
 physical boundaries? How do they relate?

Observations; conversational topics, which themes are approached:

What do they  
 reveal about

their priorities  
 rules  
 power structure  
 self image/reference group/role significant others  
 other people's image  
 relations within the community  
 relations with the outside  
 public agencies, people  
 fear, trust, values  
 knowledge, information about the favela, the outside  
 world, acquaintances

Questionnaire

1. Which improvements are needed here?
2. Which improvements are needed in your home, in the favela or community?
3. What should be done for improvements to come?
4. Who is responsible for the improvements?
5. Is there a Dwellers' Association here?
6. Do you take part in the Dwellers' Association?
7. How?
8. Why do you take part?
9. Why don't you take part?
10. When was the last meeting attended?
11. What was the theme?
12. Is there cooperation between the neighbours?
13. Why?
14. What was lacking here when you moved in?
15. How did this change?
16. What is lacking do-day?
17. How long have you been living here?
18. How long have you been in this house?
19. Where did you live before (area of the city and type of house - rental, owner occupied, etc.)
20. How long have you been in Sao Paulo?
21. Are you, or have you been a member of a trade union?  
When?  
Where? Which trade union?
22. Occupation : head of household  
type of occupation

social security

self-employed with social security

self-employed without social security

unemployed: last job - occupation

social security

self-employed

how long?

23. Household:

Names	Kinship to the head of household	age	origin	working status
-------	-------------------------------------	-----	--------	-------------------

Income	Years of schooling
--------	--------------------

24. How did you hear about Jardim Jacqueline/Imperatriz?

25. Where do you learn the news?

through radio programmes

through T.V.

through newspapers

26. Which were the most serious problems when you moved in?

27. And nowadays, which are the most serious problems?

28. How can they be solved?

29. Who do you talk to about the problems referring to the house and the place?

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