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Autogestão in an era of mass social housing: the case of Brazil's *Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades* Programme

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ABSTRACT

Although Brazilian housing policy has historically focused upon upgrading and regenerating informal settlements, (*urbanização*), since 2009 the prioritisation of mass housing has led to social exclusion and spatial segregation across the country's urban peripheries. Using a combined ethnographic and geospatial analysis, we provide a critical analysis of MCMVE (*Minha Casa Minha Vida Entidades),* a community-based housing programme that alleges the use of *autogestão* - collective urban management organised around an ethos of social transformation. We find this claim to be misleading. Although MCMVE ostensibly increases access to housing, it is encouraging residents to leave established, well located settlements and relocate to isolated, peripheral tracts of land. Our study emphasises the need to reconsider how MCMVE might more productively assimilate *autogestão* and mass housing in the future.

KEYWORDS Housing policy; Brazil; consolidated informal settlements; sociospatial segregation; Minha Casa Minha Vida; Minha Casa Minha Vida Entidades

Mass housing and *autogestão*

In São Paulo, Brazil, organised social groups called *entidades* are creating a conduit for citizen participation in the production of housing, however the *entidade*'s structure leads residents of established informal settlements[1] to divest from the communities they have constructed over decades. Since 2009, the Federal government has promoted MCMV, *Minha Casa Minha Vida* (My House, My Life), a subsidised housing programme modelled after Mexican and Chilean versions. MCMV constructs the lowest income mass housing on peripheral land tracts, and reproduces spatial segregation and social exclusion (Rolnik, 2015; Maricato, 2016). Although substantial

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literature has debated the potential perils of such models, here we focus specifically upon an emergent sub-programme of MCMV, the MCMV-*Entidades* (MCMVE), which recognises community associations ('*entidades*') as formal housing developers.

Notwithstanding its limited scope (only 1% of the MCMV programme), MCMVE represents a legacy of struggle to include low-income communities in housing production processes from which they were historically excluded. In the wake of mid-twentieth century mass urbanisation, the proliferation of self-built, informal settlements was largely met by demolition regimes, and the resettlement of residents to isolated mass housing communities. Although resistance to such approaches transpired throughout the 1970s, the most significant turning point occurred leading up to the 1976 Habitat I conference in Vancouver. This critical juncture induced a paradigm shift away from rationally planned mass housing, and toward *urbanização*: context-sensitive infill approaches that upgraded informal settlements with sanitation, electrification, and circulation infrastructure. In Brazil, this process paralleled a landmark urban reform movement inspired by the Lefebvrian notion of a right to the city, organised around *autogestão*, the co-management of urban resources within environments that evolve incrementally and relative to social experience (Lefebvre 1968, 1996; Fernandes, 2007; Friendly, 2013). Our research suggests that contemporary movements are using *autogestão* to expedite mass housing, an approach that is highly experimental, yet also detrimental to sociospatial segregation, transparent public processes, and urban liveability (Rizek, Amore, & Camargo, 2014).

We and others have found this experiment to be, in some cases, alarming. Drawing upon a combined ethnographic and geospatial methodological approach, this article (1) provides an overview of how MCMVE is operationalised by diverse actors at different scales; (2) situates MCMVE within a trend toward mass housing across Latin America; and (3) compares established informal settlements that have benefitted from a trajectory of *urbanização*, of which MCMVE is a latter phase that is divesting from the outcomes of a former policy legacy.[2] We focus upon São Paulo's *zona leste*, east zone, which uniquely concentrates *urbanização* and MCMV development. Within the *zona leste*, we selected the case studies of Heliópolis and São Francisco because they are the only two settlements in the city with identical and successive histories of *urbanização*, including MCMVE, and provide an opportunity to study quantitatively two settlements that were previously studied ethnographically (Stiphany, 2015; Stiphany, Ward, & Moore, 2017b). Our study of MCMVE is part of a broader research project about the role of crowdsourced data for visualising how historical patterns of *urbanização* impact future development alternatives for informal

settlements (www.chapa.io).[3] We merge the situated and remote dimensions of these mutual studies to substantiate our critique of MCMVE and recommendations for its future modification.

Situating *autogestão*

Autogestão was important for planning in Latin America because it provided a conceptual scaffold for intervening very pragmatically in certain parts of the city. Aside from encouraging collective resource management, *autogestão* imbued housing technologies with an ethos of social emancipation; advocated for protecting spaces collectively designated for social interest; and conceived of urban planning as a process and institution of civic decision-making. Because Lefebvre never articulated the logistics or scope of *autogestão* in practice, its utility was learned as people gained greater access to urban development, and appropriated, occupied, and inhabited urban spaces conventionally overlooked by planning practice (Purcell, 2002). The evolution of user-based forms of city-making in marginalised, peripheral communities led some to argue that *autogestão* 'has nothing to do with its Lefebvrian legacy, but everything to do with ongoing struggles over who gets to shape the qualities of life' (Harvey, 2012, p. xii).

In the 1980s, Brazil's urban reform movement took steps to institutionalise *autogestão* as an inclusive process for the urban development of housing. The primary conduit through which this happened was the *mutirão*, a mutual aid policy model for co-managed, user-based housing models. For example and inspiration the Brazilians looked to Uruguay's cooperative FUCVAM, through peer-to-peer learning about how housing could be operationalised as an urban building block *and* mechanism for community empowerment.[4] Proponents saw in FUCVAM the potential for experimental *mutirão* projects in Brazil, where activist-urbanists in São Paulo translated lessons learned into the FUNAPS community development programme within the Erundina administration (PT - *Partido dos Trabalhadores*, Workers Party, 1989–1992) (Bonduki, Andrade, & Rossetto, 1993).[5] FUNAPS supported housing movements in the implementation of *autogestão*, including the (1) promotion of education for collective decision-making processes; (2) support of transparent and inclusive processes for assessing the urban design of housing; (3) implementation of quality public spaces of diverse typologies within existing built environments; and (4) deferment of fiscal responsibility to community organisations for the co-management of housing and related infrastructures (Bonduki, 1992; Rossetto, 1993; Ronconi, 1995; Felipe, 1997).[6] Although dismantled by subsequent conservative administrations in the mid-1990s, FUNAPS expanded housing's scope to

encompass a more comprehensive approach to informal settlement regeneration, or what came to be known as *urbanização* (Shildo, 1990).

The densification of informal settlements in the 1990s changed *urbanização*. In the wake of *os anos perdidos*, the economic lost years, low-income citizens returned to work, yet for low wages. This reduced the viability of organised, user-based housing models like the *mutirão*, which require a significant investment of time, and rationalised a shift toward mass infill, whereby precarious areas of risk within communities were stripped of self-built housing stock, and reconstructed with new housing and other services, including sanitation, electrification, and circulation infrastructure.[7] Despite recent attempts to guide *urbanização* with 'smart' data-driven techniques, citizen participation and urban quality vary greatly relative to political administration, community, and project. The result is enhanced visualisation of informality across the city, but the selection of small and disconnected development areas for *urbanização* projects, the majority of which are highly vulnerable to political volatility. For these persistent reasons, housing policy still accommodates only a small proportion of low-income housing demand (Perlman, 1976).

