CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC SPACE:

THE ORGANISATION OF SPACE IN BRAZILIAN FAVELAS

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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OCTOBER, 2016

To my son and teacher,

Luca.

ABSTRACT

Favelas (Brazilian urban slums) are territories riddled with immense contradictions and disputes. They are, often, the only available housing for poor people and are characterized by deprivation of state services. Despite their marginalization and the discourses of criminality associated with them, the poor living in favelas are recipients of many developmental initiatives. Such initiatives are largely mediated by various civil society organisations (CSOs), which have grown in number over time. This study discusses the case of a favela in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), which I call here Mucuripe. Mucuripe is located in a wealthy area of Rio and its population are mainly black working class people, who live in a culturally vibrant yet materially deprived territory, where the interplay of the police, drug dealers, and other CSOs suggest this is a disputed territory. The data for this thesis was collected using participant observation during fieldwork while I worked in two CSOs in Mucuripe for 10 weeks.

This thesis interrogates how CSOs' activities are conditioned by the social context of Mucuripe and how these CSOs are important in shaping this favela. It is informed by the works of Henri Lefebvre and Milton Santos. It contributes to the field of space and organisation which has, in recent decades, explored space beyond the idea of an empty container where artefacts, people and processes can exist. The thesis thus analyses not things in space but space itself (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre has been very influential in organization studies, although the more politically engaged aspects of his theory remain largely under-theorised in the field. This thesis analyses the organization of space beyond the limits of CSOs as workplaces, and explores the historical and political elements of the production of space as central to CSOs' activities in favelas.

The results are presented in two parts. First, the 'organising space' is analysed through historical and political processes that affect the construction of material, social and cultural space in favelas. The thesis shows that rather than seeing territoriality as the portion of territory to be considered of exclusive influence, favela should be understood to consist of several overlapping territorialities. The clash between the local space, which is constructed historically, and the interventions hierarchically incorporated from the outside, reveal a selective integration with the formal city producing a contested space. Second, 'the space of organisations' is discussed through the different approaches adopted by CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela. It is informed by Santos' idea of the mediating role of the 'technique' (2006) in the transformation of space. Two main approaches are identified in the CSOs: they support the appropriation of space by leveraging the cultural skills and initiatives that exist in the territory, but they also fragment the territory by incorporating managerial techniques that favour the commodification and bureaucratization of everyday life.

This study contributes to organisation studies in advancing the analysis of the relations between organisations and their surrounding space showing how the historical construction of their territory and contemporary events related to the political economy of organisational space construct the space across organisations. In addition, it shows that the available technical means are a key variable in distinguishing between the hierarchic fragmentation of space and the preservation of the organic social fabric when assessing the actions of CSOs.

THESIS RELATED RESEARCH OUTCOMES

Journal Articles

- Parts of section 2.1, 2.2 and 6.2 were published in: Lacerda, D. S. (2016) Spatial hegemony as statecraft: the attempted passive revolution in the favelas of Rio. *Third World Quarterly,* 37 (6) doi: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1109437
- Parts of section 2.1 and 2.2 were published in: Lacerda, D. S. (2015) Rio de Janeiro and the Divided State: Analysing the Political Discourse on Favelas. *Discourse & Society,* 26 (1). doi: 10.1177/0957926514541346
- Parts of chapter sections 3.2 and 4.1 were published in: Lacerda, D. S. (2015) Overcoming Dichotomies through Space: the Contribution of Dialectical Materialism to Organization Studies. *Organizações & Sociedade,* 22(73), 223–236. http://doi.org/10.1590/1984-9230732

Conference Presentations

- Lacerda. D. S. (2015) Are organisations abstract? The spatiality of civil society organisations in favela territories. 31st EGOS Colloquium 'Organizations and the Examined Life: Reason, Reflexivity and Responsibility'. Athens, 1-4 July, 2015.
- Lacerda, D. S.; Cowen, M. (2015) Organizing the urban space – the role of slums and labour camps. 2015 Critical Management Studies Meeting. University of Leicester. Leicester, 2015.
- Lacerda. D. S. (2014) Rio de Janeiro and the Divided State: Analysing the Political Discourse on Favelas. 30th EGOS Colloquium 'Reimagining, Rethinking, Reshaping: Organizational Scholarship in Unsettled Times'. Rotterdam, 3-5 July, 2014.
- Lacerda, D. S. (2013) Gramsci and UPPs - The Passive Revolution of Capitalism in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro. 2013 Academy of Management Meeting. Orlando, 1-4 August, 2013.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

CMS	Critical Management Studies
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MOS	Management and Organisation Studies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
PAC	*Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento* (Growth Acceleration Program)
UPP	*Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora* (Pacifying Police Units)
TSO	Third Sector Organisation

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Urbaniza-se? Remove-se?	*Urbanise it? Remove it?*
Extingue-se a pau e fogo?	*Extinguish it by thwack and fire?*
Que fazer com tanta gente	*What to do with so many people*
brotando do chão, formigas	*Sprouting from the floor, ants*
de formigueiro infinito?	*an infinite anthill?*

Carlos D. de Andrade (Favelará: Urbaniza-se? Remove-se?, 1979)

On 22 January 2011, I went to Mucuripe,[1] in Brazil, to work. But my primary intent was not to research the favela; I was there to help a friend move house. Sheilla, who later introduced me to many of my contacts in that favela, had to leave the house where she had lived and performed most of the activities of the non-profit organisation (NPO) SingingOrg that she had founded alone, to teach music to the children there. I took another friend with me, who told me later she had been distressed with the muck and chaos in the sloppy alleys through which we had to transport the furniture uphill. Sheilla was moving because the landlord wanted the house back, motivated by the hike of rental prices in the favelas, a problem many other residents were facing too. With no affordable option, she accepted the offer from a friend to build a second floor on her small shack in which to live, a common alternative for most of the new favela residents. The newly adapted flat was just big enough to house her four daughters – all of them adopted in the favela and in need of parenting and education. The remaining problem was how to find a place to perform the activities of her organisation, which now had nothing other than a name, a website blog and photos to prove they existed and contributed a lot to the education of children in Mucuripe.

The issue of not having a workspace was solved nine months later – thanks to strong organised pressure – when the officer responsible for the police unit in the favela granted her the use of an old room the police used to occupy before the construction of their new building on the top of the hill, as a result of the implementation of the

[1] The names of all slums, organisations and persons were changed to preserve the informants' anonymity

new program of "pacification" of favelas by the state. Sheilla was full of wonder with how big and suitable the 1,000 square yard room was, physical space being such a rare and valuable resource in the densely occupied territories of the favelas. She was not the only person to realize that. Soon, the person responsible for *CSROrg*, a corporate program that held most of the rooms in the same (public) building, wanted to know why she had been granted a space there without his consent. During this process, other people from other NPOs – especially the ones without a workspace inside the favela – approached Sheilla pushing for collaboration and shared use of the facility. Soon the room was transformed into a shared space, occupied by three different organisations performing recycling, art, music and educational activities.

The complex and conflicting relationships between organisations and favelas, as described above, are the focus of my research. Such relationships are affected on various levels by the exchanges and conflicts between favelas and the formal city, which call for a deeper understanding of favelas. In Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), favelas can be seen from most parts of the city, and according to official figures house at least 22% of the city population (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 2011), although some authors claim this could be up to 40% (Burgos, 1998, p. 45). The first thing that stands out for an outsider who looks at a favela is the characteristic style of their constructions. Most of the times, they cover hills and mountains, and the construction of houses does not follow any planned landmark. Ingenious low cost building solutions enable the expansion of the built area to house relatives. As a result, the high density of occupation leads to intense social relations with little room for privacy, and winding pathways and roadways emerge from an adventurous design, preventing the circulation of cars in most of the territory. The high informality in work relations and local trades of favelas makes them also prolific spaces for ingenuous solutions and alternative organisation of the space.

In Rio, favelas emerged to house workers close to the urban economic centre, essential cheap labour for the city. People settle in high precariousness, pay no taxes and have very limited access to any social rights. This may be considered the consequence of either the lack of urban planning, or an exclusionary urban planning focused on the rights of an elite (Chandhoke, 1988; Neuwirth, 2005; Valladares, 2000), and even though the analysis of causes is beyond the scope of this study, its effects are certainly important. Favelas exist in the condition of dependency on the

formal city, being largely excluded from public policies (Brulon & Peci, 2013; Burgos, 1998) and regarded as a social problem hindering the expansion of the market (A. Barbosa, 2012; Fleury & Ost, 2013). Such an environment of loose institutional ties, where the regulation of space is unclear, opens the way for drug gangs to establish themselves as a sort of parallel state, for example by controlling access to the territory, creating an apparatus for collectively binding decisions and subjecting the population to their authority.[2]

Since 2008, the state-level administration has been acting together with the other two jurisdictional levels of government (city and federation) in a rare political confluence that aims at breaking the so-called 'logic of violence' in favelas, usually associated with their domination by drug dealers. This attempt of the state to regain control of these territories makes the present historical time particularly important for investigating favelas as a context of organising. In what seemed to be the first time in more than 100 years, favelas were the focus of the main public programme of a state government (Cano, Borges, & Ribeiro, 2012). This political turn remains contested in terms of underlying motivations, especially considering the major events of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games (A. Barbosa, 2012; Cano et al., 2012; Fleury, 2012), but whatever the intentions, in this intricate game of political interventions their effects are noteworthy. Arguably, interventions in favelas have never been so frequent, and their role in the urban space is now being widely discussed (Cardoso, 2013; Imas & Weston, 2012; Lacerda, 2015; Magalhães, 2013b).

The programme for pacification of favelas, implemented in 2008 to regain control of territories through military force (Fleury, 2012), interrupted armed conflicts for a long time and gave more visibility to the everyday life of favelas, enabling yet more frequent activity of civil society organisations (CSOs),[3] which increased in number over time mediating important initiatives for the development of these territories. However, these initiatives for development are also controversial, as they are

[2] These aspects are among the key defining elements of state (Jessop, 1990)

[3] CSOs can be usually referred by a myriad of names (such as non-profit, NGO, TSOs). My choice for CSO reflects the view of civil society as an arena of dispute rather than an ideological sphere of social association. This will be further explained in chapter 2.

advanced by organisations of very different origins. CSOs are deployed or funded in these territories by corporations, outside benefactors, churches or social movements. In addition, although riddled by gaps and absences, favelas do not lack their own singularity and cultural expression. The population of favelas – which is mainly black and has much lower literacy rates compared to the city average – also thrives in sport and cultural activities, for example. These contrasting organised practices dispute the appropriation of physical space and public funding offered by governmental grants, and participate in the organising space of the favela.

Amidst such contended space, CSOs are thus largely affected by the "political economy of the organised space" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 141), in other words the combined application of politics and economy to the analysis of organisational space, which contextualises the actions of organisations in terms of the society they are embedded in. Therefore, organisations that exist in such spaces are not alienated from their context of hierarchical interventions; on the contrary, they reproduce or deliberately resist it. In order to understand these organisations, it is necessary thus to put them in their spatial context, for it is in space that the abstract categories of analysis are realised and become manifested in observable practices and representations.

The spatial turn observed in the field of organisation studies in the past decades led to an increasing production of research on space and organisation that responds to calls made by ground-breaking works in the area (Baldry, 1999; Dale & Burrell, 2008; Kornberger & Clegg, 2003, 2004). The literature on space has been particularly insightful in tackling issues of organisational control (Dale, 2005; Hancock & Spicer, 2011; Hirst & Humphreys, 2013) and organisational boundaries (Fleming & Spicer, 2008; Maréchal, Linstead, & Munro, 2013; Munro & Jordan, 2013). However, almost all the empirical investigations can be roughly divided into investigations in/about the workplace or spatial theories of organisation as a processual activity. There has been almost no empirical investigation on what Dale and Burrell (2008) call the *organisation of space* across organisations – in opposition to the (internal) space of organisations – that shows the lasting effects of the organisational activity in the territory, and beyond.

For this reason, it is theoretically relevant to understand why so many organisations with diverse interests can be all linked by the sole fact of sharing the same territory of

a favela, and investigate how their objects and actions mediate the processes of place making. These organisations engage with the compulsory realization of contradictory tasks, which produces the dominated space of favelas beyond or despite demands emerging from the territory. In tackling this problem, I will draw on the paradigm of the social production of abstract space (Lefebvre, 1991), and analyse the selective processes of construction that fragment the territory (Santos, 2006).

Henri Lefebvre has been highly influential in the way the field of organisation studies has approached the concept of space. Lefebvre (1991) rejected the idea of space as a simple entity occupied by physical things detached from social relations. He adopted the concept of "social space" referring to a constructed space, hence a social product, and claimed that every society produces its own space. In addition, by shifting the focus of analysis from the things *in space* to space itself, Lefebvre provides a critical analysis of how space is both a social product and also the means for the reproduction of history. Therefore, because *social space* incorporates social actions, it also encompasses the social relations of production. On this basis, Lefebvre discussed every social relation of reproduction as linked to the entirety of space[4].

In other words, observing organisations within total space admits the existence of a social whole, which, although it cannot be apprehended, drives the analysis of the organising space. It is about putting actions in context and politicizing them, which expands the possibilities of how the context could influence the organisational actions. This epistemological stance is often regarded as "relational thinking" by other authors theorising space, and is described by David Harvey as follows: "An event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it" (2008, p. 274). I argue that this relational thinking[5], and its associated concepts, is a strong contribution that space studies can make to organisation studies.

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[4] Lefebvre uses the term "totality" to discuss this. This is a term which pervades the intellectual tradition of Western Marxism (Jay, 1984), and locates every human action within its context of structured relations and practices.

[5] Relational thinking is referred to here as the association of individual elements of space with its structural whole, that is, spatial elements can only be understood in relation to other elements. It is not

In expanding this contribution I will particularly draw on the work of a renowned Brazilian geographer, Milton Santos, who shares with Lefebvre the same ontology of space and advances the idea of geographic space from the perspective of developing countries, including Brazil. Santos was chosen not only because he is recurrently cited and invoked in academic texts in Brazil, but mainly because the processes of transformation he discussed in his intellectual production is very powerfully reflected in the disputed construction of the space of favelas. Observing how space is transformed (and organised), Santos (2006, p. 63) provided a condensed definition for space which summarises the main analytical aspects of his analysis: [space is] "an indivisible, integral and also contradictory set of systems of objects and systems of actions, not taken in isolation but as a unique scenario in which history unfolds". The work of Santos will support this study in the analysis of the construction of the territory of the favela and the mechanisms of its fragmentation.

Favelas are particularly appropriate spaces for the analysis of *the production of space* because of the recent militarised presence of the state and consequent escalation in initiatives for the development of the territory (this will be discussed in detail in chapter 3), which transform the everyday of these spaces. Processes of commodification and the bureaucratization of everyday life were main concerns for Lefebvre, who associated them with what he called "abstract space" (1991, p. 229). Mucuripe is a particularly interesting favela for this analysis because it is a disputed territory where attempts to produce space are subject to much resistance. Its privileged location in a wealthy area made it a strategic site for drug trafficking and also for the city elite, which is reflected both in the difficulty the state faced in taking control over the territory and in the emergence of many CSOs. In this scenario of intense dispute over the space, the impact and influence of the work of CSOs became particularly apparent.

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inspired in Norbert Elias' more widely cited figurational sociology, although much of what is discussed about favelas echoes Elias' (1991) relational thinking on *The Society of Individuals*.

1.1 Research questions and contribution

In this thesis I am interested in comprehending what influences the organisation of space of CSOs based in favelas, beyond the limits of their workplace. In order to tackle this objective, I will address the following research questions, applied to the territory of favelas in Rio:

(1) What historical and political processes affect the construction of space in favelas?
(2) To what extent are the actions of CSOs explained by their spatiality in favelas?
(3) What mediates the different approaches of CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela?

The first chapter of analysis (6) tackles questions 1 and 2, discussing the favela as an organising space, which influences the activity of several CSOs that share the same territory. The following chapter (7) expands question 2 and discusses in-depth, question 3, analysing the CSOs and their actions. Such questions and the associated analytical approach convey important assumptions about the epistemology of this thesis.

This research is framed in the domain of critical management studies. This is a qualitative and interpretive piece of research that uses empirical data generated through participant observation of organisational activity that happened within the researched territory. In investigating organisations engaged with the development of a precarious territory, in the context of the capitalist urban development, I subscribed to the "ontology of space" (Santos, 2006, p. 13), which considers a co-determination of the real (artefacts, practices, bodies) and the ideal (representations, symbols, assumptions) in the definition of social relationships and their historical and political processes of construction.

This research contributes to organisation studies, and particularly to the area of space and organisation. First, it contributes in demonstrating the influence of the spatial context in analysing organisational activity, particularly in how the historical construction of the territory and the influence of places hierarchically assimilated in the territory affect the organisation of space. This is innovative as it researches organisations beyond the more narrow aspects of their work/employment relations and it also considers the lasting effects to the ordering of a broader social territory. In addition, in order to provide these contributions, this thesis expands the application of

Lefebvre beyond the use of his classic spatial triad, demonstrating how the clash between 'historical' and 'abstract' spaces engenders overlapping territorialities. It also presents to an Anglophone readership some of the concepts of Milton Santos, especially relating to the mediating role of the 'technique', which contributes, among other things, to the analysis of the causes of fragmentation within territories. Finally, as the thesis discusses the main forces of production of space mediated by CSOs in precarious spaces, it can add a new perspective to the controversial debates on the roles of these organisations for the development of favelas, which is a key aspect of the debates on favelas.

1.2 The researched favela

In 2014, I returned to Favela Mucuripe, in Rio de Janeiro, aiming to investigate the CSOs of that territory. The favela is located on the hillside, as are the vast majority of the other favelas of the city. Figure 1 shows Mucuripe, which represents a very common landscape across the city.

Figure 1- One of the communities at Favela Mucuripe

The chosen favela is a particularly rich environment because of the high number of organisations dedicated to cultural, educational and political practices. One of the

main reasons for this wide range of activities is its privileged location: it is embedded in one of the wealthiest zones in the city. The selection of this community involved the following criteria:

- The size of the favela in terms of population and territory is big enough to present diversified processes of production but not too big to hinder the data collection with constrained time and resources.
- It was one of the favelas where a UPP (*Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora* - Pacifying Police Units) unit had already been deployed.
- Several organisations are formally based in Mucuripe, including social movements, CSOs, and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) projects.

According to the 2010 census, the territory served by the UPP unit of Mucuripe houses 10,000 residents divided in two main communities, which I will call *Buruti* and *Itaperi*. Buruti was occupied at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the occupation of the areas along the seaside took place, mainly by ex-slaves and immigrants from the countryside. Its history is grounded thus in the pre-republican period (before 1889) of Rio, then the capital of Brazil, inhabited by a slavocratic society. Itaperi emerged later during a period of high development of the country, in the 1930s, and received mostly immigrants from the northern and poorer part of the country. The conurbation of the two slums makes it difficult for outsiders to identify where the border between the two communities lies.

The organisations in Mucuripe share a relatively small piece of land, resulting in one of the favelas with the highest population density in the city. The population is almost equally distributed between men and women, and nearly one third consists of young people between 15 and 29 years, the only age group with more men than woman. As in most favelas, development indicators such as literacy (93.6%) and income above the minimum wage (27%) are considerably below the city average (97% and 58%) (IBGE, 2012). The proportion of illiterate adults (over 15 years old) is similar to the other favelas of the city, but more than twice the city average of 2.9%. However, the main issue in Mucuripe according to many surveys is still the inadequate waste disposal. Figure 2 illustrates that.

Figure 2 - The problem of waste disposal at Mucuripe

The two communities in Mucuripe are considered a single favela on maps and governmental programs, but their residents manifest a strong spatial identity with one or the other community. Buruti has also the biggest proportion of rented households among all the favelas in Rio, and 65% of the households survive with less than the minimum wage per capita. Buruti is also more frequently the target of public interventions by CSOs and the state. Such interventions remain, nonetheless, still considerably hindered by the extent of the influence exerted by drug dealers. All these conflicting forces enrich the analysis of the links between the political economy of organised space - which drug dealers are part of - and the production of the organising spaces of CSOs in favelas. The thesis is organised as follows.

