

RIGHT TO THE CITY

Housing and Community Development in Brazil



Urban Planning Graduate Studio Report

Vicente Arellano | Ubaldo Escalante | Tristan Jackson

Maira Khan | Neha Krishnan | Krithika Prabhakaran | Lu Sun

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, Columbia University

figure 1. A young boy runs through a vacant field, the site of a new occupation in São Paulo.

Source: Report authors

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Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation
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Professors: Clara E. Irazábal Zurita and Alejandro de Castro Mazarro
Teaching Assistant: Alexandra Guadalupe Paty Diaz
May 2016

CONTENT

I	INTRODUCTION
6	CONTEXT
21	METHODOLOGY
35	PROPOSALS
49	CONCLUSIONS
52	APPENDIX
54	BIBLIOGRAPHY

“El pueblo unido jamas será vencido”

Sergio Ortega, 1973



INTRODUCTION

This report contains research and proposals resulting from a semester-long study of the housing crisis in Brazil, as seen through the lens of urban social movements. The studio's proposals and larger vision targets the upliftment of those worst affected by Brazil's qualitative and quantitative housing shortage – those in the 1 to 3 minimum wage bracket, the lowest earning members in Brazilian society. Research is focused through the struggles of urban social movements who have been protesting and negotiating with the government for increased housing supply for decades. Using their needs and demands as a base of understanding ground realities for the poorest of the poor in Brazil, this studio went about its research.

The study of the subject began with literature reviews, secondary data collection, background analysis and video interviews with members of urban social movements. This was followed by a rigorous two week field trip to the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, where studio members interviewed social movement leaders and leading academic experts to understand the ground realities of the complex issue at hand. Finally after returning with a more complete picture, proposals were made for improving existing policy design, financing models, subsidized housing production and participative planning processes. This report will take the reader through the political and legal history of the housing crisis, the role of social movements, the theoretical framework of the study, methodology, proposals, and conclusions.

1.1 BRAZIL - INTRODUCTION

Brazil, the largest and most populous country in South America, occupies an area of 8.5 million sq miles, amounting to about 50% of the entire continent's

land area (Benschop et al., p. 29); and it has a diverse population of 190 million people as of 2010. Brazil's complex political and social present are a result of its uneven history of progressive policy coupled with a past marked by colonization, slavery and dictatorship. The following sections briefly cover the relevant parts of Brazilian history.

1.1.1 HISTORY

Brazil was established as a colony of Portugal and existed as such for over 300 years, until it gained independence in 1822 (Benschop et al., p. 29). The political history of the young country included multiple types of government, evolving from a monarchy to periods to a republic that lasted until the mid-20th century. For a 21 year period beginning in 1964, Brazil fell under a repressive dictatorial regime, one that destroyed much of the institutional gains made in the prior decades. This period was characterized by aggressive centralization and a concurrent loss of power in the state and municipal levels. The dictatorship was finally overthrown in 1985, and the adoption of the new Constitution in 1988 marked the beginning of a new era of modern democracy in Brazil. The late 80s and the early 90s thus, were a period of focus on the re-establishment of democratic institutions.

1.1.2 POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Brazil's current governance structure is a direct result of the decentralization process that occurred in the 80s. The country functions as a federal republic, divided into 26 states and 5,559 municipalities (Benschop et al., p. 39). Municipalities are recognized as members of the union and accorded equal status alongside states, granting them a considerable measure of autonomy. Jurisdiction at the level of the region or locality fall to municipalities unless specifically mentioned as

in the purview of the state or central government. Further, municipalities are permitted to form their own constitutions and to focus on local priorities, as long as they do not clash on a fundamental level with the guidelines passed down through the federal constitution.

1.1.3 SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Brazilian society is amongst the most unequal in the world. The country has the dubious distinction of consistently having one of the highest GINI indices, standing at 51.9 in 2012 (CIA, 2012). This number is simply a marker of the structural inequalities in



Figure 2. Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo in context, and reference to studio location in New York

Brazilian society, a legacy of their past as a colony and as a slave-owning nation. Indeed, the poorest performance in all markers of development – income, access to services and education, are seen in the Afro-Brazilians that make up 45% of the country's population (Benschop et al., p. 36). The lack of access to the city and to housing is intimately linked to racial and income inequity, as will be explored later.

1.2 INTERLOCUTOR AND TARGET GROUP

Brazil has a long and storied history of active civil society participation. Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) have been crucial in the democratisation of the country, and in forcing urban policy reforms (Benschop et al., p. 39). In recent times, the focus of SMOs has moved to remediate the immense housing deficit in urban areas. One group that addresses the shortage of housing specifically at the peripheries of cities is the interlocutor of this studio, the MTST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto or Roofless Workers Organization) (MTST, 2016). While planning studios typically have clients that set out the problem at hand and expected proposals, the issues addressed by the Brazil Studio are multi-faceted and defy easy definition. For this reason, this studio uses the term 'interlocutor' in place of the more traditional 'client'; to describe a relationship defined by collaboration and dialogue.

The MTST has its origins in the Landless Workers Movement (MST, "Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra" in Portuguese), a rural organization that fights for equal access to land. The MTST, its urban twin, uses many tactics similar to those of the MST to protest the lack of adequate housing in cities. These tactics involve many forms of visible political protest

and actions designed to pressurize authorities to provide social housing according to the laws of the Brazilian state. Their primary mode of protest and negotiation is through 'occupations' wherein they squat on underutilized lands that are being held vacant for speculation (keeping land vacant for speculation is not permitted under the Brazilian Constitution, which holds that all land must serve a social function). The movement then claims these lands for social housing, negotiating with the government to provide housing in-situ for those in the occupation.

During the course of interviews and visits conducted by the studio, it became evident that the leadership of the MTST is very divergent from the grassroots of the organization. The MTST leadership appears to comprise primarily of men with middle class backgrounds who are college-educated. The grassroots of the movement, those who reside in occupations and spend vast amounts of time and energy participating in demonstrations and other activities, are the poorest members of society who are most affected by the lack of access to housing. The proposals from this studio will thus focus on alleviating the suffering caused by the shortage of housing, and not on organizational strategies for the movement itself. This is by all accounts, the reason for

Brazilian society is amongst the most unequal in the world.

INTRODUCTION

the existence of the MTST, and thus is in accord with their goals.

The proposals from the studio aim to ameliorate the housing crisis as it affects the poorest section of Brazilian society – those who earn between 0 and 3 minimum wages per month (under BRL 2,640 or roughly 740 USD). They form the target population of the studio.



Figure 3.
A young woman and her children, members of MTST fighting for adequate and decent housing.
Source: report authors

2

CONTEXT

2.1 HOUSING CRISIS

There is a well-documented quantitative and qualitative deficit of housing in Brazil (Lonardoni et al., p. 22). Rapid urbanization and concurrent inflation has left a large percentage of the Brazilian population unable to access the formal housing market, and indeed unable to access any type of safe and dignified housing. Some of this population while not officially 'homeless', live in precarious conditions in favelas and irregular settlements, or with family members under conditions of overcrowding, or in illegally subdivided homes. They form the section of Brazil's population that suffer from a qualitative housing deficit. Official figures regarding the lack of housing differ from figures quoted by SMOs like MTST, and independent organizations like the Fundação João Pinheiro (Fez Tá Pronto).

A major issue faced in addressing the housing crisis thus lies in the definition of the term itself. Favelas for example, are counted as uninhabitable only at a minimum density of '51 units within a closed space', when there is no access to sanitation or sewage infrastructure and when the inhabitants have no legal title or formal lease agreements to the land. Yet, it is possible that housing can be inadequate in size, access to services and build quality without adhering to these low standards. The exact extent of the housing crisis is thus up for debate based on the standards used to define unacceptable housing. For the purposes of this report, official figures from the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics or Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) and the the Fundação João Pinheiro.

Brazil has a population of 190 million people according to an IBGE survey conducted in 2010, of which 85% live in urban areas, occupying a miniscule 0.6% of the

country's land area (Lonardoni et al., p.5). The Fundação João Pinheiro defines a housing deficit as including four conditions: "excessive spending on rent (greater than 30% of a family's income), involuntary cohabitation, low quality of building and access to infrastructure, and overcrowding". 48 million of Brazil's population, or close to 25% live lack housing altogether, or live in inadequate housing as defined above. The poorest sections of society are disproportionately affected by this lack of housing.

Income and poverty levels in Brazil are measured in multiples of the national monthly minimum wage which stands at 880 Brazilian Reales as of 2016 or roughly 250 USD at the current exchange rate (De Melo, p. 6). Families that earn 3 minimum wages or less are the poorest in Brazilian society. Their share of the housing deficit stands at 90.3%; while those earning between 3 and 6 minimum wages, and those earning between 7 and 10 minimum wages make up 6.0% and 2.9% of those lacking adequate housing respectively (De Miranda-Ribeiro, 2014, p. 40). Less than 1% of those affected by the housing crisis earn more than 10 minimum wages per month. It is clear from these figures that the housing crisis and its attendant issues – the lack of access to infrastructure, services and other rights due to citizens in urban area - disproportionately affect the poorest people in Brazil.

There is a racial aspect to the housing crisis as well. The poorest segments of Brazilian society are composed of Afro-Brazilians who form 45% of the country's population (Ali, 2015). This population consistently performs poorly in indicators of development – income, education, etc. Only 2.2% of Afro-Brazilians for example, have access to higher education (Evensen, 2014). This is a direct legacy of



25% of Brazil's 200 million

live in **low-quality**
or
lack housing altogether

Figure 4.
Diagram showing percentage of people living in low quality housing in Brazil
Source: report authors

over 3 centuries of slavery in the country. This racial difference is so stark that the UNDP report in 2005, specified different indices of human development for white and black populations in Brazil (whites alone placed at 44th in the world, amongst the highest Human Development Indices, while blacks alone placed at 105th, at an intermediate level) (Gradín, 2009, p. 1426) . This discrepancy in turn means that Afro-Brazilians are disproportionately affected by the housing crisis – indeed, much of the literature on the shortage of housing in Brazil notes the high percentage of black populations in favelas. This studio notes the connection between race and income levels in its approach to its interlocutor.

The housing crisis is not limited to a lack of housing units as they affect individual families. It concerns a lack of access to the City – to the rights that come with living in a sturdily constructed building with tenure security and access to infrastructure, transportation and other public services. While these come automatically to those in formal sections of the city, people in favelas, illegally rented or subdivided properties etc. are excluded by default. Dignified housing thus, is intimately linked with concerns of equity and access.