The second generation of mass housing across Latin America

The limitations of *urbanização* were not endemic to Brazil, and led to deregulated, market-based strategies for relaxing State oversight of housing production across Latin America (Garcia Peralta & Hofer, 2006, p. 133). Under the Pinochet dictatorship, Chile pioneered the mass housing model, and its *Fondo Solidario de Vivienda* (FSV) became the primary means through which low-income families acquired new housing, as well as units in old public housing stock – today called *Segunda Oportunidades* (McTarnaghan, 2015, p. 39).

In the 1990s Mexico took a different approach, and to ensure housing affordability and profitability, housing companies promoted massive projects comprising hundreds (sometimes thousands) of units on peri-urban tracts. Partnering with the lending institution INFONAVIT, for the first time in history Mexico achieved a large supply-side of low cost housing. By 2005, INFONAVIT accounted for 70% of the loan volume compared to 8% provided by private-sector institutions (Monkonnen, 2011, p. 680). However, INFONAVIT's mandate targeted formal-sector salaried workers, to the exclusion of low-income households, which continued to depend upon informal options. Since that time, in Mexico, Chile, and elsewhere, governments have been priming mortgage markets to finance low-income housing credits and subsidies, which incentivised and guaranteed the private production of mass social interest housing.

By the mid-2000s the shortcomings of this new wave of mass housing developments, and the financial mechanisms that underpinned them, were becoming palpable, especially in Mexico (Monkkonen, 2018). President Fox (PAN 2000–2016), aspired to build 750,000 housing units a year during his administration and, continuing through the Calderón administration (PAN 2016–2012), 7.1 million homes were constructed before 2010, at a cost of $96 billion dollars that was largely financed through mortgage securities (Valenzuela Aguilera, 2015). By 2010 the real estate sector stalled due to declining demand for their housing product, which was located far from employment, lacked social infrastructure, was poorly constructed, and proved unaffordable due to job loss and rising housing costs (Eibenshultz & Goya, 2009). These limitations led to vacancy (20–30% in some cities), and abandonment as families defaulted on their mortgage contracts (Eibenshultz & Goya, 2009; Harmen, Jimenez Huerta, & Cruz Solis, 2009; see also McTarnaghan, 2015). Early in 2013, the new PRI administration of Peña Nieto (2012–2018) withdrew further support for real estate companies, many of which were bankrupt, and instead reoriented housing policy back to densification projects (Valenzuela Aguilera, 2015).

The Chilean and Mexican mass housing turn provided little opportunity for citizen participation, and certainly nothing commensurate to the self-building experiences common in established informal settlements. That said, in some of the more successful mass housing estates one can observe modest self-built adaptations and home extensions, the creation of small commercial spaces, and occasionally the addition of another floor (Inclan Valadez, 2013). Therefore, when new projects such as MCMVE target peripheral 'green-field' sites for mass housing enclaves, it is important to analyse how their peripheral sprawl reduces citizen participation and exacerbates sociospatial segregation, but also actively divests from communities and practices that have consolidated through *urbanização*.

MCMV and MCMVE in Brazil

Despite shortcomings, MCMV in Brazil has advanced for a range of reasons, especially due to the inability of *urbanização* to catalyze transformative urban and social change (Ward, 1982; Roy, 2005; Ward, Huerta, & DiVirgilio, 2014). *Urbanização* is increasingly impeded by rising land costs within inner ring settlements that are close to transportation, and its inability to provide what was previously unattainable to most very low-income citizens: access to credit and a new home in a better neighbourhood (Caldeira, 2016). Even though *urbanização* was initially structured to deliver housing quantity and improve the quality of space in existing settlements, by 2010, less than half of informal settlements in São Paulo had been upgraded, and only 10%

extensively. Government inaction and *urbanização's* limited scale and uneven scope are creating greater degradation within, and expansion of, informal settlements.

Throughout the 2000s, *urbanização*'s unevenness relative to the quantity and distribution of shelter drew sharp criticism from social movements. Housing advocates found, however, an inroad within Luis Ignacio 'Lula' da Silva's presidential administration (PT), which led to MCMV in 2009, a legislative measure for the public finance of heavily subsidised low-income housing constructed by private developers.[8] Promoted as a mechanism for reactivating Brazil's sluggish economy through real estate and construction sectors, MCMV authorised private banks to apply at least 65% of savings resources to real estate credits which, in effect, rose from 1.2% of the GDP in 2002 to 3.6% GDP in 2010 (Carvalho & Caldeira, 2013). The 2008 crisis prompted the PT to push for the construction of one million MCMV units in its initial phase, and by 2015, a total of 3.5 million units had been contracted through credit and direct subsidies (Carvalho, 2015).

When it became clear that MCMV's long-term efficacy depended upon relegating the lowest income bracket *Faixa 1* units to peripheral and isolated tracts of land, housing activists leveraged complaints against the Ministry of Cities, alleging inequality, and advocating that communities co-manage a share of MCMV, using principles of *autogestão*, under the assumption that doing so would lessen sociospatial segregation. These claims were presented to the Ministry of Cities just prior to MCMV's launch in 2009, and the seriousness of their charges led to the formation of MCMVE shortly thereafter.

MCMVE is not vastly distinct from MCMV in that the *entidade* profits as would any real estate subcontractor, and earns one percent (1%) of each unit cost. Within MCMVE price points, the fee for a typical 240-unit project ranges from R$182,000 for a *Faixa 1* project, to 324,000 (a 78% increase) for a *Faixa 1.5* project. Uniquely, because it is linked to community organisations, and does not target people living in precarious areas of risk, MCMVE is able to directly filter potential inscribers. The result is that some *entidades* avoid *Faixa 1* families, who tend to live in areas of risk, and, to guarantee return, enlist significantly more families from all *Faixas* than there are units available. It is reasonable that *entidades* are paid for their labour, and we observe that MCMVE is used to finance an *entidade* organisation's other (valuable) social commitments. However, we find the model to be problematic because MCMVE seems to prey upon and penalise the poorest. One *entidade* associate claims that MCMVE benefits landowners desperate to offload undesirable peri-and ex-urban tracts, many of which have experienced environmental degradation, and lack infrastructural connections, the cost of which is likely to increase project costs and fees to MCMVE inscribers.