1.3 Thesis structure

Chapter two provides a wider context for the object of this research: CSOs in Brazilian favelas. In Rio, more than one fifth of its 6.2 million inhabitants live in favelas, and the favela population is currently growing at almost four times the rate of the formal city (Cavallieri & Vial, 2012, p. 6). The chapter starts by analysing the favela as a category. Then, it provides the historical and anthropological narrative of the emergence of favelas, in order to contextualise their current condition. Aiming to

achieve the development of such territories, various CSOs were created or brought to the favelas, and I will also explain in this chapter why I have adopted the concept of CSOs, based on the view of civil society as an arena of power struggles where organisations emerge, rather than alternatives such as NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations), TSOs (Third Sector Organisations) or NPOs (Non-Profit Organisations), which presupposes a liberal view of service delivery mediated by these organisations.

Chapter three presents the main literature to which this thesis contributes: that related to space and organisation. The variety of the literature on space also reflects the multiple ways of approaching organisations spatially. Among the studies that investigate the sociology of space, the majority of the published works are influenced by the work of Lefebvre, although in a relatively limited way. The work of Lefebvre (1991) is thus one of the points of departure for this thesis, which will expand the application of his writings. This chapter also describes important theoretical constructs used to refer to space, which will be used to build the claims of this study. Finally, this chapter frames the contribution of this thesis: to explore the organisation of space beyond the workplace and considering its lasting effects in the territory.

In chapter four, the theoretical framework used to tackle the research questions is presented. In particular, the discussion of the political economy of organised space (the production of space and organisation) is informed by critical geography, and this discussion shifts the focus from the "social space" described by Lefebvre (1991) to "geographic space" scrutinised by the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (2006). This is done by presenting, first, the concepts of Lefebvre, such as *abstract space*, that are little explored in the field of space and organisation, and then by introducing the work of Milton Santos. Santos' conceptual framework addresses the observation of historically produced landscapes, and provides analytical instruments to assess the selective processes of space production that is typical of marginal territories.

Chapter five describes the methodological outline of the empirical work, including the research strategies adopted. In this chapter, the adoption of an empirical interpretive approach is justified, and the methods for data generation are explained (interviews, observation, visual devices and document compilation). The data frames and the procedures for data analysis are also detailed. I also describe the researched organisations and participants of this research. Finally, the chapter presents the

aspects concerning research ethics and provides a reflexive account of the process of research.

Chapter six discusses the organisation of the territory of favela in relation to the formal city. The context for the organising space of the favela is provided through its two main influences: the bequest of the history of the territory and the affecting processes of the present political economy of this space. The chapter starts by discussing the historical formation of the territory of Mucuripe, and then it debates the recent struggles for the control of the territory by drug dealers, state organisations and market businesses, which configure overlapping territorialities. The chapter concludes by showing that in a highly regulated space such as that of favelas, the complex ensemble of organisations is very particular and the organisational spaces of CSOs are porous to the territory.

Chapter seven focuses on the CSOs of the favela, and what their actions reveal about the surrounding space and its organisation. The overlapping territorialities at Mucuripe, demonstrated in the previous chapter, engender in CSOs a contradictory spatiality composed of various places in the same territory. The chapter is structured according to two different behaviours adopted by organisations in their actions: the engagement with contiguous local places appropriating the means to produce the territory from within, and the reproduction of hierarchical abstract places originating from the outside. These contradictory behaviours change according to the context of analysis, and the chapter argues that the analysis of the technical means employed in each action reveals the type of organisation of space engendered by the CSOs.

Finally, I conclude with a summary of the main findings of this thesis, revisiting the research questions to assess the contributions provided to the comprehension of the socio-geographic (re)production of space mediated by CSOs. This study provides important implications for the field of organisation studies. Organisational boundaries are blurred when organisations emerge from overlapping territorialities in the territory, and the analysis of the technique mediating their activities reveal the limits and possibilities of the organisational action.

2 Context: investigating favelas and CSOs

In November 1900, a letter sent by a reader was published in what was then Rio's most read newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* complaining about the violence he argued was due to the proximity of a favela, and suggesting a solution for the case:

> Several traders of cloth shops at *Rua da Carioca* asked us to demand from the commissary of the 6th urban district measures against a gang of underage burglars that hide themselves at the *Santo Antonio Hill*, close to the tramway. The day before yesterday, at night, one of these thieves, supported by a group of escorts, robbed a pair of trousers that was in the window of n.39 of that street. Chased by the traders, they escaped uphill, and only two of them were caught by a night watchman; the others, before running away, swore to take revenge on their chasers. […] A proper siege, following careful analysis of the territory by the commissary, would bring good results. (cited by Zaluar & Alvito, 2006, p. 10, my translation and emphasis)

In August 2010, the number of favelas was much higher than in 1900, and the development of the gun industry and the drug trade had armed individuals intending to commit crimes. And in that month, another letter was published in the currently most read newspaper *O Globo* complaining about a similar problem, and offering a similar solution:

> The striking war scenes which occurred at *São Conrado* showed how insignificant Rio's security policies are, because it is unacceptable that *de facto* armies exist inside the state hills [favelas]. It is obvious that a policy of containment is being practiced without addressing the source of this evil. There is no proper alternative other than invading these ghettos, with the subsequent extermination of these gangs. However, the government does the opposite, spending millions in electioneering projects at these communities, while we, active contributors to this country, are the ones who pay for this irresponsible spree, for if this was a serious government, it would have asked for a federal [military] intervention already. Who do they think they are fooling? (*O Globo*, 2010, my translation and emphasis)

Even though these two events are separated by more than one century of a rich and intense history of relationship between favelas and the city, this essentially remains a controversial issue. The striking similarity of the two letters, despite the elapsed time between them, lies in the same prejudicial view of "us vs. them". Both complain about the violence stemming from favelas ("gang of underage burglars" and "*de facto*

armies") and propose the isolation and domination of these territories as a solution ("a proper siege" and "invading these ghettos"). A hundred and ten years have proven to be still not enough to mend the association of favelas as the harbourers of criminality and accept the right of favela residents to their city, which remains an exclusivity of the upper classes – "active contributors of this country". While the extreme majority of favela residents have never been involved in any crimes, this fact is ignored by the upper classes which struggle to negotiate the acceptance of favelas, between the intensifying social awareness promoted by social movements and a bigger social anger derived from reductionist media accounts of the growing population living in favelas. This tension is probably higher today than ever, and to understand why, it is necessary to look closely at the history of favelas in Rio.

This chapter presents the context of the research, offering also the empirical motivation for the thesis to look at CSOs in favelas. It discusses the definition of favelas and their legitimacy in occupying the urban space, despite the social struggles that are materialised when *favelados* (residents of favelas) challenge, through their informal settlement, a social order that excludes them. Then, it explains the historical formation of favelas in Rio, highlighting the role of organised civil society as mediators of the tensions arising from the political economy of the urban space, when different spheres of social action become represented in the territory. Finally, the object of observation – CSOs – is discussed in terms of the controversial classification of such organisations, which results from the problematic conceptualization of civil society. I propose to take a different approach from this controversial classification by exploring the spatial relations of the CSOs.

2.1 Favela as a category: the contradiction of the urban space

Even though favelas are urban territories, any effort to define them will necessarily be an exercise of separation and segmentation from the city. Another way of looking at favelas is to focus on the social processes that create and challenge these distinctions, namely their relations with the formal city. The existence of favelas is related to the role of the capitalist city in concentrating the processes of production and consumption in urban territories, combined with the denial of the existence of those who cannot afford the same level of participation in the spheres of consumption. For Chandhoke (1993), the identification of the city with capitalism is especially

represented by the appropriation of the city by the urban poor who are in a constant struggle with the contradictory process of the production of the city, and who challenge the spatial order that is designed to exclude them, Therefore, I will argue in this section the reasons for the legitimacy of favelas as territories of the city which should entitle them to the same rights and services provided to the formal city. The processes of urbanization enact contradictory relations of dependence and resistance between favelas and the formal city.

2.1.1 Interrogating the favela as a category

Slums are a worldwide phenomenon. Various figures show the increasing presence of slums in Rio and in the world (Davis, 2007). But counting slums is not necessarily the same thing as counting favelas, and these territories need to be considered from the perspective of the construction of their space, which is revealing of particular processes of political and economic development in Brazil, particularly in Rio. Likewise, the favela as a category cannot pretend to encapsulate the various specificities of the local cultural manifestations of hundreds of such territories in the city, and should be looked at in terms of their common relations to the formal city, rather than as an attempt to define their essential condition.

In Brazil, favelas contain a large number of cultural initiatives and organisations of different types, hence they have a life of their own, but they continue to be viewed through a prism of absence: historically defined by what they lack or what they do not represent. Oliveira and Marcier (2006) highlight that poverty and marginality are historically present in most representations of the term "favela" since the 1940s. As explained by Zaluar and Alvito (2006), favelas have been traditionally associated with shortage, absence and emptiness. The 'common sense' understanding of favelas and informal settlements in general is to define them in terms of what they lack in comparison to the hegemonic and formal city, such as infrastructure, land tenure and security. As I have discussed elsewhere (Lacerda, 2015), the association of the identity of inhabitants of favelas to informality and criminality is to a great extent reinforced by discourses reproduced by the media and the government.

Therefore, the definition of favelas is disputed, because the way they are categorised is also part of a political struggle. Their classical and hegemonic definitions used to focus on the precariousness of these spaces. Almost every favela started with

temporary accommodation, which was then transformed and expanded over time. Their emergence is usually related to a combination of factors, such as: the lack of housing in the city, poverty, and the proximity to job opportunities, among others. However, each favela is in a different stage of occupation, and most of them now house generations of residents, which make them different among themselves but also legitimate in their own right.

In addition, the (limited) arrival of public services and the development of some of these territories also make it inaccurate to provide a unique characterization or definition, which focuses on their material deficiencies or their liminal nature. Figure 3 shows a picture of an urbanised favela, where the impression of chaos and confusion is conveyed by the intertwined wires and narrow alley, which almost divert the viewer from the vibrant cultural interventions painted on the walls and the ingenuity applied in the organisation of this dense space to accommodate many residents.

Figure 3 - Picture taken in a relatively developed favela

Aiming to describe favelas from the perspective of their affirmative characteristics, Observatório de Favelas, a social research organisation dedicated to researching favelas and urban phenomena, produced a report based on the seminar "What are favelas, after all?" (2009). The authors argue that stigmatized perceptions of favelas set negative parameters as references to social representation of this phenomenon. For them, these spaces should be defined by what they are, and "should be recognized according to their socio-territorial specificity" (Observatório de Favelas, 2009, p.3). Following the same tradition, despite the traditional common sense disseminated in the formal city about favelas as spaces of illegality and subversion, academic research of the past decades largely examined the characteristics of the socio-territorial specificity of favelas, which do not follow the hegemonic model of occupation of the land prescribed by the market and the state (Observatorio de Favelas, 2009; Valladares, 2005). These studies – inspired by anthropological investigations – focus on the understanding of the cultural aspects of life in favelas, usually appreciating the positive characteristics of their everyday. Some of them are grounded in the idea that by subverting the logic of centre-periphery (for example through the cultural effervescence of favelas), favelas would no longer be considered marginal territory and the prejudice would lose ground.

The view of the favela based on what it is has been particularly important in challenging prejudicial accounts of favelas and their residents. However, as important as it is to acknowledge the right of every individual to live on their own accord, limiting the analysis to the sociability of life in the favela may underestimate the importance of its relationship with the hegemonic city – and in less critical studies risks romanticising the favela in descriptions that overlook the condition of material precariousness lived in these territories. In that matter, it is useful to recall how Marx begins his essay *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, stating a famous implication of his overall theory: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx, 1999[1852], p. 5).

The investigation of favelas is associated with inequality and income distribution, because these territories are usually inhabited by the poorest people of the society where they are located. Brazil has one of the highest GDPs[6] in the world – USD 2.3 trillion, according to World Bank indicators for 2013 (The World Bank, 2013), – but also high inequality, where the Gini index (51.9) places the 7th biggest economy in the 16th highest position of inequality among 141 countries surveyed (CIA, 2012). The city of Rio, probably the most famous in Brazil, is even more unequal (with a Gini index of 57.9 according to NUPET, 2012). The informal settlements of favelas are situated within this context of social exclusion and high inequality. Therefore, in favelas we can see materialized the historical social struggles that fragmented the urban tissue of Rio de Janeiro and implemented in the city a relationship of domination that has been spatially realised from the beginning of its urban development (Abreu, 1997).

In Abreu's (1997) terms, space is the medium for the realization of this history, and it is through spatial constraints that people meet the limiting circumstances of the production of their history. This spatial realisation reveals shared characteristics amongst favelas, for example being limited to hills and precarious or distant areas, entailing the separation from the formal city, and assigning to these settlements the status of irregular or informal occupations. It should be noted that several investigations have demonstrated, in the past decades, constant exchanges between favelas and the formal city, revealing intimate relationships of favelas with wider society (Cavalcanti, 2008; Valladares, 2005). However, in many aspects, the favelas also became considerably distant from the hegemonic city, a separation enacted discursively as much as through the differential access to public services (Lacerda, 2015; Ramos & Paiva, 2007; J. Silva, 2013; J. S. Silva, Barbosa, & Faustini, 2012). I will discuss next the main aspects of this separation, focusing on the dispute for the urban space.

[6] Calculated with Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)

2.1.2 Favelas as challengers of the social order of the capitalist city

Slums are not novel phenomena in history, but their emergence has never been so fast and systematic as with the economic arrangement of modern capitalist societies (Davis, 2007). As urban phenomena, the comprehension of favelas benefits thus from the consideration of the characteristics of urban development. Slums, by means of their existence in informal settings, interrogate the urban planning, or as Chandhoke (1993, p. 63) poses it, "by challenging the spatial ordering of cities, the inhabitants of these 'dwellings' challenge the social order itself".

Favela residents live in dense communities with informal relations where the social interactions are characterised by "intense sociability, with strong appreciation of the common spaces as places of encounters" (Observatorio de Favelas, 2009, p. 3). This sociability contrasts with the assumption that much city life is based on anonymity, and Tonkiss (2005) recalls the responses of sociology and anthropology to this contradiction: ranging from treating these community forms as "non-urban" residues of the city to recognizing that the basis of community lies in the ways in which the relations are organised. Abreu (1997) argues that the contradictions of the urban evolution in Rio are realised spatially, and favelas in particular express such contradictions.

A striking figure that illustrates these contradictions was released by the Brazilian national census in 2010: the national housing deficit reached 5.8 million houses, whereas the number of private unoccupied houses was over 6 million, and thus would be enough to cover the deficit. (Fundação João Pinheiro, 2013). The reason for families in search of new accommodation never being able to access these unoccupied properties is that such properties become assets, investments. The construction of new housing units is not directed to meet the demand from families.

The explanation for how the contradictions of the market are materialised in the urban order in such ways relates to the need of urbanization to mobilize and concentrate surplus product (Harvey, 2003). The capitalist city demands a concentrated labour force as required by its production process, and it will also demand an orderly occupation of the space as required by its structure of consumption. But only for the very same elite that is benefited by the accumulation of capital is reserved the possibility of enjoying the benefits of industrial development whilst respecting the orderly settlements, while the working class will need to disrupt this order to be

located close to the capitalist centre. This can be described as the clash between the "intended" city and the "unintended" city (Chandhoke, 1993, p. 69), which is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4 - The contrast between favelas and the formal city in an affluent zone

Turning now to the specific context of Rio, the next section will describe the emergence of favelas by explaining the historical realization of the urban strategies of segregation in the city, and how these contradictions unintentionally encouraged resistance by the organised impoverished working class.

2.2 The emergence and development of favelas: a historical account

Over more than one century of existence, the strategies of the government and the elite to deal with favelas in Rio have gone through cycles of rejection/clearance and acceptance/urbanisation. Across the century, not only the number of *favelados* in the city was roughly increasing but also their presence and legitimacy has been consolidated. However, the failure of the state in integrating these territories is reflected in the abiding issue of privatisation of favelas by criminal organisations, which remains a key controversy. This dispute for the legitimacy of occupation and

the right to the city is ultimately political, and is mediated by formal and informal (and illegal) organisations acting in the favelas.

2.2.1 The historical emergence and expansion of favelas

The first catalogued favela in Rio was Morro da Providencia, which housed ex-soldiers who had fought against a national riot (Guerra de Canudos) in the state of Bahia at the end of the 19th century (J. de Oliveira, 1985). The first popular settlements were more widely known as *cortiços*, and were also a solution for housing thousands of ex-slaves who were freed in 1888 and had no means of living out their freedom in an unfamiliar territory (Valladares, 2005). Thus, since their very origins, slums in Rio have been places for the most excluded of society. Slums assumed the geography of favelas as their predecessors (*cortiços*) were destroyed and targeted by hygienist evictions. Figure 5 shows the picture of a house in the favela nowadays, depicting what temporary accommodation (shacks) built in favelas could look like.

Figure 5 - Picture of a temporary accommodation (shack) inside the favela

Since their early presence, favelas have been regarded as socially invisible and were marked by a relation of differences from the 'city'. The state largely reproduced this prejudicial view of the elite. Even before the favelas had become an issue for the public administration, the introduction of public transportation in the end of the 19th

century illustrated the beginning of a series of policies to enact the spatial segregation of social classes in Rio. The capitalist city was then divided in three: the centre, occupied by non-residential buildings and slums; the south zone, served by trams for the use of its rich residents where few slums existed; and the periphery (north-western), occupied by industries and poor people connected by city trains (Abreu, 1997).

With the expansion of favelas over the city, they have slowly challenged the status of social invisibility. The first state actions intended to deal with the "problem" of favelas were actions of eviction aimed to eliminate them "once and for all" (Valladares, 2005, p. 37). The official "discovery" of the favela by the government was enacted in 1937 when the first official regulation to explicitly address the "problem" of favelas referred to them as "aberrations" that should be cleared, while any building works in existing favelas was forbidden (Burgos, 1998, p. 27).

During the 1940s, with the mediation of the Catholic Church, the first organisations of assistance to the residents of favelas were created. At the beginning of the 1950s, the philanthropic foundation Leão XII, then still linked to the structure of the Church, extended its support to 34 favelas. The first residents' associations were also created in a few favelas. This period coincided with the Brazilian economy undergoing a productive transformation that shifted labour power from rural activities to industries and concentrated more and more people in the cities. Unsurprisingly, the city was unable to offer housing for all these people, and in 1950, 7% of the city population were already living in favelas in dense territories (J. de Oliveira, 1985, p. 11).

This period also marked the beginning of the intervention by the state and civil society (e.g. the Church, political parties) at favelas, in part thanks to the political capital that the votes of the favela represented. In 1956 the city administration created the first secretary dedicated to the provision of services to the favelas (*Serfha* – Portuguese acronym for 'Service for the Recovery of Favelas and Unhygienic Residences'), which were limited to support the social work of the Catholic Church (Burgos, 1998, p. 30). For Valladares (2000), this comes together with the production of official knowledge about favelas, when different professionals started to discuss favelas, and the favela became an object of academic study. See Figure 6 for an example of the occupation of a hill.

Figure 6 - Favela houses built on a hill in Rio

In this period, the status of favelas changed from informal solution to the lack of accommodation to a social problem to be studied. This was followed by the creation of the first autonomous organisation of favelas, the Association of Workers From Favelas created in 1957, which provided a collective identity to the *favelados* (Burgos, 1998). Although still highly supported and mediated by the Catholic Church, the civil society in the favelas found in self-organisation a powerful instrument to negotiate their interests, and succeeded among other things in preventing the clearance of three favelas of the wealthy south zone. Residents' associations were created in various favelas and a new relationship was established between the government and the favelas, although clearances were still being carried out; this relationship was formalized in a new pact signed in the beginning of the 1960s. With this pact, the government attempted to politically co-opt the residents' associations, forcing them to play the official role of government mediator within the favelas. This arrangement increased the state investment in the favelas but also blurred the role of residents' associations as instruments of pressure against the government.

