

Collective practices and the right to the city in Salvador, Brazil

Collaborative work between MSc Social Development Practice, The Bartlett Development Planning Unit and Lugar Comum, Faculty of Architecture of the Universidade Federal da Bahia

MSc Social Development Practice student report

Alexandre Apsan Frediani, Tamlyn Monson,
Ignacia Ossul Vermehren Editors



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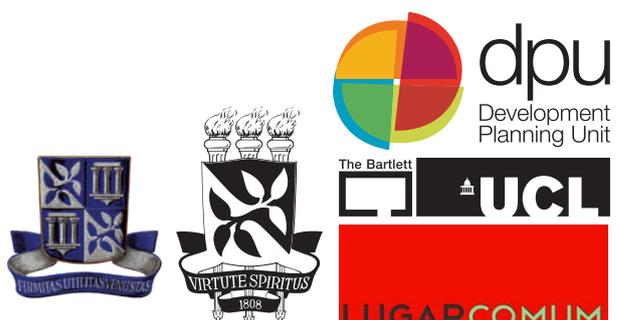
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September 2016

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List of acronyms

AdL	<i>Acervo da Laje</i>
AMPLA	<i>Associação de Moradores de Plataforma</i>
BID	Inter-American Development Bank
CONDER	<i>Companhia de Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da Bahia</i>
DPU	Development Planning Unit
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IBGE	Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
IPHAN	<i>Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional</i>
MAM	<i>Museu de Arte Moderna</i>
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PDDU	<i>Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano</i>
SPU	<i>Secretaria do Patrimônio da União</i>
UCL	University College London
UFBA	<i>Universidade Federal da Bahia</i>
UMM	<i>União dos Movimentos de Moradia</i>
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VLT	<i>Veículo Leve sobre Trilhos</i>
ZEIS	<i>Zonas de Especial Interesse Social</i>

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Photo credit: Maurifa Hassan

1. Introduction

MSc Social Development Practice/ The Bartlett Development Planning Unit

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This report is the result of a six-month research assignment conducted from January to June 2016 by students on the MSc Social Development Practice at The Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU) of University College London. This action research assignment emerged out of a partnership between DPU and 'Grupo de Pesquisa Lugar Comum' (Common Place Research Group) from the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidade Federal da Bahia (FAUFBA), and aimed to document and generate action learning on collective practices claiming for rights to the city in Salvador, the first Brazilian capital (1549-1763), located in the Northeast region of the country.

The right to the city – a concept by Lefebvre (1996) [1968] – deals with the struggles of social movements for a radical change in gaining better access to the city, reinventing and transforming it. One expression of the 'right to the city' is as "a demand...(for) a transformed and renewed access to urban life" (Lefebvre 1996, p.158). Underlying this concept is an understanding that space plays a central role in contesting or reproducing the city, and in shaping the potential for a better, fair and democratic future.

Salvador is no exception. Poverty and exclusion are closely linked, with social differentiation marked clearly in space (Caldeira, 1986, p.3). The unequal distribution of land and property in the city segregates the wealthy from the poor – a division which also has strong racial and cultural dimensions. Many people live in poor conditions without options of better accommodation in the city, and certain communities face stigma and stereotyping based on the social problems or identities associated with the areas where they live, most of them organized in associations or movement struggling to gain recognition of long-standing ways of life.

Yet alongside the reproduction of exclusion through space, contestations have emerged in which residents use space to challenge exclusion, with occupations of land and buildings, just one way that poor residents of

Salvador have attempted to access the right to housing and urban life in a divided city. This builds on decades of pressure on the state by social movements, which resulted in the recognition of the social function of land and property in the Federal Constitution (1988) and the City statute (2001). In other words, the legal order "recognized the 'right to the city' as a collective right" (Fernandes 2007:201), providing "the potential to generate urban spaces that are less segregated and that fulfill their 'social function'" (Caldeira & Holston, 2005:411; In ONG et al). A related area in which participation and diversity have been recognised in the Constitution is in the protection of community participation and the value of the intangible heritage of different communitarian groups in Brazilian society. This provides a potential legal basis for specific heritage claims to be made by them.

Within this broader context, our action research collaboration built on a research-by-design initiative by Lugar Comum, which focused as a starting point on the reuse and rehabilitation of vacant buildings for the purpose of strengthening collective and solidary forms of economic production of some urban poor areas in Salvador, towards a more just and democratic city. Collective claims over vacant buildings and spaces are carried out by a variety of groups, with diverse temporalities, and organised in different ways and for diverse purposes. Some of them are housing social movements, where vacant spaces have been used as occupations to pressurise governmental authorities to be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the urban poor. Others are more gradual, incremental occupations carried out by local residents with the objective of generating housing solutions for the homeless population. But other collective claims emerged and have been integrated in the initiative, since the right to the city involves multiple dimensions of urban life. As a result, focus was also adjusted towards movements organized on a mix between infrastructural and cultural demands, integrating spaces to perform socio-cultural and pedagogical activities, with the objective to generate learning and recognition of cultural heritage among marginalised groups.

For this project to be successful, with its variety of dimensions, we considered that a deeper understanding of collective claims was needed to ensure that the reuse and rehabilitation project and the infrastructural and cultural one are embedded in these experiences. Furthermore, beyond the focus of the projects, the documentation of these practices through participatory processes had potential to strengthen the collectives, enabling a process of shared learning, which can support their ongoing activities and strategy building. Therefore, the collaboration focused on generating lessons of the social conditions and practices employed by such collectives to support their ongoing mobilisation as well as inform the implementation of the projects. Students aimed to explore:

1. The context and practices of social mobilisation employed by the collective movement, and how the movement shapes the use and appropriation of spaces.
2. The role collective practices play in the struggles towards access to substantive citizenship rights among the urban poor, with their diverse needs and aspirations.
3. How collective practices were supported and enhanced to strengthen their capacity to claim 'rights to the city'

Figure 1.1. Students analysing findings coproduced with MSTB. Source: Ignacia Ossul Vermehren (left) and Students conducting a focus group with AMACH (right). Source: Rosa Salazar Benazar.



Figure 1.2. Students working with residents in Gamboa de Baixo (left) and Acervo da Laje (right). Source: Ignacia Ossul Vermehren.



Students of the Bartlett Development Planning Unit (DPU) and of the Faculty of Architecture of the Universidade Federal da Bahia (FAUFBA) worked in four groups, each focusing on the work of a different partner embodying its own set of collective claims on space in the city:

Movimento Sem Teto da Bahia (MSTB): Translated as the Roofless Movement of Bahia, this movement is the one of the most active social movement in the housing sector, comprising about 40 squatting groups. It aspires to change the urban space through the involvement of homeless workers. MSTB pressures the municipality of Salvador to restore the social functions of abandoned buildings by drawing on the City Statue and attempting to address the limits of this legal framework. Students' research focused specifically on occupations of 26 families in two buildings in the historical centre of Salvador, referred to as IPAC II and IPAC III.

Gamboa de Baixo community: Situated along the coast south of the Historical Centre, the community of Gamboa de Baixo comprises 350 families, with a strong history of social mobilisation. A traditional fishing community who actively participate in the fishing production economy, however, the majority of people earn relatively low incomes. Gamboa de Baixo has found itself in an increasingly vulnerable position in terms of urban development, occupying a coastline now lined with private piers and luxury high-rise blocks. Given the area's prime location, the threat of displacement is high. Students worked to support community members to consider ways of counteracting the threat of displacement through building recognition of the area's heritage.

Acervo da Laje: Acervo da Laje (AdL) is an arts and cultural organisation in the Plataforma area of Subúrbio Ferroviário situated along the coast north of the city, which aims to promote the beauty, value and complexity of a peripheral area by working against the invisibility of local art, history and memory and to counteract the stereotypes of violence that stigmatise the region. Students worked to understand the various activities AdL under-

takes, which include art space, educational space and temporary occupations of local rooftops, and consider the ways in which these support the right to the city.

Associação de Moradores e Amigos do Centro Histórico (AMACH): Translated as Residents Association and Friends of the Historical Centre, AMACH is a residents association representing 108 families, which was founded in protest against the displacement of local people through the 1990's urban development process in Pelourinho. AMACH campaigns on issues such as poor housing conditions, lack of commercial opportunities and improvements to key public services. In particular, students worked with AMACH to understand a policy that had been introduced to change the terms of urban development in favour of residents, and how this has been transformed in time and had impacted on the right to the city. This approach led to explore the idea of "Popular Audit", as an instrument of public action, based on inter-knowledge and aimed at the evaluation of situations of collective life in contexts of social vulnerability, caused by the direct action of the State.

The chapters that follow present the action research activities undertaken by each group. Although the work had been developed with mixed teams, from Bartlett and UFBA, groups from each university produced the final reports, due to institutional exigencies. Here, the Bartlett students articulate their findings, and propose 'instruments for collective action' or outputs aimed at enhancing the recognition or agency of the social movements in question. As the collaboration continues, we hope to build on this foundation with subsequent cohorts of students on the MSc Social Development Practice and on the Lugar Comum/Faculdade de Arquitetura da UFBA, committed to the research and practice on Politics, Democracy and the Right to the City.

We would like to extend gratitude to Lisa-Marie Stauffer, a student from the MSc Social Development practice, whose paper on the right to the city in Salvador was used to inform some aspects of the introduction and conclusion of this report.

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Photo Credit: Natasha Menon

2. Promoting a Just City in the Historic Centre: MSTB and the IPAC II and IPAC III Occupations

Zaw Htun Lat
 Lucas van Lier
 Xin Ling
 Natasha Menon
 Shally Pristine

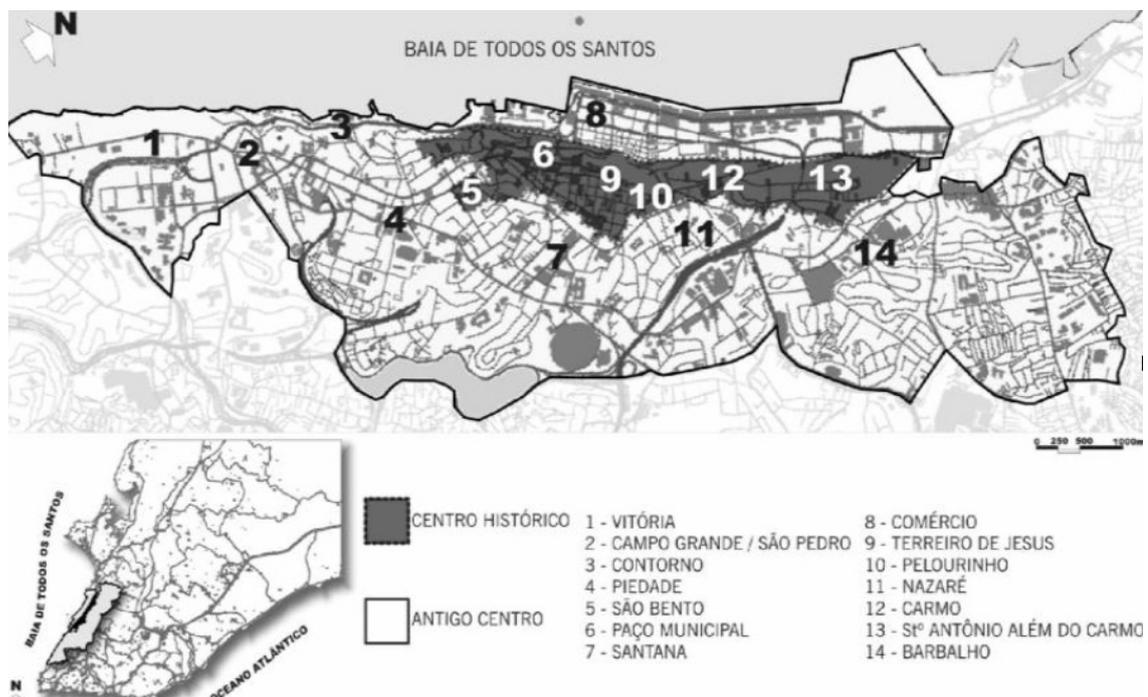
With thanks to our collaborators: Zé Aloir, Caroline Liu, Fabio Mirabelli, Fernanda Nanda, Itaciane Ramos

2.1 Introduction

Our research project is set in the inner city area of Salvador, specifically the Historic Centre (Centro Histórico) within the Old City Centre (Antigo Centro) (Figure 2.1). Historically, this area has been seen as the religious, cultural and administrative heart of Salvador. In 1985 UNESCO declared the area of Pelourinho (labelled '10' in Figure 2.1) as a World Heritage Site. The increasing economic power of Brazil, as well as the growing popularity of the country as a tourist destination, helped to generate capital investments for restorations in the area and its surroundings. Since 1992 there has been an investment of more than US \$100 million into the restoration of the area (Toscano, 2015).

A UNESCO report (2006) found that, during the restoration of the inner city area, the number of individuals living in the historic centre dropped by more than two thirds, from 9,853 (1980) to 3,235 inhabitants (2000). As state investment into the Historic Centre increased, individuals received financial compensation to leave the area. Abandoned buildings were bought up by investment companies who treated them as commodities for future business opportunities (Nobre, 2002). As a result, between 1,500 and 1,600 apartments are currently lying unused in the historic centre (Wagner, 2016). This ongoing process of restoration and regeneration has contributed to an increase in spatial segregation, as poorer families are pushed out of the area. In many cases this affected the Afro-descendent population of the Historic Centre.

Figure 2.1. Salvador: Foundation Mario Leal Ferreira, captured in September 2006. Source: Secretaria de Cultura do Estado da Bahia, 2008



Around 80% of Salvador's population is said to be of black African ancestry (Wagner, 2001). Their legacy can be found in the food, music, and culture, which is prevalent in the Historic Centre.

The context of urban policy has also played an important role in this process. The first Brazilian constitution aimed at addressing urban questions was drafted in 1988. A direct result of the constitution was a set of legal instruments, including the City Statute which was passed 13 years later in 2001. It set out three principles:

1. The social function of urban land and buildings should be put before commercial value
2. The fair distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanisation
3. Democratic management of the city

It defined the fundamental legal-political role of the municipalities as formulators of urban planning guidelines and laid the ground for the creation of city-based Master plans, which were to define future urban development within major Brazilian cities. Salvador's Master Plan was developed between 2005 and 2008 and the process was widely criticised for its lack of community involvement and social movement participation. Additionally, it was criticised for being directed mostly through technical expertise (Belda et al., 2013:6).

The City Statute has been a key entry point for social movements to exert pressure on municipalities. "Whether in its widest sense or employing the City Statute to justify

one-off demands, people now use this law in order to pressure, and demand responses from, public authorities at all levels of government" (Rodrigue & Barbosa, 2010:25).

Within an increasingly contested inner city area, several social movements supporting urban housing rights operate within Salvador. One of the movements that has been working to mobilise and occupy buildings is the MSTB (Movimento Sem Teto da Bahia or the Roofless movement of Bahia). This movement aspires to change the urban space through the involvement of homeless workers. It is "the largest social movement in the housing sector, bringing together around forty squatting groups in Salvador" and tries to improve the living conditions of around 4500 families living in vacant buildings (Somers & Baud, 2013). Basing its claims on the City Statute, MSTB pressures the municipality of Salvador to restore the social functions of abandoned buildings. The main principles of the movement are: "Autonomy, Fighting Spirit, Horizontality and Solidarity" (Belda et al, 2013: 10).

MSTB holds that the current number of empty buildings in Salvador would be able to provide housing for up to 50,000 inhabitants (Toda Bahia, 2016). Therefore, one major activity of MSTB is to strategically occupy vacant buildings. The motivation behind this is twofold. First, it creates housing for individuals in need. Second, it draws attention to the high number of unused, vacant buildings.

The focus of our research was two occupied apartment blocks, referred to as IPAC II and IPAC III, in Rua do Passo (see Figure 2.2). With the support of the MSTB, both of these buildings have been occupied by a group of individuals with diverse backgrounds and life stories.

Figure 2.2. Exterior of IPAC II, IPAC III, and streetscape of Rua do Passo. Source: Zaw Htun Lat.



Due to their position at the heart of the Historic Centre, close to major tourist attractions, the two occupations are highly visible. It is important to note that the occupiers act in a contested space, drawn between economic and social interests. From the perspective of MSTB, the occupation serves as a demonstration of resistance against displacements taking place under the current processes of ‘regeneration’.

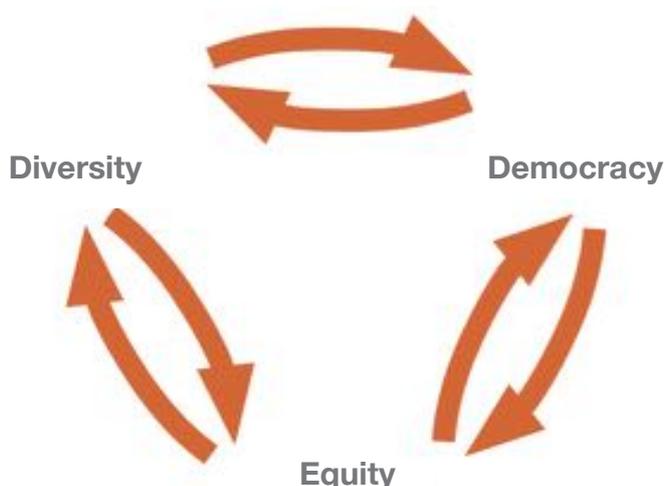
Through discussion with MSTB, we identified certain problematics that we aimed to address in our research and practical output. The issues of recognition and addressing issues of stigma around residents of the occupations was particularly strong and gave us an entry point to understanding the occupations from the perspective of social or urban justice. These considerations led to our research question – what is the role of MSTB in promoting a just inner city? – Which we addressed through a case study of the IPAC II and IPAC III occupations.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1. Analytical Lens

We employed Susan Fainstein’s concept of ‘the Just City’, bringing together “political, philosophic and political economic understandings of justice” (Maricato, 2009: 6). According to Fainstein, there are three governing principles of justice: democracy, diversity and equity (see Figure 2.3), which we used to structure our analysis.

Figure 2.3. Analytical framework. Source: Chapter authors, drawing on Fainstein (2014).



Democracy is understood as a process that focuses on the participation of different social groups in democratic processes, and democratic deliberation to build consensus. With limitations to participation and deliberation due to entrenched power imbalances in society democracy can also be understood through the social movement model which focuses on the just distribution of resources and whereby disadvantaged groups come together to pursue democratic outcomes as a way to redress inequality. For the purpose this research, greater emphasis will be placed on the latter.

Diversity is related to the recognition of shared identities and group interests rooted in class, gender, culture, and familial relationships. Here, it is important to recognise different understandings and purposes of diversity, while noting implications such as lack of authenticity and violation of democratic principles if the approach to diversity is market-driven and government imposed.

Equity concerns an outcome-oriented approach in favour of disadvantaged social groups defined by income or marginality. With this approach, planners are to intervene actively in the processes of democracy and planning to ensure that the urban policies that are developed and implemented are in the best interest of disadvantaged groups.

Recognising the challenges implicit in these principles, especially democracy and diversity, and the tensions among them, Fainstein argues that giving priority to equity when it comes to urban policy discourses, as opposed to process and efficiency, can improve the lives of urban residents. This concept of justice is derived from John Rawls’ difference principle: “the allocation of goods in a society should be governed by the ‘difference principle’, whereby policies should only improve the situation of those better off when ‘doing so is to the advantage of those less fortunate’” (Fainstein, 2014: 6). There is also an emphasis on the idea that “choosing justice as the norm for urban policy represents a reaction to the growing inequality and social exclusion arising from the use of neoliberalism as the template for urban public policy” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002 cited in Fainstein, 2014: 6).

By choosing Fainstein’s framework and using the lens of justice rather than one focused on material equity or basic physical understandings, we hoped to better understand the social aspects of “vacant” buildings. As shown in Figure 2.3, issues that have emerged in these three dimensions are closely linked and the ideas interact with each other in a fluid manner.

2.2.2. Stages of the process

As seen in Table 2.1, the process of research began in February 2016 with each group member being assigned a thematic area through which to undertake a literature review in order to familiarise themselves with the context of Salvador and other relevant information about the research. The four thematic areas explored were:

- Urban change and planning;
- Social programmes and urban poverty;
- Urban social mobilisation and collective action; and
- Social mapping and critical urban learning.

From March to April, we developed the preliminary research focus and methodology with input from partner organisations – MSTB and the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). Together with five students of the UFBA, we then engaged in two weeks of fieldwork in Salvador. The research focus and methodology were refined after meeting with different stakeholders, including MSTB leadership, members, and a resident of IPAC III. Research data was collected and systematised during the field visit and presented at the end of the two weeks along with input from representatives from MSTB. The data was analysed with further inputs from UCL lecturers and UFBA students for this report.

2.2.3. Methods

We aimed to generate information at three levels – individual residents, occupations as a whole, and the historic centre – in order to unpack the research ques-

tion. A series of research methods were employed to do so. Interviews were the primary method utilised to generate information across all levels. At an individual level, the team initially had two open interviews with participants. The information was then categorised into four themes: background, reasons why residents choose to occupy buildings, the role of MSTB, and residents’ relations to the historic centre of the city. Based on these themes, a set of questions for each section was developed to structure subsequent interviews and generate more in-depth information. A total of 11 interviews (seven from IPAC II and four from IPAC III) were conducted with residents.

At the level of individual residents, the table below shows the list of participants from IPAC II and IPAC III who were interviewed for the research, along with basic information about them. We will refer to all residents and key informants by their first names for consistency.

For the level of occupations, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with representatives of each building to generate basic information about their structure and layout and the resident families who were not available for interviews.

Table 2.1. Timeline of the research process. Source: Chapter authors.

Stage	Activities	Feb	Mar	Apr	May			
		W2-4	W1-3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4
Literature review	Lectures (Information about Salvador; research approach)	■						
	Reading (Information about Brazilian policies; information about occupations; theoretical framework)		■	■				
Preliminary discussion of research topic, methodology and methods	Group discussion		■	■				
Fieldwork, refining research topic, methodology, and data collection	Discussion with representatives of MSTB				■	■		
	12 semi-structured interviews (residents and neighbours)				■	■		
	Building tour in IPAC II and IPAC III				■	■		
	Mapping exercise				■	■		
	Territorial reading (Ramblr)				■	■		
Analysing collected data	Structuring collected information						■	
	Presentation						■	
	Report							■
	Output							■

For the third level of analysis, there were interviews with neighbours of the historic centre on Rua do Passo to understand the connections between the occupations and their surroundings, and the perceptions of neighbours towards the residents and occupation. Methods such as mapping and territorial reading were utilised for a better understanding of the connections between the surroundings and residents, and their significance to one another (Figure 2.4).