As previously stated, MCMVE is small and represents less than 1% of total MCMV projects (6,250 in 2016).[9] Although notable for advocating the legal role of citizens in housing production, the success of MCMVE as a housing idea has become murky upon empirical analysis of its uneven spatialities and housing products that may not ultimately benefit the urban poor, nor reflect real demands. However, MCMVE's size and belated implementation suggest that the programme could learn from mistakes made in other countries, and with adequate political will, exist in other forms (Rolnik, 2014). Given that Mexico and Chile's programmes have evolved (for better and worse), there is evidence that studying MCMVE *in practice* can assimilate the past and future of Brazilian housing policy.

Peripheral urbanisation[10]: São Paulo's *zona leste* and the cases of Heliópolis and São Francisco

São Paulo's *zona leste* (east zone) plays an important historical role for Brazilian housing policy, because it concentrates *urbanização* densification projects and MCMV. The *zona leste* is an area that spans 25 km between São Paulo's dense historical core and its eastern margins (Figure 1). This expansion included the consolidation of the so called ABC industrial zone, where the rise of the urban reform movement in the 1970s formed the basis of the 1988 Federal Constitution in a right to the city and, over a decade later, the presidential election of Luis Ignácio 'Lula' da Silva.[11] From the mid-twentieth century onward, the economic and political prominence of the *zona leste* attracted rural populations who sought opportunities, yet, faced with a lack of affordable housing, were forced to build their own homes through strategies of self-help (Holston, 1991). The proliferation of informal settlements that ensued fanned the *zona leste's* exponential growth relative to the centre and the rest of the periphery.

Along the way, the *zona leste* became a hotbed for using *autogestão* to expand the construction of civil society from the factory floor to communities, neighbourhood associations and unions (Singer & Brandt, 1980). As a result, people who rose in the ranks assumed political posts in the 1980s, and distributed *urbanização* projects with alacrity across the *zona leste* in exchange for political support. This is why *urbanização* tends to be prolific in the most organised communities, rather than the most precarious. Where it happens, *urbanização* has yielded housing units and modest physical improvements, yet not enough of either to radically transform environmental quality, public space, crime, or housing security (Perlman, 2010; Ward, 2012). Therefore, although *urbanização* is often lauded for 'formalising' the informal, in reality it propagates differentiated forms of

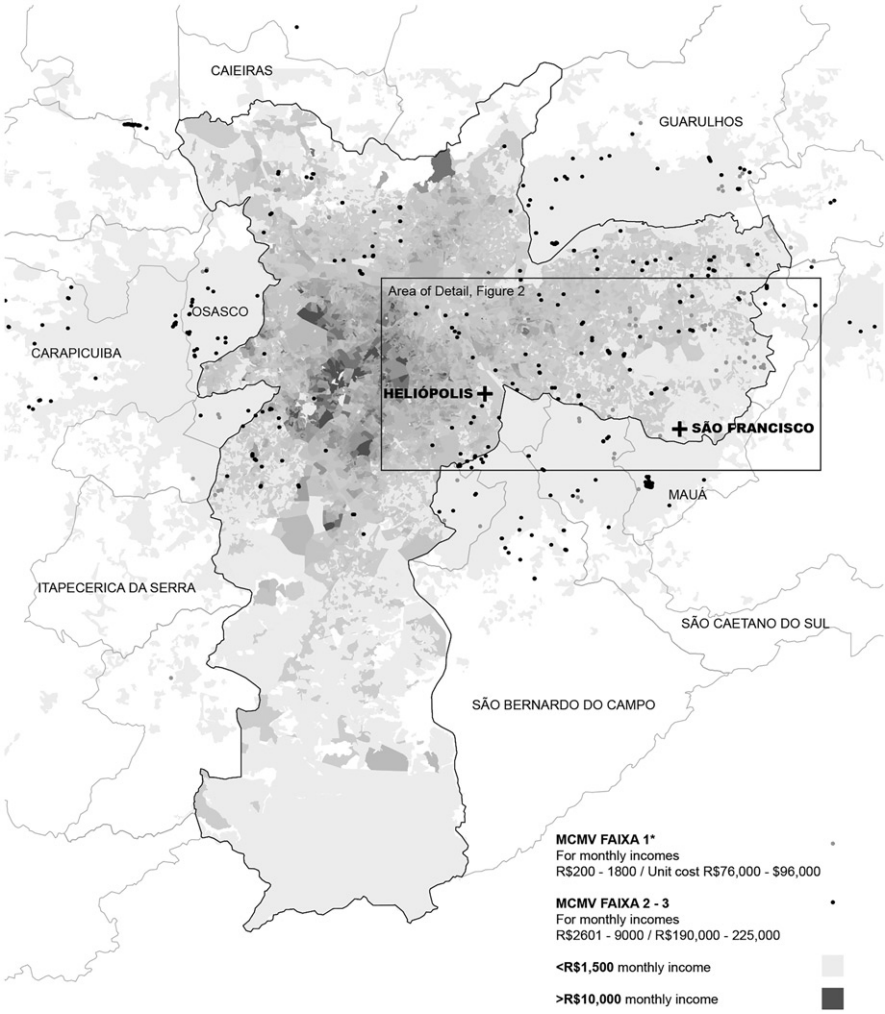


Figure 1. Distribution of MCMV projects in the Sao Paulo, case studies, and urbanised area. Source: IBGE, Brazilian Federal Ministry of Cities, Rolnik (2014).

informality that amount to little beyond a 'series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another' (Huchzermeyer, 2004; Roy, 2005, p. 148).

The concentration of such ongoing processes leads to *peripheral urbanisation*, described by Caldeira (2016) as the extent to which urban development reproduces unevenness *and* leads to provocative forms of political action. For Caldeira, *peripheral urbanisation* is not spatially confined, but does generate new geographies that reject and strengthen marginalisation and inclusion at once. The resulting reciprocities identify self-built environments as opportunities to challenge sanctioned urban development,

including 'legal property, formal labour, state regulation, and market capitalism', with modes of urbanism rooted in political negotiation, social struggle, and spatial transformation (Caldeira, 2016, pp. 15–16).

The two case study communities Heliópolis and São Francisco shown in Figure 1 are emblematic of São Paulo's uneven trajectory of *urbanização* policies, of which MCMVE is the latest iteration. Both have been successively upgraded, and their most established community organisations have actively promoted MCMVE since 2011. Therefore, both feature heterogeneous environments that characterise the *zona leste*, and typologies of *urbanização* that are observable across São Paulo (Figure 2).[12] At the same time, distinct social and morphological patterns across Heliópolis and São Francisco provide an opportunity to study how, amid a common political economic context, the outcomes of *urbanização* can be so different – especially as relates to the deployment of MCMVE.

As illustrated by Figures 2 and 3, Heliópolis and São Francisco feature a highly irregular urban block structure, however Heliópolis has significantly greater density. Approximately 60,000 inhabitants live within Heliópolis' clearly bounded 247-acre site, compared to São Francisco's 29,000 inhabitants who live across 437 acres that undulate among landfills, petrochemical plants, and environmental recharge zones.