The military coup conducted in Brazil in 1964 inaugurated an era of authoritarian clearances. In 1967 the government decreed the control of residents' associations by a

special secretary and enacted their specific aim to represent the interests of favela residents before the state, forbidding the creation of more than one association per favela. The board of directors of *Fafeg*, the institution that networked residents' associations of all favelas, was forcefully removed and many local leaders killed (Burgos, 1998, p. 37). This pressure forced these associations to work as formal representatives of the state, forbidding ameliorations of existing accommodation and facilitating evictions. However, the residents waged resistance, organising conferences of *favelados* and defending the need to urbanise their spaces. Although about 60 favelas had been destroyed by 1985, the residents' resistance allowed the maintenance of dozens of favelas initially earmarked for clearance, and occupation of new territories closer to the wealthy areas.

During the 1980s, the continued recovery of democratic life gave way to a strong wave of political pressure – pushed by hundreds of thousands of voters lacking representation – to reinstate the favelas in the political agenda of public services. As a result, from the 1980s, slums have increasingly acquired the legal right of existence, and the word *urbanization* – initially regarded as the provision of public services and infrastructure – has become more and more associated with favelas. This process was supported by the acknowledgement that the favela is the producer of its own culture; and a comprehension of its way of organising has altered the understanding of its nature.

Favelas could no longer be technically defined as the absence of urban ordering that had to be cleared out, and their relations with the city became much more complex. The first urbanization programmes aimed at favelas began in the 1980s (Valladares, 2005, p. 23). Probably the biggest programme of the 20th century was *Favela-bairro*, which was launched in the 1990s and was partly funded by the World Bank. Figure 7 shows how the presence of the state changed the landscape of favelas. With the entry of the state and transformation in their infrastructure, these territories were opened for the action of outsider NGOs and on the way to a definite integration into the city. However, the gap between favelas and the formal city was still abiding, as noted by Zuenir Ventura (1994) in a classical work where he calls Rio "The Divided City". The separation between the *asfalto* (asphalt) and the *morro* (hill) were ever more visible.

Figure 7 - Building for relocation of evicted residents (in beige) and a police station (in blue)

According to Burgos (1998), two strong barriers to integration can explain the complex relations between favelas and the city. First, the social scars from the anti-democratic period of 1964-1985 had ideologically separated the impoverished residents of favelas even more from the residents of the formal city (who increasingly saw favela as abnormal urban settlements whose occupiers were outlaws). Second and more importantly, criminal gangs (the gamblers of illegal lottery[7] and drug dealing cartels) emerged in favelas acting as quasi-state organisations and dominating their territories. The violent drug traffickers that benefited from the globally developing drug trade were particular influential in privatising favelas. In a territory of residents largely excluded from consumption, drug traffickers provided for those who had given up the struggle by legal and peaceful means the instruments of fighting, thus aggravating the problem of urban violence.

Therefore, despite many achievements and public apparatus deployed by the urbanisation programs in the 1990s, they were not fully successful due to the lack of

[7] The so-called '*jogo do bicho*' (animal lottery), a gambling practice that has been outlawed but remained popular amongst the working class

political articulation, a fragmentation of interventions and the non-existence of a security programme at state level to cope with the emerging criminal gangs (Fleury, 2012). For Silva (2003, p. 2), the various processes that contributed to the change of the relationship between the city and favelas (both good and bad) and changed the way they had been seen in the past decades were: the increase of public and private services within the favelas; the expansion and "verticalization" (growing upwards) of favelas; the popularization of new educational and cultural practices; the growth of social, economic and cultural heterogeneity; the privatization of residents' associations; and the increased power of drug dealers. This process was not absolute but resulted from small changes in the various social struggles within the city, and was often mediated by CSOs. One of these organisations was nevertheless considerably more important in setting this agenda: drug dealers.

2.2.2 The problem of drug dealing and the response of the state and the market

As illustrated in the opening story of this chapter, favelas have been traditionally depicted as the harbour of criminality, thanks to biased media representations (Zaluar & Alvito, 2006), and the common sense of the discourse on favelas that often involved the demand by the middle class for a military intervention in these spaces. When Rio was awarded the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, this drew even more attention to issues of violence in the favelas.

In 2008, a rare confluence of political allies occupied the three public offices, allowing a state-level security policy to have the necessary political articulation with federal and municipal levels to launch the *Unidades de Policia Pacificadora* (UPP) (Pacifying Police Units) program. The idea was to militarily occupy the favelas where drug traffickers had existed for a long time, building police stations (the so-called "pacifying units") in these territories. The formal objective of the program was to regain control of the territories terminating the disputes between drug dealers, and in order for that to happen the first stage was the takeover by the elite squad, to arrest, kill or expel local gang leaders. Therefore, the objective of the program was *not* the end of criminality or drug dealing, but to regain power and reduce the effect of armed disputes on the outside of favelas (Cano et al., 2012, p. 19).

The first stage of the takeover consisted of an attack to overrule the powerful apparatus of drug gangs and occupy the territory militarily. The apparatus of

repression (weapons and soldiers) of the drug dealers in some of the territories were so substantial that the police were not enough on their own to fight it, and help from the army was needed. This was revealed especially during the take-over of the second largest favela of the city (*Alemão*), where, according to the secretary of security, more than one hundred rifles were seized, and even before any action they mapped a war zone of "about 500 people with weapon mounts, heavy armoury. There are two roads with gasoline and oil to block car access." (Beltrame, 2014, p. 21). The state seemed determined to militarily overrule the 'enemy' that dominated these territories

However, the determination with which the legal state regained control of many territories was not the same in every informal settlement dominated by trafficking. The surprising aspect is again their spatial distribution, in other words how they are concentrated in specific regions. The upper left of *Figure 8* shows the map of the city of Rio de Janeiro with each district. The darker shades indicate the higher density of favelas in the area, as recorded in the national census in 2010 (IBGE, 2011), which totalled more than one thousand informal settlements all over the city. Virtually all of them were under the control of an armed gang before the beginning of the UPPs, but the chosen places for occupation are mostly concentrated in specific zones of the city, and the prioritized zones did not even correspond to the higher presence of favelas or the most violent ones.[8]

A different kind of armed force dominates most of the favelas where UPPs have not been implemented, especially in the west side of the city: the *militia*. These are organised groups formed, in general, by police officers, military firemen or prison guards, which provide security to the local population in exchange for benefits such as charging fees (Zaluar, 2007). Initially, they were not repelled by the state, as they were welcomed for preventing drug traffickers in those territories, which would mean the production of a counter-hegemonic space in relation to the power of drug dealers (Cano & Duarte, 2012).

[8] *Ibid*, according to IBGE the northwest region of the city is the most violent one.

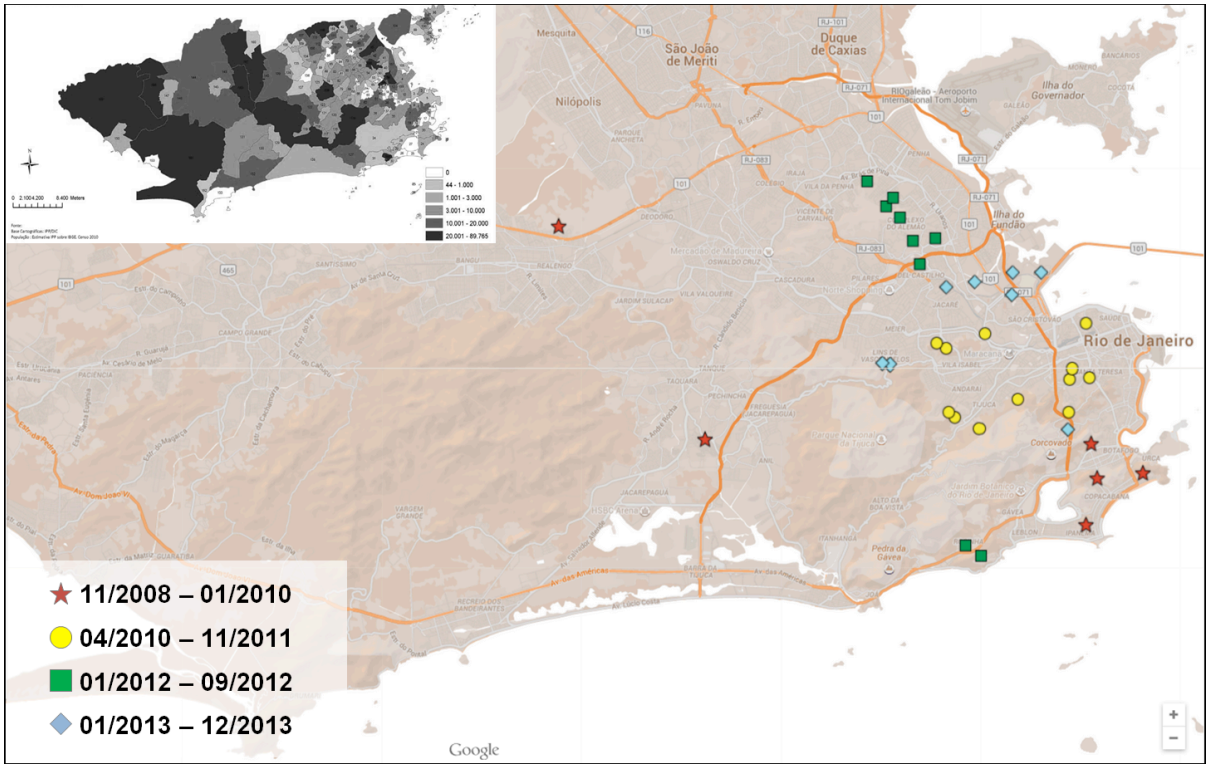

Figure 8 - Map of Rio indicating the density of favelas per territory (top) and UPP units (bigger) deployed by the end of 2013 in different rounds of occupation (source: Google Maps and Base Cartográfica IPP/DIC)

Figure 8 also shows that the places chosen for occupation can be distinguished in different turns in the first five years of implementation: 1) six UPP units were deployed from 11/2008 to 01/2010; 2) twelve UPP units were deployed from 04/2010 to 11/2011; 3) ten UPP units were deployed in 2012; and 4) eight UPP units were deployed in 2013. With few exceptions, this order probably observed the following undisclosed priorities: 1) the wealthiest area in the city, where the ruling class live, focused in the southeast of the city; 2) the main access routes to the wealthiest area, including the Olympic area, where many Olympic facilities were being built/reformed around the east side; 3) favelas located in the surroundings of the international airport: 4) the most violent places that had not yet been dominated by militia, at the north side. Even though the main objective of the UPP program is related to ending

violence, many violent favelas had not had a UPP unit installed in five years, which suggests the program is rather intended to fight a localised violence.[9]

In addition to the military take-over led by the state government, the city administration attempts to regulate, limit and conceal the existence of favelas. The city administration tried to take advantage of the historically favourable conditions of the economy and political alliances with the federal government, and reorganised the city for the upcoming mega events, preparing it to welcome foreign capital. Hence, the struggle for the legitimacy of occupation is still unresolved. The UPP program promised to "consolidate the state control in communities under the influence of criminal groups" (State Executive Order no. 42787, 6 January 2011), but the intentions underpinning this manoeuvre have been challenged by several authors (Fleury, 2012; Machado, 2010; Willis & Prado, 2014). The arena for the battle to recover state control is also ideological, and considering that civil society is the main arena of this battle and CSOs mediate this struggle, the next section will explore the conceptual meanings of CSOs.

2.3 Civil society organisations

As indicated above although they are largely on the margin of the spaces of consumption with few formal shops and businesses within their territories, favelas are still vibrant organising spaces. In addition to bakeries and small restaurants, NPOs such as churches, residents' associations, and philanthropic projects are often found in favelas. This thesis is about CSOs, that is, those organisations which are not for profit and not controlled by the state. This section will examine contemporary debates and controversies regarding this type of organisation. Drawing from the main debates in the field of organisation studies and third sector research, I will locate my contribution to these debates in understanding these organisations in relation to the social production of space in the favelas.

[9] Between 01/2014 and 08/2015, six new UPP units were deployed or in process of installation in the North and West zones. Three of them are located at Maré, which is located on the margin of the main way that connects the city centre with Rio's International airport, 'Linha Vermelha'.

2.3.1 The disputed classification of civil society organisations

The extent of NPOs in Rio is quite significant, and their numbers continue to grow consistently. According to the IBGE, in 2010 there were almost 32,000 NPOs in Rio, employing more than 218,000 people (IBGE, 2011). Culture, Education and Human Rights were among the areas of operation whose organisations paid the highest salaries, almost twice as much as religious organisations. However, the population included in this survey classifies NPOs using legal criteria, according to their type of civil registry. In contrast, the organisations investigated in this thesis are not necessarily distinguished by their formal legal status, and even adopting an academic tradition for naming them (non-profit or otherwise) is not simple.

Although the term CSO can be regarded as good-enough for depicting certain aspects of the nature of these organisations, as any denomination it needs to be approached with caution: "This is more than just a semantic problem, because labelling has important resource and policy implications in terms of 'who is in and who is out', and 'who gets what'" (Lewis, 2014a, p. 54). Popular categories such as non-profit or nongovernmental tend to focus on what organisations *are not*. And even functional classifications that attempt to divide them based on the type of activities they perform, although a useful starting point, can be problematic as many organisations engage with multiple types of activities (Lewis, 2014a). Thus, many factors influence the preferred denomination adopted by researchers, and cultural aspects are certainly one of them.

Lewis (2014b) explains that a longstanding dualism in the research field of *third sector organisations* (TSO) is reflected in the different terms used by each side of this imagined boundary to define their object of research: whereas in western rich countries the term *non-governmental organisation* (NGO) is widespread, other countries prefer the name *non-profit* or *voluntary organisations*. I argue that none of these terms are representative of the organisations studied in my research, as they do not reflect the actual organising in the favelas.[10] Whereas the definition of NGO tends

[10] NGO was not adopted because many of the analysed organisations is linked somehow with the government; non-profit is not accurate to describe for example drug dealing organisations, besides the problematic categorisation of means and ends which will be discussed further; and many organisations

to emphasize autonomy from government, non-profit and voluntary organisations are viewed as separated from the market – with the focus on the nature of the organisation in the first case and on economic status of work in the second. Other studies (e.g. Meek, Gojkovic, & Mills, 2010) prefer the term TSO to refer more broadly to the social spheres they belong to, relating more explicitly to trade unions, religious groups and community organisations. With this concern, I adopted the term Civil Society Organisation (CSO), as I preferred to better reflect a focus on the relation between the organisations and civil society more broadly, including the power struggle in society.

The history of the concept of civil society is very useful for bringing to light the distinctions illustrated above about these organisations in Western society. Civil society interplays the spheres of market and state, hence the third sector, and has become an important concept in social sciences in the last two decades. Anheier (2007) defines it as "the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located between the family, the state, and the market" (p.5). This conceptual separation of different spheres of social life can be useful and acceptable as long as we also admit that its heuristic use cannot be an assumption for the mutual independence of each sphere, that is, as though they did not influence each other.

Lewis (2014b) observed that the chasm of third sector research in different fields and communities of practice might prevent us from learning from each other. He calls for a unified approach for NPOs and NGOs, acknowledging that these two "worlds" are formed by organisations with convergent issues, such as accountability, resource mobilisation, identity tensions and relations with the state. However, focusing on a homogeneous category for these organisations as detached from other types of organisations conveys a big risk. This is clarified by Chandhoke (2002), who explains the limits of the category of global civil society in the context of modern ways of analysis, for it separates human existence into mutually exclusive social spheres. In that instance, additive modes of social sciences tend to separate spheres of life in mutually exclusive domains that are scrutinized to be then reattached to represent the

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are not voluntary, and were converted over time into service delivery productive arrangements with paid employees and management extracting profits.

whole. Chandhoke's (2002) argument is, thus, that global civil society is not an alternative to the state or the market because it is mutually affected and defined by the power of both.

In addition, I share Chandhoke's (2002) concern when analysing how the emergence of the notion of global civil society as protagonists in the global order represented the deployment of a post-Washington consensus strategy to roll back the role of the state as the main provider of services to people. By shifting the responsibility of the provision of public services to private organisations, the state would be correspondingly smaller. In contrast, these organisations increased in power, becoming part of global decision-making structures, and their classification as CSOs have been challenged (Chandhoke, 2002).

2.3.2 A radical view of civil society and CSOs

In light of these disputes, the reinforcement of civil society as a separate sphere where the vices of both the market and the state could be overcome is also an ideological project. The relative success for this emergence is related to the project of rolling back states as the main providers of social goods and putting into its place a group of practices of civil society that is governed by the same logic of the market (Chandhoke, 2002). These differences in stance are portrayed by Lewis (2014a) as the difference between a *liberal view* of civil society – which emphasizes civic responsibility and the public virtue of a civic arena that acts in partnership for development strengthening democracy – and what Lewis calls the *radical view*, which explores negotiation and conflict in the struggles of power in civil society. The radical view of civil society unfolds from the observation of its empirical challenges and disputes, rather than the imposition of ideological isolation.

According to Lewis (2014a, p. 66), this perspective is drawn mainly from Gramsci's work. Antonio Gramsci wrote about civil society as a site of dispute for the hegemonic power. Understanding the concept of civil society as deriving from its power struggles through the construction of hegemony, is particularly useful in examining the field of favelas, in which a crisis of authority is in place and civil society is the arena for disruption and integration. Gramsci especially theorized the power struggles for achievement and maintenance of power; and civil society is an important component of this struggle. According to Gramsci, the state can be

understood as a balance of coercion, fraud/corruption, and active consent, or what he named "hegemony protected by the armour of coercion" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 532), and civil society is the arena for this struggle.

Hence, Gramsci attributes to civil society an important role in the definition of the ideology that is realised in space. The obtained consent is maintained both by economic domination and intellectual and moral leadership, and is achieved through establishing hegemony. Hegemony is the way the ruling class ensures its control over the state. It is constructed by ideas that are propagated as the common sense of a society. The concept of hegemony has been applied to organisation studies in several investigations in the field of organisation studies, although it often overlooks its links to the formation of state. Gramsci understands state as balancing between political society – or state in the strict sense of coercion – and civil society – composed of the group of organisations that produce and disseminate ideologies. This concept of "enlarged state" represents, hence, much more than just its managerial and repressive apparatus, it includes also other institutions of civil society (from church, school, unions, etc.) which function as private hegemonic apparatus acting as much economically as culturally.

As Lewis highlights, the Gramscian approach represents civil society less as an actor and more as a site of struggles between hegemonic and non-hegemonic forces, or a context in which a wide range of collectivities interact (Lewis, 2014a, p. 71). Instead of the liberal view of CSOs as normative agents focused on service delivery, the analysis based on this perspective emphasises that any kind of collective organisation participates in the arena of competing interests that produce space, and hence CSOs become central for the attainment of power. This radical view of civil society, which is adopted in this thesis, is also largely present in critical organisation studies, where the liberal view of organisations, based on cooperation and voluntary association, is confronted with a sharp critique of their practices.

Dar (2007), for example, identifies how CSOs negotiate their organisational identities by interplaying their own narrative with discursive forces that have an impact on the way CSOs are managed and legitimated at the grassroots. In a later study, Dar (2014) also found that the use of western instruments of accountability, such as reporting practices, subjects non-western knowledge as inferior and not useable, reproducing and maintaining inequality through encultured differences. The clash of rationalities

that Dar identified as the result of liminal spaces created by colonial encounters is a common feature of CSOs, even when operating within a single nation (see, *inter alia,* Hwang & Powell, 2004; Lacerda & Vieira, 2011).