A territorial reading was conducted through the use of an application called Ramblr – a mobile application that allows one to track routes and incorporate notes, pictures and recordings in a visual format. A walking tour around the area also took place with the assistance of MSTB's research coordinator.

2.2.4. Approach to the Research

We took an action research approach to the research, working within the activities of the partner organisations MSTB and UFBA through their research group, Lugar Comum. The research aimed to feed into existing efforts to co-produce knowledge, and the group's actions and work to help the residents of IPAC II and III, homeless people and other marginalised populations in Salvador to fight for their housing rights and claim their citizenship rights to the city. The research also intended to explore the possibility to co-create an instrument for collective action, or output to serve as a useful catalyst for the partner organisations, particularly the MSTB, in their future engagement with the government and other stakeholders. Being the initial phase of a four-year engagement between UCL with the partner organisations, the research was an experiential learning process to make a starting point and explore possibilities for future collaborative research.

Figure 2.4. Product of mapping exercises showing how residents relate to their surroundings. Source: Natasha Menon.



2.2.5. Limitations

There were a few challenges encountered during the research process. One of the major issues concerned the timeframe for the research. Clarifying the research focus and methodology through discussions with stakeholders including MSTB, UFBA, representatives of the residents was time consuming, particularly given internal dynamics and strong differences of opinion on many matters within MSTB and among the research team in terms of what the output, research focus, and methodology of the research should be, and what could be accomplished within two weeks. The time constraints faced by participants who worked during the day, the conflicting academic commitments of colleagues from UFBA, and the language barriers faced by UCL research team members without colleagues to translate placed severe limits on what was possible within the time and resources available.

Beyond these issues of time and resource constraints, it should be noted that the choice to cover two occupations in the historic centre meant sacrificing alternative views that might have emerged from other occupations in the centre as well as in the peripheral areas of the city. It was also not possible to secure the full participation of all residents, neighbours and other actors deemed relevant to the research.

2.3 Findings and Analysis

In line with the analytical framework outlined above, the research findings are structured into three themes under the dimensions of democracy, diversity and equity, and elaborated through consideration of context, practices, and how those practices become claims. The first part of the analysis discusses the key elements of democracy and the wider context of democratic processes that impact on urban policy and social movements' responses to them. The second part deals with the issue of diversity in terms of recognition and misrecognition of the residents' social identities and cultural ties; the social relations of the residents of occupations to one another and their surroundings, and the role of MSTB in maintaining such ties; and the debate over the issue of the visibility and density of the occupations. The final part explores equity concerns with regards to economic and spatial elements and argues for the need to prioritise this aspect of justice in the face of participation and democracy deficits, and subsequent diversity concerns. This is in order to improve the lives of marginalised people in the urban context of the historic centre.

2.3.1. Democracy

Debates around democratisation and civil society's role in contributing to 'successful' democratic systems have led to new arenas for dialogue between civil society and the

state (Schönleitner, 2005; Cornwall and Coehlo, 2007). As a result, participation and, more recently, public deliberation, have been increasingly regarded as useful methods for holding governments to account. We acknowledge that democracy is a complex concept, but in this case we will focus on three elements: deliberation, participation, and social movements, in order to understand the context in which these occupations make their claims, the practices they enlist and the way these succeed or fail to enhance the residents' claims for a more just city.

Changes in approaches to urban governance have paved the way for a more open process of deliberation in Brazil. Following the inaugural appointment of democratic and popular governments in the 1980s, cities saw the start of a period of "real socio-political experiments" evidenced in the creation of new platforms for participation (Rolnik, 2013: 58). More recently the third principal of the City Statute has legally encompassed this: democratic city management. As Fainstein notes, the mobilisation of marginalised groups can be one element in leading to a more just city (Fainstein, 2014:8). However, "the mere existence of 'participatory processes' with no explicit connection and clear configuration within the real decision-making processes responds perfectly to a model that strengthens the centre without really empowering the base" (Dagnino, 2004 in Rolnik, 2013: 58). In both the City Statute and the Master Plan it is inferred that participation is a right or "service" contained in a prescribed model (Belda et al., 2013: 8). This is presented as an "'efficiency' guarantee" to fulfil certain needs and not challenge the dominant way of thinking about city management (ibid). This can be seen as the backdrop for MSTB's strategy on engagement with the state which will be discussed below.

The efficiency lens with which the state understands participation and deliberation (which is likely to prevail even with the election of a new party) reinforces income inequity and, therefore, impacts on the ability of residents to voice their claims. A key coordinator of MSTB commented that although Lula – president of Brazil from 2003 to 2011 – managed to establish some essential social policy, such as Bolsa Familia and Minha Casa Minha Vida, he failed to solve some huge structural social problems. Therefore, despite a series of efforts from the government to create spaces of social participation, minority groups still experience exclusion within the existing system. A female resident of IPAC III expressed the sense of exclusion, stating: "The Brazilian state ignores its own sons." A second female resident commented: "The city plan of urban development does not reach us. It's a plan for white, rich people." The way that participation has been included in policy-making processes by the state often ignores issues of power or the tensions between collective and individual roles in processes of participation that are crucial to social movements.

Our research revealed some of the ways that residents of the MSTB occupations IPAC II and IPAC III are able to use

occupation as a voice mechanism, or way of expressing claims against exclusion. On one hand, the practice of occupying is used as a method of resistance. Many of the residents, particularly those from IPAC II, noted the importance of occupying in order to satisfy their immediate need for a place to live. However, there was also a sense of the strategic importance of occupying; for example, a female occupier said, "Occupying is our way to contest the system." On the other hand, residents are able to take advantage of their position, both as part of the occupation and as residents of the historic centre. This position allows them to live without paying rent and also to have easy access to services, including education facilities, which many are utilising in order to actively try to build their capacity to voice. On the same road, there are at least four education-related facilities that are being utilised by the residents from both occupations.

One example is an IPAC III resident who is studying law and sees it as "a way to instrumentalise" herself so she can gain more knowledge in order to better fight for her cause. Several other residents are enrolled in courses specifically for minority groups in the area (the nearby human rights NGO gives a series of trainings for minority group members). The MSTB Women Warriors group has also conducted capacity building sessions for its members. The importance of the ability to access these services – due both to economic reasons and reasons related to aspects of racial and gender diversity – emphasises the importance of participation as it applies to minority groups and not just in terms of class and economic standards. Moreover, residents also use certain everyday tactics; such as building informal connections to gain access to water that has not been provided by the state, in order to demand autonomy.

However, there are also limitations to the role that MSTB is able to play in enhancing the claims of these residents to participate. The movement has mainly chosen to remain outside the "invited spaces" of engagement created by the state. It holds that social movements need to "preserve their autonomy." Choosing to remain outside these spaces of participation could reduce their transformative impact (Cornwall, 2007) in terms of their ability to apply pressure more broadly, but also in terms of their access to resources. This has stopped MSTB from taking part in negotiations around the Master Plan. However, as previously noted, this was a process which involved very little real participatory engagement.

MSTB's strategy does sometimes necessitate engaging in such spaces. For example, they offered the chance to work with the government with two occupations in which the government saw MSTB as an opportunity to provide something which they could not do. Therefore, MSTB played a role in facilitating a process of rehousing through negotiating use of its resources and its reputation and legitimacy as a movement. Furthermore, during

the decision-making processes of the *Minha Casa, Minha Vida* housing project, MSTB contributed to securing more protection and improved access to housing for women by allowing female heads of household to sign contracts regardless of their marital status (Somers & Baud, 2013, p.19). It is clear that MSTB has managed to exploit its position both in and outside the state's invited spaces of participation, strengthening the claims of its members for a more just city. However, it may not always be invited to the table or to engage in the first place and, in this case, residents of the occupations we have looked at have used their own daily practices as strategies to claim autonomy outside government channels.

2.3.2. Diversity

A series of market-driven urban regeneration processes and activities implemented by the government have ignored the historical and cultural ties of people, particularly those of African descent, to the historic centre. This lack of recognition has resulted in the marginalisation and stigmatisation of the residents of IPAC II and III based on class, race and gender. However, residents' social relations with each other and their neighbours, as well as their connections to their surroundings, remain very strong and are deepening with time. Furthermore, the role of MSTB is complex, as it has managed to create some recognition through increased visibility and sense of collectivity, as well as security of housing. However, the issue of external misrecognition persists.

Most residents of the two occupations are black and they strongly acknowledge their cultural and racial connections to the historic centre (Brum Novaes et al., 2012, p.95). For instance, a female resident and MSTB coordinator said: "Every stone was made by the violence

against black people... Everything here has features from black people." She also noted the link between current practices and those of the 1880s saying, "what they live today is heritage from the slavery system, when Portugal was under pressure to set the slaves free, but when they did, they were left alone with nowhere to go, to live, no jobs, no hopes. Black people are still struggling." A third female IPAC III interviewee proudly declared: "I am the culture of Pelourinho." The importance of people's rootedness in their culture is perfectly captured by Fainstein who notes, "...people do not exist outside of culture" (2014, p.9). Moreover, the architect Lina Bo Bardi's restoration projects in the late 1980s aimed to "keep existing social roots, reinforcing the cultural aspects of Salvador and its strong ties to Africa" (Nobre, 2002, p.117). By "promoting a mix of social housing, informal commerce and cultural uses she tried to avoid the removal of lower income groups" (ibid). However, as noted above, the regeneration process became more linked to maximizing the area's potential for tourism and the results particularly affected the "existing population and social ties" (ibid).

With regard to familial relations and relations to the surroundings, residents have been able to forge a strong support system among themselves, and a connection with the surroundings, with support from MSTB. Our research illustrated how neighbourhood connections and relationships have been important in helping residents of IPAC III to remain in the Historic Centre as part of a movement which is assisting them to claim for a more just city.

This sense of legitimacy to make claims for a more just city brought about by being a part of MSTB is also related to issues of visibility and invisibility. The story of the occupation of IPAC III (see Figure 2.5.) emphasises the importance of being a part of the movement in order to remain in the building through mechanisms of visibility.

Figure 2.5. Timeline of occupation process in IPAC III. Source: Chapter authors.



Although the residents have received some increased recognition that helped them to continue their occupation, there are certain limits to the ability of MSTB to deal with misrecognition through this kind of visibility. Residents of the occupations are subject to discrimination and prejudices often motivated by class biases. The historic centre has been perceived as “a dirty and dangerous place, home of people and activities marginal to society such as prostitution and drug traffic” (Nobre, 2002, p.116). This was confirmed by an IPAC III resident who said, “people living in the occupation are perceived as poor, lacking in culture, unorganised, and dirty.” An IPAC II resident emphasised the discrimination she experienced and described being seen as “dumb, dirty and doing drugs.” On one hand, it is important to point out the existence of problems relating to drug dealing and violence within some occupations in Salvador. One resident described how a particular family within IPAC III caused a lot of conflict in this vein. However, the resident also pointed out that in such cases all occupants are affected by the actions of one person.

According to both the resident and MSTB’s research coordinator, the role of MSTB in the occupation has reduced as a result of this conflict. It became evident when talking to people in the neighbourhood, who did not know that the buildings were occupied by MSTB, that a recent strategy of MSTB has been to make the occupations more invisible. This may be in a bid to avoid the negative attention associated with the increased stigmatisation of those living in these buildings. By reducing its role in IPAC II for these reasons, MSTB is to some degree perpetuating the invisibility and exclusion of the most marginalised people. Furthermore, although many residents in IPAC III felt a sense of solidarity with MSTB, residents of IPAC II more often commented on their lack of participation and engagement with the movement more broadly. A female resident of IPAC II emphasised that she would like to see more presence from leaders of the organisation. Misrecognition of the identity of the IPAC II group leads to discrimination based on homogenised understandings of issues relating to occupations, particularly relating to violence and drugs. . As Nancy Fraser has written, “To belong to a group that is devalued by the dominant culture is to be misrecognized, to suffer a distortion in one’s relation to one’s self” (Fraser, 2000, p.109).

2.3.3. Equity

In *A Just City*, equity is conceptualised as a form of distribution of both material and non-material advantages gained from public policy that does not favour those who are already better off from the start (Fainstein, 2010, p.36). By looking at different public policies being implemented in the historic centre and the wider city, it appears that there are three recurring themes that emerge from research findings related to equity: economic inequity, spatial marginalisation, and living standards.

The gentrification process has limited living space in the historic centre and raised property prices significantly. An interview with a real estate agent who manages a property in the same road as the occupation, revealed that the Pelourinho area is now considered “a high class zone” because of the restoration process and the prices being pushed up to three or four times their original value. This makes living in the historic centre less affordable for low-income groups, as confirmed by an IPAC III resident who stated that, in order to pay rent in the area one needs to earn “at least three minimum salaries.”

The massive economic pressure in the historic centre has pushed out most of the people who previously lived there because they cannot afford the high living cost. By 1995, 85% of resident families (around 1,000) had received compensation (totalling USD 900,000) for being displaced, and the majority chose to move away (Nobre, 2002, p.120). As a result, between 1980 and 2000 the density of the historic centre reduced by 67% as shown in Table 2.2.

Furthermore, as previously mentioned, gentrification also meant the poor being replaced by wealthier people. From 1991 to 2000, the population share of higher income groups in the area increased from 2% to 6%, whereas the share of the lower income groups reduced from 90% to 80%. An MSTB coordinator argued this has been a form of class-based displacement, in which “the government is doing gentrification by moving poor people away and bringing in the middle class,” resulting in spatial marginalisation.

Both occupations have originated out of an aspiration to highlight and counteract the system of urban governance associated with an efficiency-based logic of planning. Their functioning in the heart of the economic restoration process highlights the right of all classes to live in the inner-city area. The occupations supported by MSTB hereby base their claims on the City Statute, which allows them to utilise the “social function of property” over its commercial or private use. In this regard, Belda et al (2013, p.7) propose that the idea of social and economic function is complementary to promoting the city’s inclusive capacity.

Staying in an occupied building assists the residents in their pursuit of justice, including accessing services, livelihood opportunities, and resources to build their capacities. A female resident of IPAC II expressed her desire to continue residing in the historic centre because “it is easier to study and work here than anywhere else.” Information about how residents relate to their surroundings in terms of places they frequent, and the significance these places hold, was gathered through a mapping exercise which is illustrated in Figure 2.6. It reflects the ease of access to many key places within walking distance. Certain other participants also suggested that occupying has relieved their economic burden, with one unemployed resident, for instance, highlighting the advantage of not having to pay rent in the occupation.

Occupation has also become a way for some residents to achieve better living conditions, primarily in relation to housing space. Several participants stated that moving to the occupations led to an improvement of their housing situation, particularly in terms of increased privacy through more room, better facilities such as a kitchen and toilets, and a more secure tenure compared to past housing situations. However, living in an occupation also means different things for some residents. Four out of seven participants from IPAC II said that their previous house was better and their reason for staying in the occupation is motivated primarily by access to services as already described above.

Moreover, by having a place to stay in the historic centre, residents also contribute to the sustainability of the tour-

ism industry. Out of 11 participants, five were engaging in cultural-tourism related field. Ironically, while the tourism industry provides job opportunities for the residents, it also perpetuates the negative impacts of tourism on lower income social groups. Hence, having access to housing in the historic centre does not automatically mean an improvement in their capabilities to participate equally in the economic and social life of the area. This is a manifestation of class-based marginalisation that can be attributed to unequal power relations, which in turn result from their inability to participate in the wider democratic processes that determine whose interests are served by urban policies. It is also a reaffirmation that the equity aspect of justice must be prioritised and actively pursued in order to bring about outcomes that improve the lives of the residents of IPAC II and III.

Table 2.2. Evolution of resident population and densities (inhabitants/ha). Source: IBGE (1982, 2001) as cited in Nobre (2002).

Area	1980		2000	
	Population	Density	Population	Density
City of Salvador	1,501,981	48.0	2,428,388	77.6
Historic Center	9,853	216.2	3,235	71.0
Surroundings	54,624	252.7	36,481	168.8

Figure 2.6. Relationship of the participants to the locality in which they live. Source: mapping exercise with participants.



2.4 Proposal for future action

By capturing the struggle of minority groups in claiming a more just city, our research approached the problem with the aim of proposing a social profile of the occupations as an ‘instrument for collective action’ – a tool to enhance MSTB’s capacity to negotiate with different actors. Previously, the UFBA has created profiles of different occupations which were recorded in the Atlas on the Right to Living in Salvador (Brum Novaes et al, 2012). The 200-page hardback book captures the lives of the residents in IPAC II and IPAC III. We proposed an easy-to-disseminate *cartilha* (leaflet) presenting our own ‘territorial reading’ of the occupations which would build on UFBA’s previous work in three ways:

1. Trying to understand the relationship of people with their surroundings, and highlighting the close relationship between people’s personal stories and this environment
2. Explicitly linking our research to the concept of justice
3. Producing a more digestible product than the Atlas to be used by members of the movement to strengthen their claims for a more just inner city

Members of MSTB that we spoke to responded positively to the possibility of a profile that could highlight residents’ stories and their relationship to the surrounding area, particularly in a more digestible form. Presenting the stories of residents and their connection with the area they live in could generate a different kind of visibility for the residents and the movement. One member of Women Warriors of MSTB expressed the importance of documenting the struggles of residents. A female participant residing at IPAC III felt that it could highlight people’s presence and their actions in the occupations by highlighting their own vision of who they are and not an externally established one. Another emphasised that this is a way of documenting and highlighting the fact that they live there and have done for a long period of time. She noted that residents lacked legitimacy and opportunities to emphasise their existence, and that the proposed social profiling would be a way of recognising this.

By using justice as a framework, we chose to emphasise aspects that would not be covered by a physical profiling, including the resident’s relationship with to the inner city area and its value in terms of their cultural and historical heritage; their ability to access processes of decision-making; diversity and the relational nature of people’s identities; and aspects of equity going beyond that of income.

The proposed leaflet (see Appendix 1) displays the information we gathered during our research in a condensed and simplified visual form, using small images of the occupied buildings. The life stories of all eleven interviewed individuals will be included, along with an indication of their relationship with MSTB. Based on our territorial

reading activities, a map of the historic centre was used to clarify the relations of the occupants with the surrounding area, displaying points of interest that they identified. The key findings relating to the three dimensions of justice – democracy, diversity and equity – were incorporated around the map as key ways of claiming a more just city. The physical leaflet was intended to be printed in A3 size and folded in such a way that the information unfolds itself stepwise to the reader.

2.5 Conclusion

There have been a series of urban development and regeneration processes and efforts in Salvador, and in Brazil nationally, that have disregarded the voices of the less powerful in decision-making processes. This has resulted in a less diverse social composition in Salvador’s historic centre, and devaluation of the area’s cultural and historical roots. The disparity in participation at the decision-making level has also led to certain social groups, such as people of African descent, being marginalised. Those in the occupations are stigmatised and discriminated against due to class-based prejudices and misrecognition of their diverse identities. It has prompted social movements, such as the MSTB, to take a more equity-focused approach to democracy to voice their concerns and better the lives of the marginalised people of Salvador.

The involvement of the MSTB in the IPAC II and III occupations in the historic centre of Salvador has helped the residents of the occupations to secure housing and access to the services and opportunities that the area has to offer. Social relations to one another and the neighbourhood reinforce their importance to this area. However, negative perceptions of the residents remain, and access to the historic centre has not empowered the residents to change and benefit from the urban spaces that represent who they are and their roots. MSTB could increase its presence in the occupations, particularly those most affected by stigmatisation and increasing invisibility due to violence and drug trafficking, to better connect with the most marginalised residents and help to strengthen their claims for a more just city.

In the context of an uncertain political situation the role of MSTB will be increasingly important in calling for justice. Through our research and *cartilha* we hope to show that the “constructed emptiness” of buildings within the Historic Centre of the city (as defined in the ongoing research of Lugar Comum) is not only important in terms of the physicality of the buildings, but also their social nature. Occupiers have brought these “vacant” buildings to life.

To conclude, we would like to propose some topics and suggestions for future engagement from our discussion with key stakeholders:

1. Similar research should examine other MSTB occupations, especially the ones located in the urban peripheries.
2. The research should further emphasise participatory methodologies, in order to enable the movement to continue this work independently.
3. Consideration should be given to ways in which participatory methodologies could be utilised to create a more comprehensive output, such a social cadastre of all MSTB occupations.

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Photo credit: Maurifa Hassan

3. Heritage and the Right to the City in Gamboa de Baixo

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3.1 Introduction

“As the boat pulled away from the coastline the uniqueness of Gamboa de Baixo became increasingly clear... the stark contrast between an endless line of jutting private piers and the small cluster of a few beautifully colourful houses that is Gamboa” (Mya Goschalk, Field Diary, 11th May 2016)

3.1.1. Coastal Urban Development in Salvador

The Salvador coastline has undergone a series of urban development projects over the years. In the 1950s, urbanisation was envisioned through ‘modernisation’ projects, often attempting to accomplish environmental and social goals of “sanitation, beautification and communication” (Fernandes et al, 1999). The showpiece was the Avenida do Contorno, designed in 1952 and opened in 1961; it was constituted as one of the most beautiful roads in Bahia and represented the peak of modernity (Perry, 2004). South of the Historic Centre of Salvador, the Museu de Arte Moderna da Bahia (MAM) was created in the 1960s and sheltered in an XVII century building, 30 years later the Bahia Marina, an exclusive “nautical leisure centre”, was opened next to MAM (Bahia Marina, 2016). In more recent years, a number of high-rise, privately-funded apartment blocks have been constructed in the same area of the coast, including that of Ivete Sangalo, the famous Brazilian singer who lives in the penthouse of Morada dos Cardais (Perry, 2009).

While the finished product of these developments is often an attractive structure with ‘picturesque’ views, the urbanisation process is complicated, racialised and sometimes violent. As Perry (2009) has observed, “the marginalization of black communities operates simultaneously with urban removal, which involves arbitrary demolition, forced expulsion, and displacement” (p.4).