CONTEXT

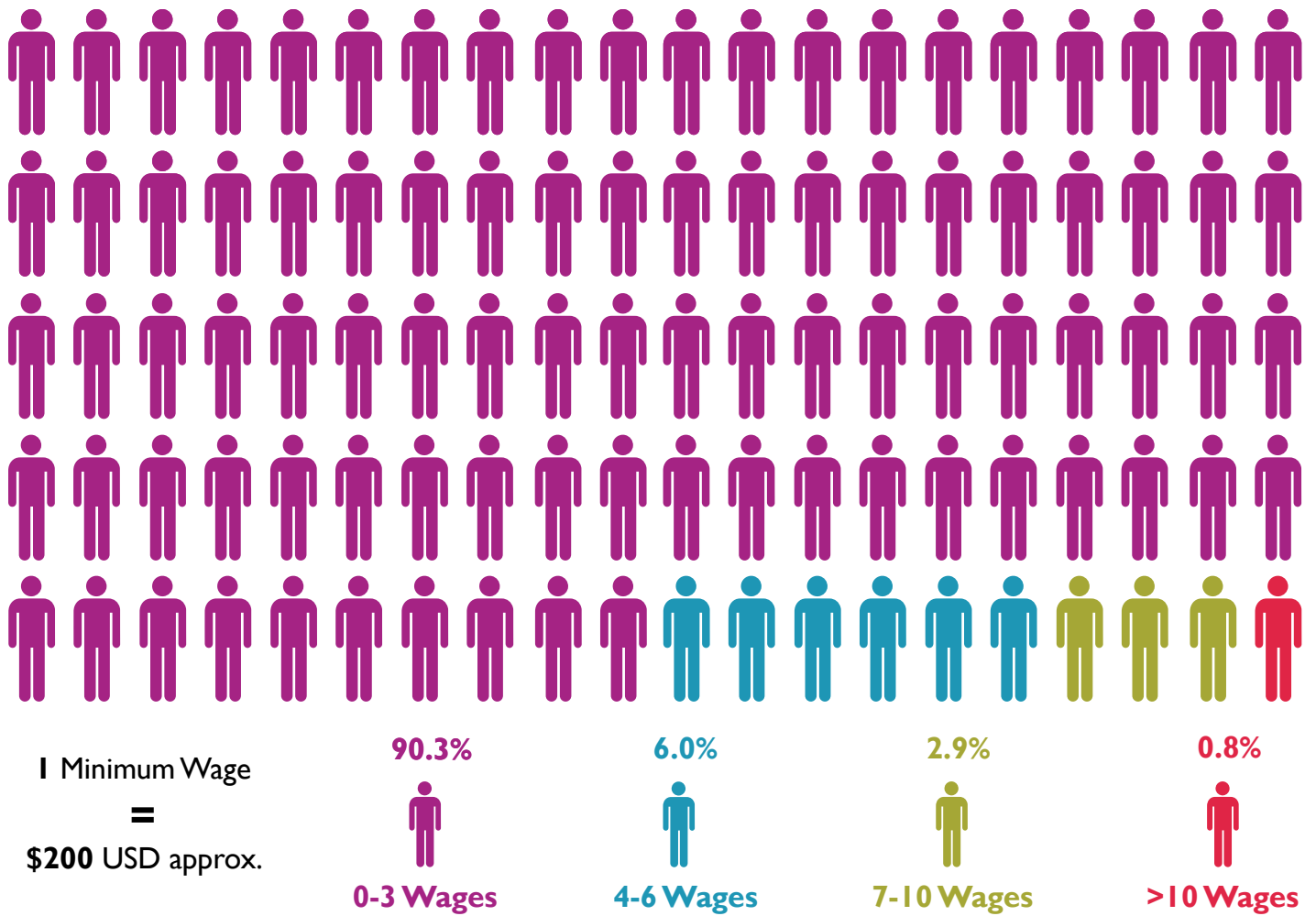


Figure 5. Diagram showing percentage of people living in low quality housing in Brazil, by wage bracket
Source: report authors

2.2 RESPONSES TO THE HOUSING CRISIS

2.2.1 BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY

There are two important players in the housing crisis – the government, and members of civil society. The government has responded to the shortage by drafting legislation to improve access to land, as well as by creating programs that finance and produce subsidized housing (Benschop et al., p. 31). By all measures, these responses were well-drafted and planned – meaning that methods of ensuring housing production and access exist. Law enforcement and

gaps in implementation have however resulted from the domination of the Brazilian political and judicial system by the traditionally elite. This is where civil society becomes essential in ensuring that citizens are able to enjoy all the rights afforded to them by law and under the constitution. Brazilian society has had a long history of active participation in political processes, with social, political and religious movements, non-profits, professional groups and academics that emerged in the 1980s during the democratization of the country. This legacy continues today in the form of urban social movements such as the MTST, MNLM (Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia) and the MSTC (Movimento de Sem-

Teto do Centro) to name a few. These movements stage political protests and use a variety of tactics to negotiate with the government to claim their right to housing. This section of the report will cover the legal instruments that exist to ensure housing, and the tactics used by social movements to ensure that these instruments are used as intended.

2.2.2 EXISTING LEGAL INSTRUMENTS

The legal framework behind Brazil's approach to land access is very progressive, and has come as a result of years of mobilization and negotiation by the part of social movements during the early 80s as the country was democratising (Benschop et al., p. 39). This framework is designed to provide relief to the disadvantaged in a country where land ownership has historically been concentrated in the hands of a wealthy few.

The Brazilian legal system is guided by a framework inherited from the civil law tradition (Benschop et al., p. 32). Property is regarded as an absolute right, a fundamental one that forms the basis of ownership systems. Possession on the other hand is a concept separate from ownership, and it is possible to access rights related to possession whilst not actually owning property. Besides possession, a right to 'use' land also exists, in the form of easement rights, right of passage, etc. The separation of these concepts becomes especially important in programs that aim at the regularization of informal settlements – it becomes possible for example, to provide tenure security to people settled on federal land, without granting them formal titles to property.

(i) CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The 1988 Constitution of Brazil was written with the express purpose of ensuring fundamental rights to all citizens, regardless of age, gender, race, religion, etc.; and reducing inequalities arising from these differences (Benschop et al., p. 62). The Constitution has a definite social bent, stating the eradication of poverty and the promotion of well-being of all citizens as fundamental goals. Access to land and housing are tackled with these principles as a backdrop.

Article 6 of the Constitution declares that housing is a fundamental right to be afforded to all citizens. Housing rights are guaranteed to the extent that housing-related legal assistance is guaranteed by the state to those that can prove a lack of funds.

Article 186 of the Constitution declares that all land must serve a social purpose - implying a set of duties associated with ownership alongside rights (Constitution of Brazil, 1988).

Article 182 of the Constitution directs all municipalities to develop a masterplan, one that guides all development and growth in its jurisdiction and ensures the social purpose of land (Constitution of Brazil, 1988).

(ii) CITY STATUTE

The guidelines laid out by the Brazilian Constitution of 1988, with regard to the social function of land, had to be implemented through targeted legislation. To this end, a federal law to regulate urban policy, development and planning at the municipal level was adopted in 2001, known as the City Statute (Fernandes, 2009, p. 177). The City Statute was passed partly as a result of years of agitation on the part of urban social

movements, who pushed for planning processes and policies that were more democratic and participative (Rodrigues and Barbosa, 2010, p. 29). The City Statute begins by laying out the objectives of the legislation, its role in interpreting the constitutional requirements of public well-being and equity. Article 2 establishes 16 principles to guide equitable urban development and ensure the social function of land and property. These principles include democratization of city development through participatory processes, ensuring a right to a sustainable city and livelihoods, regularization of informal settlements and a guarantee of their Right to the City, and an equitable distribution of the burdens of urban living amongst other things.

(iii) PARTICIPATIVE MASTER PLANS

The City Statute directs municipalities to guide and manage urban development in cities by creating participative master plans (Carvalho and Rossbach, 2010, p. 11). One of its focuses is protecting the rights of those living in informal settlements by providing tenure security and improving infrastructure. This objective is achieved through the creation of land regularization instruments, such as Usucapião (adverse possession) or the creation of ZEIS (Special Zones of Social Interest), which allow irregular land uses to be legalized. The master plan also controls development rights and their sale and transfer. The master plan is meant to be democratically created, with participation from civil society in setting goals. Apart from the City Statute, Article 182 of the Federal Constitution also establishes the master plan as the seminal document for guiding all urban development policy.

(IV) USUCAPIÃO

One of these instruments is Usucapião or urban adverse possession, which allows families that have inhabited a piece of land for over a certain period of time, who are low income and own no other property, to take possession of the land they occupy (Benschop et al., p. 69). This is a method of ensuring tenure security for the most vulnerable members of society who are forced to live in favelas, and irregular or self-built settlements.

(v) ZEIS

A second instrument laid out in the City Statute is the creation of Special Zones of Social Interest, or ZEIS (Zonas de Especial Interesse Social). ZEIS is a special zoning category that allows regulations outside of ordinary land use laws in a municipality to be applied to certain parts of the city (Benschop et al., p. 73). Its primary purpose is to ensure the social function of land and protect those without legal tenure or access to housing. The categories of ZEIS vary from city to city, but normally target illegally occupied or subdivided lands, earmarking them for improvement, infrastructure provision, and tenure regularization through joint or individual land titling programs. Some municipalities, Recife for example, have created special legislation to declare ZEIS while others like São Paulo, have ZEIS earmarked under the auspices of their master plans.

2.2.3 BEST PRACTICES: SÃO PAULO

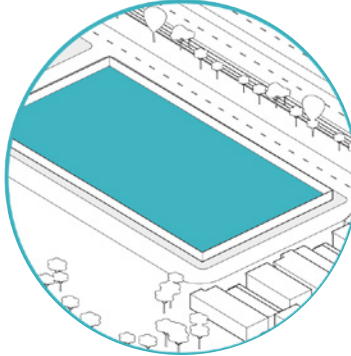
One of the most comprehensive models of participatory, inclusive urban management can be seen in the city of São Paulo, which has adapted the directives of the Constitution and the City Statute in creating a locally suitable master plan (Carvalho and

ZEIS 1



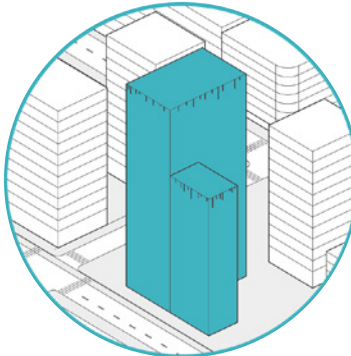
Areas characterized by the presence of slums and squatter settlements, predominantly inhabited by low income populations

ZEIS 2



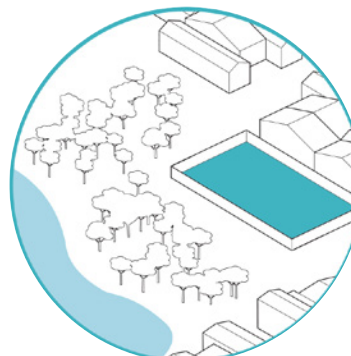
Areas characterized by empty or under-utilized lots, suitable for urbanization.

ZEIS 3



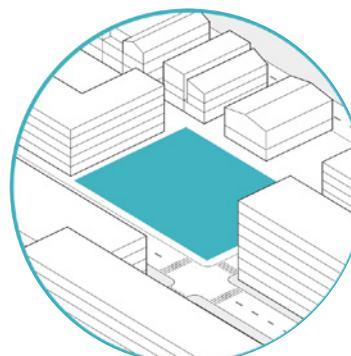
Areas with underutilized, unused, or deteriorating real estate, in regions with access to services and infrastructure.

ZEIS 4



Areas characterized by undeveloped lots suitable for urban development, located in protected areas

ZEIS 5



Empty or underutilized lots located in areas with access to services and urban infrastructure

Figure 6.
ZEIS as defined by the Secretary of Housing of Sao Paulo
Source: Edited from SEHAB, 2016

Rossbach, 2010, p. 27). The city of São Paulo consists of 39 municipalities, and is the most populous urban area in Brazil. The city adopted a new strategic master plan in 2002, with a focus on prioritizing the needs of the poorest citizens and reforming housing provision and urban development policy (Herling, 2009, p. 22). Their goals as broadly stated in this document, include incentivizing development in core areas, constraining sprawl, protecting the environment, preserving green spaces and reducing vulnerability.