The intermingling of logics in the same organisational identity has been recently acknowledged by researchers of NPOs for example with the emergence of research on partnerships (Contu & Girei, 2014; Mercer, 2003; Peci, Figale, & Sobral, 2011) and organisational hybridity (Anheier & Krlev, 2014; Dar, 2014; Henriksen, Smith, & Zimmer, 2015). The recent agenda on TSOs and CSOs is largely focused thus on how organisations adjust to a changing environment increasingly dominated by the logic of the market, which deeply affects their governance mechanisms (see, *inter alia*, Henriksen et al., 2015).

Although this has been indeed the case in the fields of organisation studies and third sector research, the academic agenda is still largely underpinned by the assumption that such organisations are involved in service delivery for the community, which is funded by private donors or subcontracted from the state, following the logic of modern management. This relation is scrutinized and criticized in Dar and Cooke (2008), who analyse various discourses of domination led by powerful elites and institutions. The authors show that contemporary times see a particular step of commitment with the neoliberal agenda, in which the boundaries between development and management are more blurred, enforced by the extension of *development management* to non-state domains. This critique resonates with what was put forward by Chandhoke (2002, 2007a, 2012), as explained above, who argued that such an understanding of TSOs fits well with a certain image of civil society aligned with the neoliberal agenda.

Therefore, I will approach civil society from a radical view, and see CSOs as mediators of interests that are pursued in connection to the territory of favelas and to the total space of society. As I will argue in the next chapter, observing organisations spatially enables me to connect them to their territory and also to the various social relations that affect their organisational actions.

2.4 Conclusion of the chapter

I have shown in this chapter the controversies about the definition of favelas. Favelas are easily distinguished territories from the formal city but are also integral to the city; they are often territories with gaps and limited access to many rights, but also spaces of cultural effervescence and an identity of their own; they are a solution for the lack of housing in the city but also regarded as social problems when associated with the criminal groups that privatise their territories. In light of such disputes, I argued that the history of favelas should be examined and the relations with the formal city analysed in order to understand the context of CSOs at favelas.

Residents were blamed for their own conditions for the first half-century of the existence of favelas, and politics of reinforcing exclusion were strongly practised until favelas acquired their legal right to exist in the city. However, these victories are more symbolic than practical, as the access to private and public services is still very restricted in these territories. Throughout the history of favelas, the role of civil society in their political struggle is ubiquitous: while the church and local residents' associations played a key role in demanding the recognition of their occupation, and favelas remained largely dependent on CSOs for the provision of many services, the main public policy implemented in favelas is still a security program aimed at repelling drug dealers. Therefore, at the centre of this history there have always been the practices of civil society, and outlining what civil society means is necessary to understand the role of CSOs.

The liberal view of civil society is based on a tradition that emphasizes it as a sphere of social life detached from state and market. This is particularly reinforced by development studies and development agencies, which argue that the relationships are based on voluntary association collaboration. I provided in this chapter a critique to these claims, based on the work of Chandhoke (2007a, 2007b, 2012), and adopted the radical view which, based on the work of Antonio Gramsci, sees civil society less as an actor and more as an arena of disputes. In that regard, many investigations in organisation studies illustrate how the critique of the assumptions of CSOs can inform analysis of their practices.

My approach to CSOs in favelas will draw on the theoretical tradition of space and organisation, aiming to identify the spatial construction of the territories of favela and observe the links of CSOs with society through their actions. Such an approach can

overcome the problematic classification of civil society in terms of their ideological claims, and contextualise this arena of struggles in terms of the history of favelas and their controversial relation with the formal city, as described in this chapter. CSOs in favelas should be interpreted in the light of their spatial and historical context, which links them to the overall space. This theoretical approach will be detailed in the next two chapters.

3 Literature review: the field of space and organisation

Since the late 1990s, there has been an increasing interest in the spaces of organisation, in what has come to be known as the *spatial turn* in management studies. Influenced by the interest in spatiality across the social sciences, at the turn of the century a few works in organisation studies called the attention of organisation scholars to the sociology of space, previously an element often taken for granted (Baldry, 1999; Collinson & Collinson, 1997; Marsden & Townley, 1995; Yeung, 1998) and that hitherto remained largely under theorized in organisation studies. This chapter starts by presenting the various approaches to space in organisation studies. The chapter then builds upon the existing literature on space and organisations to highlight two important elements from which I will draw: the work of Henri Lefebvre, which has been widely applied in organisation studies though with limited consideration to his broader theoretical framework; and the main constructs often applied in organisation studies to refer to space, such as place and territory.

3.1 Introducing the contribution of space to organisation studies

Most of the work which has explored the spatiality of organisations from the perspective of the sociology of space either focuses on the internal space of organisations, especially their work relations, or discusses the boundaries of organisations drawing especially on theories of organisation as a processual activity. I will locate the contribution of this thesis in its focus on the organisation of space beyond single workplaces and in its consideration of the lasting effects of organisational actions on space.

3.1.1 The variety of the literature on space and organisation

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on space and organisation, even though the field is still considerably under-theorized. Other than its strong multi-disciplinary nature, one of the difficulties of drawing the border of the field of space and organisation is the variety of constructs and concepts that refer to the idea of space; such as place, network, ecology, spacing (practices), locale, assemblage, space-time, environment, building, and territory. Their associated processes and ontological devices are equally fertile, including among others

territoriality, emplacement, translation, events, socio-materiality, re-territorialisation, heterotopia, and enactment. Beneath the choice of terms lie ontological and epistemological assumptions that guide each chosen perspective.

According to Harvey (2008), space only acquires meaning from the use we make of it. The organisational approach to space is, thus, divided in various strands, with different ontologies of space. Taylor and Spicer (2007) classified the research produced on space into three groups, using different conceptions: space as distance between two points, which segment the other categories of analysis within (Cartesian) spatial groups; space as a materialization of power relations, concerning the realisation of relations of domination and resistance in the material and ideal organisation; and space as a lived experience, focusing on the meanings projected and perceived by individuals that produce symbolic orderings.

With a similar concern, Vaujany and Mitev's (2013) book proposes another classification for the different approaches to space that were adopted when studying organisations; namely: economic geography, environmental psychology, sociologies of architecture and urbanism, sociology of space in organisations, sociology of space in society, sociology of translation (Actor Network Theory), social studies of technology and science (STS), socio-materiality and organisations, and socio-materiality and information systems. This categorisation acknowledges that long-standing established fields such as STS and ANT have also largely drawn on spatial images.

Vaujany and Mitev's book comes from within the field of socio-materiality and information systems. They analyse social materiality from the perspective of social studies of technology, engaging with the main debates on materiality and the management of artefacts (the organisational practices associated with materiality at work). Other authors that engage with socio-materiality in organisations may have different perspectives on the meaning of materiality. For example, two traditional strands of investigation divide interests into the materiality of objects/artefacts to management practices (Orlikowski, 2007), and in how spatial practices enact the materiality of management spaces (Munro & Jordan, 2013).

Either way, different approaches to materiality and organisations compose the mainstream of the approach to space in organisation studies. But it could be suggested

that singling out a set of practices or category of objects can potentially prevent management and organisation studies from contemplating other important aspects of the spatial analysis of organisations. Looking at discrete objects or workplaces tends not to allow us to understand the ways in which social space is produced in relation to history or economic practices or cultural norms, since it concentrates on a specific setting in itself (I will explore this in more detail in sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.3). Hence, if on the one side current works on space and organisation have much to say about how we understand organisations, especially when they draw on perspectives that move beyond the Cartesian logic and the common sense view of space as an empty container of material objects or social actor and processes, it is also true that there is a lot still to be explored. The next section will present the main contributions of the application of space to organisations, and discuss how this relates to the organisation of spaces of favelas to be explored in this study.

3.1.2 The contributions of space to organisation studies

The process of drawing boundaries in academic fields is a fluid proposition, in which boundaries should be viewed as border zones – to use a spatial terminology inspired by the territorial nature of knowledge boundaries in organisation studies (Hughes, 2013). I purport to identify here two aspects in the works that apply the concept of space to organisations, and which will be explained below: the interest in *spatial aspects of power and control*, and the interrogation of the *boundaries of organisations*.

An important aspect of the literature of space and organisation is the use of this framework to scrutinize issues of power and control. Space is imbued with power relations in that its social production requires the exercise of power, and in the analysis of space, elements of individual control and resistance are often revealed. The use of spatial frameworks can be particularly useful in understanding, for example, how the design of workspaces results in many implications of control for its workers or users (Dale, 2005; Panayiotou & Kafiris, 2011; Wapshott & Mallett, 2012) or how the construction and demarcation of spaces is also a process of privileging certain places and excluding others (Fahy, Easterby-Smith, & Lervik, 2014; Hancock & Spicer, 2011).

The politics of the workspace is explored, for example, by Dale (2005) who develops the concept of "social materiality" by extending the effects of materiality as comprising not only static concrete objects, and discusses how the material appropriation of concrete and social space can enact a form of control in the workspace. By looking at the co-production of the embodied person and material space, she observes, in the workers, processes of resistance and accommodation in a constant negotiation between the individual and space. In another case, Wapshott and Mallett (2012) studied the effects of homeworking environments to investigate the implications of such workspace. If the homeworker does not take control of their spatial practices and appropriate this space, they could be dominated by external representations, affecting not only the life of the worker themselves but also of their co-residents.

In the second group of scholars that focuses on power and control, investigating the implication of constructing and demarcating space, Halford and Leonard (2006) explore the relations between management discourse and employee subjectivity as realized in different times and different places of everyday life. They argue that focusing on spatial context (*place*) permits understanding the nature of mediation organisation-discourse-subjectivity, as individuals will negotiate with competing resources of different locales before constructing workplace subjectivities. Fahy et al. (2014) explore the learning context of high-tech engineering companies and describe how the spatial and temporal partitioning of communities of practice produce relations of dependency, shaping the organisation and distributing power to those emplaced in more favoured positions.

As well as the examples above, almost all the literature relating space to issues of power and control is limited to the examination of the workplace or the implications for work relations. In effect, most studies still focus on the building and the architectural forms of organisation. This is, nonetheless a highly overlooked aspect of the mainstream of organisation studies (Orlikowski, 2007, p. 1435), and one that goes beyond workers as the focus of the control enacted by the organisation of physical space, such as the effect of the architecture of incarceration for the lived space of inmates (Hancock & Jewkes, 2011). However, this stream of research remains considerably focused on the analysis of intra-organisational relationships.

Exploring aspects of organisational boundaries is another strong contribution of the application of space in organisational analysis, although this group of studies largely overlooks issues of power. Boundaries can be defined – or rather enacted – in the various dimensions of social life, such as the boundaries of material access, the limits of organisational norms, the restraints on mobility, or the organisational influence on private life. Strong examples are the analyses of the spatial identity of workers, which discuss the geographies of identity by examining the diasporic nature of the identity of soldiers as they move from place to place (Ewalt & Ohl, 2013); the analysis of mobility as a principle of life, which entraps workers in an in-between state in the construction of identity (Loacker & Sliwa, 2015); the spatial identity of workers in places within the organisation, which are manifested more strongly than the institutional discourse, in the analysis of complex healthcare networks (Ford & Harding, 2004; Halford & Leonard, 2006); and the fluid boundaries of work-life that blur the private sphere of influence and to some extent overlap with spatial discussions of power and control in organisations (Fleming & Spicer, 2004; Kerr & Robinson, 2015; Wapshott & Mallett, 2012).

In addition to the analysis focused on the embodiment of space, organisational boundaries have been explored by questioning the ontology of organisations from a spatial perspective. That includes the heterotopic spaces produced by disorder and nature, especially in the context of universities (Beyes & Michels, 2011; Cairns, McInnes, & Roberts, 2003; D. R. Jones, 2014); artistic and social interventions in space and the analysis of the transient ordering resulting from mobile practices (Beyes, 2010; Daskalaki, 2014; Dobers & Strannegård, 2004); and the ordering only found in the transformation of existence which manifests organisations as facts/events (G. Jones, McLean, & Quattrone, 2004; Knox, O'Doherty, Vurdubakis, & Westrup, 2015).

Current studies on organisational boundaries are largely dominated by the perspective of space as a processual activity (hence, "spacing"), which has been popular in organisation studies in the past few years. These approaches advocate the understanding of space as necessarily bound by lived experience, through embodied actions. This standpoint rejects contrasting views of space on the grounds that they would be considered "representational" of a static space, and advocates instead the adoption of a performative approach to space (Beyes & Steyaert, 2011; G. Jones et

al., 2004; Lindberg & Czarniawska, 2006). Despite the inspiring empirical accounts for the comprehension of an embodied space, such investigations could easily underestimate the importance of power on the determination of social materiality, and while they often focus on the transience of organisations, they limit the understanding of the longstanding nature of organisations and the implications of the analysed practices.

This section has focused on two important contributions the literature of space can give to organisation studies: spatial aspects of power and control and the interrogation of the boundaries of organisations. This thesis will expand the applicability of these contributions by approaching organisations beyond their workplace and investigating how their actions produce longstanding effects in their organising space. Through the investigation of relations between organisations, I will explore the "political economy of the organisation of space" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 142), which concerns the production of space observed through political and economic processes of organisation. The *organisation of space* conveys, thus, the relationships amongst different organisations, although organisational aspects of individual organisations are also implicated. In order to do that, my point of departure is the theory of Henri Lefebvre, and his perspective on the social production of space, which has been widely drawn upon in organisation studies, although with a different focus from my own.

3.2 Main theories applied in the field of space and organisation

The previous section assessed the contributions and limitations of the field of space and organisations. This section will review the main theories associated with the study of space and organisation as described previously, and highlight two important elements of these studies. First, the work of Henri Lefebvre is the most frequently adopted, but tends to be restricted to Lefebvre's spatial triad, at the expense of his wider view of the political economy of space (the production of space). Second, space is in itself an abstract term that requires the use of specific functions to convey the meaning intended. Other than Lefebvre's *social space*, terms adopted in contemporary works of organisation studies include territory, place and scale, which will be explained here.

3.2.1 Henri Lefebvre: from the spatial triad to the political economy of space

As explained above, groups of research on space and organisation can be roughly divided by epistemological perspective and contribution. However, most of them share the use of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1991) as a theoretical basis, although approaching it with different focuses. About half of all the papers published on space and organisation from 2005 to 2015 had Lefebvre's theory, in particular his spatial triad, among the key theoretical concepts.

From the beginning of his influential book, *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre showed how the concept of space had evolved from the Aristotelian philosophic tradition to the Cartesian realm of the absolute. Mathematicians claimed the ownership of science, detached from philosophy, and appropriated space and time making them part of their domain. From that, we can infer that as scientific management emerged with modernity (F. Taylor, 1911), and appropriated many mathematical tools, it is understandable that it has inherited also its particular view of space, void of social relations in an absolute realm of mental space. Critiques of this separation were provided in the literature of space and organisation following various distinct approaches, and the work of Lefebvre has been applied with different purposes.

Lefebvre has been widely adopted, in investigations ranging from social materiality in the workplace (Conrad & Richter, 2013; Dale, 2005; Wapshott & Mallett, 2012) to the embodiment of performative space of organisations (Beyes & Steyaert, 2011; Munro & Jordan, 2013; Tyler & Cohen, 2010), organisational identity (Fahy et al., 2014; Ford & Harding, 2004); construction of resistance (Panayiotou & Kafiris, 2011; Zhang, Spicer, & Hancock, 2008) and the geographical boundaries of organisations (Fleming & Spicer, 2004; Spicer, 2006; Yeung, 1998). The acceptance of his theory for organisations is largely explained by seminal works that helped to popularise it (Dale, 2005; Watkins, 2005; Zhang, 2006) and the powerful heuristics conveyed by the notions of conceived/perceived/lived spaces (spatial triad) in understanding the embodiment of the power relations and analysing the reproduction of the social space.

Lefebvre's (1991, p. 40) spatial triad represents three "realms" or "moments" for reading social space. His classic proposition suggests the following constituent of spaces: *spatial practice* (perceived space) – defining the space of production and reproduction; *representations of space* (conceived space) – where space is designed

and conceptualized; and *representational space* (lived space) – space lived and associated with its symbolic apprehension. These concepts are present throughout *The Production of Space*, and are particularly useful in showing the tensions and manipulation of different aspects of space that can lead to its abstraction. However, this link to abstract space and the rest of Lefebvre's theory is still underveloped in organisation studies and can arguably provide strong contributions to organisational analysis.

According to Zhang (2006), ambiguous applications of Lefebvre's theory in the social sciences are partly explained by the complexity of his research output: he published 72 books during his lifetime, ranging from analysis of Marxist sociology and dialectical materialism to writings on rural and urban everyday life. Whereas most publications in organisation studies concentrate on the powerful analytical tool provided in the spatial triad described above, its links to the development of the abstract space of capitalism and the implications of the embodied experience of space is to a certain degree overlooked. I will focus in this thesis on the idea of the production space, which Lefebvre (1991) claims to be the solution for political economy as an abstract science that does not regard the realization of economic relations. He also referred to this approach as a "political economy of space" (p.104).

The increased adoption of Lefebvre in organisation studies was also highly influenced by Dale and Burrell's (2008) *The Spaces of Organisation and the Organisation of Space: Power, Identity and Materiality at Work*, which explores in-depth the potential of the perspective of the social production of space for organisations. The book emphasizes the importance of analysing spaces and organisations by scrutinizing examples of how organisations enact the production, reproduction and consumption of their spaces. Relying extensively on Lefebvre, the authors revisit social relations in organisations to represent them as inherently spatial, embodied and material. As Dale and Burrell (2008) remind us in the second part of their book, Lefebvre recognises that the division of labour does not only concern the space of the productive unit but affects our social relations much beyond that, as productive practices are intertwined as spatial practices. In locating the contribution of this thesis, which is concerned with the organisation of space, it is useful to examine how Dale and Burrell (2008) relate Lefebvre's production of space (the political economy of space) with the analysis of organisation as a mediator of social relations:

> It is important to reiterate here rather than seeing 'organisation' as an individual economic unit, we must see organisation in this context as about social processes that produce social and material ordering, and in doing so produce cultural and historical meaning. For the treatment of the organisation as an isolated and bounded entity has political consequences. It obscures the effects that 'organisation' on a wider scale has on the construction of particular forms of society. Even where the relations between organisations are analysed, business interests and arrangements tend to be treated as natural, thus vertical or horizontal integration or supplier networks might be the focus of analysis. The political economy of space changes this perspective and politicises it. (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 141)

I would also add that the claim that organisations should be seen as social units can also be applied beyond business arrangements, as is the case for most CSOs. Organisations are not necessarily mediated by the economic imperatives that regulate the production of commodities, despite the precedence of such imperatives when a contradiction arises within a capitalist context (Marx & Engels, 1968 [1932]), because not all of them are oriented to the production of commodities (or commodified services), and some claim to position their existence in the politics of their causes. Hence, their main outcome is the production of their own space. For this reason, focusing the analysis on space itself is more revealing than theories that impose institutional frameworks (pre-conceived spaces) for the investigation of CSOs.

Studying the production of space of organisations requires a close consideration of its political economy, thus, the political economy of organisational space, which is associated with how the history of the accumulation of capital is realised in society. In his critical reading of Lefebvre, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre - Theory and the Possible*, Stuart (2004) argues that this approach would be a fairer understanding of Lefebvre's work than the various alternatives that have been promoted in the contemporary appropriation of Lefebvre.

> My suggestion throughout this book is that Lefebvre's work needs to be understood in the context of his Marxism and philosophy more generally. Lefebvre's writing was always theoretically informed and politically engaged. To divorce his work from either of these aspects is to do him a great disservice: his political edge is blunted and his philosophical complexity denied. (Elden, 2004, pp. 6–7)

By appropriating the theoretical aspects of *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1991) which have largely been left outside the analysis of organisation theorists – such as the production of the abstract space of capitalism – it still remains the challenge of how to connect these aspects with contemporary research on space. Constructs such

as territory and territoriality, for example, are very much related to the ideas proposed by Lefebvre, although the terms are rarely named in this way. The next section will discuss these and other concepts which are also used in the literature of space and organisation and which are somehow related to the problem being tackled in this thesis.