This was exemplified in the case of the ‘Dirty Water’ community, where in 1995 an eviction of 97 families took place as part of the government’s ‘rehabilitation plan’ along the waterfront. This entire black community was completely erased; today, Bahia Marina and MAM’s ‘Sculpture Park’ stand in its place.

It is in this context that the coastal community of Gamboa de Baixo provides an interesting opportunity to understand the challenges that a vulnerable community along the coast may face as a consequence of urban development, and the strategies they might utilise to assert their rights

3.1.2. Urban development, heritage, and Gamboa de Baixo

Gamboa de Baixo is a community situated along the coast south of Pelourinho. The predominantly black population comprises 350 families, with a strong history of social mobilisation, particularly by black women (as documented extensively by Keisha-Khan Perry, 2004). The majority of people earn relatively low incomes, and around 70% of the community depend on fishing to survive. As alluded to in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, Gamboa de Baixo (together with its neighbouring community, Solar do Unhão) has found itself in an increasingly vulnerable position in terms of urban development. Private piers line the coast and overlooking Gamboa de Baixo are luxury high-rise blocks (See Figure 3.1. and 3.2.). Given the prime location of the community, the threat of displacement is high. Community members insist they do not want to end up as “a second edition of the Pelourinho” (Perry, 2004), explicitly referring back to the racialised displacement that occurred during the ‘revitalisation’ project of the 1990s.

In addition to private development interests there are various state institutions, policies and planning instruments which play a role in the situation of Gamboa de Baixo (See Table 3.1).

One of the key actors with a stake in Gamboa de Baixo in the last five years has been the Institute for National Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN). Their involvement has been centred mainly on the historical Fort of São Paulo situated within Gamboa de Baixo. Historical records for the fort date to 1715 and by the end of the 18th century it

was considered by many as one of the best fortifications of Bahia (Oliveira, 2008). In 1938, the Fort of São Paulo was officially listed as a 'Site of Heritage' by IPHAN; however, no subsequent projects were developed. Consequently, some Gamboa de Baixo families established their homes in the fort, and currently between 22 and 24 families live there.

Figure 3.1. Map showing Gamboa de Baixo, its surroundings and coastal developments. Source: Chapter authors, adapted from Google Earth.



Figure 3.2. Gamboa de Baixo from the sea. Source: Maurifa Hassan.



Table 3.1. Stakeholders, policies and instruments related to Gamboa de Baixo. Source: Chapter authors, based on information in Zanoli & Aloir (2014).

Stakeholder/Policy and Planning Instruments	Relevance to Gamboa de Baixo
National Level	
<i>Secretária do Patrimônio da União (SPU)</i>	The 30m of Gamboa de Baixo closest to the coast is under the jurisdiction of the SPU. They can provide a 'collective concession for housing purposes' which allows people to rent and use the land, but does not allow them to sell their properties
<i>Instituto de Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN)</i>	IPHAN is the institute for national historical and artistic heritage. They were under the authority of the Ministry of Culture at the time of writing, and operate through 'superintendents' at smaller geographical scales. They have a stake in project proposals for the fort of Sao Paulo in Gamboa de Baixo
Municipality and City Level	
<i>Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano (PDDU)</i>	The PDDU is a master plan for future urban development which is established by municipal law and is a key part of the city planning process. At the time of writing, the next PDDU was to be finalised in June 2016
<i>Zonas de Especial Interesse Social (ZEIS)</i>	ZEIS is a zoning instrument under the PDDU that dictates the future design and implementation of urban planning. Within ZEIS there are different categories. Since 2008, Gamboa de Baixo has had ZEIS V status (that is, official recognition of being a traditional community). However, the ZEIS status of Gamboa de Baixo in the next PDDU is under negotiation
Municipality Authorities	The municipal authorities have the power to grant legal land and property titles to the people of Gamboa de Baixo, but have not yet done so. There was an attempt in 2007, but this was not successful

In the last three years, IPHAN has developed proposals for the historical fort in Gamboa de Baixo, which combine the historical tourist attraction of the fort, restaurants, a museum, and a series of access points to Gamboa, including a cable car running from above Gamboa, to take tourists directly to the fort (Zanoli, 2016). While these proposals have yet to be approved, projects such as this raise questions such as: how is heritage defined? By whom? And for what purpose?

Discussions around heritage have been shown to be far from neutral. For example, in many places heritage has become an industry for the sole purpose of attracting capital from tourism (Mitchell, 2002). Choices about how to utilise heritage involve favouring the interests of some over those of others, and thus questions of heritage become entwined with politics (Weiss, 2007).

3.1.3. Research Questions

The understanding that heritage can be appropriated by different actors for political purposes gave rise to our research focus. Would it be possible for the community of Gamboa de Baixo to re-appropriate the notion of heritage, as understood by IPHAN and others, in order to advance their claims in the face of coastal urban development and institutional changes?

We articulated this focus through our principal research question: **How can discussions on heritage in Gamboa de Baixo advance local claims to the 'Right to the City'?** Throughout the research process, we explored this question through three subsidiary questions:

1. What are the current claims to the right to the city being made in Gamboa de Baixo?
2. How is heritage defined by different actors in Gamboa de Baixo?
3. How can residents enhance their claims on the right to the city by using a reclaimed notion of heritage?

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1. Analytical Lens

The concept of 'right to the city' is our primary lens of analysis. Proposed by Henri Lefebvre and further elaborated by authors such as David Harvey, the right to the city "is not merely a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define, but an active right to make the city different, to shape it" (Harvey, 2003; p.941).

Our understanding of the right to the city is therefore two-fold. Firstly, it involves the right to participate, which includes the right to access services as well as the right to participate in urban decision-making processes (Lefebvre, 1990). This element of participation is particularly relevant to Brazil as it forms a key part of the City Statute – a federal law which aims to operationalise the right to the city as introduced in the 1988 Federal Constitution (Fernandes, 2007). The second element is that it is the right to redefine and change the city on communities' own terms (Harvey, 2012).

Drawing on Nancy Fraser's theory of social justice, we consider that recognition is key for people's ability to participate and change the city. For Nancy Fraser, "to be mis-recognized... is not simply to be thought ill of, looked down upon or devalued... It is rather to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem" (Fraser, 2000; p.113). Thus, recognition can be understood as a dialectic between social-cultural values and norms, and institutionalised practices and policies. In theory, by achieving recognition as a "full partner in social interaction," communities will be able to access the right to the city.

For this research we specifically explored how the discourse of heritage can serve as a link between issues of recognition and the right to the city. Given the politics and power dynamics of heritage as discussed earlier, it was seen that the heritage sector plays an important role in how socio-cultural norms and values are institutionalised and therefore could mediate issues of recognition and right to the city.

It must also be noted that an important factor influencing recognition is the complex influence of neoliberalism in Brazil, and in Salvador specifically. As Harvey (2008) notes, in the neoliberal city those who have capital have more power in shaping urbanisation. Policies in Brazil began to be influenced by neoliberal ideas – such as privatisation, deregulation and the withdrawal of the state (Amann & Baer, 2011) – in the 1990s. The relationship became complicated and at times contradictory when the left-leaning Workers' Party came into power in 2003 (Saad-Filho, 2013). However, in Salvador, neoliberalism and the influence of private actors continues to play an important role in urbanisation.

Our analytical framework for research focused in the way in which neoliberal ideas may hinder the equal recognition of certain groups both within socio-cultural norms and values and within institutional practices and policies, as these aspects are interrelated and help constitute one another. Ideas and policies relating to heritage are one way in which mis-recognition may be articulated. However, mobilisation of the dual aspects of the right to the city – power to participate and power to change – may provide a foundation for challenging ideas about heritage and in turn make space for the recognition of alternative values and norms and the transformation of institutional policy and practice.

3.2.2. Stages of the Action Research Process

In order to devise and tackle the research focus, we undertook three stages of research (see Table 3.2) through a number of methods (see Table 3.3). The diagnosis stage involved understanding the context of misrecognition in Gamboa de Baixo and current claims to the right to the city. Concurrently, we undertook activities to understand how heritage is defined by IPHAN and the community. The final stage was an attempt to understand how local residents could enhance their claims on the right to the city by using a reclaimed notion of heritage. This acted as part of the ‘action’ element of our research. We hoped to contribute to the community’s current thinking, which frames fishing as a form of heritage, as well as produce an output that would enhance their claims.

3.2.3. Limitations

The research attempted to include a wide variety of community members in order to get an in-depth understanding. However, time constraints and challenges in organising broader community gatherings meant that participants were mainly fisherfolk. Furthermore, although both women and men are involved in fishing in Gamboa de Baixo, fewer women than men participated in the research activities.

A further limitation was the language barrier between participants and researchers from UCL. This limited the team’s access to the full range of literature about Gamboa de Baixo, as well as our grasp of Brazilian laws and policies with regards to heritage and the right to the city. With only two translators on the team, the challenge of translating between English and Portuguese also placed certain limits on the amount and type of fieldwork that could be carried out.

3.3 Findings and Analysis

3.3.1. Misrecognition of Gamboa de Baixo has hindered their claims on the ‘right to the city’

The construction of the Avenida do Contorno in the late 1950s and early 1960s was a turning point for residents of Gamboa de Baixo and their relationship with the rest of the city. As an urban planning policy, the construction of the road had tangible and physical impacts. The building of the Avenida not only led to the destruction of many houses, it also created a physical barrier of separation between parts of the city. During a transect walk with Ana Caminha (May, 2016), president of the neighbourhood association, she commented how the road separated Gamboa de Baixo (literally meaning ‘lower Gamboa’) and Gamboa de Cima (‘upper Gamboa’).

Table 3.2. Stages of the research performed and related methods and activities. Source: Chapter authors.

Methods	Activities	March	April	May													June		
		W1-5	W1-4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	W3-4	W1-4	
Literature Review	General Overview	■																	
	Heritage Literature		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Transect Walks	Walk with President of Gamboa de Baixo neighborhood association				■														
	Walk with President of Solar de Unhão neighborhood association							■											
	Gamboa di Baixo Boat visit												■						
Participatory Photography	Cameras given to fisherman							■	■	■	■	■	■						
	Follow up interview																		
Interviews	Marcia- Ex IPHAN member														■				
	IPHAN members														■				
	President of Gamboa de Baixo neighborhood association				■														
	President of Solar de Unhão neighborhood association						■												
Participatory Workshops	River of Life							■											
	Field of dreams							■											
Focus Groups	Fishermen focus group												■						
Deliverables	Poster														■	■			
	Booklet about Gamboa														■	■	■	■	
	Photos given to the community																■	■	

Diagnosis ■ Defining Heritage ■ Developing alternatives ■

This planning practice also contributed to the community's physical invisibility. As Figure 3.3 shows, there is no sign for Gamboa de Baixo, and the area is barely visible from the road apart from the small glimpse of a staircase. This staircase was a later addition, constructed after protests by the residents that opposed the fatal risks of crossing and the inaccessibility of the community.

However, urban planning policies have impacts beyond the physical; they also create and reinforce social and cultural patterns (Parnell, 2015). For Lefebvre "space is not a scientific object... it is political and strategic" (1976; p.31). Ana Caminha (May, 2016) claimed that the community "used to feel part of the city, we were seen by others as a traditional community, but now, because of the road, the area is seen as marginalised, isolated and dangerous." Perry (2004) found that the separation of the two Gam-

boa neighbourhoods has created a division that has maintained racial, social and economic hierarchies. For some, the forms of social exclusion resulting from the construction of the Avenida have persisted to today.

Isolation and separation has led to the misrecognition of Gamboa de Baixo by outsiders to the community. For example, during the research period in Salvador, one taxi driver almost refused to drive there, as he perceived it to be too dangerous. These perceptions link Gamboa de Baixo with drugs, criminality and dirt, and are perpetuated in the media and used to justify government and policing policies (Perry, 2013). For instance, in June 2012, the Tourist Protection Office identified Gamboa de Baixo as an escape route for robbers, and launched an operation with 120 civil and military police, navy teams and a helicopter force (Correio 24 Horas, 2012).

Table 3.3. Description of the methods performed in the research. Source: Chapter authors.

Methods	Description	Aims
Literature Review	Reviewing current literature on key concepts of rights to the city, heritage from below, and recognition	To understand the theoretical discourse on key research concepts and develop the analytical framework
Transect Walks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 Transect walk in Gamboa de Baixo • 1 Transect walk in Solar do Unhão • 1 boat visit 	To understand the local context by identifying key communal spaces and observing the environment
Participatory Photography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory photography with 2 participants who used cameras to capture their daily lives as fisher folk • Subsequent interview with one participant 	To gain an in-depth understanding of the role of fishing in the community and learn about fishing practices such as use of tools. This contributed to our view of fishing as heritage
Semi-structured Interviews	4 interviews with key informants: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 interview of the President of the Neighbourhood Association of Gamboa de Baixo • 1 interview with the Secretary of the Neighbourhood Association of Solar do Unhão • 1 interview with an ex-IPHAN official who is an expert on intangible heritage • 1 interview with 2 officials from IPHAN. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To get an in-depth understanding of current context of the community and their claims to the right to the city as well as community-level understanding of heritage. • To understand official discourse on heritage
Participatory Workshops with fisherfolk	3 participants (2 men, 1 woman) 2 main activities were conducted: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • River of Life exercise: participants traced key events related to urbanisation, community mobilisation and fishing in a timeline • Field of dreams exercise: Participants were asked to list up to three responses to each of the following questions: (1) What do you like about the community? (2) What do you want to keep as it is in the community? (3) What do you expect to happen in the future? (4) What would you change about the community? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To learn about claims to the right to the city that have been made in the past and understand fishing practices • To gather local perceptions of the community and heritage.
Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	3 semi-structured FGDs held with fisherfolk from the community (7 men; 4 women)	To understand fishing practices and the role of fishing and how it relates to heritage

News coverage included a picture of military police interrogating residents of Gamboa in a darkened underpass, while another showed ‘special operations centre’ policemen with large firearms. This representation of Gamboa de Baixo, as well as the subjection of its residents to a confrontational and militarised intervention, reinforces public perceptions of Gamboa de Baixo as violent and in need of pacification.

Gamboa de Baixo’s neighbourhood association is aware of these connotations, and in the past have organised projects to combat this misrecognition. ‘Mudo Gamboa’ was a cultural movement set up in 2014 by the neighbourhood association in an attempt to change perceptions of Gamboa de Baixo (See Figure 3.4). They invited people from outside the community to various events, including photography workshops and live music.

The marginalised social and physical status of the community has reduced the residents’ ability to access rights in the city. Residents of Gamboa de Baixo do not have legal land titles, which compromises secure tenure and makes them vulnerable to planning changes. Furthermore, residents that took part in a participatory workshop pointed to the lack of access to services, as compared to the better quality of services that exists in the ‘asphalt’ (a slang term for the higher-income neighbourhoods). For example, despite the high quality Bahia Marina adjacent to the community, Gamboa de Baixo lacks a proper port.

In recent years, private sector developments have enhanced this physical and social separation. The construction of the luxury block ‘Morada dos Cardeais’ involved extending the eastern perimeter wall of the community, and creating an imposing structure above the community. This type of construction mimics similar developments across the world that create highly securitised ‘fortresses’ around the rich (Davis, 1996). The developer, Odebrecht, went one step further, and in marketing information the future projection visual included an area of vegetation covering Gamboa de Baixo (Perry, 2009). Not only is Gamboa de Baixo misrecognised in this representation of the future, it is not recognised at all. The Bahia Marina has also been developed with little regard to the community. Its construction impacted the shape of the coastline, causing negative impacts for fishing, according to one focus group. Gamboa de Baixo’s reduced social status has meant that negative impacts on the community were not taken into consideration.

However, connections with the neoliberal city are more complex and do not always reinforce misrecognition. For instance, stand-up paddle boarding is an activity in Solar do Unhão and Gamboa de Baixo that has been practiced for many years. In the last few years a small enterprise has opened at Solar do Unhão teaching the skill, and al-

lowing people from the rest of the city to see aspects of these communities that are not related to violence or crime. This can help to tackle misrecognition.

To sum up, we found that misrecognition has resulted in a subordinate social status for Gamboa de Baixo, and hindered the community’s ability to access the right to the city. It is clear that an attempt to enhance claims to the right to the city must address this issue of misrecognition.

Figure 3.3. Gamboa de Baixo, whose entrance is under this road, is almost invisible in Salvador. There are no signs acknowledging the community’s existence. Source: Maurifa Hassan.

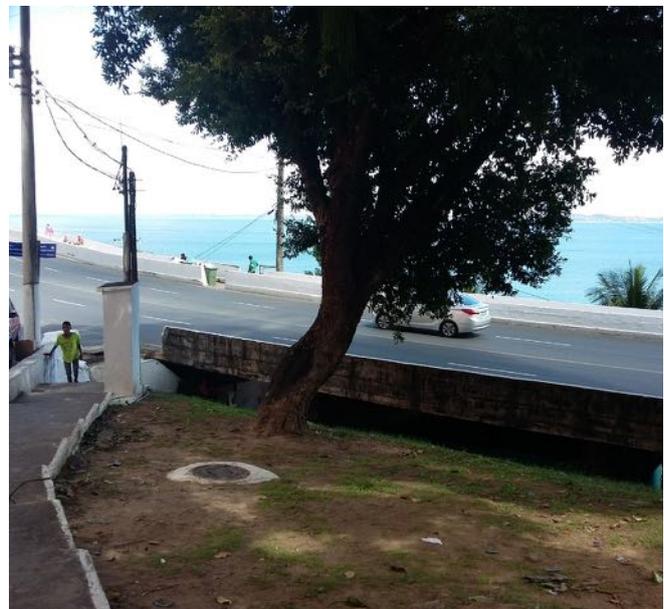


Figure 3.4. A wall recalling the ‘Mudo Gamboa’ movement, photographed during a transect walk. Source: Maurifa Hassan.



3.3.2. Fishing as a form of heritage from below and an entry point to demand recognition

That fishing is an inherent aspect of the history and identity of Gamboa de Baixo is symbolised by the fact that the word ‘*Gamboa*’ refers to a type of trap-fishing method that is traditionally used in the community. Residents of Gamboa de Baixo have historically demanded this identity as a fishing community and their relation to the sea as one of the reasons for their right to stay in the Bay of All Saints (Perry, 2004). In fact, the community’s fishing identity has been acknowledged by the Municipality of Salvador through the 2008 PDDU that lists Gamboa de Baixo in Zone V: an area incorporating traditional communities linked to practices such as fishing, where there is an acknowledged public interest in promoting the regularisation land and town planning, environmental restoration and measures necessary for the maintenance of their traditions and culture (PDDU, 2008).

Given the strong historical link between fishing and the community, this research explored how fishing practices can be identified as a form of heritage. The concept of ‘heritage from below’, conceptualised by historian Iain Robertson (2008), challenges the dominance of elites in determining what is considered as heritage. Robertson envisions heritage from below as alternative forms of heritage defined by local communities. Copeland (2012; p.22) further elaborates these ideas through a series of characteristics of the term (as shown in Table 3.4). Participatory research methods in the ‘defining heritage’ stage of the research provided evidence that aspects of fishing in Gamboa de Baixo could be considered as a type of heritage from below according to these characteristics. Appendix 2 provides evidence of Copeland (2012) characteristics of ‘heritage from below’ seen in Gamboa de Baixo fishing practices.

For instance, the ordinary and everyday quality of fishing was expressed in an observation by Ana Caminha, President of neighbourhood association stating, “70% of Gamboa’s population depend on fishing to survive.” Elements of its flexibility, dynamism and progressive nature could be seen in the variety of fishing techniques (see Table 3.4) that have been passed down and changed through the generations. The heritage associated with fishing gives rise to emotional responses, such as that expressed by fisherwoman Verónica: “Fishing gives independence and pleasure of being who you are, working with nature.” It also includes intangible aspects of the past, expressed in the memories of participants such as fisherwoman Maria José: “I learned to fish with my mother, my father. When I was little, with seven years I was already fishing.”

For people of Gamboa de Baixo, fishing is not simply a livelihood activity; it encompasses a variety of everyday skills that have been inherited intergenerationally. As one fisherwoman noted in a focus group discussion, “even those who have other jobs still fish” and it’s a “collective activity

that is passed down generations”. In discussion with fishermen and women, most stated that they learned fishing at a young age from elderly family members and that they also teach younger members of the community. For example, Cosme de Freitas Araujo, a 37 year old fisherman, noted that, as a child, he learned fishing skills such as the best places to throw a net, and the behaviour of the tide, from family members and friends. These examples indicate the way in which fishing is socially and community-based, as well as being a familiar and everyday survival activity for an estimated 70% of the Gamboa population (Ana Caminha, president of the neighbourhood association).

Figure 3.5. Recording findings of a focus group at Gamboa de Baixo restaurant. Source: Maurifa Hassan.



Table 3.4. Characteristics of heritage from below. Source: Copeland (2012).

HERITAGE FROM BELOW
It is ordinary, everyday, and familiar and local It is socially and ethnically or community based It is democratic and ACTIVELY chosen It is flexible, progressive and dynamic and has forward-looking values It is not just about buildings and objects It includes emotional responses and is value-based It is an arena for the collective imagination It includes the intangible aspects of the past-stories and traditions for example

However, fishing in Gamboa de Baixo is not static. Fisherfolk in Gamboa de Baixo utilise multiple different types of fishing techniques (see Table 3.5) that change over the seasons and have been adapted in relation to the local environment. During focus group discussions, fisherfolk described how they previously employed bomb-fishing until they realised the detrimental impact on the environment and stopped the practice. Moreover, during the winter season, some fisherfolk focus on snorkelling for lobsters while during the summer months they fish.

However, perhaps more importantly, some members of the community have begun to make this connection between fishing (something which is perhaps more widely seen as a regular, everyday practice) and more intangible aspects of their lives, that is, with heritage. During a focus group discussion participants discussed what heritage meant to them beyond physical structures. When one participant claimed, "This is the place I was born and raised, this is what heritage means to me," he described heritage as being about one's personal connection to a place. Another participant commented on how the landscape formed a part of the heritage of Gamboa de Baixo, while another two drew attention to the relationship with the sea as contributing to their understanding of heritage.