Zoning within master plan identifies 4 types of areas in the city – areas where development is to be concentrated and incentivized, areas where growth has to be restrained and green spaces restored, areas where the environment has to be preserved as such, and finally areas which need upgradation (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2015). Besides these classifications, the master plan also creates a set of four ZEIS or Special Zones of Social Interest. In the São Paulo classification system (figure 6), ZEIS 1 encompasses areas with favelas, precarious settlements, and areas that contain social housing; ZEIS 2 encompasses vacant or underutilized areas lacking infrastructure; ZEIS 3, vacant or underutilized lots that have infrastructure access and connectivity; and ZEIS 4, which includes lands that are in environmentally protected water basin areas. Strategies for creating solutions in a given locality facing specific issues, will then be based on the ZEIS categorization it falls within. A favela in a ZEIS 1 region for example, will be entitled to land tenure regularization and infrastructure upgradation; while a settlement in ZEIS 4 will have to necessarily be relocated because of the precarious or environmentally fragile location.

The São Paulo master plan enables federal, state and municipal agencies to work together in order to

produce housing under various programs. Federal agencies include the CAIXA Federal Bank and the Ministry of Cities; state agencies include the State Housing Secretariat and the CDHU (Housing and Urban Development Company of the State of São Paulo); and municipal agencies include the SEHAB (Municipal Housing Secretariat), COHAB (Metropolitan Housing Company of São Paulo), HABI (Social Housing Authority) and the RESOLO (Department of Regularization of Informal Land Subdivisions). These agencies are in charge of housing, upgradation, regularization and urban policy at different levels of government, and have different purposes and eligibility requirements. The São Paulo municipality thus works to ensure that the widest group of beneficiaries are served through an innovative combination of projects made available by these different agencies.

Interventions in vulnerable areas are implemented through an Intervention Prioritization System. First, an area is studied and described by municipal authorities, and consigned to one of the ZIES categories (HABISP website). Then, eligibility for various municipal, state or federal programs is determined based on conditions at the site, and a strategy is formed for intervention in the locality. Finally, priority is given for provision of assistance based on vulnerability. Vulnerability is measured through an index that includes scores for existing infrastructure and services present in the site, health and safety hazards, risk of natural disasters; and social vulnerability. The prioritization system helps providing relief to those most severely and immediately impacted by social and spatial inequalities. Finally, in order to ensure participation and democratic modes of planning, a centralized monitoring system known as HABISP was put in place. This system contains updated geospatial information, zoning maps

and policy documents from all the agencies involved in urban development in São Paulo, and these are made publicly available to allow for easy information access and monitoring by civil society and NGOs.

São Paulo's strategic development plan and master plan thus represent best practices in Brazil for their scope, foresight and implementation. Many of the tools used here form can be used to guide development in other municipalities in the country.

2.2.4 SOCIAL HOUSING

(i) HISTORY OF HOUSING PRODUCTION

The role of the government in the production of housing in Brazil has varied over the years due to the country's multiple regime and governance changes. Housing became a focal point of policy making, changing as the goals of the government changed. Brazil today has a culture of home-ownership, with owner-occupied households accounting for 73% of the total housing stock as of 2010 (Lonardoni et al., p. 10). This situation is a direct result of policies made by the military government starting in 1964. Homeownership was promoted as an aspirational goal for workers, and was actively encouraged in order to stimulate the construction industry and create jobs. Prior to this, cities in Brazil consisted of a majority of renters, who accounted for 75% of households in the 1940s – figure that has dropped to 18% today.

Between 1964 and 1985, during the dictatorship, social housing production was centralized and carried out by an entity known as the National Housing Bank (BNH, Banco Nacional de Habitação, in Portuguese). The adoption of democracy in 1985 led to the decentralization of housing policy and production,

and the government had a limited role in housing construction through the 1990s. Almost all housing in the country was produced by the private sector, and there was a huge increase in the number of informal and self-built settlements. A consistent, centralized urban policy began to re-emerge with the creation of the Ministry of Cities and the adoption of the city statute in the early 2000s. There was a parallel demand for improved social housing production from SMOs and other segments of civil society, one that saw results in the creation of Brazil's largest social housing program in history in 2009.

(ii) MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA

The Minha Casa Minha Vida Program ("My House, My Life" in English) is an ambitious social housing program launched in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis (Healy, 2014). Its stated goal was to provide housing for historically disadvantaged populations in Brazil; but its function was as much if not primarily, that of a stimulus for the slowing national economy. MCMV was designed to produce subsidized housing for eligible segments of the Brazilian population, and it did so by creating financial instruments to incentivize private sector participation in housing production. The program was funded through the Caixa Econômica Federal ("Federal Savings Bank" in English), an entity that was put in charge of national housing production after the dissolution of the National Housing Bank (Lonardoni et al., p. 16). MCMV was managed and implemented under the auspices of the Ministry of Cities, a federal agency in charge of national housing policy.

The first phase of the project, MCMV-I was launched in 2009 with a budget of 34 billion BRL or 18.4 billion USD at the time (Lonardoni et al., p. 32). It aimed to

and successfully produced 1 million units of subsidized housing for low-income families. Eligibility for housing allocation under MCMV was limited to three groups – households earning between 0 and 3 minimum wages monthly (up to BRL 1,395), those earning between 3 and 6 minimum wages (between BRL 1,395 and 2,790) and those earning between 6 and 10 minimum wages (BRL 2,790 and BRL 4,650). Of the 3 million units constructed, only 1.6 million were built for the 1 to 3 minimum wage bracket. The rest were built for those in the 3 to 6 minimum wage bracket (Figure 8).

Phase II of MCMV was launched in 2011, with a budget of BRL 72 billion (35.1 billion USD) and a plan to build 2 million additional homes. Phase III of MCMV was announced in early 2016, but exact goals and financing have not been released as of the writing of this report.

(iii) CRITICISMS AGAINST MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA

Given its ambitious plan and generous budget, MCMV has come under scrutiny from various sectors of the Brazil including SMOs and academics. A number of criticisms of MCMV revolve around the program serving primarily as an economic stimulus package that generates employment and investment in a labour-intensive construction industry; with the production of housing being a mere by-product of this process (Lonardon et al., p. 57). Although the amount of housing being produced is considerable, there have been questions raised about the appropriateness of the target population and the quality of housing produced.

There are major differences in proportion of housing supply to demand in the 3 income groups targeted by MCMV. As of the launching of MCMV II, there was a shortfall of roughly 6.55 million homes in



Figure 7. Housing typology of MCMV social housing, many times in the outskirts of cities, with little infrastructure.
Source: <http://blogdojcampos.blogspot.com/2015/12/a-prefeitura-municipal-de-santarem.html>

the income bracket of 0 to 3 minimum wages. The program however, only produced 1.2 million homes for this income bracket. In contrast, housing is supply already exceeded demand by 700,000 homes for those earning above 3 minimum wages – yet, MCMV II produced a further 800,000 homes for this bracket. This is partly because of way financing is structured for this project, making housing production for higher income brackets much more profitable to private companies. Thus if the program was designed purely to produce housing for lower income populations, then it can be seen as failing in the implementation of its goals.

In addition to the underproduction of housing for certain segments, the quality of social housing construction has been criticized. This can be seen as a result of poor quality control and rapid, mass construction. Vinicius Netto, an urbanist and MCMV consultant, points to the poor build quality, monolithic facades; singular, unvarying unit plans and minimal amenities in pointing out the shortfalls of the program. MTST leader Vitor Guimarães agrees, adding that locations selected for housing are often in the peripheries of the city, lacking transport connections to employment in the city, infrastructure and other services. The involvement of the private sector in site selection leads to the production of housing in the furthest corners of the city, where land is the



Figure 8. Housing Supply through MCMV vis-à-vis Demand

cheapest. Standardization of housing further has the effect of promoting inflexible solutions that do not take into account local characteristic such as usage and climate. Guimarães points out that these factors accumulate to create ghettos in the outskirts of cities, intensifying the lack of access to the city rather than solving it.

(iv) MINHA CASA MINHA VIDA: ENTIDADES

The criticisms against MCMV centre around its focus on the private sector, and the inability of those who will occupy the units to participate in the decision-making process regarding construction. These arguments hold no water against one small segment of the MCMV program known as Entidades (or ‘entities’). Entidades is a program designed to provide federal funding for independently organized housing initiatives. Local communities or groups that come together under an SMO, conceive and plan the construction of their own homes and often go on to build them as well, with

funding and technical assistance from the Entidades program. This process of self-managed design and construction is reported to have a positive effect on the community as a whole, improving their sense of ownership and pride in the project (Guimarães, 2016). The allocation of MCMV budget for Entidades however, is a miniscule 1 to 2% of the total budget of MCMV II, depending on who you ask (consensus on figures does not exist). SMO leaders interviewed in the course of studio visits repeatedly asked that Entidades be expanded to 20% of the total MCMV budget. This suggestion was taken into account while preparing our methodology for the trip as well as final proposals for this studio.



Figure 9. Crumbling MCMV housing in Niteroi, Rio de Janeiro
Source: <http://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=8023>



Figure 10. Proposed project for João Candido by Usina, for an MCMV Entidades
Source: Usina

3

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the studio can be conceptualized in a tri-fold manner: preliminary research, on-site investigations, and post-trip analysis.

Pre-Trip:

Secondary Research:

- Academic literature review
- Case study research

During Trip:

Primary Research:

- Site visits
- Interviews

Post-Trip:

Post-trip analysis:

- Stakeholder Analysis
- Evaluation of limitations

3.1 PRE-TRIP

3.1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

From January 2016 until early March 2016, the studio reviewed and discussed academic literature on social movements and pressure groups, governance dynamics and housing production; and design preferences in Brazilian social housing. This preliminary research served as a foundation to capture the essence of social movements, the lengthy history of occupations, and the breadth of literature surrounding Brazil's socio-political structure and housing economy.

HOUSING POLICY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Marquez (2013) described the actor network involved in Brazil's urban policy-making and framed the

involvement of social movements. A process of intense lobbying and corruption by builders and developers leads to interpretations of the law and leads to ad hoc changes that benefit very specific interests. Cardoso Balbino (2013) argued that the fundamental right to housing in the Brazilian legal context should be better defined as it has contributed to the problematic delivery of social housing responses. Earle (2012) articulated a 'politics of rights' wherein social movement organizations seek to pressure the state to uphold the constitutional right to housing. Empowered insurgent citizens have lobbied successfully to ensure that land use policies recognize social, cultural and environmental interests of other groups and the city as a whole' alongside those of property owners. For social movements, the most significant aspects of the Statute of the City are the language of the law surrounding the social function of property. Netro and Moreira (2012) illustrated how a feature of the statute, the certificates of additional building potential ('CEPACs'), have not been used to advance the needs of the lowest-income earners. Earle (2012) illustrated the perspective of some social movements who seize vacant buildings and vacant parcels of land backed by the belief that the buildings and land should not remain empty for a lengthy period of time and in an explicit recognition of the idea of the 'right to the city'.