3.2.2 On the theoretical constructs used to refer to space

Space is an abstract concept and its meaning depends on the spatial functions (such as territory or network) used to refer to it. The aforementioned processes and ontological devices adopted to approach space unfold from the idea that space is each and all of them together, that is to say, it exists in totality (see section 4.1.2). In the process of analysis, it is necessary thus to refer to constructs and functions that support referencing specific aspects of space. This section will present classic representations of space, as applied in the field of organisation studies. It will focus on the principles of social organisation that are particularly relevant for this thesis: *place* and *territory*, and include also the idea of spatial *scale*.

The concept of *place* is associated with the memories and meanings of space. Because it often acquires this individualised perspective, it has become a common concept in studies that focus, for example, on the construction of meaning and belonging for the individual (Beyes & Michels, 2011; Halford & Leonard, 2006; Panayiotou & Kafiris, 2011), on the symbols attached to space (Kerr & Robinson, 2015; Wapshott & Mallett, 2012) and on social enclosures (Lawrence & Dover, 2015; McNulty & Stewart, 2015). Place is probably the most common construct in the literature of space and organisation, as the analysis of spatial identity is often related to the processes of place-making.

Processes of place-making are particularly discussed in organisation studies in relation to issues of power and identity. Burrell and Dale (2014) review the investigations on spatial practices and organisations and provide a tripartite process through which they highlight how the purposeful design of organisational buildings foster particular places: *emplacement* of workers, *enchantment* to visitors and *enactment* of workspaces. They largely rely on the ways of "emplacement" described by Foucault – a place for each individual and an individual for each place – which was later applied in studies of spatial learning and power in the workspace (Fahy et

al., 2014; Panayiotou & Kafiris, 2011). Burrell and Dale also explain how office blocks and factories may be places of "enchantment", aimed to produce sensory impact. Finally, the authors argue that the "enactment" of space is the performance of meanings attributed to a particular space, or set of spaces, living them through. Living through these organisational spaces may be more powerful than the discourses of mission statements and organisational objectives.

The common ground of any approach to place-making is the understanding that it refers to the construction of meaning and identity. A comprehensive examination of this sense is presented by Hancock & Spicer (2011) who apply empirically the tripartite process of enchantment, emplacement and enactment to demonstrate how an organisational building can have a key role in promoting certain modes of identity, and thus demonstrating the role of architecture for realising particular places.

The concept of *territory* is generally understood as the product of an appropriated space, delimiting a zone of influence. In organisation studies, territory may refer, for example, to the limits of the experience of space in knowledge production (Paquette & Lacassagne, 2013), or how power relations configure different spaces of subordination (Brulon & Peci, 2013; Goulart, Vieira, Costa, & Knopp, 2010). In addition, combining place and territory to analyse the meanings of places associated with different territories is a common strategy in organisational studies of mobility and nomadic spaces (Daskalaki, 2014; Ewalt & Ohl, 2013; Loacker & Sliwa, 2015; Lucas, 2014; Maréchal et al., 2013). The "use of territory" can thus refer to a limited geographical space setting or the enclosed space of an organisation.

Maréchal et al. (2013, p. 186) proposes the use of territory as a metaphor to approach organisations. The authors explain the origins of territorial organisations from the definition of a "defended space". In the presentation of the state-of-the-art of territorial organisation studies, they proposed various different approaches to *territoriality*, such as the abstract enactment of spheres of influence in a defended space, formation and analysis of cultural landscape in layers of meaning, cultural realization of concepts through the identification of *terroir*, and mobile psychosocial space of belonging. Although useful for the understanding of the concept, positioning authors and theories in one of these separate archetypes can be sometimes problematic, as many theories may build up from one stance to another in the

translation of concepts. In any case, these differences show how flexible the approach to territory can be.

In addition, investigations in organisation studies informed by poststructuralist considerations particularly emphasize the importance of the processes of *territorialisation*, *deterritorialisation* and *reterritorialisation* to explore the evolution of borders and the reordering of spaces (Maréchal et al., 2013; Palmås, 2013; Paquette & Lacassagne, 2013), although the triad has also been appropriated with the same objective by authors speaking from different theoretical viewpoints (Jensen, 1997; Vieira, Vieira, & Knopp, 2010). Territoriality is constructed as a system of differences, that is, a system of exchanges, and deterritorialisation would break down the spatial identity undoing psychological orientations, whereas reterritorialisation would impose new structures, practices, social status and beliefs (Maréchal et al., 2013, p. 199).

Many examples of the use of territorial organisations beyond the analysis of space as a lived experience come from outside the Anglophone world. Misoczky, Camara, Cerqueira & Coto (2012) discussed the class-struggle taking place in the city, presenting a case in which territories of resistance emerged from previous territories of consumption when market dictated the access to the space. The article examines how a square attended by the LGBT community became the object of territorial disputes after the profile of users changed from wealthy to working class gay people. Coimbra and Saraiva (2013) carried out an investigation of organisational territoriality through the exploration of a street movement, suggesting how the same space can hold various places, and argued that organisations operate fundamentally in a territorial dynamic, which allows the mechanisms of bordering to emerge. The perspective adopted by both studies to the construction of territory depicts the meaning of territoriality as associated with the human activity of organising space in spheres of influence, or limited territories to be considered as of exclusive (not shared) influence (Soja cited in Raffestin, 2012, p. 126).

In that regard, the geographer Claude Raffestin defines territory as the realization of the ensemble of relations that societies maintain with assistance of mediators "towards the end of attaining the greatest possible autonomy allowed by the resources of the system" (2012, p. 129). The bordering process that characterises a territory encloses not only the physical delimitation but mainly the social relationships

operating in this territory, which includes the applicability of its cultural elements as the defining ones. Raffestin sees territory as the projection of labour and energy into (a delimited) space, and refers to territoriality as the accumulated history of the appropriation of space through labour. Raffestin highlights the dialectics of transgression that exists in every territoriality, insofar as the limits are tested through the opposition between prohibitions (norms), which constitutes the abstract space of rules, and transgressions, which are opportunities for creativity. His theory speaks strongly to the approach of organisations as spatial realisations and has been appropriated especially in Brazilian studies of space and organisations (Brulon & Peci, 2013; Pereira & Carrieri, 2005).

Finally, it is worth noting how *scale* has been used in organisation studies to analyse different levels/spaces of representation, in which different social actors operate. This is particularly important if we consider that these levels interpenetrate each other, as there are no boundaries in the total space (Marston, 2000). In the analysis of organisations, Lawrence and Dover (2015) applied the idea of scalar places to distinguish the different levels of institutionalization which are mediated through translation in their investigations of the workplace of healthcare organisations. In addition, Spicer (2006) argued that the relocation of spatial scales transform organisational logics as they move across national borders, conditioning agentic action, thus rescaling from the individual to macro levels and back. The process of rescaling and transforming an organisational force would involve various overlapping organisational logics, subjugated to social regulation. Therefore, the macro-spatial production is manifested, reinforced or even resisted through the practices enacted within the territory. Burrell and Dale (2014) note the problematic application of spatial scales analytically, and challenge their stability and usefulness. Nonetheless, theoretically the construct remains a convenient concept for supporting the discussions of space.

As can be seen above, investigations of the socio-spatial interpretation of organisations use different concepts and sometimes they may appear overlapping. This similarity unfolds from their representation of the same total space; nevertheless each concept conveys important distinctions. In effect, Jessop, Brenner and Jones (2008, p. 392) suggest that such functions should not be applied as if detached from each other, and call for a reflexive attention to “combining different dimensions of

sociospatial analysis with other features of the research object in question". The authors point out the entanglement of the concepts of territory, place, scale and network, and highlight how they attempt to represent the transformations in sociospatial organisations. They identify a current problematic distinct focus in each construct in the investigations of sociospatial relations, and call for a polymorphic representation of sociospatial relations that considers these different accounts.

This is particularly relevant for the problem of this thesis, considering that the perimeter of analysis is defined *a priori* by the territory of favelas, while the actual organising processes in the territory reveal many entry points. According to Jessop et al. (2008), the role and significance of each construct may vary for different contexts and for different spatial fixes. In this study, the choice of territory – the territory of favelas – as a structuring principle could entail, for example, fields of operation of place (distinct places in a given territory) and scale (multilevel government). In particular, the place-making in the territory of favelas is fragmented by the disputes on the appropriation of territory by various scalar interventions. The next chapter will expand these ideas, with the support of a geographical framework of analysis.

3.3 Conclusion of the chapter

In this chapter I have reviewed the literature on organisation studies relating to space. I showed that framing the field of space and organisation is a difficult task because the use of spatial images has to some extent been present in the literature for a long time, and the constructs used to refer to space are manifold. In the past decades, though, a so-called "spatial turn" has led to many works claiming more explicitly to analyse organisations from the perspective of space, based on the idea that social relations are realised spatially. The contributions offered by such studies include disclosing power relations in organisations and challenging organisational boundaries. In effect, the current debates on space and organisation are largely concentrated on studies of power in the workplace, and most studies which investigate organisations beyond their boundaries focus on their transient ordering or their aesthetic concepts (organisation seen as a processual activity). This thesis aims to advance the analysis of organisations beyond the workplace, while also exploring the lasting effects of the organisation of space.

Having established the main contribution this thesis could give to the field of space and organisations, this chapter explored the main theories currently associated with the study of space and organisation and established a point of departure for the thesis. Two main aspects emerged from the presentation of the existing works. First, most studies cite Henri Lefebvre and many of them apply his theoretical spatial triad as a construct to understand the embodiment of space, although very few apply his framework of the social production of space as a whole. In that lies another potential contribution of this thesis. Second, among the various possible constructs used to refer to space, territory and place are widely adopted and stand out as meaningful concepts for the comprehension of the organisation of space in favelas, especially considered in combination. The concept of territory, relating to the bordered spaces, is often explored in terms of its territoriality, that is, spheres of autonomy and influence, or their related processes, such as territorialisation. Place is largely associated with the construction of individual meaning and identity, and it has been applied through its processes of place-making, engendering for example the fixity of emplacement.

Therefore, using the concepts of territory and place, which are familiar to the field of organisation studies, I will expand the application of the theory of Henri Lefebvre, and explore the links to the key points of his theory. In doing this, I purport to reveal longstanding effects of organisational action on space, beyond the workplace. I will extend here the analysis of organisations as part of a totality that is historically produced and should not be overlooked. In order to achieve this, the next chapter will present the theoretical framework proposed to discuss the structural mechanisms of the production of space. The baseline for this contribution will be the theory of Henri Lefebvre and the application of the production of space as the historical organisation of space, but it will also be expanded by drawing on the theory of Milton Santos, which approaches space and time geographically according to the Brazilian reality, in terms of the uneven processes that craft territoriality.

4 Theoretical Framework: organising the socio-geographic space

After more than one year away from Brazil, I came back to a favela I was familiar with in Rio to plan a series of interviews with people I still had to locate and involve in my research. On the first day of this journey, I entered the territory with confidence and – what I later acknowledged to be – naivety. Judging that I knew the place well (which would be difficult even without the long period of absence) I took a wrong turn and got lost. When I was trying to find my way out, I passed a young man of about 18 years old sitting on a step who was staring at me. Realizing I had reached a dead-end street, I turned and saw this same boy now standing with his arms crossed in front of me, and with a threatening gaze with sharp eyes. Watched by a small group a few meters away, he asked me, "Are you lost?", to which I responded "-Where is street X please?". He then said with a fierce tone, while projecting his head towards me: "- You are inside the faveeeeela, man". Without changing my tone, I replied: "-Sorry, I was visiting *FavelaOrg* (a local organisation)*"*. Slowing down his tone, he responded, "Straight ahead this way, next time take the moto-taxi!", while staring at me as I walked away.

Two things captured my mind in the following days, after the fear had faded away. The first one was how symbolic and representative his statement was; informing me I was inside a slum. He certainly did not want to teach me the obvious, i.e. where I was, but to imply that I should never be walking by myself inside that territory. That was his territory, their territory. And even though it is formally and legally a public space, in which any citizen could go any time of day they want, it is certainly something that nobody would do unless they had a very good reason for that. The separation of the favela enacted a very different place from the formal city. The other thing that caught my attention was how mentioning the organisation's name triggered in him an acceptance of my presence there. I didn't even have to prove that I was indeed where I said I was, but probably an outsider being there visiting that organisation was a likely scenario for him to believe. Regardless of our class and ethnic differences, we could quickly find a common ground, which would put us in the same territory having that interaction and understanding each other. Space is, thus, a key category here, and for the sake of analysing the space of organisations, I need to

explore the geographic processes that create such a separation between my social space and that young man's.

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical framework that underpins the analysis of the organisation of space in favelas. In pursuing that, in addition to Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, I will rely especially on the classic work of the acclaimed Brazilian geographer Milton Santos, who closely analysed the processes that result in the fragmentation of territories on the margins of the social and technological innovation pushed by advanced economies. I will first discuss the perspective of the production of space in Lefebvre's work, focusing on important aspects of his theory which are often overlooked in organisation studies, namely the "totality" of space and the "abstract space" of capitalism. Then, I will explain the key concepts of Santos' framework, outlining his general theory on the nature of space. Finally, I will describe the main analytical concepts adopted in this thesis, including the approaches of "verticality" and "horizontality" in the organisation of the territory, and the idea of "integral happening" (*acontecimento solidário*) which conveys in each event the set of past conditions and the vector of future possibilities for the realisation of present social relations.

4.1 Lefebvre and the political economy of space: the production of space

In his critique of Marx's *Capital*, Lefebvre points out the reductionism in political economy in restricting its analysis only to the abstract economy, whereas the reproduction of the relations of production is found in space. Lefebvre then adds that only a "political economy of space" could save this "science" by providing it a new object of analysis – the production of space – which would reveal space as the medium of installation of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 104). The following sections explain the implication of this proposition to the organisation of space. It is not simple to extract the most important ideas from such a disruptively dense work such as Lefebvre's, and my framing of his theory will be one that tries to give justice to the politically engaged spirit of Lefebvre's writing, as suggested by Stuart (2004). It highlights the concept of abstract space as the backbone of the theorisation of *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1991), in which his spatial triad and the perspective of the totality of the production of space are essential but subordinate concepts.

4.1.1 Rejecting Cartesian views of space: the spatial triad

The rejection of space as simply an empty entity occupied by physical things and social actors detached from social relations is a common ground of human geography and studies of space in general. The starting point for this perspective is that space encompasses social relations. Many authors were inspired by this renovated tradition of the analysis of space, and Lefebvre has particularly influenced theories on space in the past decades. In his main work, *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre, 1991), he builds a framework for understanding the role of space as knowledge and action in the existing mode of production. In order to do that, he advances a strong critique of Descartes and the Cartesian logic that empties space of its content and generalises the mental space as absolute. He adopts thus the concept of *social space*, which is a constructed space, and hence a social product. Social space incorporates social actions, and hence the social relations of production.

As explained in the previous chapter, Lefebvre (1991) uses a conceptual triad to approach space as overlapping and mutually determining dimensions of the same space: spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation (or representational space). These three aspects are not detached but rather mutually determine each other, even though they are not coincident. The biological and material nature of spatial practice is the direct sensible experience of the space, which does not necessarily imply subjective meaning of this experience. By producing or consuming representations of space (e.g. paintings, organograms, maps) we endow it with meaning, which is not necessarily subsequent to spatial practice, for it could be an *a priori* learning of a later experimentation (e.g. technical training). The third category refers to lived space of embodied meanings and can produce almost a parallel space, in which human fantasy does not have to necessarily correspond to spatial practice or representation.

This spatial triad may not constitute a coherent whole but its components are necessarily interconnected (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 40). To be more precise, the separation of moments for reading social space is an attempt to integrate the dimensions of space without fragmenting or superposing it *a priori*. This is observed through the embodied space that these dimensions represent: the perceived space (spatial practice), conceived space (representations of space), and lived space (spaces of representation). Zhang (2006) highlights the role of lived space as the concept used

by Lefebvre to bridge the conceived and perceived, configuring thus three "moments", and proposes the metaphor of different cameras to grasp the overlapping feature of the spatial triad. Pointing to the same person, each camera would provide a different type of data (e.g. distances, movements and feelings), and would thus shift perspectives while depicting the same scenario. Each camera registers a different measure, but they should be seen in combination, since in reality each measure cannot exist alone.

The separation of the social space in three dimensions is particularly useful to examine the contradictions that result in spatial transformations. Whenever the elements of each of these three dimensions clash, they are redefined through the dialectical tension that exists among them. The necessary balance that exists between the three dimensions forces the transformation of the whole. Lefebvre advanced these ideas to show the violent mechanisms of the production of space that overthrow local social spaces. This is what is often absent in the application of Lefebvre's theory in organisation studies: the spatial triad is the means to analyse the production and reproduction of society as a spatial realisation, and not the end in itself.

As a consequence of organisations being forged by the social relations in space, whatever features are ascribed to the nature of space will have to be applied also to organisations. Hence, if every society produces its own space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 31) and cannot be regarded as just a collection of peoples and things in space, likewise we could say that organisation is not a collection of people and resources, but must be analysed in connection with the totality in which it is included, that is, its produced space. For this reason, in the next two sections, I will explore the implications of analysing space as a totality.

4.1.2 Understanding space as a (historically produced) totality

Understanding space as a totality is what validates the analysis of space *from within*. It reinforces the separation from positivist views of social issues, rejects Cartesian dichotomies of real and ideal spaces, and shifts from the analysis of things "in space" to the interest in the production "of space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). More importantly, this is a key idea underlying Lefebvre's work which links him with an intellectual tradition of Western Marxism that inspired many other (post-structuralist) strands of theory, especially about space. However, as noted by Zhang (2006, p. 221), the

manipulation of concepts advanced by most current literature applying Lefebvre's concepts is not careful in preserving the ontological totality of space.

One of the main concerns in Lefebvre's work is how the relations of production are simultaneously spatial and thus how space is the means for the reproduction of social life. Comprehending this important aspect of Lefebvre's theory is only possible if we accept first the idea of space as a totality, which provides meaning to its analysis. Ignoring totality is precisely what often fragments the modern approach to space, which is strongly criticized by Lefebvre. However, although present throughout his work, unfortunately Lefebvre provides no simple and straightforward explanation of how he understands totality, and we should turn to other authors to support this explanation.[11]

One of the authors Lefebvre[12] has established a dialogue with was Louis Althusser, whose view on society emphasized the irreducibility of its relational structure, in contrast to sociological approaches to society as a moral community. This idea is explained by Althusser and Balibar (1970), who define social formation as a "totality of instances" (p.207). Each instance is expressed as social relations and practices within a specific structure, in other words practices are the empirical realisation of the social structure in which they are included. Each structure is in itself subordinated to the dominant structure of production. Thus, the multiplicity of practices exists always within the complex unity (p.269) that unites the different moments of production, circulation, distribution and consumption. From this stance, the Althusserian totality unfolds from an embodied expression of the whole, distinguishing it from the Hegelian view of totality as the ideal essence derived from knowledge.

> It is a whole whose unity, far from being the expressive or 'spiritual' unity of Leibniz's or Hegel's whole, is constituted by a certain type of complexity, the unity of a structured whole containing what can be called levels or instances

[11] It should be noted that although Lefebvre does not provide a discussion of totality outright, this concept is present throughout his work, much like the dialectical worldview that underlies Marx's whole work (although Marx never finished his essay on dialectics).

[12] Although much of this dialogue was rather a critique of Althusser's work. Stuart (2004, 17) highlights that one of the advances Lefebvre made in relation to Althusser was to accept the fusion of both idealist and materialist approaches to social life, which surpasses the Dogmatism of structuralists.