These ideas of heritage stand opposed to the prevailing understanding of heritage in Gamboa de Baixo, which is centred on the Fort of São Paulo. This valorises a particular form of history – one which is about state power, domination and a structure strongly rooted in a past that bears little connection to the present lives of city dwellers. If, in line with the right to the city, the community is given power to participate in defining the historical and current identity of Gamboa de Baixo through the 'heritage from below' approach, space emerges for the community to be recognised as a fundamental part of that physical space. Herit-

age defined from below allows the community to recreate the city imaginary and in so doing validate their claim to a place in this particular location. As Ana Caminha, president of the neighbourhood association, stated, emphasising the importance of fishing to the community would simultaneously prove why they cannot be relocated.

Furthermore, the valorisation of fishing as a form of heritage could help to break the homogenisation and negative perception of Gamboa de Baixo and Solar do Unhão. As the Secretary of the Neighbourhood Association of Solar do Unhão, stated, "When they speak about this Gamboa area, they do not speak exclusively of Gamboa. They treat the two communities as one." He believed that if the city were to recognise the uniqueness of Gamboa de Baixo, city planners would have to acknowledge the differences between Gamboa de Baixo and Solar do Unhão. This increased recognition, through a reclaimed notion of heritage, would in turn help to resist policies which treat these communities as homogenous units.

3.3.3. Institutions play an important role in mediating heritage and recognition

Although fishery can be defined as a form of intangible heritage from below, this community-level claim may not in itself enhance Gamboa de Baixo's right to the city. There are several state-level institutional policies and plans that play a key role in determining how far heritage can act as an entry point for recognition and therefore the right to the city. This relates to back to Fraser's model of recognition, in which she states that "misrecognition is institutionalized via government policies, administrative codes or professional practice" such that "redressing misrecognition means replacing institutionalised value patterns that impede parity of participation with ones that enable or foster it" (Fraser, 2000, pp. 144-115).

Table 3.5. Fishing practices carried out at Gamboa de Baixo. Source: Chapter authors.

Fishing Practice	Explanation	Equipment
Line	A nylon line and bait are used as a fisher arm. Fishermen waits in the shores of Gamboa to catch different kinds of fish.	Nylon Line. Bait.
Multiple hook with plumb	A strong string with multiple hooks and a sinker is thrown into the sea. Multiple catches can be done in this way.	Small boat. Strong Nylon/plastic string. Multiple hooks. Bait.
Net at open sea	A big net produced in Gamboa is spread in deeper waters to catch bigger fishes.	Medium sized boat. Nylon net.
Muzúa	Muzúa is a medium sized cage made of steel with a whole where preys enter attracted by bait. It is thrown to the bottom of shallow waters.	Small and medium sized boats. Muzúa. Bait.
Gamboa	It's the most traditional way of fishing. Fishes come into a natural pool (Gamboa) through a small "door", which is closed by fishermen with a net. Preys are trapped and fished.	Nylon Net. Nylon Lines.

In the case of Gamboa de Baixo, addressing these institutional issues that undermine their heritage and therefore full recognition of the community are especially challenging given the neoliberal influence on Brazil's urban policies and heritage institutions such as IPHAN. As discussed earlier, for example, IPHAN's current plans for heritage in Gamboa de Baixo are confined to restoring the Fort of São Paulo and connecting the monument to the Modern Art Museum for the purpose of attracting tourism. This attitude was further highlighted during the research team's meeting with IPHAN, in which one of the technical coordinators stated that, in Gamboa de Baixo, "There is no manifestation that can be regarded as heritage, and there are not elements that can be considered as particular."

Furthermore, even at the municipal level Gamboa de Baixo faces several challenges in terms of how institutional-level policies can remedy the misrecognition of the area's heritage as a fishing community. For example, in the new PDDU of Salvador, which was in the process of being drafted at the time of writing, Gamboa de Baixo's status as a ZEIS V area (a traditional community) was initially removed, but later on provisionally reinstated. While at the moment this is a positive indication, the inconsistency and sometimes inaccessibility of these processes of change make it even more challenging for the community to try to redress the institutionalised values that undermine Gamboa de Baixo's recognition and right to the city. This was rendered more problematic by the rapidly changing political context at the time of writing, and the uncertainty over the position of the Ministry of Culture (which governs IPHAN).

Despite these challenges, there is still potential for using formal institutional policies to further heritage from below as an entry point for addressing issues of misrecognition. There are several state-level policies in Brazil that could provide an avenue for community involvement in determining what is considered as heritage. For example, article 216 of the Federal Constitution of Brazil states that "The Brazilian cultural heritage consists of the assets of a material and immaterial nature, taken individually or as a whole, which bear reference to the identity, action and memory of the various groups that form the Brazilian society." It states further "The Government shall, with the cooperation of the community, promote and protect the Brazilian cultural heritage" (1988). This constitutional guarantee, which values the protection of immaterial or intangible heritage as well as the role of community involvement, strengthens the possibility of using institutional channels for claiming Gamboa de Baixo's heritage as a fishing community.

The constitutional right to intangible heritage and community participation is operationalised in IPHAN's Registro Process, established by Decree No. 3551 of August 4, 2000. Under article 2 of this decree, the registration of intangible heritage can be initiated at the community level by civil society organisations. According to an interview with an ex-IPHAN employee, the registro process

involves meetings with the community before, during and after the process, and is regarded as one of the strengths of IPHAN's operations.

Other social movements in Brazil have successfully used institutional channels and the law to claim rights. For example, the housing movement Unhão dos Movimentos de Moradia (UMM) engaged in litigation against the state for the latter's failure to uphold the right to housing, with reference to the Constitution. Occupations of private properties by the movement were justified by the fact that the municipalities have failed to uphold the law (Earle, 2012).

3.4 Proposals for Future Action

In light of our second and third findings above, which suggest that fishing can be defined as a form of heritage from below, as indicate the potential (and challenges) within institutionalised channels for change, this report suggests a number of proposals that could be used to advance Gamboa de Baixo's claims.

3.4.1. Community Action

Negotiating recognition through formal challenges raises a number of difficulties. As mentioned previously, these include contradictory notions of heritage between institutions and local communities. Additionally, the Gamboa de Baixo community itself is currently facing some obstacles to mobilisation. Through the fieldwork it emerged that the neighbourhood association was relatively inactive, and that the fishing association has also become weaker in the last few years.

By strengthening these associations, Gamboa de Baixo may have a greater chance of presenting a unified voice within formal planning and heritage channels such as the PDDU and IPHAN's *'registro'* process. While this may strengthen their ability to participate, it is also important to acknowledge that the structure of participation within the context of planning in Brazil may limit their ability to create change. A stronger collective capacity for both associations could have longer term and secondary impacts. For example, efforts have been made in the past to register legal land titles, but the private company that was commissioned to assist with registering legal land titles claimed that they were unable to complete the process due to the "disorder" of the community (Zanoli, 2016). By strengthening the organising capacity of the community, residents could equip themselves to fight for further progress in the area despite these stated difficulties.

In addition, collaboration with other organisations and neighbourhoods could be considered. At the moment, academic institutions can help Gamboa De Baixo to justify its heritage value, but in the next steps, cooperation with other more

practical organisations might be helpful in term of tangible actions. In addition, alliances with other communities facing a similar situation could make residents' claims more powerful.

3.4.2. Output of Research

The output of the research project is a booklet to be given to the neighbourhood association of Gamboa de Baixo. The booklet aims to show:

- Background information on Gamboa de Baixo
- Fisherfolk's stories: demonstrating how fishing is intergenerational, dynamic and has a variety of social meanings
- Evidence of the diversity of fishing techniques in Gamboa de Baixo
- Information on the relevant constitutional laws and IPHAN practices

The booklet will be given as a record of some of the aspects of fishing in the community, but it will also act as a tool for negotiation. We hope that it will be able to serve two strategic purposes. Firstly, it illustrates evidence of fishing as a form of heritage in Gamboa de Baixo, and could therefore be used as an advocacy tool. This could allow the community to begin a conversation with IPHAN, or other relevant actors, about the existence of alternative forms of heritage in Gamboa. It is worth noting that, at the time of writing, the final version was still to be confirmed, pending the conclusion of discussions with the community about additional content useful for them.

Secondly, the booklet can serve the purpose of spreading awareness of the constitutional rights and IPHAN practices that could be used by the community. There are indeed references to community participation in the heritage-defining process, both in the Constitution and in IPHAN's operations; however, these are not well known or actively encouraged. Therefore, lack of awareness of these potential avenues for participation may hinder the ability of the community to access them. Finally, the booklet also aims to help spread awareness to residents about the potential of linking community heritage and rights.

3.5 Conclusion

For the residents of Gamboa de Baixo, a community of about 350 families, the process of urbanisation and development along the coastline of Salvador has continually undermined their right to the city. One of the challenges that the community currently faces is the state's interest in restoring the 18th century Fort of Sao Paulo in Gam-

boa de Baixo, which is listed as a site of heritage and as a tourist attraction, but also houses some of the area's community members.

Given this context, we have explored how the community can engage in the politics of heritage for their own advantage. More specifically, we examined the possibility of utilising the concept of heritage from below as an entry point to address issues of misrecognition in order to enhance residents' right to the city. The research has showed that issues of misrecognition play an important role in hindering the residents of Gamboa de Baixo in their claims to the right to the city. This is manifested in spatial exclusion of the neighbourhood from the larger city, as well as lack of public resources and services, both of which reinforce the social value and status of the community. The findings also highlighted how fishing in Gamboa de Baixo is a form of heritage from below, and that this can help to change the recognition of the community. Through reinforcing particular socio-cultural values of Gamboa as a fishing community, and re-shaping the perception other communities hold of Gamboa de Baixo, residents of the locality can strengthen their claim to remain in the coastal area. The final finding showed that recognition of the social and cultural value of fishing alone cannot change the status of Gamboa in the city. Institutionalised channels provide potential entry points for Gamboa de Baixo; however, these must be considered carefully due to the challenges they present.

3.5.1. Future Research

Future research could focus on gaining a more in-depth understanding of potential strategies that the community could utilise in order to further their demands and claims to the right to the city. This could involve analysing the implementation process of policies such as the new city master plan or Salvador's PDDU. This will come into force in July 2016, and will determine the status and implementation of the ZEIS zoning instrument in Gamboa de Baixo.

Related to the weakening of the associations of Gamboa de Baixo in recent years, further research could also explore the challenges community organisations such as the neighbourhood association and the fishing association of Gamboa de Baixo face, in order to understand how these organisations can be strengthened.

Finally, as this research project mainly focused on how Gamboa de Baixo can potentially redress issues of misrecognition by reclaiming notions of heritage as a way to enhance their right to the city, further research could also explore different entry points, aside from heritage, that could strengthen the community's claims to the city. This could include analysing issues of redistribution that the community faces, such as access to land and municipal services. As Fraser notes, misrecognition is just

one factor of status subordination that hinders people from participating on equal terms with others in society. Other factors, such as misdistribution, must also be understood in order to redress this and achieve social justice (Fraser, 2000).

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Photo credit: Kentaro Tsubakihara

4. Acervo da Laje: Changing places in Salvador's periphery

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4.1 Introduction

4.1.1. Subúrbio Ferroviário: on the edge of Salvador

Subúrbio Ferroviário is officially defined as the seventeenth administrative region of the city of Salvador. It is located at the northwest end of the city (see Figure 4.1). The Subúrbio is said to comprise 22 neighbourhoods, located along the path of the train line which gives the area its name. Out of Salvador's estimated population of 2.6 million people (IBGE, 2010), approximately a quarter reside here (G1 Bahia - Jornal da Manhã, 2016).

The initial settlers of the Subúrbio were 'fisherfolk' and sugar cane mill workers (TARDE, 2016; Johnson, 2012) but when the railroad was built in 1860, railroad workers moved to the area. Another influx of workers followed the establishment of the São Braz textile factory in Plataforma, seen in Figure 4.2 (Johnson, 2012; Soares, 2006). Since the factory's closure in the 1980s (Castore, n.d.), employment options within the Subúrbio have been limited.

Historically, Subúrbio Ferroviário was a summer holiday destination due to the panoramic landscape of the Baía de Todos os Santos. It was not until the late 1960s that the area became more residential (Regis, 2007; interview with AdL staff, 07/05/2016). The construction of the Avenue Afrânio Peixoto (Suburbana Avenue) in 1971 led to changes in the size and nature of Subúrbio's populations. The neighbourhoods that grew around the avenue were built informally by low income groups (Regis, 2007).

Land ownership in Subúrbio Ferroviário is diverse. Some communities grew out of informal occupations, while others, like the neighbourhood of Plataforma where we conducted our research, are mainly populated by tenants of the powerful Catharino family, which owns 80% of the land in the area. According to the Associação dos Moradores de Plataforma (AMPLA), approximately 20,000 families are affected by tenure insecurity (Moreira, n.d.; Rocha, 2003).

Figure 4.1. Administrative regions in Salvador. Source: Secretaria Municipal de Desenvolvimento e Urbanismo (2016).

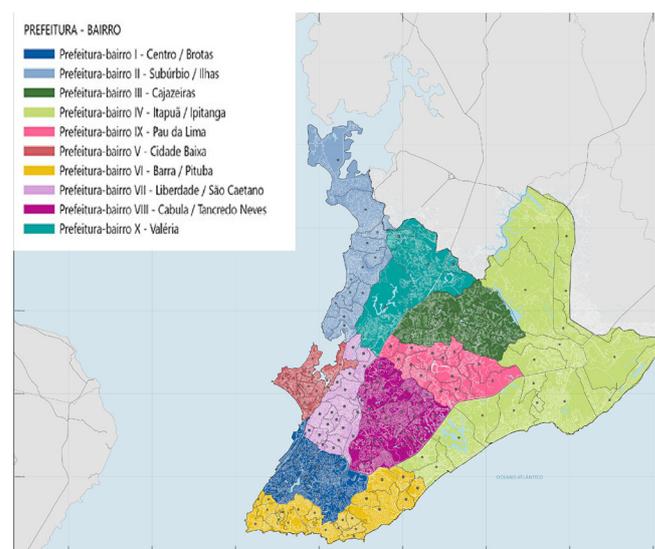


Figure 4.2. Vacant São Braz textile factory. Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



In 2010, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) reported that 75.3% of the Subúrbio residents were considered “poor”, earning one or fewer minimum wage salaries per household (Baltrusis and Mourad, 2014), while the unemployment rate of this area in 2006 ranged between 30% to 35% of the population (Johnson, 2012).

These material disadvantages are compounded by the fact that the neighbourhoods that comprise Subúrbio, and the predominantly ‘black’ and ‘brown’ population who live there (see Figure 4.3) face a high degree of stigma from residents of other parts of the city, the media, and government.

4.1.2. Stigma, Invisibility and Acervo da Laje

Acervo da Laje (AdL) is an arts and cultural organisation in the Plataforma area of Subúrbio Ferroviário, which aims to promote the beauty, value and complexity of a peripheral area by working against the invisibility of local art, history and memory and to counteract the stereotypes of violence and lack that stigmatise Subúrbio (described in more detail in section 4.3.1 below).

AdL was founded by José Eduardo, an academic and life-long resident of the Subúrbio, and is maintained by José, his wife Vilma and a team of volunteers. AdL’s activities were initially based in one location and were focused on providing access to “art space” but, as a self-managed organisation, it has gradually developed its engagements to also provide an “educational space” for Subúrbio Fer-

roviário – or, more specifically, Plataforma’s residents. It is important to note that such spaces are rare within the peripheral area of Salvador (José Eduardo, Semi-structured interview, 02/05/2016).

Having started as an exhibition space (José Eduardo, Semi-structured interview, 02/05/2016), AdL has evolved to assume additional functions, including four major roles. First, it acts as a museum/repository, collecting artworks to display the ‘invisible beauty’ and the cultural history of Subúrbio. These include paintings, craftworks, sculptures, books and photographs (Figure 4.4). The objects exhibited in the AdL are created by artists of the Subúrbio, were inspired by the Subúrbio, or were donated or bought to be shared with the community.

Second, AdL **acts as a place of cultural education**, holding workshops for both children and adults, with the purpose of contesting misrecognition and stigma through art education (Figure 4.5). During the workshops, participants visit the art collection and perform different activities such as photography, mosaics, drawing, reading, ornamental metal work, and so on. In interviews with several parents of the participants, we found that AdL is regarded as a place for “child development” and “education”.

Third, it **acts as a gathering and care-giving space**, which provides a family-like environment. According to one participant – a community member and mother of two of the children who attend the workshops – AdL is “a very important place for both parents and children in Subúrbio” (interview, 07/05/2016).

Figure 4.3. Ethnicity in Subúrbio Ferroviário. Source: Mendes (2015)

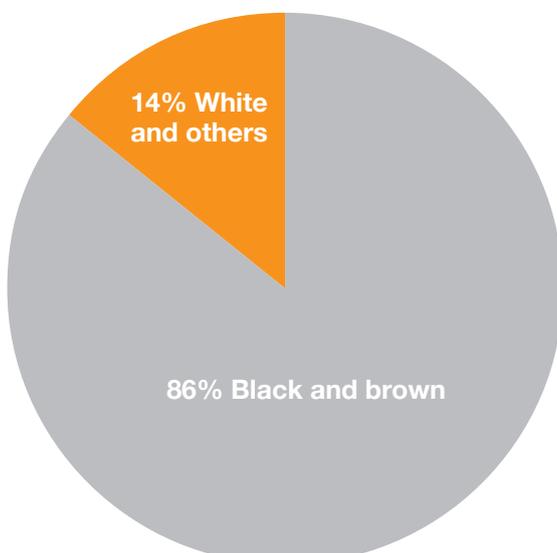


Figure 4.4. Art collection at AdL. Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



Fourth, AdL **acts as an intervener in space**. It has undertaken interventions in different spaces around Subúrbio Ferroviário. For example, in December 2014, AdL organised the exhibition “A Beleza do Subúrbio” in the ruins of the old São Braz Factory. AdL also coordinated a graffiti intervention in one of Plataforma’s streets, and painted over neo-Nazi and homophobic messages with poetry and art at a local bus station (Wilma Semi-structured Interview, 07/05/2016). Furthermore, AdL’s latest project, *Ocupa Lajes*, invites people to open up private “lajes” — roof tops of unfinished houses typical of irregular settlements — as spaces to hold workshops and social gatherings.

Through each of these activities, AdL is engaged in reconstructing ‘the symbolic mosaic on the outskirts of Salvador’ and restoring ‘dignity, culture, access to works of art and beauty, whether in the territory, the people and works of art’ (Programa Avançado de Cultura Contemporânea, 2012). These are qualities that SdL considers have been withdrawn and never returned by a city which often stigmatises the residents of the Subúrbio.

4.1.3. City development and spatial change: reproducing marginality?

Given its peripheral location in Salvador, connectivity to the rest of the city is very important for the Subúrbio’s residents, but limited accessibility continues to be a problem. Residents have three main transport options: taking the *ônibus* (bus), taking the train, and walking (see Figure 4.6). Most commuting in the Subúrbio is by *ônibus* (Coelho and Serpa, 2001). In terms of usage, walking is considered the second most popular transport method in Salvador (ibid.). The train is an important transport alternative, but due to the poor quality of the service it tends to be used as a last resort, mainly when there are *ônibus* strikes, or at month-end when people can only afford to pay the lower fare of 0.5 reais as compared to 3.3 reais for the *ônibus*.

The overall transport situation of Subúrbio is challenging, with the Suburbana Avenue routinely congested, poorly maintained public buses, and a train line that is regularly out of service, with frequent robberies along the route (ibid.).

Figure 4.5. Workshop with children at AdL (left) and birthday party at AdL (right). Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



Figure 4.6. Bus stop in Subúrbio Ferroviário (left) and train seen from across the water (right). Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



In the transport arena, the major change happening in Subúrbio Ferroviário is the refurbishment of the train that links Calçada, the more central area of Salvador, with Paripe, in the northern part of the Subúrbio. This train refurbishment is a significant project funded by both the state and the national government (Mendes, 2015a), and will be executed by China Tiesiju Civil Engineering (ALAMYS, 2016). For this new train (referred to as *Veículo Leve sobre Trilhos*, or VLT), the rail-line will be expanded from 13.6 km with 10 stops, to 18.5 km with 21 stops, and will be connected with future metro lines. Figure 4.7 shows the railroad that will be developed. Works were scheduled to start in 2016, with the first stage affecting the area between Comercio and Plataforma.

Closely linked with the VLT is the Coastal Regeneration project (A Tarde, 2015; Mendes, 2015b). This intervention will take place between Plataforma and Itacarahna (see Figure 4.8). Even though the project includes the construction of leisure spaces, parks and some fishing spaces, the presentation documents have a strong focus on aesthetics and say little about community involvement. This appeared as potentially an important issue given the historical invisibility and stigmatisation of Subúrbio Ferroviário, and the lack of recognition historically shown of the beauty and value to be found in its art, history and community.

4.1.4. Research Question

Our research aimed to generate lessons to support AdL's ongoing mobilisation and inform the implementation of rehabilitation activities in Salvador. To do this, we studied AdL's practices and the ways in which they shape the use and appropriation of spaces, and play a role in struggles for citizenship rights among the urban poor. We also asked how AdL's collective practices could be supported and enhanced to strengthen the group's capacity to claim for 'rights to the city'.

AdL clearly aims to bring about improvements in social justice by contesting limiting narratives about Subúrbio Ferroviário and its inhabitants. A challenge we identified was that AdL's activities take place within a larger context in which processes of development in the city not only affect the way residents of Subúrbio Ferroviário are seen by themselves and others, but also adversely impact their access to services and foster exclusionary modes of spatial change. Our concern with the potential exclusionary effects of these spatial changes led us to pose a research question that penetrated beyond the organisation's stated role: *What role does AdL play in challenging the exclusionary processes of spatial change affecting Subúrbio Ferroviário?* This question enabled us to consider AdL both on its own terms, as an organisation tackling various forms of misrecognition, and in terms of the extent to which, as an organisation, it engages with these other processes that appear to perpetuate social injustice.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1. Research Framework

AdL is underpinned by a clear social justice mission. Its overarching philosophy is that through art and cultural activities, it is possible to contest the unjust stigmatisation of Subúrbio Ferroviário, which affects the life chances of its inhabitants. Given this, we applied a social justice framework based on the work of Nancy Fraser (2000), who gives a central place in her framework to processes of recognition. We added a spatial dimension to this understanding of social justice struggles through the concept of placemaking (Mitchell, 2003).