Although Heliópolis' density implies an efficient use of infrastructure, and connection between residents and centre-city employment, areas that super densify are extremely precarious, particularly due to poor ventilation, sanitation, circulation, and the risk of land slides (Satterthwaite, 2011). The lack of density among São Francisco's vast spaces, on the other hand, attracts squatting and pollutant industries that threaten human health and environmental sustainability. For many respondents, deplorable living

Figure 2. Heliopolis: the mixed morphology of an established informal settlement. Source: Photographs used with the permission of the São Paulo Municipal Secretariat of Housing (2006–2012).

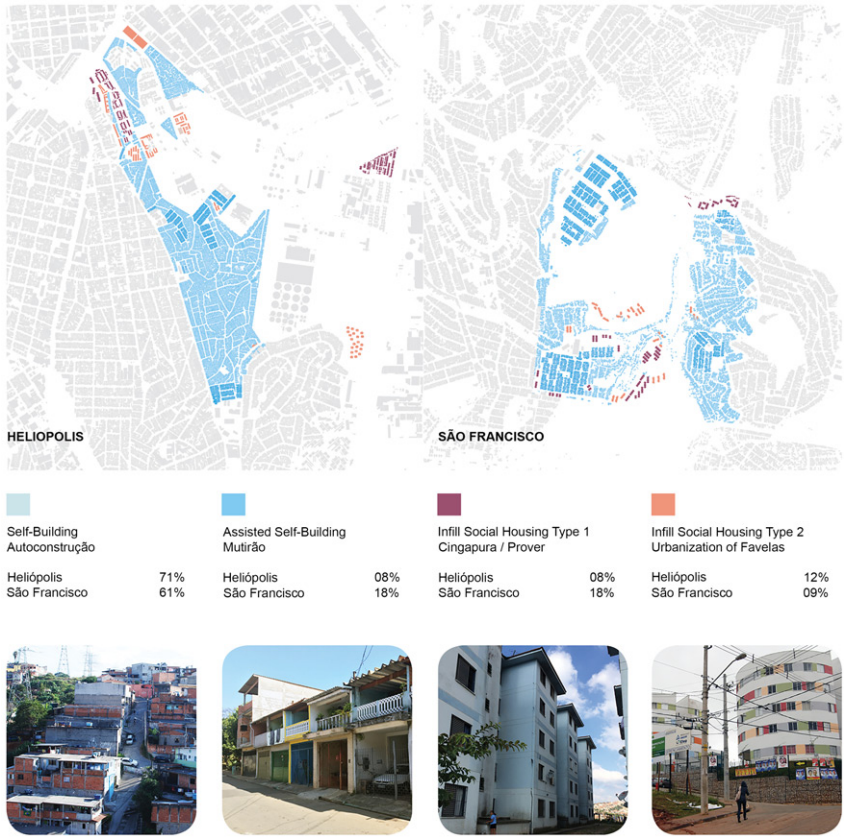


Figure 3. Social housing typologies within case study 'origin communities'. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

conditions, lack of basic sanitation, and environmental degradation justify emigration.

Heliópolis and São Francisco have historically benefitted from *urbanização*, however the last round undertaken by the Kassab administration (Social Democratic Party – PSD) between 2006 and 2011 was stalled and then aborted when Haddad (PT) was elected mayor in 2012. To exacerbate the problem, Kassab's use of rental vouchers for families displaced from areas of risk has proceeded indefinitely, and has triggered a surge in rental demand, gentrification in Heliópolis, and displacement of the poorest to peri-urban squatter settlements in São Francisco. Amid these conditions, worsened by both conservative and liberal political parties, MCMVE appears attractive because it promotes the promise of a new life for residents, and for *entidades*, support for their work – even as buy-in ultimately weakens

their overarching agendas.[13] The consequence is the normalisation of spatial segregation in communities of self-builders, who believe that by associating with an established *entidade* they are bolstering local modes of development. This contradictory trend is producing new spaces of *peripheral urbanisation* between distinct 'origin communities', where an MCMVE '*entidade*' is operationalised, and future development 'destination site' tracts, which we analyse in the following sections.[14]

Methods

Our broader study revealed the impacts of successive *urbanização* within the boundaries of the Heliópolis and São Francisco 'origin communities'. We engage these impacts elsewhere; however the study's basis in ethnography suggests that the tendency to frame MCMVE as a completely distinct housing model tragically overlooks how it is predatorily enmeshed with prior phases of *urbanização* undertaken in these communities. Further, fine grain differences relative to how this enmeshment happens across settlements emphasise the value of ethnography for contextualising how a trajectory of *urbanização* has terminated in a programme anathema to long-term values (Hine, 2007; Ronald, 2011).

To focus our study, the MCMVE analysis builds upon a methodology from the Latin American Housing Network (LAHN, www.lahn.utexas.org), and combines remote analysis of satellite imagery and census data with situated studies that include key informant interviews, a survey, and participatory observation.[15] While the broader study analysed the trajectory of *urbanização* between and within the two cases, the methods illustrated

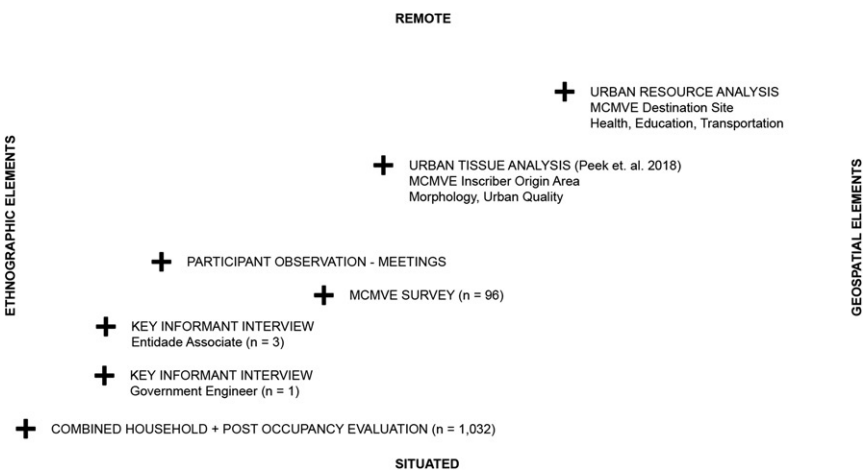


Figure 4. Methods diagram. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

in Figure 4 help to identify the links between how MCMVE is operationalised on the ground, and how its resultant geographies are shaped by broader standards and systems (Star, 1999).