> which are distinct and 'relatively autonomous', and co-exist within this complex structural unity, articulated with one another according to specific determinations, fixed in the last instance by the level or instance of the economy. (Althusser & Balibar, 1970, p. 97)

Althusser and Balibar (1970) derive from these ideas the interpretation for Marx's discussion on the mode of production that is present also in Lefebvre's intellectual work: "production is not the production of things, it is the production and conservation of social relations" (p.269). Drawing on this same assumption many philosophers and geographers have written about space, since it is in space that other categories of analysis such as class or time are realised. Although the philosophical grounds may sometimes differ, the interpretation of totality is usually informed by the philosophical rule of Leibniz, for whom an object exists only as a representation, within itself, of the relationships to other objects.

For Harvey (1973), for example, there are three ways of understanding space that link social processes and spatial forms: as an *absolute* entity, independent of the matter; as a *relative* space, enclosed solely within the relationships between objects; and finally as a *relational* space. In this last sense, objects exist as containing and representing the overall set of relationships to other objects. Later, Harvey (2008) has sustained this tripartite division in more analytical terms. The *absolute* space is explained as how engineers would look at the world, without any uncertainties and ambiguities: a space of individuation. This is the space of Descartes and Newton, open to calculations, and containing private property. The *relative* space is the space of Einstein and non-Euclidean geometries that cannot separate time from its designation. The focus is not on the private property anymore, but on the transportation relations, replacing individuation by a multiplicity of locations. This shift imparts relevance to the standpoint of the observer, who operates not spatial locations but spatial-temporal flows. But it is Harvey's *relational* view that embraces the reproduction of the whole within each element, and for which there is no space and time (or space-time) outside the processes that define them: "An event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it" (Harvey, 2008, p. 274). Each individual or social action acquires meaning from the context where it is inscribed, which is subordinated by the total space. Relational space does not exclude absolute or relative views of space, but puts them in the context of social production. Thus, the human use of space may

create different contextualizations for each concept, (e.g. absolute space would explain the management of a physical property; relative space explains its transportation; and relational space explains its value in the market). The three concepts are thus coexistent and in dialectical tension with each other.

In adopting the same relational thinking, Lefebvre also accepts the dialectics of spatial elements as constituent of a total space, although he conveys a more careful consideration of the philosophical content of space. As Stuart (2004) puts it in relation to Lefebvre's work, before being an entity, one that can be considered an abstraction of formal logic to be attributed a feature of identity, the entity has an ontology in itself. Lefebvre advances this argument with a particular focus on the mediating role of the human body:

> Before producing effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before producing itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before reproducing itself by generating other bodies, each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 170)

In this mediation of the body's perceived space, conceived space and lived space are not only moments to be captured by theoretical concepts, but also affect each other in the realisation of social space. Each element of this triad is thus equally important in that they affect each other mutually. In other words, they are "continually and mutually informed and informing, and as such are essential in the successful negotiation of the social world" (Watkins, 2005, p. 220). By assuming the epistemology according to which space is manifested in totality, and that its ontological dimensions and spheres of production cannot be separated, it follows that "the physical and the theoretical and the imaginary are not separable, but are brought together through the medium of the embodied social subject who mediates both the material and the conceptual" (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 171).

Lefebvre also explains that space in its totality is the global aspect that can only be engendered by theoretical understanding moving continuously from the past to the present. Every transformation becomes part of total space: "The past leaves its traces; time has its own script. Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a present space, given as an immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). Hence, the view of space as a totality is constructed from a historical perspective. Lefebvre compared the beginning of history

to the natural world, in which things were part of nature and condemned to disappear, giving place to the appropriated objects.[13]

Therefore, social space is a historical social product. The embodied dimensions of conceived, lived and perceived spaces manifest themselves in the reproduction of social life. According to what has been discussed so far, as a consequence of the nature of space, social relations are not only part but also products and producers of space over time. If a single message should be drawn from the examination of these concepts regarding the nature of space, it might be that they helped to consolidate the tradition of the conceptualization of space as a historical result of human practices that cannot be separated. But if social space is a constructed space, as such it is not neutral, but inherently political. Space carries a political content as the receiver and product of strategies and policies, as will be explored next.

4.1.3 The production of the abstract space of capitalism

One of the aspects often overlooked in the literature of space and organisation regarding Lefebvre's theory is his concern with the role of space as the medium and outcome for the reproduction of the relations of production of the urban space. In his analysis of the political economy of space, he attests the need of the social division of labour to be manifested in space in order to endure materiality: "The study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 129). As highlighted by Dale and Burrell (2008, p. 153) Lefebvre's approach to space has particular implications in how the enrolment of power relations in organisations transcends locality and intermingles the organisational production with the production of society. The outcome of the activity of organisations would be the production of space itself, and the analysis of space cannot be separated from the relations of production in society. In his framework for the analysis of space, Lefebvre observes in particular the production of space as a historical process. In that regard, Lefebvre observes the history of space following spirals of abstraction.

[13] Santos (2006, p. 64) actually accredits this original proposition to Henri Focillon in 1943.

The use of the term "spiral" denotes a cycle of reproduction, which is not closed in itself but developed over time in the reinforcement of its features. The development from the absolute space of subjectivity to the abstract space of the technocrats is a continuous and advancing alienation from the *lived*. Abstract space is the dominance of the *conceived*, the mental and planned space. The supremacy of modern organisations in transforming society attests to the inexorability of this evolution. This logic of production is alienated from the concrete experience, of the *perceived* material world, in a dual sense: "as well as abstracting from it in their understanding, they then project this understanding back onto the lived level" (Elden, 2004, p. 189). The concrete and abstract spaces should be linked by the lived space, and it is precisely in the alienation of this, when the conceived ideas are implemented, that space is configured as a realised abstraction. The production of abstract space of capitalism is one of the main messages in Lefebvre's work.

The observation of how the conceived space becomes fetishized in modernity over the other spatial dimensions (lived and perceived spaces) and instrumentally applied for social reproduction coincides with the change in productive activity becoming no longer directed toward the perpetuation of social life, but centred on the reproduction of its abstract space. Lefebvre (1991) highlights the prominence acquired by the dimension of representations of space in modernity with the over appreciation of mental spaces. The scientific space, supported by Cartesian logic, emerged as the only legitimate way of apprehending space, hence ignoring the socially constructed nature of space. This epistemology is intertwined with management knowledge, adopted by the capitalist production, and reproduced globally over time.

This process finds in urban space its main setting, where the reproduction of social life is highly dependent on the commodification of space. The production of abstract space is, for Lefebvre, a process unfolding from the relentless evolution of capital accumulation, grounded in the beginning of history, that is, the "natural space". This genesis is explained in the course of science and technology seeking to master nature, and in this process destroying it. Through the creation and use of tools, space becomes both the product and locus of production, resulting in the creation of urban space, as the replacement of nature: "In short, every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 110).

Therefore, the social production of the abstract space of capitalism is, for Lefebvre, an inescapable mechanism of evolution in the history of the accumulation of capital for as long as the rules of transformation are maintained. The social space is also a means of production, and thus cannot be separated from the productive force (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 85). Lefebvre proposed that in capitalism abstract space was erasing distinctions of local places by reproducing social relations of the dominant space:

> abstract space took over from historical space, which nevertheless lived on, though gradually losing its force, as substratum or underpinning of representational spaces. […] The dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49)

In that sense, Lefebvre's abstract space should not be dismissed as simply the space that results from capitalism, for it is in how Lefebvre theorises abstraction that important aspects of how capital conceals symbolic and direct forms of violence become apparent (Wilson, 2014). Claiming to put forward an interpretation of Lefebvre's work "in his own terms rather than incorporating him into a pre-existing paradigm" (2014, p. 517), Wilson interprets abstract space as a historical and geographical reality which results from a violent process that empties the socio-spatial reality of its content, and subjects it to economic and political abstractions of money and power. Although it proceeds from abstraction, in the history of capital accumulation abstract space realised the domination of material space, which was mediated by the appearance of the urban space.

> Urban space was thus a tool of terrifying power, yet it did not go so far as to destroy nature; it merely enveloped and commandeered it. Only later, in a second spiral of spatial abstraction, would the state take over: the towns and their burghers would then lose not only control of space but also dominion over the forces of production […] Surplus value would no longer have to be consumed where it was produced; rather, it would be susceptible of realization and distribution far away from its source. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 269)

Whereas the first spiral of abstraction is marked by the process of accumulation subsuming whatever resists it, in the history of urban space Lefebvre sees the second spiral of abstraction dominating the production of space, and hence space itself. Lefebvre (1991, p. 165) defines as the "appropriation of space" the action in space aimed to serve the needs of the group that appropriated it. This is not necessarily contrary to the "dominated space", which is the space transformed and mediated by

technology and practice. But such distinction is intimately related to the production of abstract space: “Dominated space and appropriated space may in principle be combined — and, ideally at least, they ought to be combined. But history — which is to say the history of accumulation — is also the history of their separation and mutual antagonism” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 166). This domination, taking place in the spiral of abstraction, denies the possibility of domination with appropriation, which would relate to the modification of natural space to serve the needs of the very group that appropriates it. Instead, the spaces of production are displaced to accommodate the pre-conceived space of technocrats, often represented by organisations that mediate the production of abstract space.

The social production of an abstract space could thus be regarded as the effect of deterritorialisation. Lefebvre (1991, p. 347) explains that the realization of surplus value has been deterritorialised, in as much as the production is no longer linked to the extraction of value in a close area, and space is linked by abstract economic relations with flows of energy, labour, commodity and capital. It is important to highlight that abstract space is neither simply the space of capitalism, nor can it be defined as the space of individual capitalist interests, that is the space where an individual acts with the intention of generating surplus from a transaction. It is a relational space – hence structurally defined in terms of its social relations – that is homogenised as it takes over from historical space. Historical space is subsumed through processes of commodification that result in both symbolic and material violence. Probably the biggest contribution Lefebvre gives is to demonstrate how this process is realised dialectically in space, and in this process the spatial triad is one of the powerful analytical instruments for showing the mechanisms of violence engendered by the production of abstract space.

In order to expand the consequences of this process in the particular context of favelas in Brazil, and examine how the historical appropriation/domination of space happens in the territory, I will present the work of Milton Santos next.

4.2 The Nature of Space: the work of Milton Santos

The influence of Milton Santos in Brazilian scholarship is remarkable, and so is his influence in the Latin American academic production on geography (Grimm, 2011;

Melgaço, 2013; Saquet & Silva, 2008). However, almost all of his extensive work was written and published only in Portuguese and French, which has escaped the notice of the Anglophone academia, as illustrated by the following introduction.

> Between April 8 and 13, 2013, two similar academic conferences took place: the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers (AAG) in Los Angeles, US, and the Encounter of Geographers from Latin America (EGAL) in Lima, Peru. Both meetings united around seven thousand scholars interested in geographic studies. I attended the North American conference, where I gave a talk about the theories of the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos. Searching through the abstracts for the event I realized that out of the 5411 submitted articles only two academics, including myself, made any reference to this author. Meanwhile, at the South American event, Milton Santos was not only one of the most quoted authors, but the namesake for a prize awarded to a Latin American scholar making notable contributions to the field. (Melgaço, 2013, p. 1)

The discrepancy of attention described above is partly explained by the barrier of the language, but it should also be considered that Milton Santos had in mind the condition of Latin American countries in his theorisation on the uneven formation of territories and the selective flows of space, which are more easily perceived in such places. Speaking of the Brazilian reality, the importance of Santos' theory is attested by works in organisation studies (Brulon & Peci, 2013; Costa & Goulart, 2011; Goulart, 2006; Imas & Kosmala, 2012; Tenório, Brulon, & Zarconi, 2013), which applied Santos' concepts to Brazilian cases when exploring the influence of power relations in the formation of space and disputes in the production of territory.

Santos argues that it is through the deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation of techniques that systems of techniques becomes progressively homogenised, and in that lay the forces of transformation of space. In particular, the destructuring effect of technology is more brutal in countries that were less involved in previous technical innovations, producing the reorganisation of their territories and establishing new territorial roles (Santos, 1978, 1999b, 2002, 2006). His framework of analysis is thus very useful to approach the selective production of dominated territories that have undergone a late integration to the Lefebvrian spiral of spatial abstraction. Next, I will explain the main aspects of Santos' theories that build up the elements for understanding and analysing the nature of space. In his main work, Santos (2006, p. 63) proposed a condensed definition for space which epitomizes his theoretical propositions: "an indivisible, integral and also contradictory set of systems of objects and systems of actions, not taken in isolation but as a unique scenario in which

history unfolds". This section will expand this definition, and is organised around its three main messages.

4.2.1 Empirical totality: "indivisible, integral and also contradictory"

Given that favelas are currently being subjected to a process of integration (but also co-optation) that represents a drastic transformation of their space, it is worth recovering the concepts used by Santos when analysing similar territorial transformations. These concepts are insightful for the understanding of organisations existing in such territories because they speak of the relation of individuals with space, and how territory is constructed over time in connection with totality.

Santos (2006, p. 63) refers to space as an "indivisible, integral and also contradictory" setting. This idea puts into every action or object that constitutes a particular space the manifestation of every other spatial reality, which could be manifested in agreement or opposition, but are in any case inseparable. This relational thinking is also present in the work of other theorists of space and presupposes the idea of totality, which Milton Santos proposes as a less philosophical system of concepts, concentrating the observation of the (total) social fact on the geographical space. He argues that for the first time we live an "empirical universality" (Santos, 2000, p. 11), which allows for a new focus on the theme, examining the movement from the universal to the particular and back from an empirical standpoint. Explaining the idea of totality, Santos (2006, p. 74) points out that it is not the sum of "parts" that explains the "whole", but on the contrary the whole explains the parts. Totality is the reality in its entirety, and the result of a process of "totalisation", which changes reality through the differentiation and integration of places.

Organisations should thus be seen in continuous connection with their total space. Conveying the idea of totality of space to the field of organisation studies is likely to be the most difficult translation in this multidisciplinary task of approaching organisations geographically. By distancing the subject from the common sense of space as an empty entity to include social relations *does not* mean, for example, that space is *equivalent to* an assemblage of social relations (or social practices). The structure of these practices with other (more distant) practices and the objects (artefacts) mediating practices also constitute space. In that sense, the relation

between individuals and objects unfolds from the same totality, as will be explored next.

4.2.2 Analytical elements: "set of system of actions and systems of objects"

In his earlier writings, Santos (1978) accepted the duality of space as form-content, which was also largely present in Lefebvre's work, and which made possible the examination of the ontology of space through the constant recreation of totality. This duality refers to a form that has no empirical and philosophical existence without its content and a content that has no existence outside its form, and thus, cannot be separated. An organisational form, for example, will always be associated with the content of each particular relationship, even if this content is ignored. The idea of the inseparability of form-content denies the abstraction of formal logic to analyse the transformation of empirical space (or the organisational phenomenon). Form-content remained as one of the internal analytical categories of Santos' conceptualization of space, which later evolved into the representation of systems of actions and systems of objects.

Santos (2006) argues that the conditioning *forms* of space acquire social *content* through actions. In particular, the technical content performed by an action would be what historically defines and signifies an object. On that account, Santos examines the analytical elements of space, which he discussed in terms of interrelated systems of actions and systems of objects.

For Santos, a human action is a process endowed with a long-term purpose (regardless of the immediate intention), which intervenes on consecutive happenings. Action is proper to the human being, for unlike other animals only humans can perform actions and only humans aim for an objective, a purpose. In that sense, the idea of intentionality is useful in revealing the process of production, to consider the outcome of the relation between human beings and the environment. The intentional act is specified for being conscious and voluntary, although the results of human action do not depend only on the rationality of its decision and execution (Santos, 2006, p. 60). If the human action is considerably limited, the origin of these limits should be found in other actions, which results in the analysis of the "system of actions".

Discussing the propositions of, among others, G. Berger, A. Giddens and J. Masini, Santos analyses the various philosophical basis for characterizing actions (such as act or action, motivation and purposes, practices and projects), which go beyond the scope of this thesis. But one of them is particularly relevant here: the placement of the action. In the current historical age, it is becoming increasingly common that actions embodied by individuals have not been internally motivated by the same individuals (the individual is the means but not the motive). This leads to the production of foreign places (local alienation) in which the scale of realization is different from the scale of command. The meaning of the difference between spatial scales is also important in this case.

Neo-Marxist perspectives of geography popularized scale in the representation of material processes through the different levels of organisation: e.g. body, urban, regional, national and global. However, when exploring in more detail these discrete differentiations, the relationships among scales emerge, which makes them inseparable. Therefore, Santos proposes to examine the place being produced in each action, which will convey various levels of operation. In that regard, the analysis in this thesis would account for the structuring context of favelas (e.g. the economic system, political programs, market), through the very actions that emplace it (e.g. verbal communication, gatherings, group activities). In assessing these actions, the notion of "intentionality" could reveal what space the organisational actors are producing (this will be discussed further in this chapter). In addition, whereas the intentionality of the action is the link between action and objects, the action will be as efficient as the supporting object is adequate. The intentionality of the action is, thus, also the intentionality of the object.

Milton Santos discusses objects based on a longstanding tradition of sociology and geography studies on spatial objects (in particular, Jean Baudrillard, Henri Focillon and Abraham Moles), with the objective of constructing a "geographic object", or more precisely "objects geographically approached" (Santos, 2006, p. 49). There is a common ground for any object, and that is the condition of being created by humanity outside the human being, an exteriority that extends the individual by becoming the material instrument of its life. Objects mediate the relationship between individuals and society, and between individuals and materiality.

Objects are not to be taken individually but rather as a collection of units, composing an inter-relational system (Santos, 2006, p. 74). The view of a system of objects highlights the relation between objects, and thus the relation between places. In that sense, the arrangement of objects that corresponds to a given space-time is not only morphologic, but also functional. Systems of objects and systems of actions are produced continuously, and this dynamic of creation is evolutionary; it is occurring continuously since the disruption of the uninhabited world of "things", that is, the "natural" world.

The evolution of space in Santos' work refers to the transformation of objects in higher levels of complexity observed throughout history, and should not be mistaken for a supposed qualitative evolution of social relations[14] or the uniqueness of trajectory in the future,[15] as will be discussed next.

4.2.3 Consecutive technical periods: "a unique scenario in which history unfolds"

Santos (1994) starts his arguments with the observation of the history of human beings on Earth. This is a history of the disruption between individuals and their environment, as they continuously develop new instruments to dominate it. Techniques mediate the transformation of space and thus reveal its features and characteristics whereas before, the relationship between humans and their piece of nature was performed directly – with no mediation. This has evolved into a relation in which the definition of "surrounding" or "environment" became enigmatic, as new techniques increase the distance between the environment and humans. Before, the technique would be subjected by individuals, nowadays the technique largely subjects us.

The *technique*, which Santos (2006) also calls the *technical phenomenon* – that is the set of social and instrumental means with which individuals realise their lives – is the

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[14] The idea of development as a project of modernity is highly criticised in Santos' work (Santos, 1978, 2000).

[15] In another work, Santos (2000) developed the idea that every new event has the potential for breaking actual relations and crafting new ones, however the current array of possibilities is comprehended from the examination of the past.

main mediator for the material transformation of space. In that regard, the technique is itself the means of transformation of space, and as such characterises its historical evolution. Different technical systems distinguish different historical periods: “work performed in each epoch presupposed a historically determined set of techniques” (Santos, 2006, p. 34). Discussing the evolution of different periods (or *milieus*), Milton Santos argues that technical periods started when technical objects became disembodied from individuals, with the creation of complex technical systems. The importance of the technique is also an indication of the importance of organisations, in an age in which the organisations are the main holders and developers of new techniques.

The result of this cumulative construction of space is observable in the materiality of territory (and territoriality). Santos (2006) argues that the division of labour is a key driving force of social life and spatial difference, and it is manifested in the territorial division of labour. He also highlights that examining only the current territorial division of labour is not sufficient in explaining contemporary human action, it is necessary to look to previous arrangements which were crystallised in built environments. Therefore, forms of the past historical systems may subsist in the landscape as a remainder of past division of labour, which crystallise over the territory unequal overlapping of past labour. In that instance, one of the concepts he advanced was that of *spatial roughness*, to reflect the influence of the built environment in the present division of labour.