Social Justice

According to Fraser (1998; 2000), social justice demands social arrangements in which everyone can participate on an equal footing in society – a notion she terms 'participatory parity'. She analyses the potential for participatory parity through the assessment of three core dimensions: recognition, redistribution and representation. All are necessary to provide the conditions for social justice.

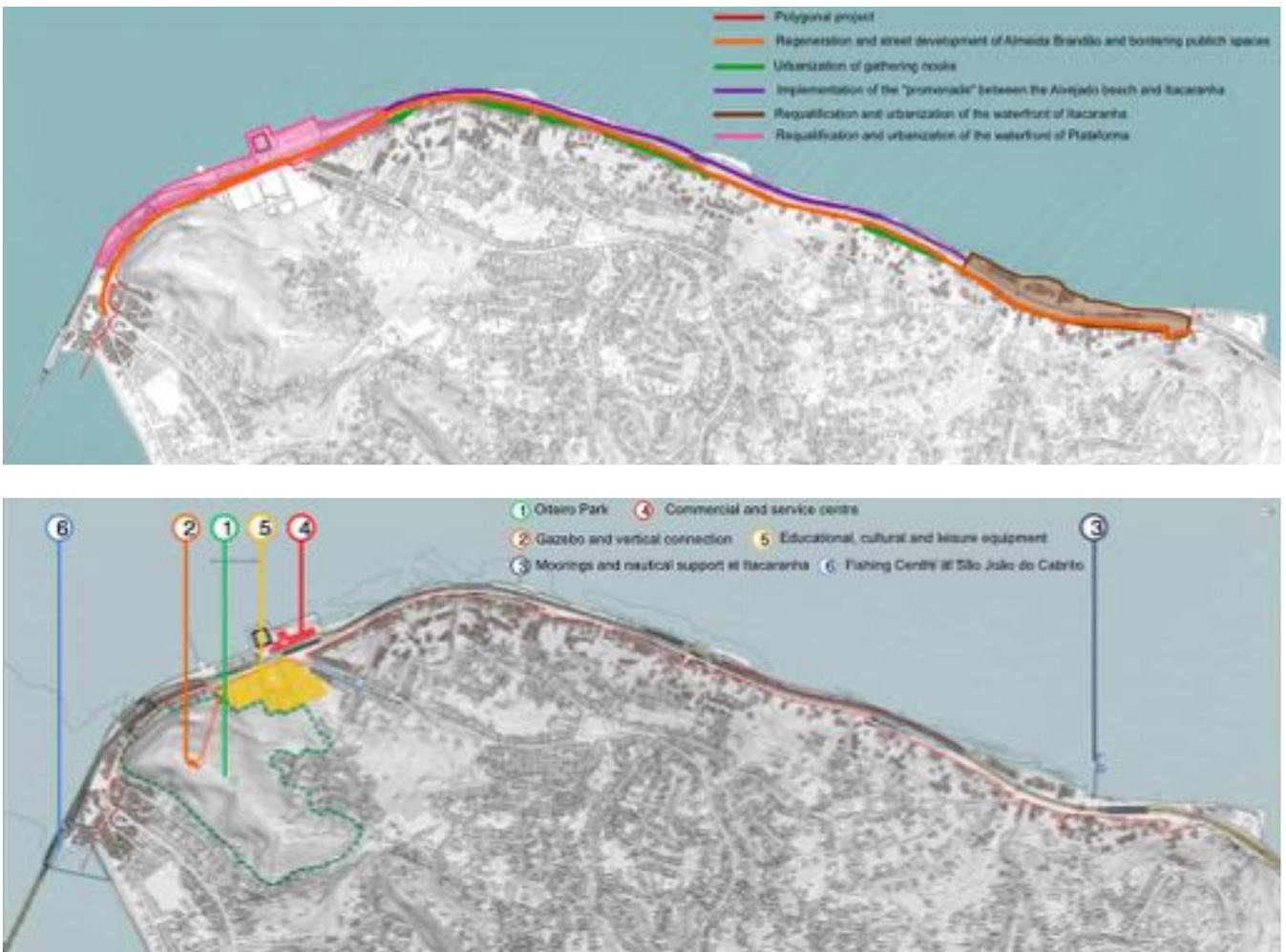
The recognition dimension refers to the status of diverse groups in relation to the cultural claims they can make, and the dominant discourses that exist about them. People can be denied equal participation by institutionalised hierarchies of cultural value that confer on some people lower social standing than others on the basis of perceived group membership such as gender, race, wealth, neighbourhood, and so on. This 'status inequality' or 'misrecognition' tends to result in broad stereotyping and limiting narratives about certain groups, and lack of acknowledgement or explicit disavowal of alternative or contradictory identities or narratives (Fraser, 1998). Challenging barriers to recognition involves two aspects: eroding the categories which create group differentiation in the first place, and revalorising marginal identities by making the relevant groups more 'visible' and challenging the negative stereotypes they face (Power, 2012). The dimension of [mis]recognition is particularly relevant to the work of AdL in creating new narratives for the Subúrbio.

Redistribution, and conversely maldistribution, refers to the economic status and opportunities afforded to people through the allocation of resources. People can be prevented from participating in society by prevailing economic structures which discriminate between people in terms of resource allocation, and other mechanisms which perpetuate institutional disparity. Issues such as class often play a role in determining the range of economic opportunities people have access to, and the way the economy is structured towards certain interests (Fraser, 2000).

Figure 4.7. New development of VLT route. Source: A. Tarde (2015).



Figure 4.8. Initial (top) and future (bottom) stages of the urban plan. Source: Fundação Mário Leal Ferreira (2016).



Representation is a political dimension that concerns social belonging. It refers to the extent to which different groups are not only recognised by, but also represented within the political structures that exist, and across the different levels where decision-making is carried out. The extent to which different groups are represented reveals who can make claims for social justice, and how these claims are adjudicated. Ordinary political misrepresentation refers to failures in representation of diverse groups, while misframing refers to the process of categorising who can be included and excluded as members and non-members of society (ibid.).

Place-making

One way of understanding the relation between the symbolic, recognition-oriented and the material, redistribution-oriented elements of Fraser's framework is through the idea of place-making. Place-making can be defined as "transforming the places in which we find ourselves into the places in which we live" (Lombard, 2014). It emphasises that while places incorporate a physical dimension, the meanings and attachments that places hold are socially constructed. In this sense, place-making "captures the nature of a place" through the performative act of "claiming" and "re-appropriating" existing spaces (Friedmann, 2007).

The concept of place-making holds particular resonance for informal settlement residents, given that informal residential areas are often talked about in relation to what they are lacking, such as problems of inaccessibility, informality, high density, lack of robust infrastructure, and dearth of basic public services (Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006).

Place-making can be understood as a tool to advance the right to the city by the creation of spaces for and by community members. By claiming spaces, misrecognised communities can challenge their position in the city and the stereotypes and limiting narratives they face.

4.2.2. Methods

In addition to literature review we conducted before the fieldwork, we used five methods to understand AdL and perspectives from different community actors (see Table 4.1). The first method was Ramblr, an online application to digitally map information through photos, audio recording and videos in the community. We selected this tool because it is a way to make the area more visible, and adds a different perspective to the place (Figure 4.9).

Secondly, we conducted community interviews and semi-structured interviews. Community interviews were used to learn more about AdL's relationships with other institutions and residents. The main aim of our semi-structured interviews was to explore the physical changes in Subúrbio, and the role of AdL from the perspective of commu-

nity actors. We conducted 14 interviews with community actors,⁴ with equal numbers of male and female interviewees. We also conducted a workshop to understand children's perspectives on valued places in the community. Finally, we conducted a social mapping activity with José Eduardo, Vilma, and some local students to understand what kind of spatial changes are happening in Subúrbio and how people view them. This allowed us to explore issues of visibility, memory and recognition – central in AdL's work – explicitly in relation to spatial change.

4.2.3. Limitations and Challenges

We had an ambitious mandate to complete our fieldwork over a period of two weeks, which placed time constraints on the depth of our research. An additional challenge was our language ability and limited access to translation, since most of the published material on Plataforma is in Portuguese, and this was also the language spoken by our research participants. There are also certain limits on the range of perspectives presented within our analysis. We were grateful to AdL's founders for acting as our primary source of local information, as well as our only referral channel to other members in the community. However, the central role they played also meant that our primary research evidence centred mostly around discussions with the groups of people who are already closely acquainted with AdL.

4.3 Findings and Analysis

4.3.1. Narratives of Misrecognition

The lives of Subúrbio Ferroviário's residents are shaped by several negative narratives; that the Subúrbio is a violent place, that the Subúrbio is not part of the City, and that the Subúrbio is a place without history and unworthy of art.

Some interviewees of Subúrbio Ferroviário described a disconnect between their lived experiences of the place and the external perception of it, reflecting their awareness of the misrecognition that is perpetuated through stereotyping. There is a feeling that violence is the only story that is told about the area, particularly in the media (see Figure 4.10), thus framing the area and its residents in a negative way. While it is true that the area has a higher homicide rate than many other areas of the city, a disproportionate focus on violence as a frame for the Subúrbio fails to recognise its value and diversity. An AdL volunteer saw the stigma of violence as the main thing he would change about Subúrbio Ferroviário: "It's important to evidence the cultural activities because the media only talks about the violence. I live here peacefully. I've never been robbed" (interview, 07/04/2016).

Table 4.1. Methods at AdL. Source: Chapter authors.

Methods at Acervo da Laje	May					
	5	6	7	8	9	10
<p>Ramblr Participants: José Eduardo, Vilma (Acervo da Laje founders) Two walking tours in Plataforma and Ribeira recorded with photos, audio and videos. [Purpose: Make Plataforma more visible, have different perspectives and challenge stigmatising narratives.]</p>						
<p>Community Interview Participants: People working at Centro Cesar Borges, AMPLA, Church of São Braz and Centro Cultural Plataforma. [Purpose: Learn more about the relationships of Acervo da Laje with other institutions and community members]</p>						
<p>Semi-structured Interview Participants: AdL members and participants in AdL activities Interviewed Ocupa Laje team members and parents of participating children about Acervo da Laje, Subúrbio and changes they would like to see. [Purpose: Explore further topics about physical changes in Subúrbio Ferroviário and Acervo da Laje’s role from the perspective of community actors from outside and inside the organisation]</p>						
<p>Workshops Participants: Children, teenagers and their parents Organised drawing sessions for children to draw their living environment and favourite places. [Purpose: Map the significant places for Plataforma residents; learn the role Acervo da Laje plays for the parents of the children and teenagers involved in their activities]</p>						
<p>Social mapping Participants: José Eduardo, Vilma, students from Associação de Moradores Soanes Leste Mapped places that have changed, remained and no longer exist in Subúrbio. [Purpose: Spatialising changes and people’s views and feelings about them]</p>						

Figure 4.9. Ramblr with Vilma, a central AdL member. Source: Chapter authors (see <http://rblr.co/II9h>)

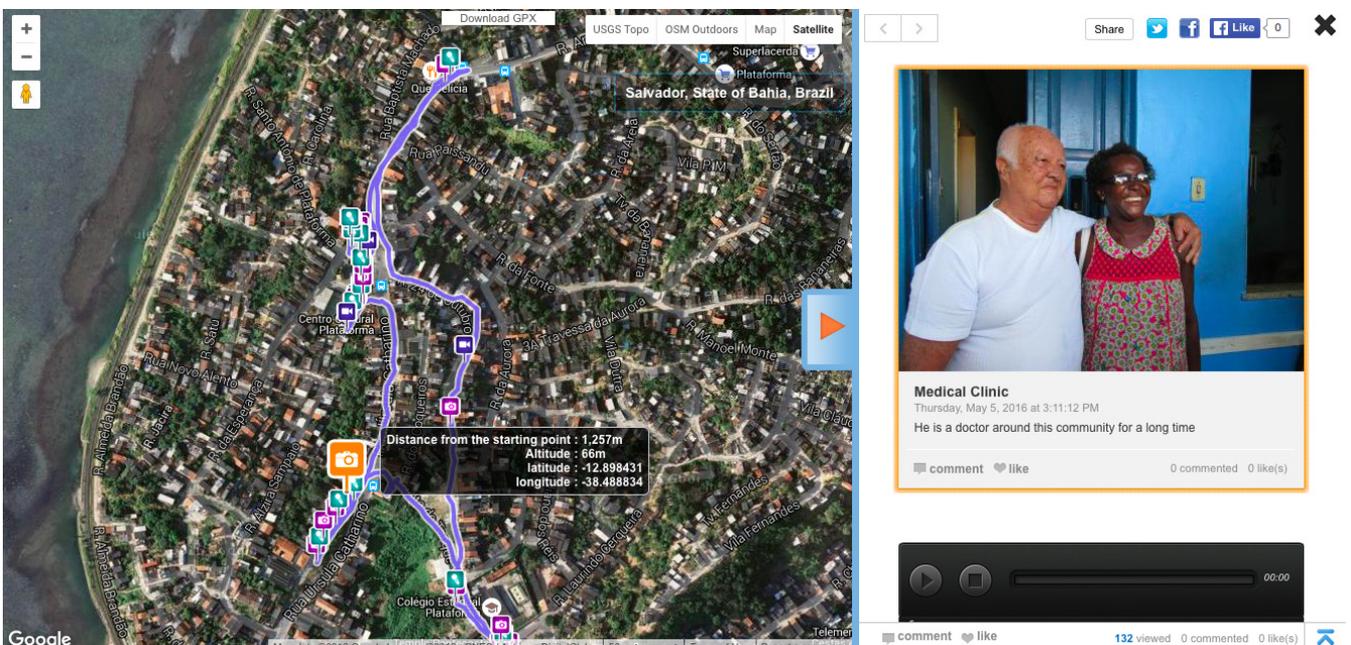
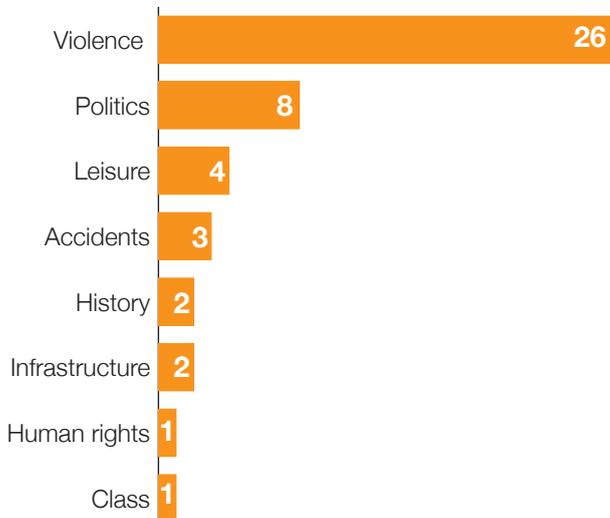


Figure 4.10. News coverage of Subúrbio Ferroviário. Source: A Tarde 2006-2007 cited by Johnson (2012, p.80).



Media coverage of negative elements, such as the high homicide rate in certain neighbourhoods and the fallacy, unsupported by statistics, that this violence spills over into other neighbourhoods, can be seen as an example of a wider trend underpinned by racial prejudice:

“Plataforma and the periphery generally has a reputation for violence, partly as a result of the perception that black and/or poor people are the principal perpetrators of crime” (Johnson, 2012, p.70).

This is an example of the way in which misrecognition is perpetuated through institutionalised patterns of cultural value, “such as ‘racial profiling’, that associate racialized persons with criminality” (Fraser, 2000, p114). Fraser emphasises that misrecognition not only affects the way people see themselves, but has concrete consequences for the opportunities people have in their daily lives. For instance, the stigma of violence and its association with residents of low-income areas may lead to exclusionary developments such as gated enclaves that can reinforce the physical and social separation between higher and lower income citizens.

The violence residents of Subúrbio Ferroviário have to face, both real and imagined, along with the added stigma of being poor, black, from the periphery and mostly young, is a vicious process of profiling which is difficult to escape. AdL’s activities focus on creating new, more empowering narratives to deconstruct limiting perceptions of the Subúrbio, and undermine existing stereotypes and hierarchies of cultural value in order to counteract the low social standing of the neighbourhood.

Invisibility

Another way of improving the recognition of marginal identities involves making the relevant groups more ‘visible’ (Power, 2012). One indication of the misrecognition of

Subúrbio Ferroviário is its invisibility on certain official cartographic depictions of Salvador. As one young Subúrbio resident remarked when looking at a tourist map of the city: “Where is Subúrbio? Is it that they even left us out of the map?” (Moreira, N.d., p.3).

Beyond the invisibility or misrecognition of the area in discourse and documentation, the residents who participated in our interviews described feeling a sense of invisibility or abandonment due to the lack of access to public services. Members of AMPLA mentioned that the neighbourhood Health Centre has been closed for 3 years, and the Postal Office moved due to “security” issues a few years ago (Adriana and Jorge, Semi-structured interview, 10/05/2016). The feeling of abandonment and apparent neglect by the authorities is an example of the way peripheral groups are simultaneously affected by misrecognition and maldistribution (Fraser, 2000).

AdL challenges the lack of visibility by finding, recognising, and displaying “invisible” art from Subúrbio’s artists: “The beauty of the city comes from the Subúrbio but the artists from here die without recognition or bibliography” (José Eduardo, Semi-structured interview, 02/05/2016). It also works to create a new centrality, to claim a place for the Subúrbio in a city which constructs it as marginal and sometimes seems to forget it exists: “It’s provocative to have a part of the art scene here. It changes the perspective of the city” (José Eduardo, Semi-structured interview, 02/05/2016). Finally, AdL helps preserve Subúrbio’s history. As one interviewee mentioned: “AdL is important because to have a future you need to know your past” (Student, Social-Mapping, 10/05/2016). In this sense, AdL is more than a museum. These actions help “repair internal self-dislocation by contesting the dominant culture’s demeaning picture of the group” (Fraser 1995 p. 81). While AdL activities intervene in clear and focused ways in terms of misrecognition, the organisation does not necessarily link these interventions to the related issue of maldistribution highlighted by certain participants.

4.3.3. Placemaking and macro-level changes

AdL is an active place-maker in the community, where the centre creates opportunities for people to culturally engage, connect with other community members, and participate in workshops. Through activities such as “naming”, “signifying”, and “participating” in social relations and rituals, places such as AdL, and the spaces it intervenes in, become “lived in”, and “humanised” (Friedmann, 2007). By intervening in places (see Figure 4.11), they have changed their meaning: the bus station is no longer a place that speaks of discrimination and violence, but a place where art is exhibited, and the graffiti street became a place to be admired and seen (interview with AdL volunteer, 07/05/2016; Vilma, Ramblr exercise, 05/05/2016).

We conceive residents of the Subúrbio as active place-makers, establishing political (i.e. AMPLA), cultural (i.e. Plataforma

Cultural Centre) and religious (i.e. São Braz Church) associations that contribute to a positive sense of community. As we observed during a drawing workshop undertaken as part of our research, most of the children drew a public space as their favourite place in the neighbourhood (see Appendix 3). The role of places of community gathering such as AdL in creating this sense of belonging appear central to the construction of community identity in the Subúrbio.

Alongside the positive place-making activities of the community, are of course negative associations, such as the formation of gangs and sites of conflict (Hita and Gledhill, 2009). In this context, AdL acts as a 'safe haven' for the community. One mother commented "It is a trustworthy place [...] The streets are not safe because of violence and child exploitation" (Semi-structured interview 07/05/2016). Two girls participating in AdL's activities reinforced this positive image of the place by drawing it when asked: "Where is your favourite place in your neighbourhood?" (see Figure 4.12).

Contemporary Spatial Processes

As we have seen, narratives of misrecognition can be used to justify maldistribution of resources, through the understanding that some places have more right to exist than others (Bauder, 2002). Although infrastructural investments and official urban changes are happening in the Subúrbio, they seem directed towards the interests of a small portion of the population. The coastal regeneration project, the train refurbishment, and the construction of gated communities in Plataforma's neighborhood are examples of this selective modernisation.

Perceptions of insecurity regularly reinforce spatial segregation via material interventions that separate populations, of which gated communities are a prime example (Caldeira, 2000). Rodgers (2004) points to a "disembedding of the city", where the wealthy construct fortified high-speeds transportation networks, designed to minimise contact with the periphery (Bos and Jaffe, 2015).

Figure 4.11. Graffiti in the streets of Subúrbio. Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



Figure 4.12. Participating children's drawings of AdL. Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



At present, the Subúrbio's planned "improvements" appear to be bypassing the community. The cost of the train ticket will increase, and be unaffordable for residents. Furthermore, the coastal project resembles a beautification exercise rather than a transformative intervention, mainly benefitting those who live along the coastline.

Despite an awareness of the changes happening in the area (José Eduardo, interview, 02/05/2016), AdL's activities do not directly position themselves in relation to, or engage with, these contemporary processes of change. AdL focuses on skill building, artistic production, and changing narratives through cultural education, while their interventions reappropriating public places remain localised to a small area, with less clearly defined outcomes. For example, 'Ocupa Lajes' occupies private houses and turns them into public gathering places for a month. These interventions may change the meaning of places, but not in a lasting way. Nonetheless, it seems important to note that this is the first established project (via a public grant) to regularly intervene in space, and may therefore have an important role in triggering community discussions in the developing Subúrbio.

AdL's other interventions and concerns tend to focus on deserted sites in the community. It is our opinion that AdL privileges the cultural preservation of historically significant and culturally beautiful aspects of the Subúrbio, but is not engaging with the immediate concerns of the community, such as how the ongoing processes of spatial change will shape and inform new narratives of the place, and the ability of the community to participate in society as full members. Interviews indicated that other organisations such as AMPLA and the Plataforma Cultural Centre have engaged more actively with these processes. The upcoming changes are likely to impact AdL's future identity and status in the city, and it may be important for the organisation to consider the role it might play in promoting visibility and countering the danger that existing larger-scale spatial changes may take shape in ways that reinforce and perpetuate the marginality and stigma AdL has worked so hard to address. Whether this would involve greater involvement at the negotiating table over the development of the area is for AdL to decide.