HOUSING PREFERENCES AND COOPERATIVES

Kowaltowski (2011) sought to expand beyond the quantitative housing deficit in Brazil and introduce the concerns of quality with state-delivered housing, urban infrastructure, and transportation. In particular, attention was drawn to the quality of the buildings, their urban setting, and design and construction. In addition to an analysis of current conditions, opportunities for the introduction of improvements in housing

Literature	Takeaways and Influence on Studio Proposal Direction
Marquez (2013)	Housing delivery process is corrupt; social movements are righteous in their actions
Cardoso Balbino (2013)	The rush to deliver units in MCMV has hindered quality
Earle (2012)	Empowered insurgent citizens have lobbied successfully to ensure that land use policies recognize social rights
Kowaltowski (2011)	Opportunities for user-input in housing projects are being unrealized
Rizek et al (2014)	Entidades represent the fullest realization of merger of social policy and housing policy in Brazil
Fruet (2005)	Rigid urban legislation, complex legal frameworks and limited credit facilities all contribute to the length of time it takes for cooperatives to thrive
Pereira da Silva (2010)	ZEIS should be expanded and along with Social Interest Housing, should be “macro-zoned” with the participation of residents and the cooperation of municipalities in a region
World Bank (2013)	Municipalities should direct where MCMV projects go; Condominium management model expansion
Netro and Moreira (2012)	CEPACs present an opportunity from the Statute of the City but are not utilized the way social groups would expect

Figure 11. Literature review and main takeaways

projects were presented, particularly with user-input. Fruet (2005) organized an overview of the formation sequence and operations of housing partnerships and cooperatives that pre-date the Minha Casa Minha Vida Entidades program. Rizek et al (2014) described the Entidades program within its context of housing policy under the Lula and Dilma presidencies as well as suggested that the Entidades aspect of the Minha Casa Minha Vida program represents an enormous opportunity for a merger of social policy and housing policy. In particular, if obstacles such as rigid legal frameworks and limited credit opportunities can be overcome, the cooperative model has more of a chance (Fruet, 2005).

METROPOLITAN HOUSING PLANS IN BRAZIL

Pereira da Silva (2010) and the World Bank (2013) presented arguments for increased metropolitan planning, particularly with regard to housing needs.

In particular, da Silva argued that ZEIS should be expanded and along with Social Interest Housing, should be “macro-zoned” with the participation of residents and the cooperation of municipalities in a region. The World Bank (2013) concurred with the notion of localities directing federal housing projects and, further, recommended that the “condominium management model”, or entidades, should see an expansion in its operations.

3.1.2 CASE STUDY RESEARCH

In addition to studying literature pertaining to Brazil, the studio explored various global case studies as well. By doing so, the studio gained insight into the effects of the 2008 crisis on international housing markets and economies, the roles and success rates of occupations and uprisings, as well as varying government responses to the rising demand for social and affordable housing. Case study research helped

generate a timeline as to when occupations occurred, responses, and outcomes - to ultimately relate back to MTST and generate a preliminary pool of suggestions to further advance and improve on existing Brazilian programs and social movement goals.

(i) PERU

Peru, like Brazil, experienced a shortage of adequate housing for its urban poor. Like in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Lima, the Peruvian capital in the mid 20th century experienced unprecedented urban growth leaving many migrants from rural communities without proper shelter (Andrews and Phillips, 1970, p. 1). Since there was a lack of housing units accessible or affordable for the new city dwellers, it left them with no option but to seek housing for themselves, creating informal settlements (Maldonado and Bredenoord, 2010, p. 342). Initially these settlers began to settle within the inner parts of the city, and as an early response the government began to produce public housing projects in the city outskirts (Maldonado and Bredenoord, 2010, p. 343). The idea was twofold: the government wanted to 1) expand the city through the garden city movement's principles (Gyger, 2013, p. 23), and 2) provide for the low income so that blight was removed from the inner city (Gyger, 2013, p. 18). However, the housing that the government provided became overcrowded and congested, meaning that the state was not constructing enough units; therefore, newer informal settlements began to sprout up surrounding these projects as a reaction to the lack of social housing (Gyger, 2013, p. 46).

Without access to proper housing, migrants occupied vacant lands in peripheral areas and built their own self-aided construction. Many planners and scholars, such as John Turner saw this strategy as an appropriate solution the housing crisis (Harris, 2003, p. 245), valuing

squatter settlements and self-help construction for its capacity to best meet the needs of circumstances of squatters, as well their ability to create community through organized mutual aid (Harris, 2003, p. 248). Over time it became more evident that this was a potential solution to the housing problem (Andrews and Phillips, 1970, p. 212) (Gyger, 2013, p. 1). In 1961 a law was passed, known as The Barriadas Law, which acknowledged occupations and created mechanisms for the tenure of land, as well as funding mechanisms for the financing of self-help constructions. It furthermore provided technical and government assistance as to ensure the proper urban development of these new settlements. Today, the larger part of Lima is a product of this type of development, where self-help construction has become itself the urban fabric of the city.

This case study suggests two points important when reflecting on the case of Brazil: 1) communities should be empowered to produce housing that best fits their needs, yet 2) the government should maintain an active role in the production of social housing units in order to ensure quality. In Peru, resolving the housing issue by supporting self-help construction has empowered the urban poor to create community participation in the development of the urban environment. It has resulted in the housing of hundreds of thousands of individuals who would otherwise live under sublegal conditions. However, this strategy leaves many living in substandard conditions. While the housing deficit may be decreased quantitatively, quality is not consistent for all. Furthermore, by adopting this solution, the government had withdrawn its responsibility of constructing social housing for the poor, resulting in minimal state intervention (Braathen et al. 2014, p. 22). In Brazil, we see the active role in producing housing, however, its strategy leads to qualitatively deficient

housing. We also see the people's desire to play an active role in the production of housing, through social movements that work in collaboration with the government and technicians in order to produce high quality social housing.

ii. SPAIN

In the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008, Spain saw similar political squatting movements as Brazil. Groups such as Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH; "Platform for those Affected by Mortgages" in Spanish) in Barcelona and Seco in Madrid, have utilized tactics such as demonstrations, rallies, building occupations, and sit-ins. Combined

with widespread social media presence and academic allies, PAH can claim political success in that their spokesperson, Ada Colau, was elected mayor of Barcelona in 2015. In the case of Seco, socially-minded activists occupying an abandoned schoolhouse were also able to gather mass popular support through media, and networked with politicized urban planners to develop an 'Alternative Urban Plan'.

The case studies in Spain offer new directions for the studio's research and generated guiding questions. Some of the questions that emerged centered on how to ally with the social movements in Brazil as academic allies and politicized planners in light of



Figure 12. Barriadas in Lima, Peru

Source: <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/photo/images/attachement/jpg/site1/20110410/0023ae606e660f0bad9615.jpg>



Figure 13. PAH protestors in Barcelona

Source: <https://images.jacobinmag.com/2015/01/51371-944-550.jpg>

the fact that the social movements seek to operate outside of the political process.

iii. UNITED STATES

Squatting movements in the United States have existed for decades, with modern organized squatting movements being able to trace their roots back to the Hoovervilles of the Great Depression, which acted as both a political protest and a form of mutual support for those affected by housing and economic crises (Ashkinadze, 1996, p. 6). In the modern era, some movements in the United States have borrowed more sophisticated strategies from squatters' movements in the global south. One of such movements was the Take Back the Land Movement in Miami, FL. The leader of the movement, Max Rameau, wrote in a 2010 blog post that he was inspired by the Western Cape

Anti-Eviction Campaign in South Africa and the MST (Landless Workers Movement) in Brazil (Rameau, 2010). Similar to protests in Brazil, but on a much smaller scale, Take Back the Land in Miami squatted on the site of a demolished public housing project with the intent of pressuring the City of Miami to build more public housing, starting with the highlighted site. The site came to be known as the Umoja Village and the occupation ended unceremoniously, as it burned down 6 months after its inception (Samuels and Arthur, 2007). After this, there was a pivot in strategy, one that also reflects that of many squatters' movements worldwide; the Take Back the Land Movement started occupying vacant homes around Miami, moving in homeless families into foreclosed and government-owned houses (Sledge, 2011).



Figure 14. Take Back the Land Movement

Source: https://thefunambulistdotnet.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/owh_banner2_may10.jpg

The United States case study serves several purposes for the studio. It demonstrates that while a quantitative and qualitative housing deficit is a problem in the developing world, it is also a major issue in a relatively affluent city in the developed world such as Miami, Florida. The case study also shows that there is a two-way flow of knowledge when it comes to the grassroots reaction to such a housing crisis, as those in the developed world have borrowed strategies from their counterparts in the developing world.

3.2 FIELD WORK

Following the initial period of secondary research, for two weeks in March, the studio traveled to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. After months of remotely communicating with our interlocutors,

conducting phone interviews, and e-mailing scholars and academics, we compiled a list of contacts and a detailed itinerary before our visit to Brazil.

3.2.1 INTERVIEWS

The studio's framework revolved around site visits, participant observations, and semi-structured interviews with various locals, professionals, and stakeholders in the field, in hopes of gaining a holistic understanding of the housing crisis. We met with housing academics and scholars such as Rafael Soares, a human rights advocate and lawyer; interviewed government officials such as Erminia Maricato, the Ex-Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Cities; attended lectures of Nabil Bonduki, the current Minister of Culture in São Paulo; spoke to MCMV consultants and urbanists to discuss their views and research on social

Contact	Location	Title/Role	Takeaways and Influence on Studio Proposal Direction
Erminia Maricato	Rio de Janeiro	Ex-Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Cities	We need to enlarge and diversify the housing market to include the lower middle classes, otherwise we localize the poor
Nabil Bonduki	Rio de Janeiro	Current Minister of Culture in Sao Paulo	Without SMOs we would have a large number of people on the streets. We need varying housing typologies that incorporate means for entrepreneurship in order to create self-maintenance and good-quality environments
Raphael Soares	Rio de Janeiro	Housing Academic and Scholar/Human Rights Advocate and Lawyer	Minha Casa Minha Vida is primarily a keynesian economic intervention, not a housing project to help the lower incomes.
Vinicius Netto	Rio de Janeiro	Technical Consultant and Urban Researcher for MCMV	How can we start applying quantitative research to shape the next wave of MCMV designs? We need to access areas, observe, and analyze before choosing sites to ensure economic viability and long-term sustainability.
Pedro Rivera	Rio de Janeiro	Urbanist and Director of Studio-X Rio de Janeiro	What are the lies within our policies? Why are they not being enforced? We have to read between the lines and make them more transparent.
Vitor Guimarães	Rio de Janeiro	Leader of the Social Movement Organization MTST	Social movements are here to represent the voices of the people. We want to make a statement to say that we deserve rights to housing, we deserve a right to good quality housing, and this is our city too.
Flavio Uguchi	Sao Paulo	Technical Consultant at USINA, a firm that works with SMOs on the ground	It isn't necessarily about the product of social housing, but about the collaborative process that we choose to go through.
Giselle Mendoca	Sao Paulo	Applied Researcher for the Urban Development Division of Sao Paulo	It is important to develop tools that municipalities can use, and where social participation can influence policies
Luciana	Sao Paulo	Local Leader of the Malala Land Occupation (MTST)	Occupation is a method of showing empowerment, will, and our rights to housing. Especially for women, it is important to create a safe and nurturing environment where our daughters can grow to be fearless.

Figure 15. List of interviews during field trip



Figure 16. Meeting with an architect of Usina, who has worked with Entidades as a technical consultant. Source: report authors

housing; and reached out to technical consultants who collaborated with social movement organizations on social housing projects as well. Each interview was informative and insightful as the next in grasping Brazilian government structures, political dynamics, and housing production mechanisms in Brazil.

Overall, the most influential part of our visit to Brazil was our interaction with the local people on the ground, and listening to their stories of how they overcame struggles, sought refuge and faith in social movement organizations, and how SMOs instilled a renewed faith in them as they struggled for their rights to housing.