Upon identifying the *entidades* in Heliópolis and São Francisco, we undertook key informant interviews with associates to determine MCMVE organisational structure, confirm the address of the future MCMVE developments, and obtain a list of MCMVE inscribers. The first author attended MCMVE meetings, which familiarised potential respondents with the study, and permitted a close-up perspective of how *entidades* mobilise *autogestão*. To better understand where MCMVE inscribers are currently living, we randomly selected 50 from each community for a paper survey that was conducted at the *entidade* meeting space. Ninety-one of the 96 records were utilised, due to our inability to geolocate five records. GIS was used to spatialise associated MCMVE inscriber addresses and construct the study database.[16]

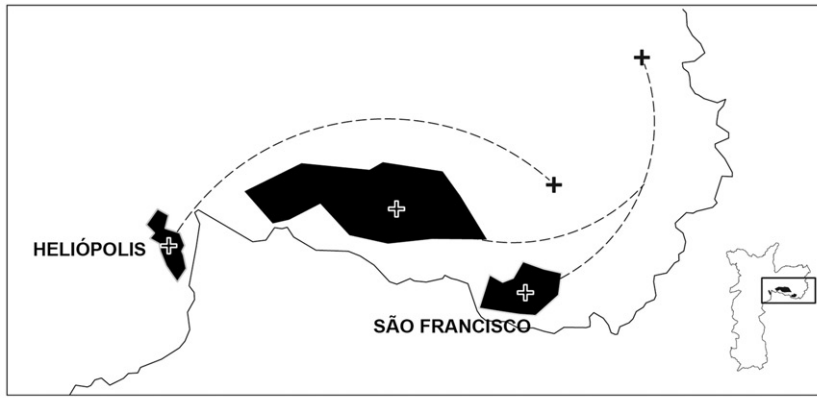
The spatialisation of MCMVE inscriber addresses resulted in three general clusters, one for Heliópolis and two for São Francisco. From the centroid of each, we measured crow flight and route distance to each community's two MCMVE destination sites, and undertook a comparative proximity analysis of public services within a 1-km buffer of the origin clusters and destination sites (See Table 1). To draw inferences about the qualitative consequences of displacement, we expanded upon the methods of Durst (2016) and Peek et al. (2018) to undertake an urban tissue analysis. This analysis merged satellite photographic imagery, Google Street View, and ethnographic familiarity with the cluster areas, and classified the urban form and quality of origin neighbourhoods and destination sites (Figure 5). To note, we do not supplement our analysis with an evaluation of MCMVE's housing outcomes, because very few have been constructed in São Paulo, and none by the *entidades* that were selected as case studies.[17]

MCMVE: predatory or participatory?

Entidades and autogestão

As discussed, in 2009 community organisations known as *entidades* began leveraging the notion of *autogestão* to advance formal housing production, and increase access to housing credit among populations that live in an informal settlement or low-income neighbourhood. When organisations like *entidades* are composed of established leaders, and obtain resources for historically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it tends to bolster social cohesion and catalyse developmental spillover effects (Sampaio & Perreira, 2003). As a result, the longevity and efficacy of community organisation can be measured in part by quantifying the resources successfully acquired, such as

Table 1. Comparing Access to Resources between Origin Communities and Destination Sites.



HELIÓPOLIS 76,694

Entidade A
MCMVE inscriber address cluster

HEALTH	**O**	**D**
Clinic	3	4
Special Clinic	1	0
Urgent Clinic	1	0
Hospital	1	0
Mtl Health Clinic	1	0
TOTAL (- 43%)	7	4

TRANSP.	**O**	**D**
Bus Stop	57	48
Metro Station	1	0
Multimodal	1	0
TOTAL (- 19%)	59	48

EDUCATION	**O**	**D**
Elementary	22	13
Middle / High	4	12
Technical	1	1
CEU*	2	0
TOTAL (- 10%)	29	26

SÃO FRANCISCO 466,559

Entidade B
MCMVE inscriber address cluster 1

Entidade B
MCMVE inscriber address cluster 2

HEALTH	**O**	**D**
Clinic	18	3
Special Clinic	5	2
Urgent Clinic	2	0
Hospital	4	0
Mtl Health Clinic	5	1
TOTAL (- 82%)	34	6

TRANSP.	**O**	**D**
Bus Stop	115	43
Metro Station	0	0
Multimodal	0	0
TOTAL (- 63%)	115	43

EDUCATION	**O**	**D**
Elementary	80	21
Middle / High	54	10
Technical	0	0
CEU*	2	0
TOTAL (- 77%)	136	31

*CEU=Centro de Educação Unificado. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

transportation, education and health. Although this measure disregards the quality and location of resources, it does provide a snapshot of a community's capacity to compete for scarce resources.

Indeed, our study reveals that Heliópolis' and São Francisco's *entidades* were established by people involved in community organisation since the 1970s, self-built their homes, and have since remained active members of organisations that have differentiated for financial stability, with mixed outcomes. Heliópolis (entidade A) is more politically diverse today (although it has historically leaned PT) and financially viable, relying on MCMVE to the

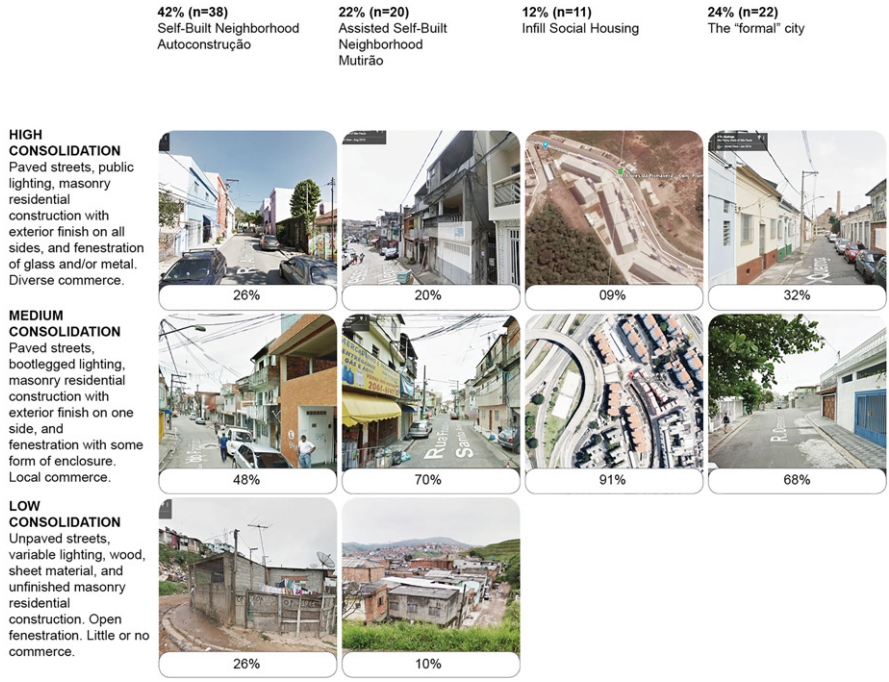


Figure 5. Neighbourhood consolidation analysis of geocoded MCMVE inscriber addresses. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

extent that it serves parallel social equity commitments, including the defence of *Faixa* 1 housing. As the maps in Figure 6 and Table 1 illustrate, Entidade A targets residents in dwellings within or very close to Heliópolis, and does not charge administration fees to its 250 enrolled families – 46% of which will ultimately receive a housing unit. In contrast, entidade B circumvents lower income demands in favour of slightly better off *Faixa* 1.5 and *Faixa* 2 inscribers. In doing so, entidade B engages families whose current residents do not map to the boundaries of the informal settlement. Entidade B also collects a monthly fee from 1200 enlisted members, only 18% of which will be accommodated by the future project.