4.3.4. The tyranny of structurelessness

AdL is a platform that allows different voices to be heard. It is a flexible space which people from outside and inside the Subúrbio Ferroviário can use to run different sets of activities (José Eduardo, Semi-structured interview, 02/05/2016). Though people who wish to use the space have to source outside funding for their activities, no formal approval process exists, and most projects are initiated by actors external to the organisation. Systematic data collection has only been attempted for one Ocupa Lajes project so far, and important demographic informa-

tion relating to participation according to age, gender, occupation or residency has not been collected.

As a result of its lack of institutionalisation, AdL has relied on networks of friends and acquaintances in the outreach and development of its projects. During our social mapping activity with Jose Eduardo and Vilma, it became evident that the nature of AdL's relationships with other actors were personal instead of institutional, and their geographical reach was largely confined to the neighbourhood of Plataforma. While AdL has been highly successful in leveraging these relationships, strategies for broader engagement may need to rely on more formal institutional mechanisms.

AdL has resisted institutionalising on grounds of wanting to remain fluid, responsive and transparent to the democratic impulses of the group (José Eduardo, Second Mesa Redonda, 09/05/2016). However, researchers such as Polletta (2004) have found that structurelessness does not exist in practice, as relational structures inevitably form and shape group practices and the potential for participatory democracy (Smith and Glidden, 2012). These invisible structures can be most exclusionary when organisations seek to bring new members into the fold, and where decision-making processes are unclear.

Figure 4.13. Poster of Ocupa Lajes. Source: Kentaro Tsubakihara.



The development of civic society organisations that have a clear social justice focus, such as AdL, serve an important function in increasing participatory parity through providing opportunities for citizen engagement and choice in the development of community projects, such as Ocupa Lajes (interview with AdL staff member, 10/05/2016). Importantly, citizenship is not only secured from above, but can be claimed from below (Conway, 2004). It has been suggested that exercising citizenship and the right to the city in the era of globalisation is not simply about accessing the pre-allocated economic order, but about being able to lay claim to “the right to participate in defining that system” (Conway, 2004).

As a result, it has been argued that as any civil society organisation develops, it should aim to understand how power and different spaces of engagement operate across different levels. Such an assessment has an important role in acknowledging the contested nature of decision-making often present within civil society bodies, as well as the tendency of decision-making structures to marginalise, misrepresent, or reproduce existing power relations between subaltern groups, such as women (Gaventa, 2007).

During the series of discussions we engaged in with José Eduardo, it became apparent that the role of gender parity of participation in AdL had not been considered. On reflection, it appeared to José Eduardo that women had played a leading role in volunteering at exhibitions, facilitating the children’s attendance at workshops, among other activities and “helping” roles (José Eduardo, Social Mapping, 10/05/2016). Furthermore, due to the lack of systematic data collection, AdL was unable to account for women and men’s, and boys’ and girls’, level of involvement in the different workshops, and whether these different levels of participations revealed any gender disparities.

The question of who is and isn’t participating, through which means, to what ends, and within what relational structures, is a vital consideration when assessing community participation, and any corresponding empowerment claims. A greater institutional awareness of community participation as AdL develops could help to ensure that its activities are not subconsciously reinforcing existing power relations (Moser, 1989).

4.4 Instruments for Collective Action

In order to develop our research engagement with AdL, we decided to adopt Ramblr as a digital output and produce leaflets as a physical ‘instrument for collective action’ or catalyst for greater recognition and engagement with issues of stigma, invisibility and spatial change in Subúrbio Ferroviário.

4.4.1. Ramblr

We applied the digital application Ramblr as a recording tool during our walking tours, with photos, audio and videos showing the routes and important places. The completed Ramblr routes are shared with AdL and we have created a Ramblr account, which enables them to access, edit, and build upon this project.

Walking interviews are a rich source of information, as they allow environmental features to mould discussions. This qualitative technique can emphasise the importance of local connections to place (Evans and Jones, 2011). We felt that by mapping our interviews, we could more easily locate our discussions in space, and enrich our analysis.

By using the Ramblr App during the walking tour, we were able to create a route tailored to our research of Subúrbio Ferroviário. An advantage of using Ramblr is that the application can work offline, allowing us to easily collect data in the field, before uploading the activity online. As Ramblr does not currently have a Portuguese version, it was necessary to carefully explain how it can be used by AdL after our departure. This may constitute a setback in ease of use of Ramblr for our Brazilian partners.

4.4.2. Leaflet

As a way of mitigating stigma and challenging misrecognition, we conceptualised a leaflet as a useful tool to trigger a conversation around preservation in a context of change. It would be a participatory tool for people to engage with the places they value and the changes that are happening or want to happen. We plan to develop a user-friendly leaflet for people in Plataforma to highlight the places they value. The message of this leaflet will be a call to “Engage with the beauty and changes in the area”. We decided to focus on Plataforma since it is the area where most of AdL’s activities happen.

On one side of the leaflet we will briefly present AdL, Plataforma and Ramblr. On the same side, there will be a map with the places that people value (Social Mapping 07/05/2016 and 10/05/2016), and on the other side we will put a blank version of the same map where we will ask people to draw the following things: the places they value in Plataforma, the changes that are happening in Plataforma, the changes they would like to see and the places they would like to preserve.

These two outputs could help AdL to engage in a more direct way with the wider community and their relationship with space.

4.5 Conclusion

Though our field work was a short-term engagement, which faced several limitations, our findings suggest that residents of Subúrbio Ferroviário are facing multiple social justice struggles, which impair their right to the city, and that AdL approaches these struggles by contesting narratives which contribute to the misrecognition of the area's inhabitants. However, other processes, particularly urban regeneration that appears to prioritise the interests of the private sector and wealthy visitors over lower income inhabitants, also pose a threat to both the recognition of and material distribution within the Subúrbio. While the planned changes may bring benefits for certain groups, lack of participation from less wealthy inhabitants of the area means the risk of "selective modernisation" is high.

Recognition is an important element in the pursuit of social justice but, as Fraser warns, in a market economy it is impossible to remedy maldistribution through recognition alone. In the face of the exclusionary processes of spatial change taking place in Subúrbio Ferroviário, those who attend AdL's activities may develop greater self-worth and a more positive identity, but find their opportunities remain limited because of their peripheral position in the city.

AdL began as an artistic collection with a particular purpose, but in the five years since it launched it has evolved and come to mean many different things to many different people. Although the organisation was initially focused on bringing about change by inviting people in, by looking outwards and intervening in spaces in Plataforma, such as the old factory and via Ocupa Lajes, the organisation has changed the use and meaning of parts of Subúrbio Ferroviário in ways which have been important for the local community's identity. These actions have not contested the overall material distribution within the Subúrbio, but they suggest that AdL could have a more active role to play in this if it chose to expand on the success of its forays in this area.

Future research could consider how to link the work AdL does on narratives and placemaking, with more direct claim-making around material distribution, including the possibility of linking with other actors in Suburbio Ferroviario and beyond, who share complementary aims. Researchers could also build on the social mapping process that we started to get a deeper sense of places of value for the community, the changes they would like to see, and those they would like to resist. Our instruments for collective action were selected to encourage residents of Subúrbio Ferroviário to reflect on the changes taking place in their home area and whether there are other changes they would like to see in addition to, or instead of, these. How AdL wishes to make use any information generated from these outputs remains to be seen.

Along with evaluating what role AdL plays in the processes of spatial change taking place in Subúrbio Ferroviário, our research generated a second interesting question around

the consequences of AdL's organisational structure for representational parity, which could be taken up by future research groups. More comprehensive data could be collected to determine how different groups within Subúrbio Ferroviário engage with AdL – including which groups fail to engage and why – in order to understand whether the type of recognition it seeks to achieve is widely supported, or contested. While the motivation for AdL's work is unquestionably a strong social justice ethic, such a process would allow the organisation to understand whether its activities in practice fulfil its admirable aims.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is not the only map that omitted the existence of the Subúrbio Ferroviário, as Ana Fernandes mentioned in a Mesa Redonda at UFBA: "Subúrbio was just a big green area in the map")



Photo credit: Rosa Salazar Benazar

5. The right to the city in policy and beyond: Lessons from regeneration in Salvador's Historic Centre

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Rosa Salazar*

*With thanks to our collaborators: Camila Brandão,
Mayara Araújo and Luisa Gusmao*

5.1 Introduction and Context

In 1985, Pelourinho, the historical city centre of Salvador, was declared a 'World Heritage' site by UNESCO. The declaration was in response to the decayed state of the area, which had worsened due to a lack of investment during the 20th century (Nobre, 2002, p.9). This interest to preserve the area prompted the launch of the Program of Regeneration for the Historic City Centre in 1991 (Marques Braga & Ribeiro dos Santos, 2010), starting a period of urban regeneration characterised by the removal of low income groups living in some of Brazil's oldest colonial buildings. This policy of displacement mirrored wider urban regeneration approaches which relocated vulnerable groups to the city's periphery (Keisha-Khan, 2007, p.814).

In Pelourinho, the inability of families to pay for the rehabilitation or maintenance of buildings was the main justification for displacement. The state government wanted to attract the middle and upper class to the area along with increased tourism (Reboucas, 2012). The decline in population and density between 1980

and 2000, shown in Table 5.1, illustrates how this policy of regeneration disproportionately affected the population of the historic centre.

5.1.1. 7th Stage Regeneration

The regeneration project in Pelourinho has been divided into seven stages. Table 5.2 shows the number of families displaced in each of the first six stages through compensation and relocation, as well as the number of businesses closed and the overall amount of compensation paid. In the third and fourth stage, the relocation was no longer an option for residents.

The 7th stage focuses on an area within Pelourinho which in 2002 was identified for a regeneration. This stage is part of the Monumenta programme, a national initiative of the Ministry of Culture and IPHAN with the financing assistance of the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) that sought to preserve cultural heritage in historic sites in Brazil (Reboucas, 2012, p.9). According to initial estimations by CONDER – the

Table 5.1. Impacts of the Program of Regeneration on population and density the historic centre and it surrounding. Source: Nobre (2002, p.123).

	Population (1980)	Density (1980)	Population (2000)	Density (2000)
City of Salvador	1,501,981	48.0	2,428,3888	77.6
Historic Centre	9,853	216.2	3,235	71.0
Surroundings	54,624	253.7	36,481	168.8

state body charged with carrying out the regeneration process – this project would affect more than 3,196 people, and 1,746 families. A total of 1,072 families left this area in 2002, with many of them receiving compensation (Riggs, 2008).

5.1.2. TAC: The Turning Point

In 2005, the regeneration process reached a turning point with the creation of the Termo de Ajustamento de Conduta (TAC). TAC is an adjustment to the terms of conduct in the regeneration project, with the aim of maintaining the vulnerable population within the 7th stage of Pelourinho. It was the result of a series of events and activities by a range of stakeholders (See Figure 5.1), including:

- the formation of Associação de Moradores e Amigos do Centro Histórico (AMACH), a residents association founded in protest against the displacement of local people;
- a special report published in 2004 by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, which assessed the implementation of the City Statute (enshrined in the 1988 Federal Constitution) in the Historic City Centre; and
- a request by the Public Prosecutor's office for an injunction against the state government's regeneration policy.

The Ministry of Culture played a role in negotiating the TAC.

Notable in the progression represented in Figure 5.1 is the creation of the City Statute in 2001 (Cities Alliance, 2010, p.3). This brought into regulatory force the elements of the right to the city enshrined in the 1988 Federal Constitution, including the importance of participation within the planning of the city and emphasising the social function of land and property (Fernandes, 2012, p.212-213). The importance of this development is clear from the fact that the TAC was formed in response to violations of the City Statute.

The commencement of the 7th stage of regeneration in 2002 was also an important moment in this process, as residents refused to leave their homes and created AMACH, with the aim of advocating for the right of citizens to remain in the area (Reboucas, 2012). The UN Rapporteur's report to evaluate the implementation of the City Statute in Brazil in 2004 provided further impetus, concluding that "there is an urgent need for the Government to adopt measures and national legislation to ensure protection against forced evictions" (Dede, 2004). This put international pressure on the state government to reconsider its policy of urban regeneration. This change was entrenched with the creation of the TAC in 2005. The terms included in the TAC are summarised in Box 5.1.

Table 5.2. Stage-by-stage displacements by the regeneration project. Source: Riggs (2008); Lavalle et al (2013).

	The number of families with paid compensation	The number of families relocated within Pelourinho	The number of small businesses closed and paid compensation	The total amount of compensation (including compensation for commercial points)
1st stage (1992-1993)	399	26	79	US\$500,000
2nd stage (1992-1993)	176	16	19	US\$150,000
3rd stage (1992-1994)	374	0	58	US\$280,000
4th stage (1994)	1018	0		US\$900,000
5th stage (1996)	67			
6th stage (1997-2006)	There is no data for the sixth stage, during which little progress was made.			

Figure 5.1. A timeline of events which led to the formation of the TAC. Source: Chapter authors.

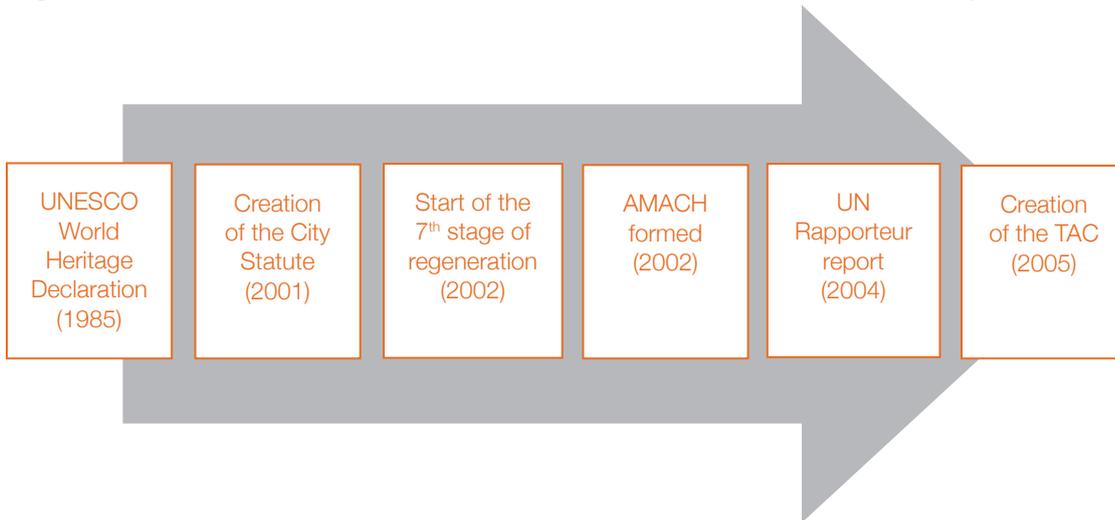


Figure 5.2. A postcard shows how CONDER’s narrative changed from one of displacement to inclusion following the creation of the TAC. It states ‘For a baiano, only one thing gives more pride than having a historical heritage: to live on it’. Source: Braga & Júnior (2009, p.31).



Box 5.1. Terms specified by the TAC. Source: Chapter authors, based on Reboucas (2012).

What the TAC specified

- The right of 103 families to remain in the 7th stage through housing for social interest.
- 234 houses for public servants in the 7th stage.
- AMACH can draw up the list of families to remain in the 7th stage.
- The right to provisional housing during the process of building regeneration, given in relation to the size of families.
- The creation of a management committee to deliberate over families’ claims.
- Public consultations regarding the regeneration of the 7th stage in order to define the public goods and the action plan.
- Families can choose whether to remain in Pelourinho or accept compensation.
- Businesses can be transferred temporarily to other places in Pelourinho at the government’s cost while the regeneration process is in progress.
- An AMACH office will be installed in the 7th stage.
- If a violation of any of the clauses is discovered the body who committed the infringement will have to pay a daily fee of 1000 reais during the period in which the infringement continues. However if CONDER are not in a position financially to pay the fine they are excused.

5.1.3. Research Question

The Associação de Moradores e Amigos do Centro Histórico (AMACH), which translates as Residents Association and Friends of the Historical Centre, was our partner organisation during the research. Formed to protest the displacement of families in the 7th stage of Pelourinho, it includes 108 families, and campaigns on issues such as poor housing conditions, lack of commercial opportunities and improvements to key public services.

By working with AMACH, we identified the focus of the research: the management and implementation of the TAC and how this affects the resident's access to their right to the city. Therefore, our research question is: to what extent do policies aimed at maintaining vulnerable populations in the city centre allow them to achieve the right to the city?

Figure 5.3. An AMACH banner calling for the right to remain in Pelourinho. Source: Chapter authors.



5.2 Methodology

5.2.1. Analytical Lens

The idea of the right to the city forms the analytical lens for this research. The concept was first coined by Henri Lefebvre and has since become something of a catchphrase, playing an increasingly strong role in responses to urban inequality and disenfranchisement (Purcell, 2002, p.99-100). The notion of the right to the city pervades international agreements such as the World Charter for the Right to the City, as well as the Brazilian City Statute. Emerging in response to violations of the City Statute

and with the aim of strengthening residents' rights, TAC implicitly builds on the right to the city, making this an appropriate lens to use. The right to the city also enables us to understand the implications of regeneration policy beyond the immediate geographical location, in terms of a broader moral claim "founded on fundamental principles of justice, of ethics, of virtue, of the good" (Marcuse and Harvey cited in Mayer, 2010, p.367).

To unpack the dimensions of the right to the city, we drew on international and local literature as well as exploring what members of AMACH valued in this regard. Table 5.3 shows the five different dimensions of the right to the city chosen and how these were articulated by members of AMACH and the wider literature.

5.2.2. Theoretical Framework

Our research attempts to understand how legislation aimed at maintaining vulnerable populations in the city centre affects their right to the city. To do this requires more than simply evaluating the implementation of the legislation. It requires us to investigate the conditions under which legislation can promote the right to the city.

In order to grasp this issue, we drew on Frediani's work on the Sen's capability approach, which offers a framework to understand how factors related to the environment, society and people's personal and collective capacities can shape opportunities (Frediani, 2015, p.10). More specifically, Frediani emphasises the importance of 'conversion factors' in any development context – those factors that impact on the process through which people realise the things they value (Frediani, 2010, p.10). The framework is informed by an understanding that, while the potential limitations of participation are acknowledged in Sen's work, he does not offer a set of procedures or norms that might mitigate these limitations (Frediani, 2010).

Figure 5.4 presents the elements of our analytical framework. On the left stand the key elements of the TAC and, on the right hand side, rights to the city that these elements would ideally help to realise. For instance, the community consultations promised by the TAC were to define an action plan and a range of urban equipment required, each of which would push residents claims for rights to the city closer to implementation.

The central box represents the environment, which may constrain or promote the realisation of rights. In this space, various enabling or disabling conditions serve as 'conversion factors' influencing people's ability to achieve elements of the right to the city. We identified three key aspects of the environment which need to be explored: 1) the individual and collective agency of the residents, 2) the institutional opportunities available, such as spaces

Table 5.3. Dimensions of the right to the city. Source: Chapter authors.

Right to a Just Economy	Right to Democratic City Management	Right to a Healthy Environment and Human Security	Right to the Social Function of Land and Property	Right to Spatial Justice
"The purpose is to develop solidarity and full equality among inhabitants" (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005)	The Brazil City Statute highlights the importance of the democratic management of the city (Fernandes, 2007, p.212)	In an ideal city I would walk with confidence and have no fear (Marise - AMACH)	"The pattern and dynamics of formal and informal urban land markets" must be altered to stop exclusion - Brazil City Statute (Fernandes 2007, p.213).	People in Pelourinho are discriminated against (Marise - AMACH).
"Recognition and valuing of different types of work and economies" (Frediani and Lima, 2015)	"All persons have the right to participate through direct and representative forms" (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005)	"Cities should create conditions for public security and peaceful coexistence" (Word Charter for the Right to the City, 2005)	"The city should exercise a social function, guaranteeing for all its inhabitants full usufruct of the resources offered by the city" (Word Charter for the Right to the City, 2005)	"Democratization of access to land and public services for all citizens" (World Charter for the Right to the City, 2005).
In an ideal city everyone should have 'duties' (Pro Cida - AMACH leader)	"The politics are not favorable to low income people" (Ana Maria, AMACH)	"Equitable management of environmental commons/ resources" (Frediani and Lima, 2015)		"Confronting socio-spatial segregation" (Frediani and Lima, 2015)

Figure 5.4. Analytical framework. Source: Chapter authors.



of participation, and 3) broader norms and policies. It is important to understand the relationship between these three areas to determine how the TAC affects the right to the city.

5.2.3. Stages of the Process

The first stage of the research process was the collection of secondary data before travelling to Brazil. This allowed us to explore the federal and regional policies, the urban plans in Salvador, the development trends and theory relating to the right to the city. Once in Salvador, we collected primary data on the conditions of the houses allocated by CONDER and the views of residents on their relation with the government. To gather the data we conducted field observations in the 7th stage regeneration area; attended AMACH's weekly meetings; conducted house visits to nine resident's homes; visited AMACH's communal kitchen; interviewed Pro Cida; interviewed CONDER representatives; and conducted a workshop with AMACH members.

Figure 5.5. Workshop with AMACH. Source: Kai Fang.



Figure 5.6. Interview with representatives from CONDER. Source: Kai Fang.



There were certain limitations to our research. Due to the short engagement we could only visit three buildings and conduct a small number of interviews with AMACH members. We were also only able to talk to one government representative due to time constraints, and regretted that we were unable to interview a representative from the public prosecutor's office.

5.3 Findings and Analysis

5.3.1 Stakeholders and policy delivery context

Before the key findings of the research are outlined it is important to understand the status of implementation of the TAC to date. Table 5.4 shows TAC commitments and the quality of the delivery.

Figure 5.7 shows a stakeholder analysis based on a ODI toolkit for researchers and civil society (Overseas Development Institute, 2012). Under "interest" we consider those who could be affected by a change in the delivery and those who the TAC concerns the most. In relation to "power", we consider those who influence the implementation of the TAC and that enable or disable a change. Government institutions are placed in the top of the power sphere because they act as "the decision makers." Below them are what we defined as the "opinion leaders", who also have a degree of influence.'