Based on the environmental concept of roughness, which Santos incorporated from the idea of geological patterns of space that shape the environment over time, spatial roughness is also proposed in relation to social labour. The accumulation of capital into land produces legacies that influence contemporary actions, such as a plantation, a harbour, or the distribution of population. These patterns influence the placement of contemporary events: “the current territorial partition of labour lies on territorial divisions of previous labour. And the social division of labour cannot be explained without the territorial division of labour” (Santos, 2006, p. 92). The very existence of favelas, first inhabited by ex-slaves and immigrants from impoverished areas, is a striking example of how previous distribution of labour affects the contemporary placement of social actions.

Raffestin explained a similar idea of the historical production of space as an iterative construction of territory. He uses the metaphor of a "leafed" representation, as one would do with pages of a book browsed quickly (Raffestin, 2012, p. 122). This idea is also present in Lefebvre's reference to the historical layers of combined symbols, representations and practices: "social space, and especially urban space, emerged in all its diversity — and with a structure far more reminiscent of a flaky *mille-feuille* pastry than of the homogeneous and isotropic space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86). The idea of roughness focuses on the material consequences of this formation, which condition the realisation of the contemporary *milieu*.

The transformation and production of *milieus* represents the expansion of a single place across various territories. However, the resistance to such processes is the reinforcement of local places that claim the appropriation of the territory. The next section will discuss the processes of production through the prism of territory.

4.3 A geographical approach to the analysis of space

In appropriating geographical space through organisational analysis, the aim in this thesis is not to emphasize geography as a discipline over organisation studies, but to expand the latter. Geographers have questioned the nature of their own field when a similar exchange was promoted between sociology and geography. In that regard, Milton Santos responded to Anthony Giddens explaining:

> Concepts in one discipline are frequently only metaphors in the others, no matter how close they are to each other. Metaphors are isolated flashes; they are not engendered in systems and don't admit theorizations […] they need to be adapted to become operational. (Santos, 2006, p. 56 my translation)

Concepts in geography can thus be understood as metaphors, in organisation studies. Having examined the ontological position of Milton Santos and defined his theoretical view of space, this section will discuss first the main processes of the transformation of territory that unfold from his theory and which define two main types of organisation of space (verticality and horizontality), and then discuss the links between space and time to locate the focus of observation in the organisational events and what they represent.

4.3.1 The fragmentation of space: Horizontality vs. Verticality

Santos (1994) argues that at the beginning of the history of the human-nature relation, nature was socially fragmented, as its domination was led by local contingencies with no mediation of outsider technologies. In each locality, groups were united in integral values within a portion of territory, in which a single place provided meaning and attachment. In contrast, the contemporary geographic space is unified through the "unicity" of the technical phenomena, which creates a global place and generates contradictions in each locality. This tension will be discussed next.

The analysis of how techniques are created, controlled and applied selectively by corporations is how Milton Santos explains the process Lefebvre refers to as the social production of the abstract space of capitalism. By shifting the focus from the embodied social space to the relation of individuals with territory, Santos centres his analysis on human actions aimed at transforming the environment. Thus, whilst Lefebvre presents the mechanisms of production of the *social space*, Santos discusses the nature and production of a *geographic space*[16]. Whereas Lefebvre's social space uses dimensions of embodied space, as we experience and live it, to show the alienation of everyday life colonised by the abstract space of capitalism, Santos' analysis of space focuses on the relation between individuals and their surrounding space. Geographic space is the space of transformation and projection, and how this transformation occurs is key for understanding the contradictions in favelas.

When the territory is the focus of the analysis, or the analysed field where social relations are structured, distinct places can be observed as composing the spatial-temporal context of the territory (Jessop et al., 2008, p. 396). Likewise, it is in the territory that places acquire historical content (Santos, 2006). Thus, examining the contrasting processes of the formation of territory may reveal competing projects for space, such as between marketplace and community solidarity economies, or between the institutionalisation of the state and the domination of the drug dealers. In a multidimensional consideration of space, it may be easier to examine for example when imbricated spaces result in the crystallisation of places 'in-between', as no single space can be identified as hegemonic in the territory. In other words, this

[16] In this thesis I will adopt the denomination 'socio-geographic space' to convey both meanings.

analysis is concerned with territory as a structuring principle and place as the field of observation (Jessop et al., 2008).

In analysing these different grounds that guide the transformation of territory, Santos (2006) describes two different forms[17] for the new places engendered in the territory: horizontality and verticality. He uses these two notions to contrast the actions in territory according to their motivations and ends (bearers of horizontality or verticality), and not to depict an image of a static space. *Horizontality* is the domain of contiguity, of those neighbouring places connected by a territorial continuity, whereas *verticality* would be formed by points distant from each other, connected by all kinds of social forms and processes:

> On one side, there are extensions shaped by points that aggregate without any discontinuity, as in the traditional definition of region. These are the horizontalities. On the other hand, there are points in space that, separated from each other, assure the global functioning of society and economy. These are the verticalities. Space is composed by both arrangements, inseparably. (Santos, 2006, p. 192, my translation)

Verticality may be theoretically associated with the construction of the abstract space of capitalism, which is imbued by the logic of accumulation (the world of commodities) that overruns social bonds and distorts the space of familiarity. It happens where the political control of production promotes an external planning process that connects each locality with outsider needs. As highlighted by Santos, this brings important instruments for the operation of a centralised economy, but fragments the local bonds existing in space. Conversely, horizontality would be the form that preserves and connects the everyday space where each individual is integral to the shared territory. It consists of points and actions that are continuous in geographic space, and the norms and regulations are locally enacted without disrupting the existing social fabric.

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[17] The Portuguese word used by Santos to define horizontality and verticality, '*recorte territorial'*, would be literally translated as 'territorial cutting' and I opted for variations of this translation as proxies to the sense intended by the author. Verticality/horizontality will be here referred to as places, spatial forms and types of organization of space.

These phenomena in the territory are supported on a lower scale by two sorts of actions: those that direct their flows towards the local space, and those that direct them towards the outside. However, although these two vectors may imply a dichotomist analysis of space, which often refer to the opposition between the local/particular and the global/absolute, these concepts refer more to the orientation of an event that act on space than to the transformed places. In support of this idea, Santos (1978) draws extensively on the definition of "integral happening" (*evento solidário*) to emphasize the multiple linkages existing in space. An event is integral to a given place when it reproduces this place. Thus, the idea of being integral to other places conveys union and agreement of interests and purposes. The idea of social (mechanical and organic) solidarity coined by Durkheim (1984) – representing what bonds individuals together in a society – reflects an integral society in a single territory. The analysis of contemporary spaces could convey multiple integrations with different places, not necessarily in the same territory.

At this point, it is important to make clear the boundaries that the process of researching favelas might draw. Classifying, categorising and analysing favelas may be seen as a process of separating them from the rest of the city. But favela is also the city. For this reason, favela can never be regarded apart from the total space that generated it (through the historical context of urbanisation) and on which it reflects back. The translation and application of *verticality* and *horizontality* are not intended to oppose a somewhat pure form of favelas (which would be obtained through horizontality) against the absorption by the formal city (which would be obtained through verticality). Rather, the analysis should be used as archetypes that reflect the objectives of *processes* of appropriation of space, which are integral to places within the territory (horizontality) or processes of alienation of territory, which are integral to outsider places and because of that generate spatial contradictions (verticality).

As explained before, both forms coexist in the territory. Therefore, observing transformed territories through these lenses may expose their contradictions and contribute in subverting classic dichotomies. In that sense, the old categories of centre and periphery would no longer be valid, because the periphery may be ruptured by reproduction of central spaces and/or displaced to be embedded into the centre, occupying the whole world (Santos, 1994, p. 79). This does not reject symbolic divisions such as Global North/South but warns us of conflating them to a

problematic simple and direct association to geographies. There are competing logics operating in the same territories, which come from different scales and may be associated with distinct networks. The capitalist space organises itself as a mosaic, and unequal processes of accumulation might result in favelas dwelling in the same territory as luxury accommodation, or central spaces manifested inside the favela.

The different approaches for the transformation of territory are relevant in the analysis of organisations in favelas, for it can show how these organisations operate in the attempts to resolve or displace their urban contradictions, by disclosing what their actions are integral to, and thus locating the place-meanings of each event (either in the local territoriality or in abstract space). This will be analysed in the next section by approaching the transformation of space over time, which makes it relevant to acknowledge important aspects of the transformation of space-time highlighted in the literature.

4.3.2 A space-time framework: locating the integral places in producing space

As the technique is itself the means for the transformation of space, different technical systems distinguish different historical periods and *milieus*. This section will explore how observing past divisions of labour in space reveal the present conditioning aspects of territory, and how the analysis of present events, that is *what happens*, reveals the realization of current possibilities for the future.

Many authors remind us of the importance of presenting space situated in time (Harvey, 1990, 2008, Lefebvre, 1991, 1992; Santos, 2006; Thrift, 1999). In effect, space and time cannot be separated, and as happens with space, time has also been objectified and rendered manageable within modern forms of organisation, which often enact an instrumental reduction of time and space to strategic concerns. In management, the focus on linear and quantitative time is the instrument for the commodification of time (Hassard, 2002), and for the linear format of time and knowledge, "similar time-space trajectories can then be applied, with caveats and modification to social activities" (Clark, 2002, p. 25).

The problem of the inseparability of space-time will be treated here with focus on the transformation of space over time. Santos (2006) argues that space and time are merged through the technique, since technique is the means for the labour that

mediates space production, and work does not occur unless it can afford both time and space. Santos acknowledges that the ephemeral time cannot be operationalized, whence the need to work with the "periodization" of time, which is different from the isolation of a given instant. He proposes to represent historical times as technical periods, or *milieus*, when the contemporary division of labour supports the distribution of technique in each period.

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed the idea of the "roughness" of space. According to Santos, every new territory depends on the used previous territory, and what we see in the landscape is not necessarily contemporaneous to the various processes of sedimentation preceding it. The crystallisation of previous socio-technical *milieus* in the current landscape is an instance of how technique *empiricizes* time, enacting it on space (Santos, 2006). Any analytical approach should convey, thus, the inseparability of space-time.

One of the ways of assuring this is adopting the category of *event*, which reveals the empiricism of time. The category of event assumes a methodological centrality for Milton Santos, as he examines the processes of transformation of space that can only be apprehended in motion in the realization of totality. Pieces of time unite the reality of the realised empirical time with the set of possibilities of a realizable future (Santos, 1999b).[18] Event is, thus, "the vector of existent possibilities of a social formation." (Santos, 2006, p. 92); and the presence of the past with the supposition of the future, enabling the links between "history in construction and history already made" (Santos, 1999b, p. 15). It unites, thus, time and space.

But because they are irreversible once they have happened, events are also absolute in transforming objects, providing them with new characteristics. In the same way, events dissolve things, identities and knowledge, in what Santos calls a Deleuzian *test of savoir* [knowledge] - and for this reason, place is the necessary receptor of what an event produces. The focus of the transformation of space in the constructed meanings attributed to place can connect global representations with local materiality, and thus link world and place. It subverts hierarchical divisions of territorial region and place,

[18] Santos is inspired among others by Lefebvre, who describes the *moment* as the attempt of realising a possibility, an attempt of totalisation.

for example, locating a place in various territories or defining a territory with various places. In that sense, what defines the place-meanings of a territory are the places which events in the territory are integral to.

For instance, the same market place that guides the implementation of indicators based on university rankings could engender similar academic places in culturally distinct countries. Conversely, the same university campus could host two different events – say a showroom for business investors and an artistic intervention that rejects the commodification of knowledge – enacting very different places. Each event could drive the compulsory realization of common tasks (such as the definition of indicators of impact), even if the project for each group on the space is not common. What each event is integral to is revealed by the nature of what happened, regardless of intended purposes.

The analysis of an event does not reveal only *a priori* integral actions, as each event is also the realisation of new possibilities. In every historical moment, resources are globally distributed and locally combined in a certain way, which differentiates space: "each practical temporalizing corresponds to a practical spatializing, which overwhelm former integralities and boundaries by creating new ones." (Santos, 2006, p. 108) This transformation of space is bounded in action, which is "at the centre of event" (Santos, 2006, p. 95).

Human actions can range from a single act to recurrent practices, which are non-disruptive events that equally transform space. This pervasive temporality is characteristic of an action contextualised in the event. Lefebvre makes no distinction between the temporality of the events and social acts: "The uncertain traces left by *events* are not the only marks on (or in) space: society in its actuality also deposits its script, the result and product of *social activities*. Time has more than one writing-system" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 110, italics added).

4.3.3 The analysis of organisational events

In Management and Organisation Studies, the transformation of space was analysed through various functions in recent work. For example, Knox et al. (2015) focus on "happenings" to discuss the spectres of organisation/disorganisation and approach ordering arrangements as they happen. The analysed case of emergency disruptions in

an airport shows the overlapping and coexistence of multiple orderings, which are enacted as they happen. In another analysis of organisation as happenings, Costa and Goulart (2011) present a case of territorial development in which social actors interact with each other to establish different flows of resources with territory insiders and outsiders. The analysis of happenings showed that the creation of networks with outsider actors disempowered the organisation with internal actors, impacting the development of the territory.

Approaches to space-time have also largely used the term "event" to refer to the analysed cases. Watkins (2005) studied a theatre performance to identify the spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation that intertwine in the realisation of social space through the interaction of individuals. Focusing on a single social event made it possible for Watkins to recognize a problematic overvaluation of the dimension of representation, which is what mediates the abstraction of space (Lefebvre, 1991). The use of event as an important epistemological device is also present in Daskalaki (2014), who examines urban social events as places of mobility that can reveal important aspects of organising in liminal settings. Performative aspects of assembling are revealed thanks to the focus on events, which purport temporary territories in which multiple belonging and temporary placements are achieved.

Events, happenings, occurrences, episodes and any other term that refers to transformations of space over time denote *social* events – in contrast to *natural* events - since they are linked to the result of human action. Correspondingly, the temporality of such events has an organisational duration, which extends its effects according to the context of the social action:

> The event is always contemporary, but the contemporary is not necessarily instantaneous. From that follows the idea of duration, i.e. the time lag in which a given event, keeping its constitutive characteristics, has effective existence. This is important to acknowledge when we want to distinguish between the actions of consecutive or simultaneous events.
>
> We could accept that, besides a natural duration, the event also holds an *organisational duration*. The natural duration unfolds from the original nature of the event, from its individual qualities, from its intimate structure. But, we can also extend it, making it last beyond its own impetus, by means of a *principle of order*.

> Instead of being left to itself, the natural process is altered. It is also possible to reduce or limit its existence, harnessing the period of action with an organisational resource. A law, a governmental decision, a central bank regulation, a norm of a private bank or a firm are all organisational forms which interfere in the duration of events, or determine them directly. (Santos, 2006, pp. 96–97, translated and italicised by me)

Santos' framing of the duration of events highlights that their effects endure beyond their natural duration. The idea of organisational duration of what happens is largely absent from works that focus on organisations in a performative space. The approach adopted by such studies is useful in examining the array of possibilities for every moment, for they analyse what happens as an alternative to what exists as contingency: "organisational presences are always enacted against – and haunted by – the background "noise" of multiple possibilities" (Knox et al., 2015, p. 14). However, in ignoring the organising principle of events, these possibilities may fade and conceal important effects.

Existent approaches to organisational space that concentrate on practices and transient orderings see in *spacing* and *organising* an embodied experience of time that would move beyond rigid definitions, and would be, thus, able to overcome the commodification of time and space. Although they may be effective in this and in challenging the boundaries of the workplace, such approaches risk leaving out of the analysis the longstanding nature of networked practices, and hence power relations. In that sense, an important contribution of the framework discussed above is the understanding of the endurance of such practices, which also relate to their representations. In effect, an integral analysis of space ought to involve not only its embodied manifestation but especially the relation of individuals with their environment, which include (systems of) actions and (systems of) objects networked in a certain way.

I will consider in this thesis the organisational duration of events, since it is locating the places an event is *integral to* that we can identify where the centre of the action is situated. The principle of order underpinning the analysed events entails also a collective way of realizing it. A single individual cannot be solely responsible for the production of a socio-geographic space, and the analysed event should always be linked to a social reality that invests space with proper conditions for production.

Events will reveal, thus, the conditions of production and the systemic organisation of actions and objects.

4.4 Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter outlines the main theoretical framework applied in this thesis. Two authors have significantly informed this framework: Henri Lefebvre and Milton Santos. I explained above the key ideas advanced by Lefebvre, departing from his theoretical triad to represent space, which is put in the perspective of his wider critical analysis of the production of space, a form that cannot be disassociated from its political content. The thesis incorporates, thus, Lefebvre's ontological view of space as a totality that cannot separate or fragment its analysed parts without alienating important constitutive meanings. It also considers the importance of observing the historical construction of space to understand how abstract space is expanding during capitalism in a spiral that erases local distinctions through symbolic and material violence. According to Lefebvre, the expansion of abstract space is realised spatially, and can be observed through the commodification of relations in the history of capital accumulation.

It is worth noting that by providing an interpretation of Lefebvre beyond the widespread use of his classic spatial triad does not mean this triad is not used here. In effect, arguably it cannot be separated from Lefebvre's main message: the social production of abstract space pervading the totality of space. In that sense, the application of the spatial triad is ontologically attached to the concept of totality, which is often left aside in the literature of space and organisations. Hence, understanding the spatial triad as an analytical category, I purport to put it in context. In that instance, representations of space are not simply a matter of organisational instruments of control, but implicate the whole set of hegemonic constructions which become fetishized in the space of accumulation either by the materiality of architecture or by the suffocation of differential (local) spaces.

Motivated by very similar ontological positions, but with a stronger focus on the relations between individuals and the territory that engender transformation of space, Santos (2006, p. 63) defined space as: "an indivisible, integral and also contradictory set of systems of objects and systems of actions, not taken in isolation but as a unique

scenario in which history unfolds". His definition focuses on the observation of actions and objects contextualised in their systemic embeddedness. The characterization of indivisible and integral refers to the totality of space, which embraces the contradictions that inherently compose space, and of which favelas in the context of urban space are a good example. The analytical observation of the development of space over time is made analytically by Santos with a concept borrowed from geology, "roughness", which refers to the past forms that subsist in the territory, in this case applied to the consequences of social relations instead of geological patterns.

The transformation of space is for Santos observed through events, which is the category that allows the consideration of space without fragmenting it. In the use I make of his theory, I highlight his explanation about the principle of order of each event, which can extend its impetus and efficacy by means of the used organisational resources. Thus, the analysed actions that compose a single event are not necessarily consecutive, but are integral to the same place. Events will reveal in the intentionality of their actions what places they are integral to, in other words what place-meanings they convey. This classification permits a closer look to the disputed ways of transforming the territory. Santos emphasizes, in particular, the difference between horizontality (with democratic flows of production that connect the local points of the territory) and verticality (with hierarchical flows of production that fragment and disrupts local relations).

The discussion provided in this chapter can potentially advance the analysis of organisations, putting their actions and resources in context by considering what space they produce and what spatial contradictions subsist from them.

5 Research Methodology

I present in this chapter the interpretive research design of this study, informed through participatory observation and interviews. The participatory generation of data included a pilot collection in 2013 and the later on-site mapping of the dynamics of CSOs at Favela Mucuripe, where two communities exist (Buruti and Itaperi). The observed phenomena onsite were the practices and events, which happened while I was in the field or that were explained to me in the interviews. In addition to documents collected before the fieldwork, the data generated in the field resulted in interview transcriptions, drawings, observation diaries, and organisational documents. I also explain in this chapter the process of analysis and discuss aspects of research ethics and reflexivity of research.

5.1 Research philosophy

This section explains the ontology and epistemology of this research. The paradigm where this thesis is placed regards reality as socially constructed, thus questioning the objectivity of knowledge and reality, and rejecting the possibility of the neutrality of the researcher (see section 5.7 for more details). There are important implications of this choice for the process of research. The comprehension of the reality that is interrogated needs to consider that what I convey as reality may affect different individuals differently, and thus the representation of social reality is necessarily framed in the narrative of this thesis, which reflects my choices about what was significant in answering the research questions.