3.2.2 SITE VISITS

Important site visits during our trip included land occupations from MTST, building occupations from MNLM and FLM and others, and Minha Casa Minha Vida Entidades social housing. Although each site portrayed different contexts, people and stages of occupation, the struggle and fight remained the same. Traveling to each site brought more clarity to the sheer size of these occupations, leadership structure, and how women held an authoritative role in pushing and guiding these movements on the ground.

(I) STUDIO X



LOCATION: Rio de Janeiro

SITE TYPE: Cross-disciplinary research studio space

Figure 17.

Source: report authors

(II) PEDROGULHO



LOCATION: Rio de Janeiro

SITE TYPE: Modernist housing development

Figure 18.

Source: report authors

(III) MARIANA CRIOULA



LOCATION: Rio de Janeiro

SITE TYPE: Vacant building occupation by SMO called MNLM in an abandoned warehouse

Figure 19.
Source: Report authors

(V) COPA DO POVO



LOCATION: São Paulo

SITE TYPE: Vacant land occupation by MTST

Figure 21.
Source: Archdaily

(IV) HOTEL CAMBRIDGE



LOCATION: São Paulo

SITE TYPE: FLM abandoned hotel occupation

Figure 20.
Source: report authors

(VI) MALALA



LOCATION: São Paulo

SITE TYPE: Vacant land occupation by MTST

Figure 22.
Source: report authors

(VII) JÃO CANDIDO



LOCATION: São Paulo

SITE TYPE: Entidades Social Housing Site

Figure 23.
Source: Pablo Pereira

(VIII) VILLA NOVA PALESTINA



LOCATION: São Paulo

SITE TYPE: Vacant land occupation by MTST

Figure 24.
Source: report authors

3.3 POST TRIP

STAKEHOLDER POWER-INTEREST MATRIX

After meeting with our stakeholders and establishing their roles in better context, a fuller matrix of power-interest dynamics was made more clear (figure 25); and following the trip, a post-trip analysis was conducted, wherein interview responses were analyzed for key categories, and studio responses were developed through a series of proposals. Through our analysis of stakeholders, we were able to construe the amount of power, influence, and interest a specific stakeholder had towards helping our target population - those within the 0-3 wage bracket - achieve their goals. We later used this matrix to determine how each entity could further their interests and influence, and assigned various roles and responsibilities for each entity through our proposals.

3.4 LIMITATIONS

3.4.1 STUDIO LIMITATIONS

The studio by definition has discrete parameters. All work in the studio was completed by the seven listed authors over the course of one semester, roughly 4 months in total. The studio was afforded two weeks of fieldwork, beginning in mid-March. Prior to this period there were two meetings, both in person and via skype with a representative of Studio X Rio, Pedro Rivera, and a leader in the MTST movement, Vítor Guimarães. The proposals of this studio are limited by the time and access allowed for the studio authors.

3.4.2 PROPOSAL LIMITATIONS

The proposals later outlined in this report are ambitious, expansive, and will ultimately be very complex and involve many different stakeholders with varying levels of agency and responsibility. The proposals are intended to be enacted with the assumption of full political will from the parties responsible for funding and implementing them. In both political and macroeconomic arenas, there exist variables that affect the ability and effectiveness of the outlined proposals. Additionally, all of the proposals within this report require more in-depth and specialized research to be actualized as policy. As stated before, the studio was limited in terms of timeline and capacity and therefore the authors deliberately decided to keep the proposals overarching and strategic.

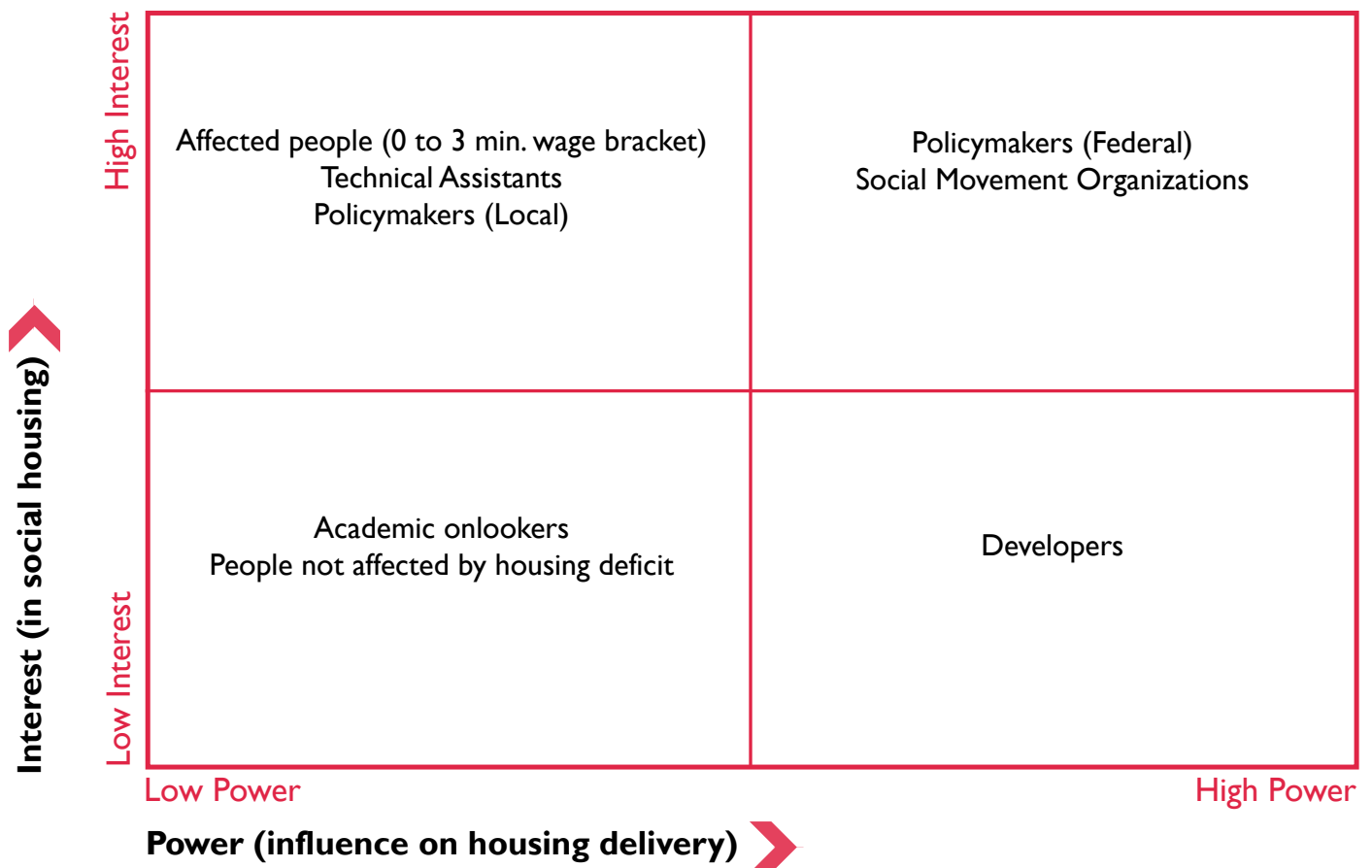


Figure 25. Stakeholder Power-Interest Matrix

4

PROPOSALS

In light of aforementioned observations, the studio devised a set of proposals to improve existing initiatives being taken in Brazil to fight the housing crisis. These proposals address problems observed in three spheres:

- 1) development and management of the Minha Casa Minha Vida (MCMV) Program;
- 2) discrepancies within federal, state, and municipal level policies;
- 3) potentials of public-private partnerships (PPP).

These proposals are interconnected and symbiotic. Each proposal is both dependent upon and leads to the following one. Hence they must operate in coherence with one another. Improvements made in these domains can help ameliorate, if not eradicate, Brazil's housing deficit. Following is a detailed explanation of these proposals.

4.1 IMPROVEMENTS TO MCMV PROGRAM

While Minha Casa Minha Vida is a numerically ambitious program, there are many qualitative aspects of it that require improvement. There are four ways to increase the effectiveness of this program; first, by catering to the needs of population in the lowest income bracket; second, allowing the integration of community and commercial uses in social housing settlements; third, improving site selection process for new developments; and fourth, expanding the Entidades program. Following sections discuss these proposals in further detail.

4.1.1 – BUILDING FOR PEOPLE EARNING 0-3 MINIMUM WAGES

As mentioned earlier, 90% of those affected by the housing shortage or 6.5 out of 7.2 million people, earn less than 3 minimum wages (Lonardoni et al., 2013). As figure 26 shows, while MCMV has produced 3 million housing units since its conception in 2009, only 1.6 of these 3 million, or 53% of housing units were built for those in the lowest income bracket (Emerging Market Investors Association, 2013). The remaining 1.4 million (47%) of the units were designed and financed with people earning above 3 minimum wages in mind. The housing supply outstrips demand in this population group by 0.7 million units, housing that could instead be provided to those in the 0 -3 minimum wage bracket.

In order to fulfil Minha Casa Minha Vida's stated goals of providing housing to those who need it the most, and in order to fulfil the directives of the Brazilian Constitution that all efforts be made to decrease inequality in the country, the studio recommends that future phases of MCMV cater solely to the lowest income bracket of 0 to 3 minimum wages. Phase 3 of MCMV has been launched in 2016, pending the announcement of details as of May 2016. If the entire housing stock of MCMV 3 is aimed at the 0 to 3 minimum wage bracket, the mismatch in production of social housing for the various income groups resulting from the last 2 phases of MCMV, can be reduced. Further, MCMV 1 and 2 together have produced 3 million homes, while the housing shortage stands at 7.2 million homes. Thus, Phases 3 and 4 of MCMV must produce 4.2 million housing units in order to fully bridge the gap between demand and supply of housing. These figures assume that the housing shortage stands at 7.2 million units; as per 2009 IGBE figures (Fez Tá Pronto, 2016). Updated information

regarding the increase in the housing shortage is not publicly available.

4.1.2 – MIXED-USE DEVELOPMENTS

As per current designs, MCMV developments are single-use and zoned only for residential settlements. The residents of the buildings not permitted officially to integrate commercial activity into their homes; neither are provisions made for commercial spaces. The inflexibility of project design leads to a loss of potential economic opportunity for the residents, both individually and collectively.

As part of on-site research, the studio team visited existing MCMV social housing projects in both Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The studio studied lifestyles of the target population and conducted interviews with residents and local leaders to form the following observations. Many self-generated, organic neighborhoods in favelas thrive economically because of their capacity to own small shops and provide services to their fellow residents. This live-work arrangement benefits business owners as well as consumers, whose needs are fulfilled locally. Residents of existing MCMV developments such as Joao Candido expressed great eagerness in being allowed to carry out commercial activities near where they lived.