5.3.2. Spaces of Participation

Throughout our engagement with AMACH we encountered a general disappointment and frustration at the lack of dialogue and overall communication with government institutions. Within the TAC there are two main commitments that address the issue of participation: the creation of the Management Committee for the analysis and deliberation of families' claims and the community consultation process that aimed to define the action plan and the urban equipment. These two commitments are deeply interlinked with the Right to the City dimension of Democratic City Management, which is a key point of the federal City Statute.

Public Consultations

The TAC included a commitment to implement public consultations to define urban equipment and the action plan. It was seen as a space to allow the community, represented by AMACH, to be part of the decision-making process. It also had the role of ensuring houses were allocated in relation to family size. When we talked with AMACH residents about the consultations they reported that these had never taken place.

In terms of the houses being allocated in relation to the size of families, residents expressed that they were allocated according to the family composition that AMACH

provided when it originally drew up the list of 103 families. However, after 10 years they highlighted how their families have changed. For example, a woman explained that she was originally registered on the AMACH list as single, but is now a single mother of a child with disabilities, and is expecting a second child. She pointed out that even though her apartment is appropriate for one person, now that she has a growing family space is more limited.

With this case we can see how even though the consideration of the family size was, in fact, taken into account, this information was not updated after years of delay on the delivery of the houses. This non-consideration of changing family size impacts the ability of families to grow and adapt their space to new circumstances. Furthermore, this impacts on their access to a healthy and secure environment.

Table 5.4. TAC deliveries. Source: Chapter authors.

	Delivered	Partially delivered	Not delivered
Committee	T2005-2010	No longer operating. Inactive since 2011	
Community consultations			No consultations conducted
Public equipment		Community kitchen opened but no longer operating due to lack of funds. AMACH meeting place has not been delivered. They have met for 10 years in a temporary location.	Nursery and space for leisure
Small businesses		Some shops have not been relocated. a woman resident complained that both her and her husband's commercial points needed to be relocated, but CONDER only relocated her husband's	
House allocation	First house delivered in 2007. By 2010, 8 buildings were delivered for 36 families. In the present, there are still 3 buildings waiting to be delivered	# of families allocated to the moment: 50 # of families waiting for a house and living in social rent: 30	

Figure 5.7. Stakeholder analysis. Source: Chapter authors, drawing on ODI (2012).

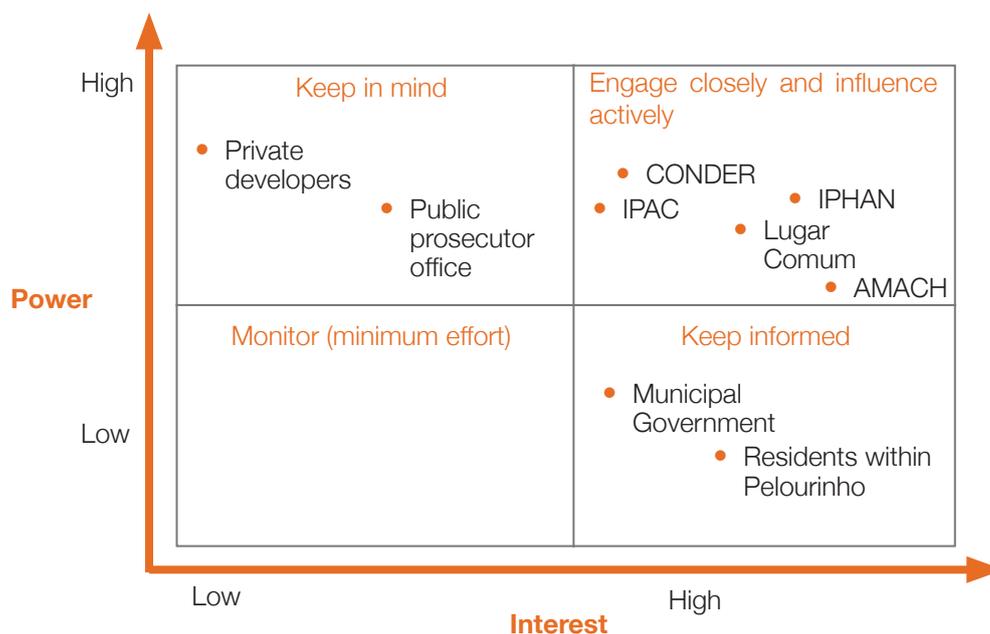
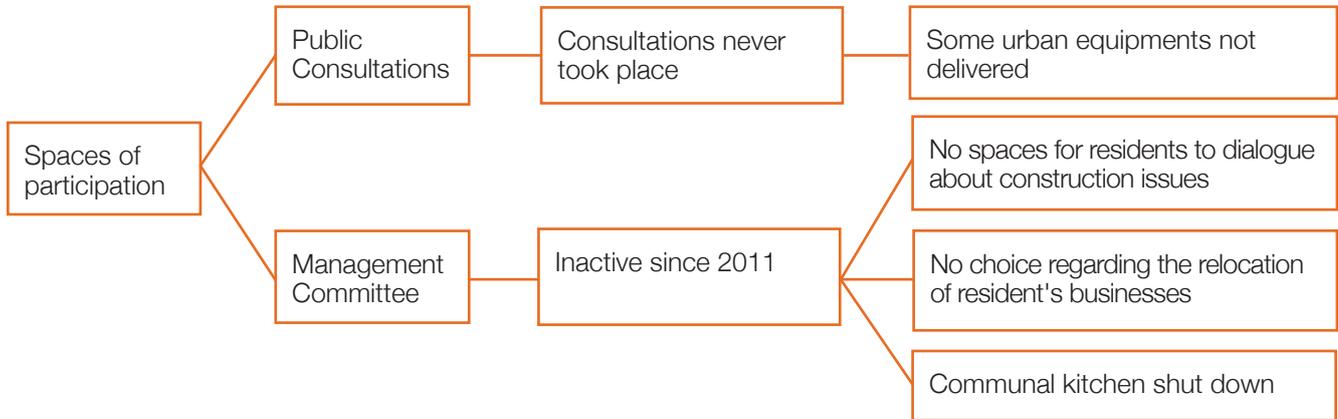


Figure 5.8. Two main spaces of participation offered by the TAC and the quality and consequences of delivery. Source: chapter authors.



Regarding the urban equipment, delivery was partial, with the community kitchen being the only space delivered at the moment.

Management Committee Inactivity

The Committee was created to channel community participation in the project (TAC, 2005) by analysing and deliberating on residents’ requests. Moreover, it was envisioned as a means for the community to exercise some influence over the 7th stage area regeneration process.

Throughout our engagement with AMACH, we encountered a general disappointment and frustration about the lack of dialogue and overall communication with government institutions. The Committee’s inactivity since 2011 is a major reason for this. This lack of participation impacts residents’ agency and capacity to advocate for their rights. This, therefore, affects not only AMACH’s ability to engage with government institutions but also the institutional opportunities available to them to find solutions for their most pressing issues, leaving feeling of disempowerment. A female resident described it as a feeling that “we have no rights or power.”

Among the residents, there is a feeling that, even though they received their houses, there are many major unresolved construction problems that affect their daily lives. In general, residents described how they had several difficulties in approaching CONDER to solve the issues. One resident showed us three letters he has sent to CONDER about the issues, without receiving a single response. Once again, this can be attributed to the inactivity of the Committee.

Some of the construction problems directly affected the ability of residents to access their right to a healthy and secure environment. Damp walls can exacerbate pre-existing health problems. This is particularly true in the case of one resident’s son, who cannot sleep in his own bedroom

due to his breathing problems. Figure 5.9 illustrates the condition of the walls at the time of research.

There were also complaints regarding the lack of appropriate drainage, causing homes to flood when there was heavy rain. Residents expressed how, besides causing them great distress, the floods had affected the walls and floors badly. In general, they believed that these poor conditions were due to low quality construction. The struggles people experience resolving the above problems clearly shows how closing spaces of participation – in this case the Committee - affects people’s agency and thus their right to democratic city management.

However, the inability to rectify construction problems also compromises other rights to the city. When we visited the home of an informal food vendor, she complained about the size of her kitchen, which was only 1.75 metres wide and 3.96 metres long. She stated that her kitchen is now too small for her to continue in her line of work. She added that had no choice in the apartment she was given, and that she would not have accepted the apartment if she had known about the kitchen size in advance.

The inactivity of the committee means this resident has no avenues through which to complain about her situation. She said she would like to knock the adjoining wall in the kitchen down to create a bigger space, but had no opportunity to dialogue with CONDER about the viability of this idea. This clearly shows how a lack of institutional opportunities is detrimental to residents’ agency. For this resident, it compromises the right to a just economy by limiting her livelihood options.

Therefore, it is clear that policies aimed at maintaining vulnerable populations in the city centre must maintain spaces of participation in order to strengthen the right to the city. The closure of the Committee and the lack of Public Consultations are not only detrimental to the right to democratic city management, but also can affect other rights, as shown in the case above.

Figure 5.9. Impact of inappropriate drainage on housing conditions. Source: Kai Fang.



5.3.3. Norms and policy that influence TAC delivery

The previous section highlighted how TAC has not delivered the spaces of participation promised. This section will build on the analysis to demonstrate what broader norms and policy have influenced this lack of delivery and the situation of Pelourinho as a whole. We will focus on three “critical ingredients” (Cornwall, 2004, p.2) that affect the governance landscape, showing that they cannot be ignored if policies aimed at maintaining vulnerable populations in the city centre are to strengthen the right to the city.

1. The ruling party's disposition to supporting popular participation;
2. Popular mobilisation; and
3. A sufficiently resourced state government.

Lack of Resources

The government's disposition to support popular participation and the resources it has available have a direct effect on the governance landscape. Coehlo and Cornwall argue that there remains a gap between the institutionalisation of participation and the fact that “poorer and more marginalized citizens” are often, in reality, effectively excluded (Coehlo and Cornwall, 2007, p.3). This is clearly the case in our research and can be accredited to both the disposition of the government and its resources.

A key example of the mismatch between appearance and reality when it comes to participation and inclusion

emerged from our interview with a representative of CONDER, who consistently explained that the spaces of participation promised by TAC had shut down because the state government simply lacks the funds to deal with the residents' requests. A lack of funds was also given as the reason for the non-delivery of various urban equipment and commercial opportunities. TAC included two commitments regarding commercial opportunities for local residents, one of them relating to vocational courses and urban equipment. Some residents did manage to complete vocational courses through the community kitchen, but its closure due to a lack of funding has meant that many have not benefitted from the institutional opportunities it offers. This affects both their right to a just economy – as vocational courses help people gain employment – and the right to the social function of land and property, as the cost, rather than the use value, of the community kitchen is emphasised.

The representative reported that the municipality had no interest in re-opening the management committee because funds were required for the upcoming election, and added that non-delivery was a result of residents failing to pay the state back. This illustrates a problematic disposition towards residents, clearly painting them as a burden to the state government. This was a disposition directly felt by members of AMACH. In the workshop we conducted, one participant explicitly stated that people without money do not have rights, echoing the words of David Harvey, who argues that basing the right to the city on the production of capital produces “inequality, alienation and injustice” (Harvey, 2003, p.941).

Thus, lack of resources, together with CONDER's disposition towards residents, helps to explain why spaces of participation have not been delivered. This directly affects the institutional opportunities available to the residents and their agency, and ultimately is detrimental to the right to the city. Therefore, policies that maintain vulnerable populations in the city centre must be supported by substantial funding, otherwise these populations may be seen as a burden to the state, an idea which contradicts the principles of the right to the city.

Collective Agency after Home Allocation

Previous analysis in this report has shown how the inactivity of the management committee has affected the residents' agency and opportunities. Specifically, it has been a barrier to addressing construction problems in their homes, thus compromising their right to the city.

A key factor in why this space of dialogue has been closed off can be seen through an understanding of the importance of individual home ownership in Brazil. In a roundtable discussion on urban policy, Gabriel Galvão Brasileiro, from the Urban and Housing unit of the Public Prosecutor's Office for Bahia, described the three key pillars of the Brazilian housing problem as individual home ownership, clientelism and heritage. He articulated how the importance of individual home ownership was detrimental to having a deeper discussion of the right to the city, concluding that unless local demands are changed wider rights cannot be either. This view is backed up by the observation that home ownership leads to privatism among homeowners. This privatism is centred on personal lifestyles, meaning people have far less concern for political and social issues (Shin, 2011, p.9).

This issue is something that came across very strongly in our research. As seen previously, one resident has serious problems of damp in her home, affecting her son's health. When interviewed she said that AMACH could not generate the amount of support needed to convince CONDER to solve the problem. She added that attendance at AMACH meetings is much reduced since some of the 103 families were allocated homes.

Our interview with a male resident supported this point. He had also noticed a decline in interest since houses were allocated, and commented that many residents no longer seem to recognise the need to continue fighting for rights.

This clearly demonstrates how the importance placed on individual home ownership is detrimental to a more penetrating engagement with the right to the city. It hinders popular mobilisation, one of the three "critical ingredients" outlined by Cornwall (2004, p.2). This directly affects the collective agency of residents, diminishing the pressure on CONDER to reopen spaces of participation.

Services and Infrastructure in Pelourinho

The impact of wider policy and infrastructure is also important to ensure that policies which maintain people in the city centre succeed in strengthening the right to the city. We found that the TAC does not take into account these wider influences, thus hindering local residents right to the city. We came across examples both in health and security infrastructure in Pelourinho.

For instance, health problems caused by damp were difficult to address because of the difficulty obtaining health clinic appointments in the area. This is a barrier to opportunities that impacts on the right to spatial justice and to a healthy and secure environment, but goes beyond the narrow bounds of the TAC. A second example relates to the role of the police in Pelourinho. Many residents said that they felt discriminated against by the police, saying that their presence was for the benefit of tourists and not residents. A female resident told us how she is afraid to go out in Pelourinho when it is dark, giving an account of how she was once caught up in weapons fire in the area. When she reported the incident to the police, she was accused of lying and warned that she would be arrested if she tried to take the case any further. The apparent disinterest, and in some cases malicious conduct, of the police is detrimental to residents' agency. It serves blocks off the institutional opportunities to report crime and thereby contribute to improving security in the neighbourhood. Once again, this affects the resident's right to a healthy and secure environment, as no action will be taken against those responsible for the gunshots.

Therefore, it is clear that, in order to protect the right to the city, policies such as the TAC must take into account the operation and level of public service infrastructure in the areas in which vulnerable populations remain.

5.3.4. Lack of focus on enhancing and recognising people's capacity

An understanding of the normative environment outlined above leads to our third finding: there has been a lack of focus on enhancing and utilising the resident's capacities in the implementation of the TAC.

The closure of spaces of participation, and the lack of dialogue this has produced, has created an extremely one-way relationship between the state government and the local residents. This manifests itself in a number of areas such as the lack of public consultations. A partnership based on a one-way transfer of resources can be seen as distorting the dignity of the weaker partner (Eade, 2010, p.209), an argument affirmed by the many times residents told us they felt discriminated against. Both the World Charter for the Right to the City and the Brazil City Statute clearly emphasise the importance of the right to

democratic city management, but the one-way implementation of the TAC is negating this right and others in the process.

One way of achieving a more democratic process is through policies building and utilising the residents' capacities. When people's capacities are recognised, it demonstrates their aspirations to be part of the democratic process, creating a more active citizenship (Frediani et al, 2015, p.158).

An example of how this could be put into practice is the possibility of a community-led car park. A participant told us that CONDER wants to build one in Pelourinho, and that AMACH would be in favour of this prospect if the carpark was managed by the residents's association. Providing this responsibility to AMACH would recognise, and build on, the resident's collective agency. This could open up institutional opportunities such as secure jobs, strengthening the right to a just economy. Beyond this, it could strengthen the right to democratic city management by opening up the opportunity for residents to have a direct say in the urban make-up of Pelourinho. Finally, it would also emphasise the social function of land and property by valuing the use value of the carpark to local people above the project's possible exchange value. Valuing the agency of the community is key to strengthening the right to the city, as it recognises residents as equal partners in urban politics. This is something which the TAC is failing to do.

Figure 5.10. Site of the proposed car park. Source: Chapter authors.



5.4 Recommendations for Future Action

It is clear that the closure of spaces of participation promised in the TAC has raised barriers preventing residents from achieving the right to the city. It is for this reason that we propose a community-led social audit as an 'instrument for collective action' through which AMACH might call the state government to account and open up spaces of dialogue. The idea was developed in partnership with AMACH members.

The concept of a community-led social audit stems from research around the idea of participatory social auditing, which is described in the literature as a mechanism to push government to be more accountable, transparent and effective (Berthin, 2011). A community-led social audit differs in that community members facilitate the audit, rather than simply participating in the process. Box 5.2 shows our definition of a community led social audit, and a methodology can be found in Appendix 4.

Box 5.2. Definition of a Community-Led Social Audit. Source: Chapter authors, based on Reboucas (2012).

A community-led social audit is a community-led accountability mechanism that aims to evaluate policy and its implementation while understanding how this enables or compromises their achievement of rights to the city. It intends to be strategic in opening up spaces of dialogue between a community and different stakeholders to influence future policies.

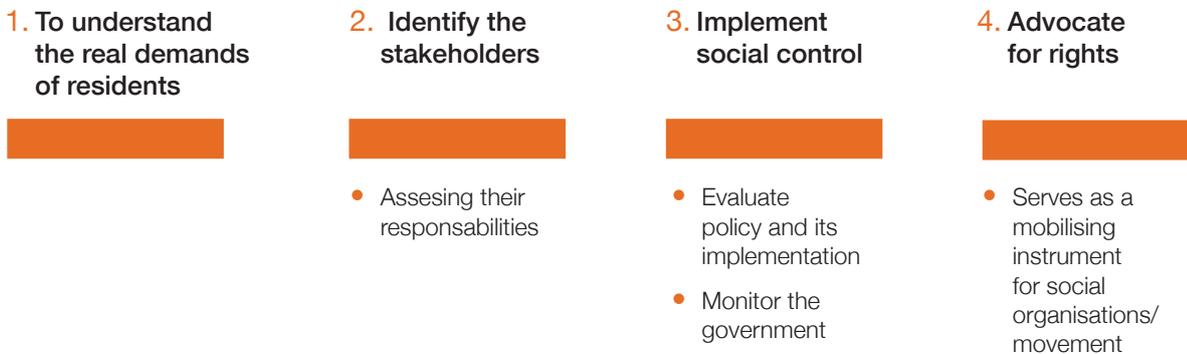
5.4.1. Why a Community Led Social Audit?

A community-led social audit could be an important mechanism for a number of reasons. The first is that it provides a means for AMACH to call CONDER to account regarding the lack of implementation of the TAC. This is especially important considering the closure of the spaces of participation.

It is also a form of social mobilisation. As seen previously in this report, participation within AMACH has suffered due to home allocation, preventing a deeper discussion of rights. In a roundtable discussion, one member observed that it is much easier to mobilise people if they have a common cause. Conducting a community-led social audit would provide this cause, and have the potential to strengthen the collective agency of residents.

Figure 5.11. Some key aims of a community led social audit. Source: Chapter authors drawing on Berthin (2011).

Why a community led social audit?



A community-led social audit is also a way of utilising and enhancing the community's capacity. The fact that the mechanism is community led means that AMACH members could lead the process. As seen previously, the process of recognising and building on the resident's capacities can strengthen the right to the city in itself.

A community-led social audit is also grounded in the right to the city. This means it can allow the residents' claims to go beyond the practical level of, for instance, securing repairs to solve construction problems. Instead, the findings of such an audit could demonstrate more broadly how the issues highlighted affect the right to the city. This is particularly important when thinking strategically, as legislation such as the Brazil City Statute enshrines the right to the city into the constitution. In her work on occupations in Sao Paulo, Lucy Earle used the concept of "transgressive citizenship" to describe ways in which occupations go beyond formal and legal means to highlight the social function of land and property as an important element of the Brazil City Statute. In a similar but lawful way, a community-led social audit would move beyond the existing avenues open to residents in order to allow them to claim rights incorporated within "text-based law" (Earle, 2012, p.98).

5.4.2 Recommendations for use

We offer two key preliminary recommendations for AMACH on how to use the community-led social audit once completed. First, share the evidence collected with the Public Prosecutor's office. This should be done in order to articulate the claim that the implementation of the TAC has violated the rights to the city as enshrined in the Constitution in the Brazil City Statute. Second, share the methodology with other groups who have similar aims. This could allow AMACH to develop stronger partnerships and potentially bring others onboard to strengthen the legitimacy of their claims to the rights enshrined in the City Statute.

5.5 Conclusion

As with the City Statute, the TAC is a very relevant instrument based on the concept of the right to the city. These policies are progressive in their recognition of the right to the city, and they have served their primary aim of allowing vulnerable populations to remain in the city centre. However, this legal instrument is not, in itself, enough to guarantee residents' right to the city. As we have seen, problems have arisen that highlight the importance of considerations regarding the spaces of participation; the norms and policies that affect delivery; and recognition of residents' capacities. We believe that this research and the instrument for collective action agreed in discussion with AMACH provide a potential avenue to allow residents and government officials to reopen spaces of dialogue.

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6. Conclusion

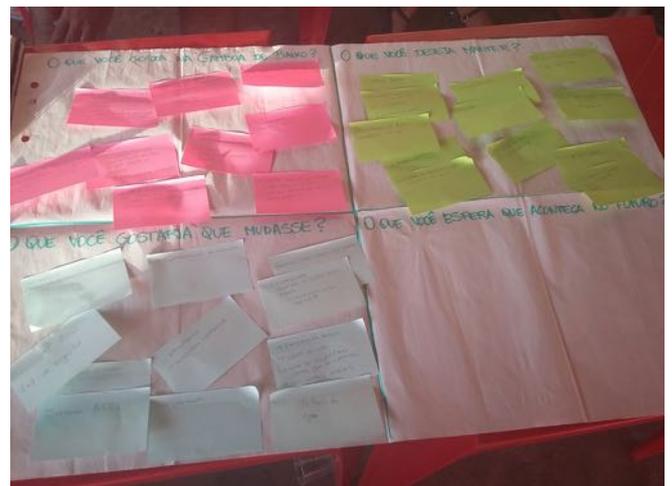
Significant advances have been made by social movements in Brazil, and years of social mobilization has succeeded in shaping a progressive recognition of urban rights in the Brazilian Constitution and the City Statute. Provision for the social value of housing, fair distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanisation, and for democratic city management, provide a positive context for the realisation of the right to the city in a country marked by stark economic inequalities and spaces that reflect and in some cases reproduce a legacy of racial injustice. In addition to this, the Constitution's protection of Brazilian cultural heritage includes protection of community participation and the value of the intangible heritage of different groups in Brazilian society, offering an inclusive vision of Brazilian culture and heritage.