The spatialities that result are shaped, in large part, by relationships that drive MCMVE recruitment. We observe that entidade A relies on its historical legacy to draw people in, who then follow a project for years – even though the destination may be detrimental over the long term. By contrast, entidade B is largely populated through religious and social organisations, among families of slightly higher incomes, and regularly takes on new members under the auspice that the entidade will garner more projects. In both cases, social media and hand-held technologies play an important role for project momentum, and for positioning *entidade* associates as local change-agents. Images of meetings and future project renderings across

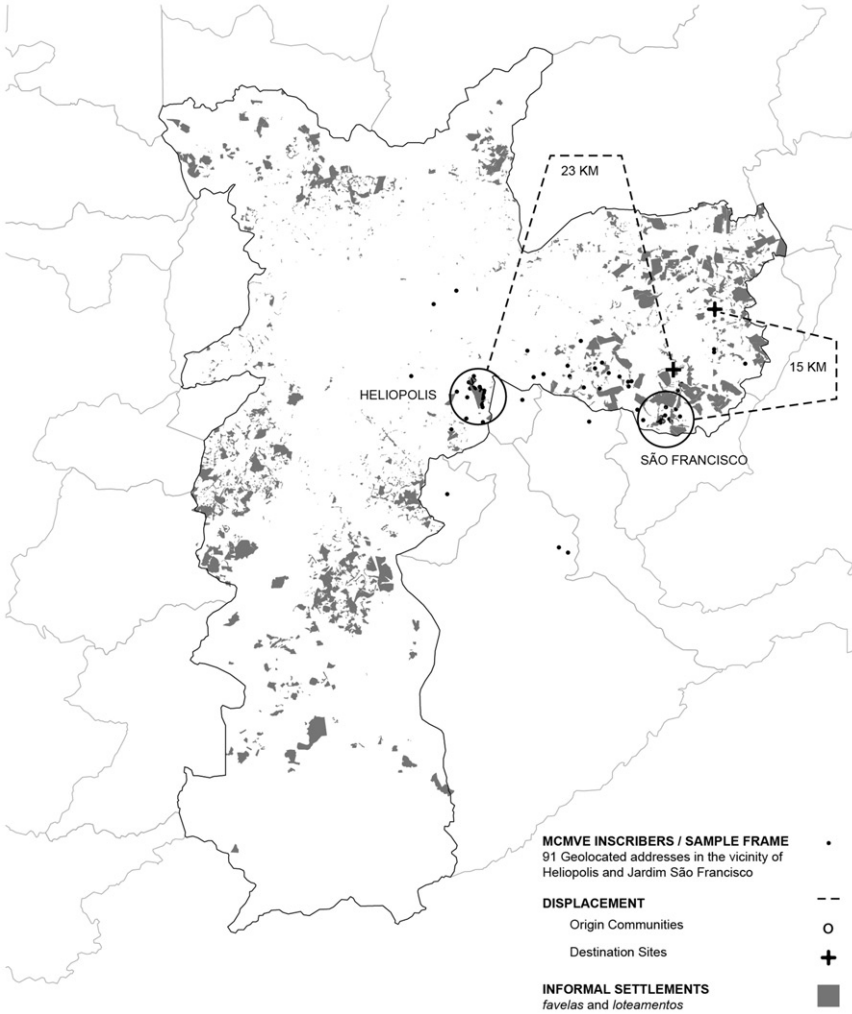


Figure 6. Case study origin and destination communities relative to informal settlements. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

(Facebook), group messages (WhatsApp), and attached to verbal motivational slogans (SMS) create a virtual flow that is paralleled by traditional MCMVE meetings conducted in community spaces that are historically associated with *autogestão*. Even so, most MCMVE inscribers do not participate in community affairs beyond MCMVE, which they claim permits them an escape from poor living conditions and the realisation of the dream of homeownership.

Nor is MCMVE actually reaching those living in the poorest conditions. We observe that only 7% of MCMVE inscribers are currently living in highly

Table 2. MCMVE inscriber profiles relative to other housing types.

	MCMV-E	Self-Building Autoconstrução	Assisted Self-Building Mutirão	Social Housing UF/C*
Age	(91)	(501)	(304)	(63)
Average Age	37	43	47	43
Tenure	(91)	(413)	(201)	(24)
Renter	67%	20%	24%	38%
Average Rent	R$541/month			
Educational Achievement	(91)	(501)	(304)	(64)
Undergraduate	10%	9%	9%	17%
High School	56%	36%	33%	33%
Elementary School	31%	48%	45%	38%
None	3%	7%	13%	12%
Displacement	(91)	(501)	(284)	(64)
Displacement at least once	16%	9%	20%	63%
Income	(91)	(447)	(283)	(51)
Average Household/mo.	R$1233	R$1974	$1895	$1506

*UF=Urbanisation of Favelas; C=Cingapura. Source: Stiphany, Ward, and Moore (2017a).

precarious situations. As illustrated by Table 2, the majority share of our sample frame, *Faixa 1*, is eligible for a funding bracket that is anticipated to become obsolete and involves lower income renters (67%). The result is a low-income housing programme that enlists somewhat higher income families at the expense of the most vulnerable.

Further, although MCMVE meetings are held in spaces formerly associated with *autogestão*, they do not involve meaningful engagement, but rather advance practices typical of fake, invited spaces of participation (Miraftab, 2009). Information is delivered unidirectionally, and following a speech delivered by a local political leader, attendance is documented among gathered MCMVE inscribers, architectural renderings of the future development and instruction for living in it are provided, and, in rare instance, participants visit the destination site. However, more is expressed in what is not communicated: inscribers are not informed of the project's relationship to (and disassociation from) São Paulo's master planning framework, nor are they aware of their right to contest the project location. Further, inscribers know of future dwelling metreage, yet are not encouraged to evaluate plan quality, building construction, and domestic spatial relationships that may be important for evolving family needs. Indeed, architects contracted for MCMVE projects are advised *not* to engage communities.[18] That inscribers are never provided a comparative understanding of MCMVE's concrete consequences, such as increased commuting time or decreased access to schools for families with children, further evidences the programme's perfunctory use of *autogestão*, and lack of knowledge co-construction.