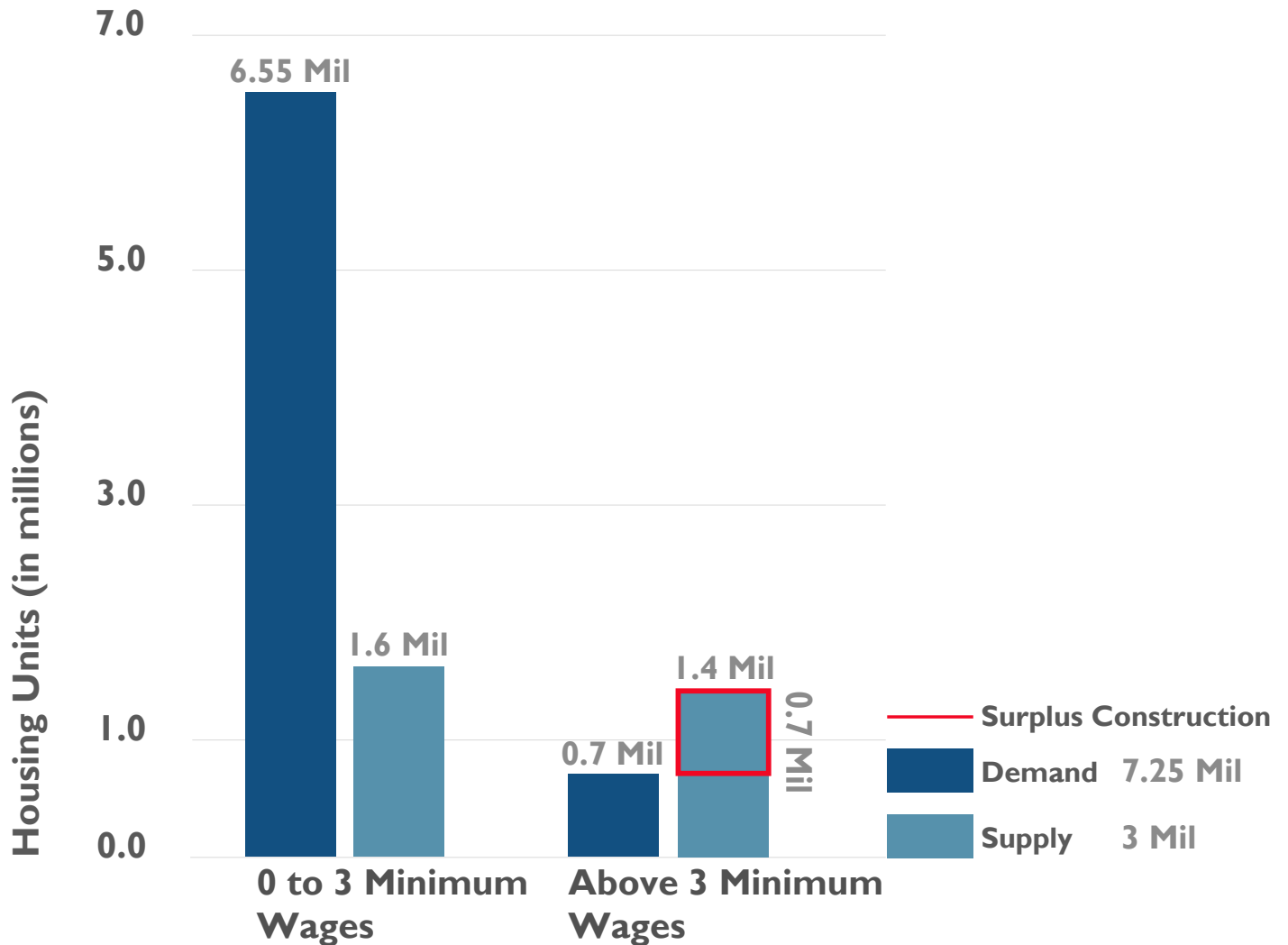


Figure 26. Difference between supply and demand of MCMV produced houses.

Indeed, some of them already did, albeit informally. An MCMV resident in Joao Candido for example, ran a profitable tailoring business from a spare bedroom in her home which served as the primary means of income for her family. Without an opportunity such as this, she would be forced to work multiple low-paying jobs to make the same amount of income.

The studio team’s interviews with Brazilian architects involved with MCMV developments; as well as SMO leaders and grassroots members all resulted in a uniform call to make MCMV more friendly to mixed-use development. Giselle Mendonça, an architect and urbanist employed with the Ministry of Urban Development in São Paulo, the major barrier to

creating mixed-use development in MCMV is the justification of commercial activities within a social housing project. Thus the program of funding for MCMV must be redesigned to allow for small-scale commercial activity; and the spaces within MCMV developments must be redesigned to accommodate live/work opportunities and spaces for small local businesses.

4.1.3 – IMPROVED SITE SELECTION METHODOLOGY

The third proposal for the improvement of MCMV is in regard to improving their existing site selection methodology. As of now, the site selection process

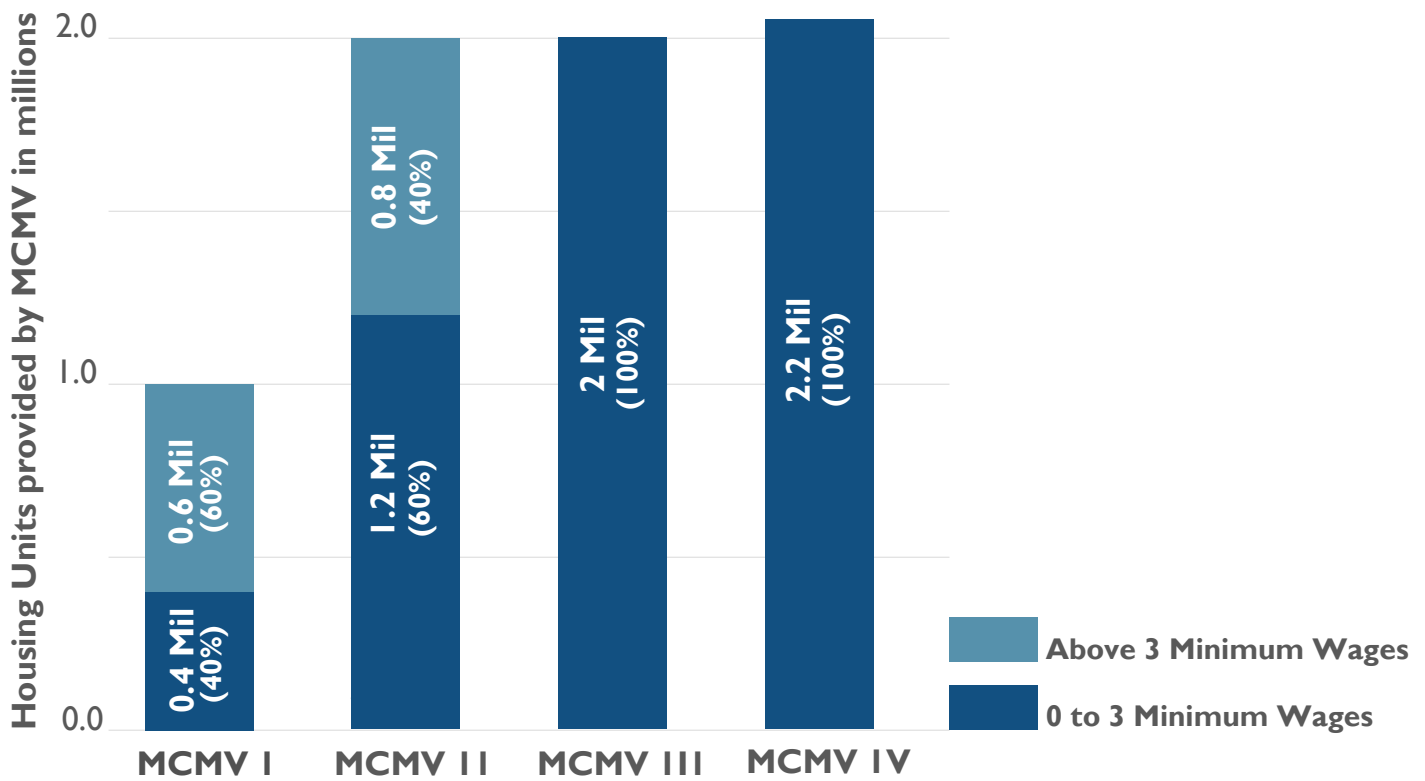


Figure 27. Making MCMV a housing program that caters for families with 0 – 3 minimum wages only. Also suggesting MCMV phases 3 and 4 to provide 4.2 million houses collectively.



Figure 28. Above: João Candido, an existing MCMV project in São Paulo. Below: a rendering of this development with opportunities for mixed-use realized.

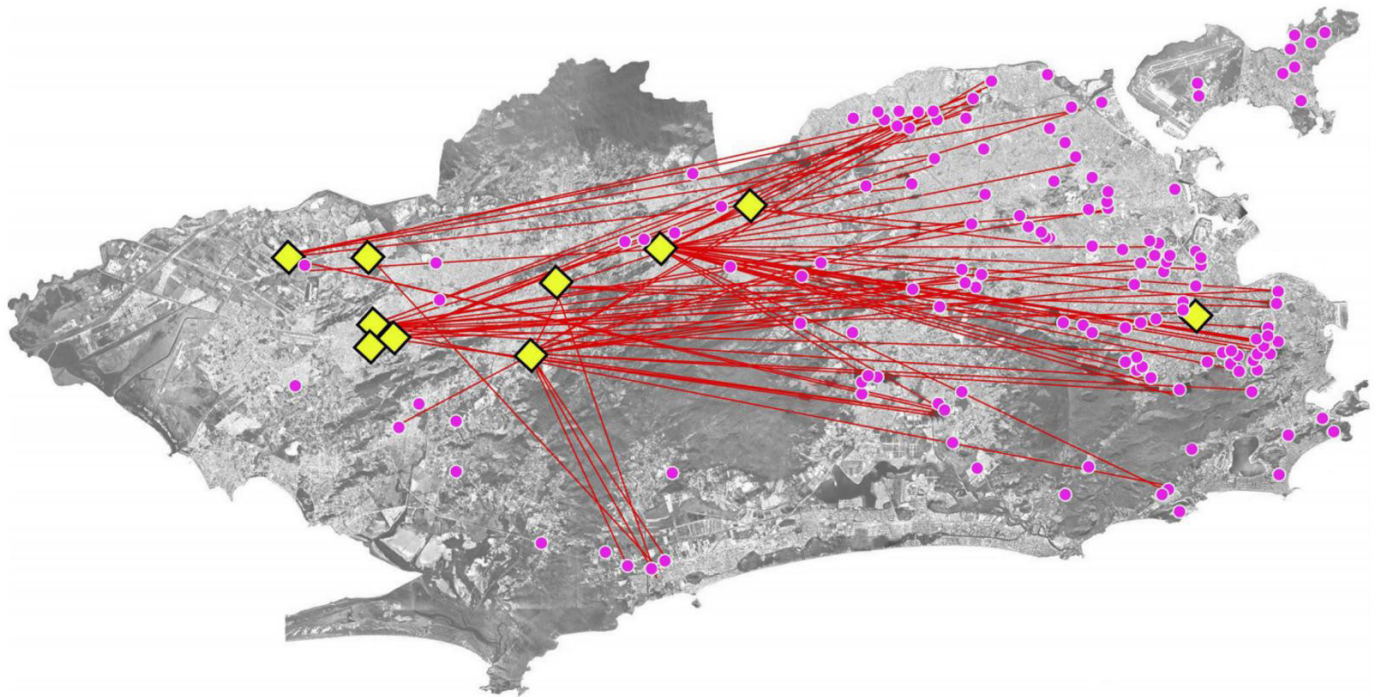


Figure 29. Map of Rio de Janeiro with locations of existing and new residences of lower income population.