Yet as this report has shown, a positive legal framework is not sufficient to address the problems of an unequal and spatially segregated society. The field in which claims to the city are made is characterised by a range of enabling and disabling elements, or 'conversion factors', that impact on the extent to which the rights protected in legal documents translate into substantive realities for city residents. It is also impacted by the ways in which development is conceptualised, the extent and form of community participation involved, and the extent to which participation in these processes takes account of power asymmetries between richer and poorer groups and the tension between individual and collective claims to the city.

Given this combination of enabling and disabling elements, we have seen how Salvador's Master Plan favoured technical expertise over participation, leaving residents marginalised and feeling that city development is "a plan for white, rich people." This view is reinforced by, for instance, the 200% increase in higher-income groups' share of the city centre over the decade in which lower income groups lost 10% of their share, and important aspects of development terms agreed for members of AMACH failed to materialise. Furthermore, the protection offered to the intangible heritage of diverse communities has not been automatically instituted, with heritage plans overlooking the particularity, history and contribution of local communities.

While working to document the practices of social movements in Salvador and the ways in which they seek to expand the right to the city, students groups identified a range of cross-cutting thematic areas that present challenges for social movements to respond to. The first is the way in which **urban development in Salvador appears to both reflect and reproduce spatial and social inequalities** between low- and high-income groups. Lack of equal access to services was a key observation – such as the lack of a proper port in Gamboa de Baixo as opposed to the adjacent Bahia Marina, the poor security infrastructure and services reported by AMACH, and the withdrawal of health and postal services from Subúrbio Ferroviário. We have also seen evidence of development bypassing, excluding or

Figure 6.1. Recording findings of action research activities. Source: Ignacia Ossul Vermehren (left) and Maurifa Hassan (right).



marginalising communities, such as in the walling off of Gamboa de Baixo, or threatening to do so, as evident from the forms of development occurring in Subúrbio Ferroviário, which may gate off and price out low-income residents. As discussed in Chapter 3, this suggests a 'selective modernisation' of the city, entailing an unequal distribution of resources, often favouring a small portion of the population, or indeed tourists over residents. Where lack of services are attributed to the government's resource constraints, findings in Chapter 5 indicate that low-income communities may be seen as a poor investment due to their inability to 'pay the city back' – suggesting that people who lack money must forego their entitlement to rights.

A second key thematic area cutting across the chapter of this report relates to misrecognition and devaluation of the identity, culture and history of certain communities, and **issues of stereotyping, stigma and invisibility** that result. Among the IPAC occupiers, for instance, market-driven urban regeneration processes have sidelined the historical and cultural ties of people, particularly those of African descent, to Salvador's historic centre. Some residents see current struggles as a continuation of the history of racial injustice associated with slavery in Brazil, whose legacy is obscured by processes of development that favour market considerations over culture and heritage. Similarly, heritage interventions in Gamboa de Baixo have favoured histories of state power, domination and tangible structures, while overlooking the specificity of local dwellers' history, heritage and intangible connection to the area. A similar case was seen in Subúrbio Ferroviário, where local art, literature and history has been overshadowed by the stigma of violence and is being recuperated through the activities of Acervo da Laje.

Stigma and discrimination against occupiers due to class-based prejudices and stereotypes has been more difficult to counter due to the high profile given to problems of violence and drug trafficking in the occupations, and we saw a similar stigma operating in Subúrbio Ferroviário and Gamboa de Baixo. Against this backdrop, action to raise the profile of residents' heritage, cultural production and everyday lives in the spaces where they live have been prominent. A related area of invisibility that has emerged is that of physical invisibility, where developments are implemented in a way that physically separates and further marginalises low-income areas. One example has been the construction of the Avenida do Contorno which created a physical barrier between Gamboa de Baixo and the rest of the city. Another has been the rise of gated developments and high-speed transit development in Subúrbio Ferroviário, which may

serve to insulate richer city dwellers from their poorer counterparts in the stigmatised peripheries of the city. As Chapter 3 suggests, this form of invisibility threatens to literally build on existing prejudices, undermining the broader impact of local placemaking interventions by artistic and cultural social movements such as AdL. As such, it requires active engagement of social movements with development processes in Salvador.

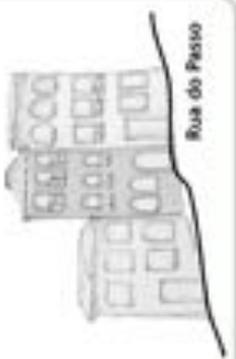
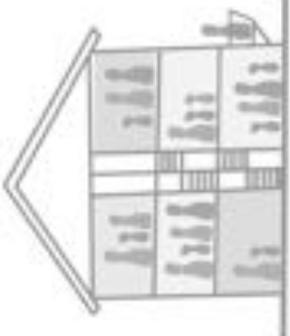
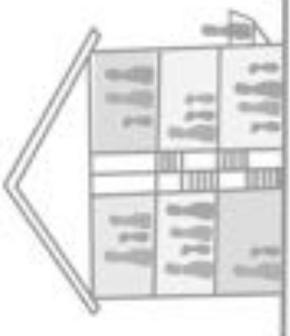
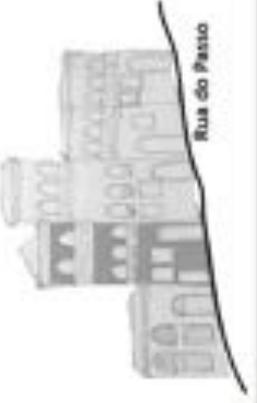
A final area of challenge relates to the **modes of engagement in participatory processes**, both by the state and by social movements. One issue here has been the polarising effect of non-participatory development, which has led movements such as MSTB to favour autonomy and remain outside the "invited spaces" of engagement created by the state. This choice has prevented MSTB from taking part in negotiations around Salvador's Master Plan and may reduce its potential to apply pressure more broadly and access resources. It may also confine the agency of city dwellers to forms of self-help as they use daily practices to fulfil their needs outside formal channels. A similar reflection was made in relation to Acervo da Laje, questioning whether its activities should include participation in the processes of local development.

At the same time, however, the report indicates that participation is never simple, and its implementation is often complicated by the unequal power of participants or the tensions between collective and individual interests. Maintaining critical mass in community mobilisation has been a difficulty for several movements, including the neighbourhood and livelihood associations in Gamboa de Baixo and the city centre (AMACH). Ironically, the success of social movements in securing provision for their members can have a demobilising effect, as seen in the decline in participation AMACH experienced after homes were issued to members. This undermines collective capacity, and has contributed to the current situation, where ongoing problems and concerns can no longer be as effectively addressed.

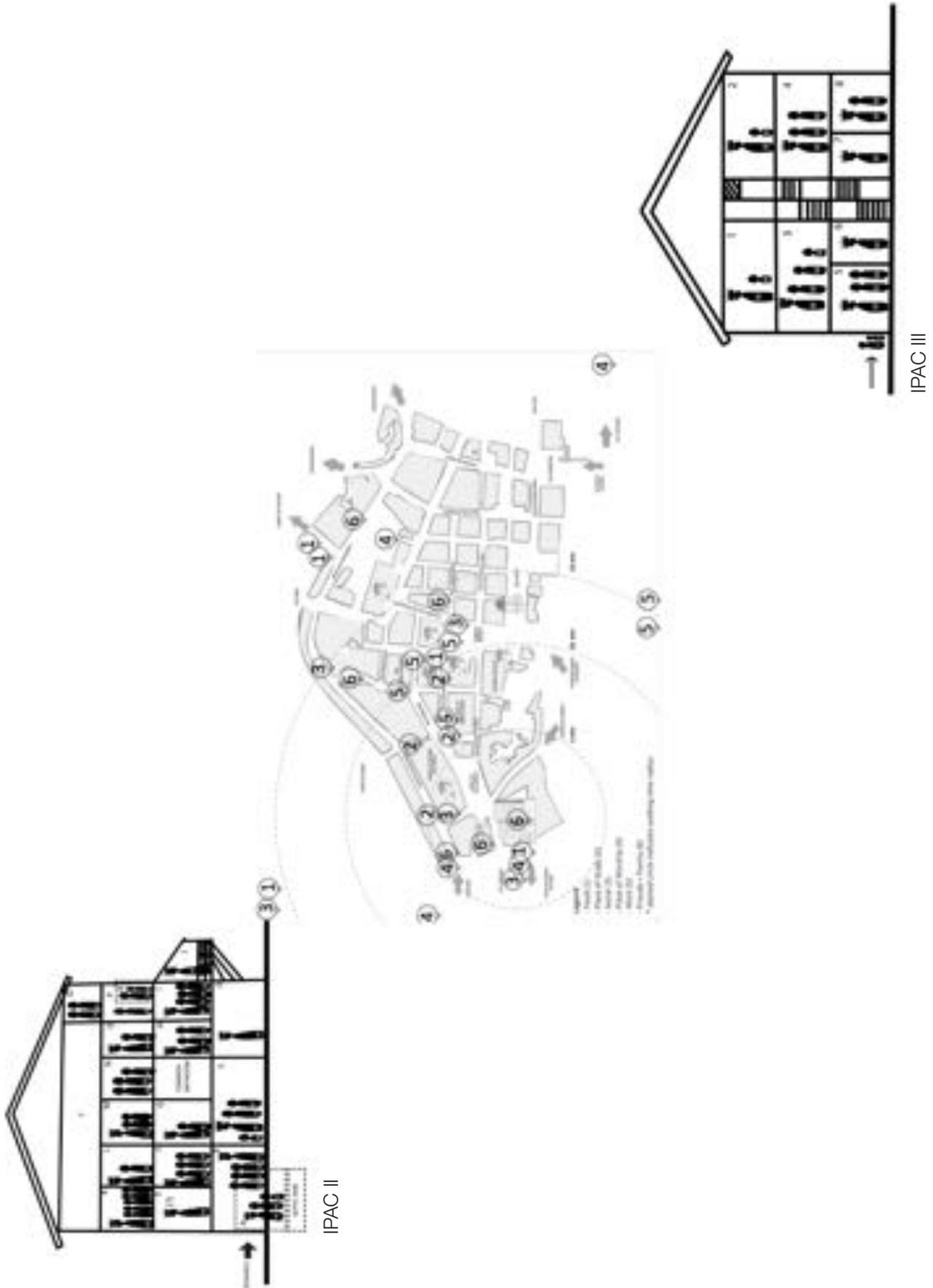
As well as documenting the practices of four collectives in Salvador and the ways in which they seek to remake the city and expand the citizenship of its residents, students have worked with each partner movement to develop small-scale 'instruments for collective action' to help their partnering organisations catalyse changes that may begin to address the challenges outlined in this report. It is hoped that these modest interventions will equip the social movements we worked with to engage in further experimentation and make progress in counteracting spatial inequality, invisibility and problematic dynamics of participation in Salvador de Bahia.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Instrument for collective action for MSTB

<h3>Stories IPAC II</h3> <p>Female, 23 years old, mother of two</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Between the ages of 14-18 years she lived on the street with her first son. Along to the occupation had a strong positive impact on her life. - She feels she was treated unfairly due to her background. - "People discriminate poor people such as me as dumb, dirty and doing drugs". <p>Female, 42 years old, mother of three</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She feels a lot of resistance in her fight to remain within the household area. Nevertheless she believes that individuals from different classes can and should live together. - "Having a place to live is a human right. MSTB stands up for this right." <p>Female, 30 years old, occupied</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She was born in the interior of Bahia (Recardo Neves) but moved to Salvador as a child - The involvement with MSTB has brought a sense of ease and peace into her life. They support her in having a more secure housing tenure. <p>Male, 42 years old, from alone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He has a strong connection to the inner city of Salvador as he always participated during the carnival festivities in and around Mourão. - The MSTB plays an important role as they unify a lot of individuals under a common notice. He has the ability to change something through participating with the MSTB 	<h3>BUILDING INFO IPAC III</h3> <p>Located at Rua de Passo Occupied since 2005 11 households</p> 	<h3>Stories IPAC III</h3> <p>Female, 45 years old, 7 children, living with her husband and 15 children and her grandchild</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - While she was in need of a place to sleep the new occupied building has been standing empty for 15 years. This made her angry. - The MSTB movement is strong due to its collective strength. The occupation without the support of the MSTB would not be possible. <p>Female, 48 years old, living with her son and nephews</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "we needs houses is usually the women, because they're the ones who keeps their children. The men don't usually have the same responsibility." - The MSTB movement has not been consulted by the state. It is empowering and gives the possibility to create a connection to one's cultural heritage. <p>Female, single mother of two children, lives with her daughter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - She studied literature and is currently studying law to fight against social oppression of black people. - She considers her act of occupying the building as "a way to control the system." - The life in Mourão requires three minimum salaries. "The Brazilian state ignores its own sons."
<h3>LIFE BEHIND OCCUPATION WALLS</h3> 		<p>Male, 30 years old, lives with father and his mother</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - He has lived within Mourão almost all his life. He is the son of the combat" - MSTB did supported him throughout the occupation, including lawyers, protection, and solidarity.
<p>Female, 31 years old, mother of two</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "we were treated like dogs", when she lost her father before the municipality officials treated her badly - At the beginning of the occupation they did not receive any help from the other inhabitants of the street. - The infrastructure of the occupation is very bad in terms of ventilation and electricity. <p>Male, 45 years old, father of 13</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - His former housing collapsed during heavy rains. - "The municipality closed their eyes to us" - After losing his place he did not receive any help from the government. In this difficult life situation the MSTB movement was there to support him and spare him of being homeless. 		<h3>IPAC II</h3> <p>Located at Rua de Passo Occupied since 2007 11 households</p>

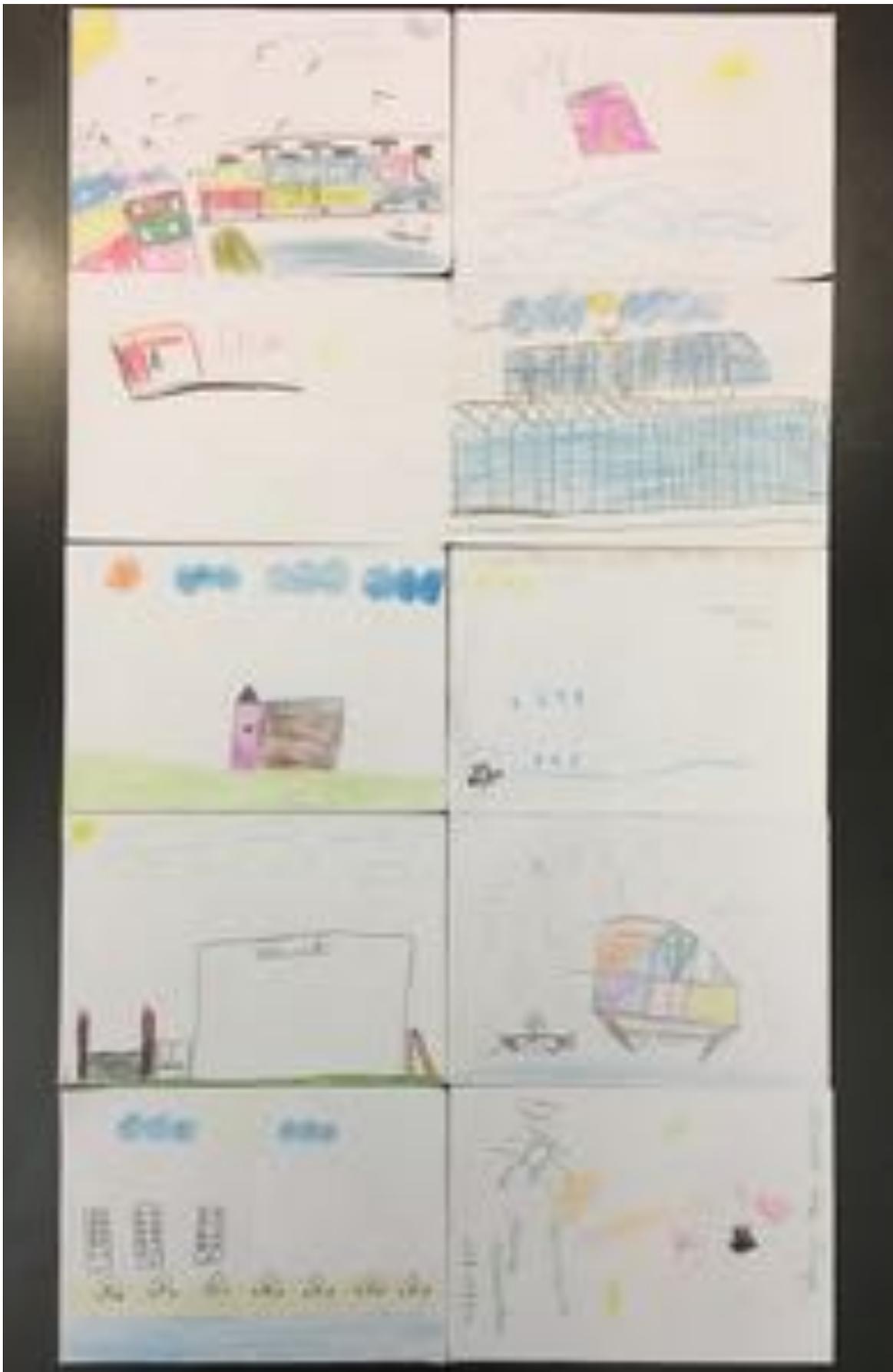
Continuation of Instrument for collective action for MSTB



Appendix 2: ‘Heritage from below’ characteristics in Gamboa de Baixo fishing practices.

Heritage from Below Characteristic	Evidence
<p>Ordinary, everyday, familiar and local.</p>	<p>“70% of Gamboa’s population depend on fishing to survive”.(Ana Caminha, President of neighbourhood association).</p>  <p>Photo taken by Luiz Augusto Magallanes, Fisherman.</p>
<p>Flexible, progressive and dynamic</p>	<p>Fishermen and women use a variety of techniques which have passed down and changed through generations, and make the fishing lifestyle unique. These include:</p>  <p>Fishing with net in the open sea is an effort in which all families are involved</p>   <p>Muzúa fishing can be used to catch fishes and crustaceans A bait basket made from straw</p>
<p>It includes intangible aspects of the past (ie. Traditions)</p>	<p>“I learned to fish with my mother, my father. When I was little, with seven years I was already fishing” (María José, Fisherwoman, 49 years)</p>
<p>It includes emotional responses and is value-based</p>	<p>“Fishing gives independence and pleasure of being who you are, working with nature” (Verónica, Fisherwoman, 37 years)</p>

Appendix 3: Output of Drawing Workshop at Acervo da Laje



Appendix 4: Community-Led Social Audit Methodology for AMACH

Template

1. CONTEXT: ACTORS AND LEGISLATION



Template

2. POLICY DELIVERY



Template

3. ENTRY POINTS/SPACES OF DIALOGUE (STRATEGIC USE)



The Bartlett Development Planning Unit, University College London (UCL), is an international centre specialising in academic teaching, research, training and consultancy in the field of urban and regional development, with a focus on policy, planning, management and design. It is concerned with understanding the multi-faceted and uneven process of contemporary urbanisation, and strengthening more socially just and innovative approaches to policy, planning, management and design, especially in the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East as well as countries in transition.

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MSc Programme in Social Development Practice. The central focus of the course is the relationship between active citizenship and development, with the recognition that diverse identities and aspirations are critical components of social change. This course responds to the increasing focus on wellbeing and people-centred approaches, evidenced both by the revised policy priorities of many development agencies, and the discourses of grass-roots organizations, which question market led processes of development. At the same time, there is a need to problematize such approaches, given the power relations operating at various scales, from the global to the local, and the social dynamics of rapidly urbanizing societies.

These concerns highlight the challenge of recognizing and valuing difference in a way that strengthens, rather than fragments, collective action, and ensures universal principles of equity. This course offers the opportunity to engage with the theoretical and practical implications of promoting well-being and citizenship in the content of social diversity, exploring the traditional realm of the social sector as entry point to influence wider contestations of rights and citizenship as manifested in development initiatives.

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The Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA) had its initial centre formed in 1808, establishing a federal university in 1946.

Is the main public university of the State and one of the most important of the country, it is characterized for implementing academic models guided by the production of critical excellence, in close relation with knowledge and social demands, as well as with affirmative actions. It conveys in its spirit the commitment to the expansion of public higher education and to the production of knowledge through research, creation, innovation and extension. It currently congregates about 38,000 students in its 112 undergraduate programmes and 55 master and doctorate courses.

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The Grupo de Pesquisa Lugar Comum (Common Place Research Group), constituted in 2010, is linked to the Post-graduate Program of the Faculty of Architecture of UFBA (PPGAU / FAUFBA) and is formed by researchers in the fields of architecture, urbanism, law and geography. Its performance takes, as basic conceptual references, the understanding of the urban as conflict and creation; urbanism as a power of the common and the production of rights and urbanity as a multifaceted, multiscalar and transitive perspective of the democratic city.

With this ballast, it constructs critically its problematisations and political actions, which, to feed the reflections and theoretical-conceptual constructions through the research in development, instigate and solidify the transforming perspective of the production of knowledge, the city and the spheres of conquest of rights. It is common to the group's reflections, thus, the analysis and understanding of the dispute over the production of the city, in its complex rationalities and networks of agents, and of the right and urbanism in their materialities, scales and expressions. The group discusses this problem in a historical perspective (history of urbanism) and stresses its formulations and contemporary practices (contemporary urbanism).

The group also develops outreach activities, with special emphasis on the elaboration of neighbourhood plans in Salvador, the organisation of Urban Development Seminars in Bahia (urb-BAs) and contributions to social movements and institutions in their struggles for a plural, just and democratic city.

To find more about the course, please visit our website: www.lugarcomum.ufba.br