MCMVE was intended to provide a contemporary axis for *autogestão*, yet has fallen short of the policy environment that most expect from Brazil's participatory turn (Friendly & Stiphany, 2019). Instead, MCMVE's version of *autogestão* puts *entidade* leaders through exhaustive processes related to land negotiation, bureaucracy, and technical coordination, what Rizek et al. (2014, p. 543) eschew as the construction of a false demand by special interest 'housing production machines'. We observe that *entidades* are unfairly tasked with work formerly delegated to professional staff within governmental housing agencies, and drawn into a system through which they are obligated to enact forms of participation unlike the true forms of *autogestão* to which many once aspired. Outcomes are not only deleterious for project management, but distract from real demands, erode trust among communities who have yet to see results, and are beginning to sever long term social ties within community organisations. These are the local patterns that result from MCMVE's emergent spatialities.

Sociospatial segregation

MCMV and MCMVE have been widely critiqued for promoting sociospatial segregation (Rolnik, 2014; Maricato, 2016). Figure 6, and Table 1 both illustrate a finer grained perspective of how MCMVE distinctly promotes displacement from origin communities to destination sites, which in both cases will decrease connectivity, and segregate residents from the social resources and physical infrastructure upon which they currently rely. Residents of Heliópolis and São Francisco will be displaced an additional 23 km and 15 km from their original communities, respectively, although crow-flight distances are artificially low for the actual time and distance required for transport across São Paulo's *periferia*. It takes three times longer to travel from *Centro* to São Francisco using metro, bus, and microbus transfer than Heliópolis, accessible with a 30-minute metro ride. These data suggest that displacement deeper into the periphery will increase travel time and effort for both sets of MCMVE inscribers. Although aware that increased commuting time will impact access to employment, kin, and friends, the majority of MCMVE inscribers do not contest the distant location of their future MCMVE home.

Declining urban form and quality

As illustrated in Figure 5, MCMV-E residents will also face a reduction in the quality of place, specifically relative to the everyday interactions that inform sense of belonging, security, and general well-being. The security of paved and well-lit streets, patterns of movement, and familiarity are important

indicators of how public space is used, and maintained (Gehl, 2011). Although unevenly distributed and inconsistent within informal settlements, consolidated settlements that have benefitted from *urbanização* tend to reinforce reciprocity between urban form and experience, which is why infill densification has long been considered an effective development strategy (Calderon, 2012).

Within consolidated settlements and through the broader study, we observe positive resident experiences associate with self-built sections of the case study neighbourhoods, where 65% of residents felt safe walking the streets close to their homes – compared to 50% of those living in formally built housing enclosed by a security gate. These data suggest that people who live in formal housing have a reduced sense of security, even as they disassociate themselves with neighbourhoods perceived to be less safe (Caldeira, 2005). As illustrated by Figure 5, the majority of MCMVE inscribers will move from a self-built home in a consolidated district to walled enclaves that are promoted as more secure, integrated and connected to services. These claims are contradicted by our data.

In reality, there is a significant difference between the dense industrial character of Heliópolis and its destination site, which is a semi-rural tract surrounded by low-density single-family suburban developments, and buttressed by an electrical utility corridor and a major divided highway. Alternatively, inscribers from São Francisco face a lateral move, as their MCMVE destination site is located amid environmentally protected zones that have been degraded, and self-built, low-density neighbourhoods.

Reduced access to resources

Displacement to a distant and isolated MCMVE site can also be measured relative to the quantitative reduction in amenities, as illustrated by Table 1. Poor access to services such as health, education and transportation is one of the most widely criticised characteristics of large social housing estates such as MCMV (McTarnaghan, 2015). Although perhaps imperceptible over the short term, environments that lack vital resources are continually susceptible to ongoing cycles of uneven development (Harvey, 2006).

Given their political links – albeit tenuous – Heliópolis and São Francisco have concentrated a greater number of resources relative to other settlements, and as a result catalyse their own form of uneven development. Heliópolis' early focus on education led to the construction of three specialised schools (one technical and two *Centro Educacional Unificado* [CEU]) and a network of nine community educational spaces (Stiphany, 2015). It is also immediately adjacent to a sizeable multi-modal hub of regional train, metro, bus, and dedicated bus services. Notwithstanding these amenities,

Heliópolis MCMVE respondents believe their access to urban services will improve upon moving, even though it will actually diminish. For example, hubs close to Heliópolis' future MCMVE site are the Sapopemba Terminal, 5 km to the southwest, and the Cidade Tiradentes Terminal, 4.5 km to the northeast. Alternatively, access to transportation will improve for São Francisco MCMVE inscribers. Currently, residents of the two São Francisco origin clusters live in a transportation desert, 4 and 2 km to the nearest metro station, while their future 'destination site' is located 1.5 km from a metro line. São Francisco's potentially improved access to transportation is maligned by other losses, particularly as relates to health. These data emphasise that displacement from concentrations of resources such as social networks, commerce, intra-community and large-scale transportation systems, schools, health centres, and recreational facilities results in negative impacts; which are intensified among populations moving away from resources that are greater in number (São Francisco), and more differentiated (Heliópolis).

Rising without representation

At this time, MCMVE seems more likely to exacerbate social isolation, embed spatial segregation, and ignore real housing demands than promote a policy environment within which *autogestão* might flourish (Rolnik, 2011). Although laudable for attempting to reconcile mass housing with participatory aims, MCMVE's institutional architecture impedes successful implementation, which taxes the most vulnerable – both the *entidade* and the citizens it allegedly serves. Beyond this critique, in this article we draw attention to MCMVE as a latter derivation of the Brazilian legacy of *urbanização*, with a potential for reconciling mass housing and *autogestão*. We argue that a solution can be found through multiscalar analysis of established informal settlements, which are suffering from advanced State divestment, but where a nexus of housing types organises public space, connects to existing infrastructural networks, and supports new modes of urban life.[19]

Our case studies Heliópolis and São Francisco reveal how site-specific urbanisation activities relate to broader structures, systems, and patterns. This interface is exemplified by the arc of *urbanização*'s trajectory, which has bolstered community organisation and urban form, yet has terminated in a programme that seems to be eroding both. The cases suggest how the merger of remote and situated lenses might better account for the social contingency, experimentation, and adaptive reuse that characterise ongoing planning activities leveraged by communities to realise their aspirations.

Over the decades, the unevenness of *urbanização* has played an important role in priming the market for MCMVE. As we demonstrate, Heliópolis

and São Francisco have consolidated through successive cycles of upgrading, and feature a range of urban morphologies, programmatic variation, building typologies, and social networks. This nexus has concentrated layers of infrastructure and spaces that provide safety, familiarity, and opportunities, but also lack quality, trigger rental gentrification, and in São Francisco, inadequate access to urban infrastructures, (especially transportation) and regulation of open space (which has resulted in squatting). Early policy support of user-based housing has productively absorbed new programmes, such as commerce, and, as we observed, rising rental demand. Given that rental vouchers remain in circulation, it is imperative that governments focus management attention on the impacts of vouchers, in communities from which they are divesting. Our analysis suggests that these conditions have effectively hijacked *urbanização*, creating a vacuum within which MCMVE has expanded, yet at the expense of human sustainable development, community empowerment, and environmental quality.