Source: <www.rebaixada.org/remoes-tica-ou-cosmticano-mapa-das-remoes-do-rio-de-janeiro-as-famli/>

for MCMV projects lies completely in the hands of private sector companies contracted to construct them. More often than not, rather than applying some rational methodology to this process, they simply build wherever they have land easily and cheaply available. These lands tend to be outside the developed areas of the city, with limited access to employment opportunities and minimal availability of services, transportation and other infrastructure.

MCMV projects are intended to lower disparities in Brazilian society, and are aimed at its weakest members. Some projects however underline these disparities by placing large groups of lower-income populations in isolated far-lying areas, with no earning or educational opportunities.

Figure 29 shows the location of existing slums and new social housing projects, marked on the map of Rio de Janeiro. Pink dots represent slums, most of which are located in close proximity to the city

center. Yellow squares are sites of new social housing communities which, on the other hand, are located at a significant distance from the CBD, forcing people to move away from economic opportunities and basic infrastructure.

Vinicius M. Netto, a consultant for MCMV suggested in an interview that “the program should use quantitative tools, like diversity algorithms, to determine the suitability of a given site.” Use of quantitative tools may be essential, but the suitability of a site is also profoundly dependent on the needs of its unique resident group. Hence, there cannot be a one-size-fits-all solution to this problem. The studio suggests that the site selection process should start with a participatory charrette involving future residents of the development, to gain qualitative variables which can then be plugged into a diversity algorithm to gain a viable site. This combination of qualitative and quantitative tools can constitute a site selection process that better responds to the needs of its

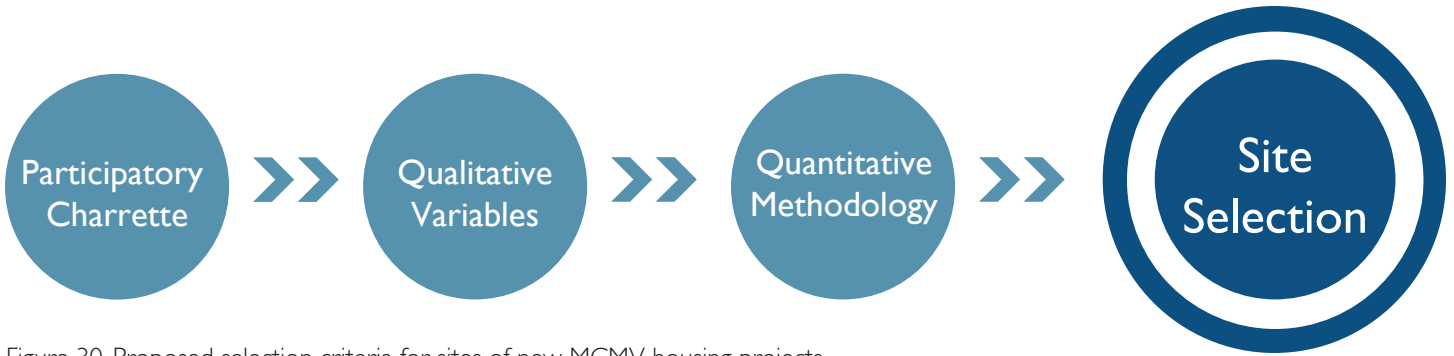


Figure 30. Proposed selection criteria for sites of new MCMV housing projects.

residents. Image 4 provides a visual representation of this process.

4.1.4 – EXPANSION OF ENTIDADES PROGRAM

The final proposal for improving MCMV relates to the share of housing production through the Entidades program. As discussed earlier, MCMV produces social housing through two pathways (figure 31). Currently, 98% of all housing units are produced through contracts with large private developers in a process with minimal competition. 2% are produced through the Entidades program, under which which design, planning, project management and often construction, are carried out by cooperatives of future residents. Social movements and housing experts alike have called for an expansion of the entidades program. Vitor Guimarães, a leader of MTST, stated in an interview that “Entidades needs to be 20% of MCMV budget. This is our demand, and more needs to be done to achieve this goal.”

The studio team visited both types of MCMV projects; those produced by Entidades, and private developers. From qualitative sampling, it appears that residents in entidades projects seem more satisfied with their housing and their surroundings. This pride in their housing development comes partly from a sense of control and ownership over its design and execution. Further, Entidades allows communities that have lived together in the past to collaborate in the production of housing, ensuring that all voices are heard and needs are met in these projects.

An example of an ongoing MCMV Entidades project is Quilombo da Gamboa in Rio de Janeiro’s central port zone (Osborn, 2013). It provides housing for families making between 0 and 3 minimum wages, and is located centrally allowing families continued access to employment opportunities and other urban resources. The building itself, is designed with great attention to detail by an architecture firm, the Chiq da Silva Association. They involved the development’s future



Figure 31. Existing MCMV housing production through Private developer vs. Entidades.

residents in the design process, creating a series of spaces designed to enrich and encourage community interaction. There are interior courtyards that act as public spaces within buildings, that then connect to the outside neighbourhood through access streets. Current MCMV projects by contrast follow repetitive architectural patterns and are made from inflexible designs, leading to an isolation from existing urban connections and a resulting ghettoization of housing. In light of these observations and takeaways from meetings with multiple professionals, the studio recommends that the involvement of social movements in MCMV be encouraged and that the budget allocation for MCMV Entidades be expanded.

4.2 POLICY UPDATES

4.2.1 STATUTE OF THE CITY REVISION

The Statute of the City (2001) is regarded as the primary method for elucidating the mechanisms for actualizing the right to housing and the social function of land as described in the Constitution of Brazil (1988). However, while it is a remarkable document and creates a progressive precedent for urban planning, the statute is 15 years old and should be reviewed by pertinent parties with the goal of revision and improvement. In particular, the enacted version of the statute contains numerous vetoed sections that can be investigated, has identifiable components that can be made more precise, and produces development rights (“CEPACS”) that can be rewritten to produce social housing outcomes. Vetoed items of the draft Statute of the City included sections that were removed by legislative and executive action for reasons such as uncertainty that items would “generate unjustified demands of the right in question by individual housing occupants”, and complications over the interpretations

of collective ownership. The law is further problematic in its execution in that the statute created Certificates of Additional Building Rights (certificados de potencial adicional de construção- CEPACS in Portuguese) that were deployed as “Urban Operations” in areas that were already wealthy (Netro and Moreira, 2012, p. 28), rather than as projects fulfilling social housing needs. While the Statute of the City was amended in 2015, the expansion of the law did not receive revisions or updates, merely directed municipalities to produce metropolitan master plans as an additional requirement under the law. Further, the fact that an amendment was passed reinforces the idea that the statute can be altered as needed.

Along with suggestions that arise during a process of review of the Statute of City, approaching the Statute with the goal of revision will yield immediate identification of additions and reworkings. Some of these updates can include expansions of and improved precision of “tool box” items (e.g. ZEIS- Zones of Special Social Interest) in the statute, and explicit “pathways” to CEPAC delivery improvement such as bundled requirements (e.g. 10% to social housing) that are part of the development bond rights. Zones of Special Social Interest in particular, are a way in which municipalities such as São Paulo have created specific mechanisms to merge social functions on land with master plans, in a manner that is not explicit in the Statute of the City and therefore is an improvement that can be incorporated into the Statute. Finally, regular monitoring through periodic evaluations of actions carried out through Statute mechanisms can further illustrate the effectiveness and outcomes of the law.

Proposals, actors, timeframes, and funding can be conceptualized in the form of an action plan with a

Current Deficiency	Action for Improvement
Age of Statute	Review with goal of updating
The limits of items: CEPACs & ZEIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Used for urban renewal; mandate that the bonds be bundled with affordable housing provisions • Expand ZEIS designations and include in the language of the revised statute
Evaluation of statute utilization and effectiveness	Ongoing periodic reviews including outside analysis

Figure 32. Brazilian City Statute's suggested actions for improvement

sequence of items (next table).

4.2.2 POLICY UPDATE: METROPOLITAN FAIR SHARE HOUSING PLAN

Discussed by legislators in 2004, the Statute of the Metropolis was adopted as an amendment to the Statute of the City as “Law No. 13,089 of 12 January 2015”. The term “metropolis” can be seen as an acknowledgment that urban issues transcend municipal boundaries and need to be approached at a different scale. The amendment directs municipalities to develop regional master plans within 3 years from the law’s adoption (by 2018) based on the definition of metropolis as “urban space with territorial continuity [...] according to criteria adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics”. While the Metropolis Statute is a remarkable step in the right direction, proposals for improvement exist. Most notably, the chance to create regional housing strategies is not in the language of the law - a critical shortcoming. Further, while the statute directs municipalities to work as metropolitan areas, the method for determining metropolitan regions is somewhat arbitrary. For example, several municipalities with little or no commuting ties to the Municipality of São Paulo are included in the Metropolis of São Paulo, while the adjacent metropolitan area of Santos, the location of one of the busiest container seaports in Latin America with undeniable connections with São Paulo, is a separate metropolitan area.

The housing needs of a regional population do not begin and end at one municipality’s borders, necessitating the formation of metropolitan fair share housing plans. These plans will formulate the application of needs assessments and needs allocation wherein the number of units needed in each income bracket are calculated and the distribution of the units is decided.

The studio recommends that a period of time be dedicated for a multi-actor creation of metropolitan housing plans with citizen input. The actors might include the IBGE, EMPLASA- State of São Paulo Company for Metropolitan Planning (and equivalents), CEM (Center for Studies of the Metropolis), and UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments).

Further, the creation of a specific fund for integrated development (which could be used to leverage domestic financing, including city own sources, borrowing and PPPs) should be included. This feature was vetoed before adoption of the Metropolitan Statute, but should be reinstated.

Additionally, housing needs data should be collected at the metropolitan level and should result in a metropolitan housing plan including a needs allocation plan element should result. It is expected that this process would involve the Social Housing Authority (HABI), the Municipal Housing Fund (FMH), the

Action	Actors	Timeline	Requisite Resources
Review Statute of the City with goal of revision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Cities (Federal) • Ministry of Planning, Budget, and Management (Federal) • Municipal Planning / Development Secretariats • Social Movements • Citizen Participants 	< 6 months	Within operational budgets/ Funds: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Property Tax (IPTU) • Municipal Fund for Attending Residents of Substandard Housing (FUNAPS) and equivalent • Urbanization Fund Administered by the Municipal Planning Secretariat (FUN-DURB) and equivalent.
Expansion and Precision of “tool box” items (e.g. ZEIS) in Statute	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CDHU Housing and Urban Development Company of the State of São Paulo (and equivalents) • COHAB Metropolitan Housing Company of São Paulo (and equivalents) • HABI Social Housing Authority • Municipal Housing Secretariats • SNHIS National Social Interest Housing System 	~ 1 year	Within operational budgets/ Funds: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Property Tax (IPTU) • Municipal Fund for Attending Residents of Substandard Housing (FUNAPS) and equivalent • Urbanization Fund Administered by the Municipal Planning Secretariat (FUN-DURB) and equivalent.
Explicit “pathways” to CEPAC Delivery Improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Cities • HABI • SNHIS • Municipal Housing Secretariats • Municipal Planning / Development Secretariats 	~ 1 year	Within operational budgets/ • IPTU • FUNAPS • FUNDURB and equivalents
Evaluate deliverance of statute items	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal Planning / Development Secretariats • Municipal Housing Secretariats • Developer Associations • Social Movements • Citizen Participants 	Ongoing Periodic Reviews (e.g. annual and decadel)	Within operational budgets/ • IPTU • FUNAPS • FUNDURB and equivalents

Municipal Fund for Attending Residents of Substandard Housing (FUNAPS), the Urbanisation Fund Administered by the Municipal Planning Secretariat (FUNDURB), and social movement organizations.