Initially, the MCMVE programme anticipated what has become the New Urban Agenda (NUA) as advocated by United Nations Habitat III (2016), in which a range of housing types, modes of implementation, and connection to broader infrastructural services ensure equitable living conditions across a gradient of development situations. To accomplish these goals moving forward, urban practitioners and policy makers must calibrate MCMVE to the range of environments engendered by peripheral urbanisation (Caldeira, 2016). Some of these demands can be met by the adaptive reuse of building stock within existing informal settlements, yet the majority requires new development that is not isolated, but embedded within infrastructural networks that exist or States establish. We can distil from the cases insights for building upon *autogestão's* embrace of urban learning toward an implementable NUA, around the axes of Corridor Planning, Citizen-Sourced Data, and Scenario Planning.

As cities promote compact urbanisms, corridor planning is quickly becoming a key mechanism for using established infrastructural networks to reduce sprawl and reliance on single-user transport systems (Mueller et al., 2018). From this perspective, a recent Urban Design studio 'Housing Line' presented proposals for regenerating informal settlements in parallel to the adaptive reuse of industrial tracts for social housing along São Paulo's Tamanduatei corridor (Stiphany, 2018). This pedagogical experience emphasised the importance of housing for changing the relationship between specific sites and broader urban systems (Moore, 2014). Scaling infill housing up to corridors can be transformative for the range of development conditions that have evolved between city centres and peri-urban edges.

Inversely, Brazil's use of 'smart' urban planning has revealed informal settlements as never before, however it has failed to empower residents with

tools to make decisions about the changes that transform their own neighbourhoods (Goodspeed, 2015). Spatial decisions for informal settlements are based on census data, which lack the fine grain geometries that result from decades of incremental building processes and change on a block-by-block and even lot-by-lot basis. To circumvent this narrow perspective, urban development must rely in part on citizen and crowd sourced data that are owned by communities and translated into forms that enhance decision-making processes. A range of data sources is necessary to ensure housing is well-located, constructed in context-sensitive ways, and partially adaptable to commercial and rental conversion.

Finally, scenario planning would provide a common language to enhance civic decision-making among a range of vested actors. Scenario planning uses the power of GIS to study how past patterns of *urbanização* impact future development alternatives, with an emphasis on development for variable timeframes and different scales (Goodspeed, 2019). In Brazilian informal settlements and peer contexts, scenario planning can help to visualize alternatives that recast MCMV as infill, relative to a T.O.D. (Transit-Oriented Development), and can be debated among stakeholders – which neither *urbanização*, MCMV, or MCMVE provide.

We recently considered a scenario of MCMV as an infill strategy within the boundaries of Heliópolis. A conservative estimate suggests that the removal of 140,240 square meters of block area across six of Heliópolis' most highly precarious zones would result in the demolition of 13,598 units, assuming three stories of units per lot, at an average of 31 square metres per lot. If these areas were to be reconstructed with a five-story infill version of MCMV, at 35 square metres per unit, plus 40% for circulation and public space, Heliópolis would gain 14,310 units – enough for MCMVE and families displaced.

Autogestão's focus on co-management has differentiated the Brazilian MCMVE from peer programmes, even if only as an enabling means. As a result, and in accordance to its Lefebvrian legacy, there is no singular notion of what *autogestão* was and can be for mass housing policy environment. Notwithstanding this mystique, if *autogestão* offers one core lesson for consolidating Brazil's housing legacy, it is that policies can no longer be an either-or proposition. Rather than limiting urban development to one scale, space, or place, a both/and scenario renews the reciprocity between site contingency and global critique envisioned by the MCMVE's earliest architects.

Notes

1. Informal settlements are communities established by families, individuals, or collectives on public or private land, and the majority share of building stock is self-built, and constructed incrementally by residents as resources permit.

2. Thanks to an editor of this Special Issue, we discovered that one of the MCMVE '*entidades*' was never approved for a project that was parsed to inscribers and us as 'forthcoming'. We elected not to omit this case because the problem remains: MCMVE is generating a paradoxical trend whereby citizens are investing in formal housing processes that divest from the communities they have constructed over decades.
3. National Science Foundation #1513395. This study involved a large scale household survey (n-1032) that incorporated the post-occupancy analysis of each randomly-selected lot.
4. *Federacion Uruguaya de Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua* http://www.fucvam.org.uy/.
5. *Fundo de Atendimento À População Moradora Em Habitação Subnormal*. Luiza Erundina was the first member of the PT to be elected to public office in São Paulo.
6. See: Maricato (1976); Bonduki (1992); and Bonduki, Andrade, and Rossetto (1993) for extensive analysis of the relationship between *autoconstrução*, *mutirão*, and *autogestão*.
7. For an overview of the range of *urbanização*: see the SEHAB book series 'Novos Bairros de São Paulo' and folio from the 2002 exhibition 'Favelas Upgrading' at the 8th Venice Architecture Biennale, curated by Elisabete França and Glória Bayeux. Architect Marcos Boldarini's Cantinho do Ceu project is a notable example.
8. Brazilian Federal Law 11.977/09.
9. Ministério das Cidades do Brasil.
10. See: Caldeira, 2016.
11. The industrial districts of Santo Andre, São Caetano, and São Bernardo are strongholds of political activism that arose in revolt against Brazil's twenty-year military dictatorship, and consolidated during redemocratisation. It was in São Bernardo that Luiz Ignácio 'Lula' da Silva rose from factory floor to presidency in 2001.
12. Heliópolis and São Francisco are the only two communities in São Paulo to have been upgraded by successive and identical cycles of urbanização, including MCMVE.
13. See Reyes (2018), for a study of social movements with weakened housing agendas in Mexico City.
14. To maintain *entidade* anonymity we will henceforth refer to Heliópolis and '*entidade* A', and São Francisco and '*entidade* B'.
15. https://www.lahn.utexas.org
16. See www.chapa.io for the survey instrument. Surveys would have been conducted in the respondent's home had time and resources permitted.
17. As will be revealed, here we focus upon two cases of MCMVE in São Paulo that are unsuccessful for several reasons. A successful case of the MCMV-E is the Florestan Fernandes project. See: Jesus, 2015 and the following webpage for the history of *autogestão*: http://autogestão.unmp.org.br/videos/trabalhador-coletivo-de-dentro-e-atraves-do-mutirao/
18. Interview, MCMV architect 5/7/2016.
19. For a peer study of Guayaquil, Ecuador, see: Peek et al. (2018).

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