Finally, a metropolitan housing performance report should result from ongoing periodic reviews (e.g. annual and decadal). University-based initiatives can be particularly helpful in this regard to supplement the local governments. Such publications on the state of Brazilian metropolitan areas could share ideas, monitor performance, and ideally produce performance evaluations in order to identify discrepancies and set a precedent for outside analysis.

4.3 PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

In addition to improving the Minha Casa Minha Vida program and revising the City Statute, Public Private Partnerships can also act as an effective tool to lessen the housing crisis in Brazil.

4.3.1 STRENGTHEN MUNICIPAL POWER AND PRIORITIZE LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT

During the course of field research, a recurring theme that came from experts in the public, private, and academic sectors was the need for municipalities in Brazil to gain more agency in their development. Specifically, in order to ensure more successful affordable housing, cities should have a greater hand in developing them. The Minha Casa Minha Vida program is a federal one, but every project built through the program has a profound effect on the municipalities in which they are placed. Every city in Brazil is unique in both their assets and their

challenges; and local knowledge and involvement from both the citizenry and their local officials are the best way to maximize the effect of the money dedicated to affordable housing from the federal government. While the vast majority of resources come from the federal government, it would lie in the best interests of all to encourage more involvement from the urban development departments of each city. Since the majority of tax money from any given citizen goes to the federal government, this may mean in some cases that funds need to be distributed to municipalities to strengthen their capacity to do comprehensive urban development and planning.

As it currently stands, municipalities in Brazil often deed public land to private developers in the hopes of expanding the tax base, encouraging economic development, and fulfilling the mandate of the Brazilian constitution that land serve a public purpose. While this practice may appear to be well-intentioned, it can sometimes lead to inequitable results and a net loss for the public at large. When the municipalities sell or deed their land, they are essentially ceding assets that should serve the public at both present times and in the future. Additionally, once the land is handed over to the private market, the ability for municipal governments to influence what type of development and development process takes place is essentially lost. In lieu of current practice, it is recommended that municipalities begin to utilize long-term leases in order to better direct development and maintain a position of leverage in the land use process.

Another major issue currently associated with land use and development is the fulfillment of the requirement that all land in Brazil serve a social purpose. While the Brazilian constitution explicitly outlines the requirement of the social purpose of all land, both

public and private, the federal government provides little in the way of tactics to ensure this outcome. Using tools like tax abatements and tax increment financing can encourage the type of developments deemed productive for a given municipality. These processes should obviously be public and as transparent as possible to avoid any potential collusion or corruption. This type of development could be industrial, commercial, residential, or any other type of growth a city deems necessary for a productive and sustainable future.

4.3.2 INCENTIVIZE PRIVATE AFFORDABLE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND EXPAND FORMAL RENTAL MARKET

As stated above, there are measures that can be taken to better encourage and guide private development in Brazil. Specifically, the private market's involvement in creating and managing affordable housing should be encouraged. While Minha Casa Minha Vida employs private contractors, there are opportunities to further involve the private market in the development of housing within Brazil. The majority of construction within Minha Casa Minha Vida is contracted to four mega-companies who are paid directly through the MCMV funds. In order to further incentivize the involvement of the private market, the Brazilian government should consider using tools such as tax credits and direct subsidies to companies of all sizes throughout the country. Developers receive subsidies on the sale of units to eligible households and decrease the commercial risk for project development, thus ensuring effectiveness in the delivery of housing units to program beneficiaries.

For instance, the Brazilian government can launch a low-income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC) program that provides tax incentives to encourage individual and corporate investors to invest in the development, acquisition, and rehabilitation of affordable rental housing. The LIHTC is an indirect federal subsidy that finances low-income housing in the US. This allows investors to claim tax credits on their federal income tax returns. The tax credit is calculated as a percentage of costs incurred in developing the affordable housing property, and can be claimed annually over a 10-year period.

In addition to addressing the supply side of the affordable housing market, the Brazilian government needs to tap into the formal rental market. Formal rentals in Brazil, and Latin America in general, make up a small percentage of the total housing in the country. While informal rentals exist in Brazil, formal rentals offer a level of protection and security not guaranteed by informal arrangements.

The Brazilian governments at both the federal and local scales can encourage formal rentals and the transition to a culture that better incorporates renting as a housing option. Direct rental subsidies to end-users would not only incentivize the supply side for rentals, it would also empower residents to experience unprecedented mobility. End-user subsidies can only be effectively administered in a formal rental market, and therefore the creation of one is an essential prerequisite to administering any sort of direct rental subsidy.

5

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSIONS

It is important to note that the proposals laid out in this report are meant to be employed and implemented in a simultaneous manner, working in a symbiotic and parallel manner. These proposals are not to be seen as discrete and chronological. Additionally, many of our more specific sub-proposals could be worked into one of the three major categories laid out. For example, while improving CEPAC delivery was introduced in the “Policy Update” category, improving CEPAC delivery also plays an important role in any Public-Private Partnerships that may be formed between various levels of government in Brazil and entities within the private sector.

Here is an example of how our specific sub-proposals are meant to work together:

1. Our improved site selection methodology for Minha Casa Minha Vida housing is employed. A participatory charrette is held for the future residents of a given housing project. The participants of the charrette are provided by the lottery held by Minha Casa Minha Vida, which gives an explicit list of who exactly the future residents will be. Because of our recommendation that Minha Casa Minha Vida production be totally dedicated to those in the 0-3 minimum-wage range, all of the future residents will fall in this income bracket.

Responsible Parties: MCMV project residents, MCMV Administrators

Time frame: From the time residents are announced:
1-3 Months

2. Once the charrette/surveying process has been completed, officials from Minha Casa Minha Vida should compile the prevailing qualitative interests of the future residents, e.g., access to transit,

employment/commercial opportunities, educational facilities, etc. These qualitative variables should be plugged into the quantitative methodology that has already been suggested to Minha Casa Minha Vida by paid consultants, such as Vinicius M. Netto.

Responsible Parties: MCMV Administrators, Technical Assistants

Time frame: 1-3 Months

3. From here, we could have any number of potential sites recommended. The best site should be selected for the chosen project. With the suggested expansion of Entidades, there should be a greater chance that projects will be communally designed and managed.

Responsible Parties: MCMV Administrators, Social Movements, Target Population

Time frame: Immediately following the previous action item.

4. All other sites that are not chosen by Minha Casa Minha Vida should be then designated (or should have already been designated) as one of the 5 ZEIS categories, based on the São Paulo system of designating ZEIS, as outlined in the “Policy Updates” section of the report.

Responsible Parties: Municipal Government

Time frame: 1-3 Months

5. These ZEIS-designated areas should be advertised to private developers as potential sites for new projects, whether they be vacant lots without infrastructure access, abandoned but salvageable buildings, or vacant lots with access to infrastructure in dense urban areas.

Responsible Parties: Municipal Government, Private Developers

Time frame: Ongoing

6. Once sites are designated and then advertised, CEPACS should also be produced and auctioned to further encourage the private development market. The amount and type of CEPAC funding can be customized for particular ZEIS designations based on what kind of development the municipality wants to incentivize. The recommendation is that a portion of any project funded by CEPACS include some sort of either on-site or off-site affordable housing. This too will create more housing for the target group.

Responsible Parties: Municipal Government, Private Developers

Time frame: Ongoing

7. If the affordable housing is elected to be off-site, an acceptable location must be selected for this project as well. This is where a metropolitan fair-share housing plan should be designed to make sure that affordable housing is spread evenly over a given region.

Responsible Parties: Various Municipalities, Federal Government (Mandating Metropolitan Fair-Share Housing Plans), Regional Planning Authorities

Time frame: Ongoing

8. If the government begins to issue direct formal rental subsidies to those who elect them in lieu of participating in Minha Casa Minha Vida, these renters can choose a private affordable housing development that works best for them. If they have a desire to leave after their first year, their rental subsidy should allow them to move to a housing unit that better suits their needs, as available.

Responsible Parties: Federal Government, Municipal Governments, Target Population, Private Developers

Time frame: Ongoing

The authors of this study readily admit that the issues of housing deficits, both quantitative and qualitative are not likely to be immediately remedied. The proposals presented in this report all need more in-depth research and significant social and political momentum to be realized. That said, it is important Brazilian authorities, social movements, and experts from around the world to continue focusing their time, effort, and resources towards ameliorating the housing deficit for the poorest segment of the Brazilian population. Housing is more than a legal right, it is a moral imperative that falls on all of humanity, who has to make sure our fellows have access to adequate shelter - it's a matter of quality of life and a matter of human dignity for all.

APPENDIX

Sample Performance Indicators
1 - Total households benefited by the program and project
2 - Sustained duration of documented possession (title)
3 - Vulnerability determinants over time (income, age of head of household, educational level, etc.)
4 - Critical case sampling interviews to determine resident satisfaction

Figure 39.

INTERVIEWS

- Rafael Soares Gonçalves, Housing Academic
- Claudia Brandão de Serpa, NAPP architecture and planning
- Research Advisory Team, Secretaria Municipal de Desenvolvimento Urbano- São Paulo
- Ricardo Pereira, former Minister of Housing for São Paulo
- Vitor Guimarães, MTST
- Vinicius Netto, MCMV consultant/ Urban Planning Researcher
- Flavio Higuchi, Usina Architecture
- Erminia Maricato, former Deputy Minister of Cities
- Fernando Minto, Architect
- Pedro Rivera, Studio X-Rio
- Occupants at: Vila Nova Palestina (SP) , Vila Malala (SP), Hotel Cambridge (SP) , Mariana Crioula (RJ)

Questions relating on how to proceed	Questions within legal dimensions	Questions within organizational structure	Technical Questions	Social dimension questions
What is our role? What are our limitations?	What is the language of the constitution describing housing as a right?	How does MTST evaluate who works hardest?	What are the plans? (city master plans, statutes, contracts, etc); Social Housing Master plans?	Is there opposition to the movement? "Who loses when they win?"
What obstacles can we identify and define?	what are the official positions of municipalities, state, federal, etc entities to the movement?	What can MTST do that the government should be doing?	What are the terms of the housing (Minha Casa Minha Vida)? lease length? fine print?	Can we draw inspiration from cases elsewhere (Ada Colau in Barcelona/ PAH)?
Who holds power? How does this change?	What does litigation against the movement look like?	Can we point out to the government what they should let the movement do?	What is considered affordable? What are the qualitative definitions of "acceptable housing"	How can social movements today have a new iteration of what movements did in the 80s? Push for implementation?
How can we imagine/ visualize/ depict/ represent the complex political and social ecology?	What kinds of clues/ tips can be provided to allow MTST to litigate? Consult with Prof. Andrew Scherer?	Where do members come from? What do they do for a living? Is there a demand for jobs?	Closer look at self-built communities. How are they built? what is the sequence/ morphology?, Quality? Conditions? Opinions of residents?	How do social movement tactics influence how they are perceived? How can they improve on existing tactics to further their goals?
Toolbox: Solutions, plans, programs, designs? What is necessary for a city to execute toolbox? (e.g. expropriations-sanctions); is it feasible?	What are examples of legal cases brought invoking rights to social uses of land in Brazil? How does MTST evaluate who works hardest?	Besides lack of services, do people like the detached single-family units?	Can MCMV include jobs in its plans? or simply "Solving housing problem with provision of housing units"?	What are the role of women and minorities in these social movements?

Figure 34.

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