However, my ontological position is also materialist in the sense that it regards individuals as the product of specific historical social forces. The behaviour of individuals is conditioned by social norms and material artefacts, which support the historical context where they are included. Therefore, I adopt the mutual determination between the construction of social reality and individual actions: reality is socially constructed and the structure resulting from the social processes of construction hinders the behaviour of individuals. It is particularly important, given the topic of this research, to highlight that this structure is reflected in the social and also material entities that are produced by society, and which constitute space. The research is underpinned by the assumption that the effects of a social order, in other

words social practices networked in a particular way, are manifest in spatial conditions, which include social and material reality.

The dialectical determination between individuals/organisation and their surroundings suggest that there is no prevailing side in the epistemological dichotomy subject – object. The human individual is the only animal capable of altering itself by changing its surrounding structure, or in other words human practice produces history at the same time as historical structure constrains human action. According to Santos, the application of this perspective to an epistemological framework should place at the centre of the research process the mediators of this relation between individuals and their surroundings. In that regard, techniques are particularly important in revealing the elements that construct each situation, since every technique is imbued with constructed history, and for each historical moment there is a specific technical system that characterises it.

Three assumptions can be extracted from what has been presented above to reveal the philosophical base of this research: the social construction of reality, the material conditioning of human behaviour, and the mutual determination between individuals and the surrounding space. These assumptions frame my particular approach to the concept of "production of space" (Lefebvre, 1991), which relates also to the perspective of Milton Santos. Santos claims that the analysis of space should be based on its own ontology, that is an "ontology of space" (2006, p. 14), and unify form (which appear in this thesis for example as names, rules, or laws) and content (which is here explained in terms of the meanings, history, and causes) in the analysis of space itself. This ontology of space is often applied in the literature by the so-called *relational thinking*, through which every element of space (such as a real estate) is analysed in relation to the totality of its elements (the set of relations which bestow on the estate for example its exchange value, social meaning, or material function).

Hence, from this perspective, it would be unreasonable to approach the production of a chosen space separately from the relations of production. The relational nature of space refers to the relation of each part of society to its whole, and each social relation should be understood in the light of the structure in which it is included. In other words, each material fragment of reality should be considered as an inseparable part of the total space. Space configures, thus, a totality composed of different structures intertwined by the relationships between them, seeking to reproduce in each part the

functions of the totality. It follows from this ontological assumption that research "has to be directed to discovering the transformation rules whereby society is constantly being restructured, rather than to finding 'causes', in the isolated sense" (Harvey, 1973, p.289-290).

In line with the aforementioned assumptions, the epistemology that underlies my analysis is based on an interpretivist approach. In interpretivist research, different interpretations of the same data are possible, and claims of objectivity are replaced by the researcher's rigour in analysing data according to what has been experienced during the research process. In interpretivist research, researchers carry with them their own values, understandings and convictions, as members of a specific culture in a specific historical moment (Miles & Huberman, 1999). At the same time, some distance from the studied phenomenon is needed to produce explanations and arguments that are generalizable in some way. For Mason (2002), the main aim of the interpretivist researcher is to explore people's collective understandings and social norms, and the authorial presence of the research relies on these explanations and arguments. The choice of an interpretivist approach gives the option of further contextualization of the generated data, which was linked to an encompassing theory of space and to a critique of the prevailing social structures.

5.2 Methodology

This research is included in the domain of critical management studies and hence embraces a reflexive methodology. It is a case study of a favela in Rio where the organising space of CSOs is investigated, as detailed below.

The research questions for this thesis (see section 1.1) represent what would be classified by Mason (2002, p. 21) as a "developmental" puzzle, that is observing relations that evolve over (space-)time. The operational difficulty of such observation resides in the risk of reducing space to representations that disregard important aspects of the totality of space.

This thesis presents a case study of a favela in Rio, which I call here *Mucuripe*. Yin (2013) points out that a distinguishing characteristic of case study against most other methods is the opportunity to analyse data as it is collected, allowing for the change of plans in data collection while still in the field whenever it is necessary. This is also

part of the exploratory dimension of case study for the immersion in the field. Yin (2013) also emphasizes the importance of defining clearly, and justifying, what is the case to be studied and examined in-depth, within its "real-life" context, through multiple sources of data that can be triangulated. The choice of the studied favela was detailed in chapter 1, where the criteria used to select this specific favela was presented.

The adoption of a case study allowed the epistemological view of a socially constructed reality to be reconciled with the objective view of this reality as hindering the behaviour of individuals, because the aspects influencing the organisation of space of CSOs over time could be analysed in depth, both in terms of the limits presented to each event and also the array of possibilities that unfold from them. The territory of a favela is a relatively enclosed space that allows the studied case to be delimited and converging lines of evidence from multiple sources to be established, to make the findings as robust as possible. When generating data for the delimited case, a collaborative approach was adopted, as explained below, by getting immersed in the reality of the favela. In a case study, the adoption of a theoretical perspective to approach the case is optional, but needs to be deliberate (Yin, 2013). In this thesis, the adoption of the theoretical view of space was justified in chapter 4.

The conduct of my fieldwork drew some inspiration from ethnography research, in that it was based on data generated collaboratively during my engagement with the work and social reality of individuals in the field. However, I did not assume intentionality of all the participants with consequent conscious purpose of actions. Instead, the methodology of this thesis is attentive to dialectic relation between the behaviours observed in the field with the perceptions conveyed during the interviews[19]. During data analysis, the relative reflexive "detachment" from the researched social world (Mason, 2002) – which is also a desirable position to elicit arguments according to the used epistemology – was adopted by critically examining the assumptions included in the information provided by participants and by my own notes.

[19] An example of the described tension is presented during the analysis of the Brave Women Award by FavelaOrg (7.1.1) or the analysis of RecyclingOrg's activities (7.2.1).

The inspiration of ethnography during the course of the fieldwork was inevitable; since that is the most recognizable approach for immersion and first-hand experience in particular social settings. Most of the methods inspired by ethnography maintain many of the principles enacted by the Chicago School (Whyte, 1993): lack of control over the empirical experience; active participation of the researcher in the studied environment; reliance on the presence of intermediaries; dialectical role of observer-observed; engagement in local social processes; and critical and reflexive behaviour. In such a setting the time limit is defined by the research planning more than by the saturation of data. Whyte (1993, p. 325) noted in his participant observation of street gangs: "the more you learn, the more you see that there is to learn. If I had had three years instead of one, my study would have taken longer to complete".

However, to some extent, many of the features that participatory methodological traditions claim of themselves are characteristic of any qualitative research: "qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive" (Mason, 2002, p. 24). Mason emphasizes also that ethnographically-inspired approaches, which encompass a range of perspectives and activities, have led the field of observational methods but share with other approaches the use of such methods. Besides the systematic application of observation and critical reflexivity, this thesis subscribes to the necessary rigour for producing academic research based on systematic data collection and critical analysis (Mason, 2002).

The chosen approach for data generation stems from my personal commitment to the investigated community. In other words, it assumes "the establishment of relationships as an important aspect in its own right as social actors are invited into the research process as co-producers of knowledge" (Phillips & Kristiansen, 2013, p. 258). This means that I tried to create an environment to enhance the researched community members' reflexive capabilities, especially through the way I interacted with and questioned them, which helped my understanding of many of the issues involved. For example, my relationships with Victor (FavelaOrg) and Arouca (RecyclingOrg) were based on the friendship we had before my research, and became stronger during the fieldwork. As a result of the commitment and mutual trust, many of the casual conversations I had with them unfolded into insights that were further explored in the interviews and observation, developing the investigation.

All data were generated, transcribed and analysed in Portuguese. The possibility of the translation harming the meaning of the ideas being tackled is limited to the ultimate step of presenting the results. In that regard, the translation of words that referred to local slang and had, thus, a unique meaning (such as *"cria"* translated as "hatched", or *"veio do vento"* translated as "came with the wind") were more carefully considered and their interpretation tested with the support of English native speakers. In addition, the two chapters containing excerpts from the field were proofread on two different occasions. In any case, it remains a limitation of this work, as of many similar studies, when it supports its arguments with direct quotes from the field, translated from another language.

5.3 Planning the process of data generation

This section will present the plan followed to access the field and generate data for this research, including the researched organisations and the steps followed to access it.

5.3.1 The researched organisations

On the UPP Social website,[20] 22 organisations are listed as acting in this territory. My own mapping showed 43. There is also a differentiation in the criteria for the identification of such organisations. Whilst the governmental website calls them "agents on-site", including various types of organisations with no apparent restriction to what such agents for development would be, my investigation is focused on CSOs. For this reason, public organisations that do not engage with other individuals or organisations as co-practitioners were not included in the mapping, e.g. health centres, the police and street cleaners. On the other hand, public-funded organisations that involve local citizens in their activities were considered as civil society organising practices, e.g. public educators, schools and social inclusion initiatives and nine governmental (state-owned) organisations were included in the mapping.

[20] http://uppsocial.org/territorios/pavao-pavaozinho-cantagalo/?secao=organizacoes, accessed on 12/01/2013.

The organisations concentrate on cultural activities and practices (9 organisations, such as dance groups), educational (8 organisations, such as schools) and political (8 organisations, such as residents' association). In addition, churches (5), sports (5), workers' association (3) and sanitation (2) play important roles in the production of the space of Mucuripe. Sixteen of them are based in the school building, at the top of the hill, whilst at the main road four other organisations are found. At least five organisations have no permanent space for their activities, and this number is likely to be higher. This is a symptom of the scarcity of physical space in the favela.

The participant observation was conducted while I was working as a volunteer member of the following two organisations:

- *FavelaOrg* – The first museum of favela in Latin America is a locally-organised NGO founded and funded by a federal program of culture. It acquired latter recognition outside the favela with innovative projects such as "canvas-walls", in which the residents' house walls were painted with events of the history of the favela. It is now based in the church building and also coordinates other projects in association with local organisations.
- *SingingOrg* – founded in the favela in 1999 by a retired woman who moved to the slum to teach music to local children. It was embraced by local people and for many years worked in a highly informal and unstructured way. In 2011 it got permanent funding and since then has expanded its presence, conditioned to the increasing adoption of management practices and formal controls.

In the process of researching these two organisations and working with them, various other organisations became involved, as they were directly implicated in the organisation of the same space. The following organisations appear in this study, as they were involved in events that were relevant to illustrate the arguments presented here:

- FootballOrg – group of local residents who used to organise football tournaments in the favela but struggled to enforce the agreed rules. They set up a board of representatives to obtain legitimacy, which led to the further tournaments and involvement of most of the young people of the favela.
- *EntertainingOrg* – local organisation created by residents to organise parties and promote social events. Its leader is also the leader of *YouthState,* a state

organisation that operates as an organisational umbrella for many civil society initiatives providing space and resources for courses and meetings.

- *CSROrg* – controversial corporate program sponsored by Brazil's biggest TV channel which, in partnership with the city administration, is the custodian of the bigger part of the public school building, in which many other activities and events with non-favela residents are held, according to CSROrg's convenience.

- *BurutiResidentsOrg* – Buruti residents' association. Residents' associations are very important organisations in any favela because they assume a public administrative role (working *inter alia* as notary's office, post office, political mediator). Buruti's association is connected to the state administration while Itaperi's is on better terms with the city administration.

- *RecyclingOrg* – recycling project that promotes the collection and transformation of waste in the favela. It was originally associated with a group that produced artworks from rubbish. It was founded by local residents and is involved in many disputes over physical space.

- *MarketersOrg* – a group of entrepreneur craftspeople that established a network to share their costs and support each other in taking their works to the outside. In this process, they were drawn into a political struggle against the many regulatory barriers enacted in the formal city, claiming more space to informal producers like them, and engaging the community in their support.

- *HumanRightsState* – one of the few official representations of the state in the favela that are not linked to law enforcement. The activities of the two people from this organisation who work at Mucuripe establishing networks became embedded with the community and the CSOs.

- *MilitanceOrg* – A social movement formed by women to fight human rights violations committed by the state, and prevent the criminalization of young people in the favelas during alleged arbitrary actions by the police.

- *DrugDealingOrg* – The drug dealers operating at Mucuripe. Although this is certainly a less formal organisation with which I had no direct contact, its effects are by no means less material, rather the opposite. Many of the

analysed events involved directly or indirectly the actions performed by members of this organisation, which is also a CSO.

5.3.2 Fieldwork planning and access to the field

The data collection happened in two stages: a pilot visit and the main on-site data generation.

1. *Pilot interviews and territory mapping* (3 weeks in Aug-Sep/2013): in 2013, two initial favelas were chosen, pilot interviews and observations were conducted. Building up from this data, a subsequent online data collection was done to map the organisations of the favelas.
2. *On-site data generation* (Apr-Jun/2014, 10 weeks): the main data collection took place by participating in the activities of selected organisations, attending their meetings, and interviewing people involved in related practices and events.

During the first stage, I visited the two favelas where SingingOrg had activities being developed. These first visits helped me in the initial mapping of the field and in choosing in which favela the fieldwork would be carried out. In total I made ten visits to both favelas, and performed the following activities: observation of the work in SingingOrg and YouthState; observation of a major event with the residents led by a third organisation (HumanRightsState); and performing interviews with three members of SingingOrg. In the observed event led by HumanRightsState, a group of young people from a CSO based in another favela developed a workshop with adolescents of Mucuripe, aimed at helping them in making sense of the good things of favelas and their rights as citizens. That activity struck me particularly because even the young people living in the favela saw themselves as illegitimate occupants of the city.

In addition to the spatial practices that were observed during this stage, I conducted an interview with the manager of UPP Social, the main city administration program for the favelas, carried out in their office after official approval. During this interview, valuable information about Mucuripe was provided, including the official mapping of public services, which served as an input of the state's conceived space and helped me in planning my own fieldwork. During this interview, the representative

emphasized how much attention Mucuripe drew from civil society, probably because of its location, which resulted among other things in a high number of CSOs. That also helped me in choosing to investigate this favela.

During the second stage, I conducted participatory observation for ten weeks, interviewed participants and compiled documents. Even though the focus of this research is the organisation of space beyond the boundaries of a single organisation, the formal link with local organisations (my temporal membership) served as a 'right of admission' to the territory. It gave me access to follow the everyday activities of the territory, and also granted me a justification to access different spaces I might otherwise not have been entitled to. Appendix 3 contains a description of my first day in the field, and illustrates the struggles in gaining trust and accessing the investigated organisations.

I volunteered myself to work at FavelaOrg three days a week, six hours a day, and committed to help SingingOrg in various activities with no defined timetable. This difference was already representative of how differently the organisations were managed, but also the kind of access I had already established with each of them. I had known SingingOrg's leader for a long time, and had also interviewed its members in 2013. FavelaOrg was much harder to access; I had to exchange various e-mails with a person I knew was a director of this organisation. After many exchanges of e-mail messages, they agreed a meeting with the person responsible for the recently implemented volunteers program in my first week in the field, but they took one more week to actually receive me as a volunteer. Despite the difficult start with FavelaOrg, by engaging with the practices of these organisations, I was able to make meaning of the offered narratives for these and other organisations.

The investigation was also extended to other organisations that were somehow connected to these two. This may be true because individuals were engaged with more than one organisation; or because they performed joint initiatives; or they would share the same physical room or territory of action; or even because they would overtly compete for resources. A looser engagement with these organisations consisted of interviewing some of its members, observing their activities or just investigating their role in the examined event. In other words, the described cases were not restricted by the boundaries of organisations. Instead, I focused my observation on selected events, which I deemed significant for illustrating the relation

between the CSO and the production of the territory, according to its principle of order (Santos, 2006, p. 96). The selected events also drove the guidelines of the interviews, and as I learned about an event I would ask further information during the following interviews.

5.4 Methods of data generation

This section will present the methods used for data generation. As explained above, the research reported in this thesis is empirically grounded. The methods for data generation were interviews, participant observation and document collection, providing important methodological triangulation to the sources (Mason, 2002, p. 33).

5.4.1 Interviews (transcriptions)

The principles of good practices for performing interviews are shared in most qualitative research studies, such as the formulation of questions in everyday language – rather than sociological language – to establish a two-way conversation, and the loose approach to the enforcement of the interview script to stimulate open associations. A further challenge proposed by Chase (2003) is to invite stories rather than reports by shifting the responsibility to the participant in a way s/he willingly embraces it. This is well-suited to the use of events as data frames and can be done by directing the questions to the appropriation of participants. Other than shifting the ownership of the narrative to the participant, it also removes from the participant the burden of interpreting what is said. This interpretation is what relocates the narrative into a broader context.

Interviews were enriched by visual techniques: the use of timelines and drawings. Timelines are particularly useful to elicit "information about the relational worlds and the events that participants considered to be turning points in their lives" (Bagnoli, 2009, p. 565), whilst drawing was intended to elicit representations. The generation of data through visual methods is usually better associated with interviews, which gives the opportunity for the participant to explain what is being represented. It triggers the question of how much more data is necessary to understand social relationships (Mason, 2002), and offers different entry points to the analysed data. Participants were invited to be interviewed and engage with two artistic activities: drawing and

storytelling. During the first half I invited the participant to draw the favela and describe their drawing, and explain the differences between the communities, the inside and the outside, rules of living in the favela, and the main problems. Appendix 4 shows examples of these drawings made by two participants.

Not all interviews used the support of visual devices, either because the narratives were already sufficiently stimulated or the conditions of interview did not allow that. Table 1 lists all the participants cited in this thesis and presents key information about them, including whether a visual device was used. All of them were interviewed.

Participant	**Gender**	**Age group**	**Organisation**	**Community**	**Use of Visual**
Arouca	M	18-35	RecycleOrg	Buruti	Yes
Bernard	M	50-70	UPP (government)	Outsider	No
Bia	F	18-35	SingingOrg	Buruti	Yes
Carol	F	35-50	UPP (government)	Outsider	No
Dani	F	35-50	SingingOrg	Buruti	Yes
David	M	35-50	UPP Social (government)	Outsider	No
Fred	M	35-50	FootballOrg	Buruti	Yes
Juciely	F	18-35	SingingOrg	Different favela	No
Kaka	M	18-35	EntertainingOrg and YouthState	Buruti	Yes
Ramires	M	50-70	CSROrg	Outsider	No
Raquel	F	35-50	SingingOrg	Different favela	No
Renatinha	F	35-50	FavelaOrg	Itaperi	Yes
Ricarda	F	35-50	CSROrg	Outsider	Yes
Sanja	F	18-35	MilitanceOrg	Buruti	No
Sheilla	F	50-70	SingingOrg	Buruti	Yes
Suelen	F	35-50	SingingOrg and MarketersOrg	Buruti	Yes
Tandara	F	50-70	FavelaOrg	Buruti	Yes

Thaisa	F	50-70	FavelaOrg	Itaperi	Yes
Victor	M	18-35	FavelaOrg and FootballOrg	Buruti	Yes
Zico	M	50-70	BurutiResidents Org	Buruti	Yes

Table 1 - List of interviewed participants of the research

During the first interviews, participants would struggle for a long time with this activity and I realized only later they felt embarrassed by what they regarded as "poor artistic skills" and very uncomfortable with the possibility of having their drawings assessed. I then changed the description of the activity and started the drawing for them (with a draft representation of the main road). This facilitated the next interviews without compromising the collected data, since the analysis was not intended to elicit individual symbolism of the space, and the drawing served more the purpose of triggering narratives and highlighting possibly neglected aspects of the organisation of the space.

In the second half of the interview, during the storytelling, I would invite the participant to draw a timeline, indicating the main events for them personally and for the organisation since they started working or living there: the past events (past timeline) and the aspirations of the organisation (future timeline). During this activity, I aimed at getting the response also to various specific points relating to the following topics:

- How are the organisations helping to transform space (e.g. "Describe the favela the first day you worked here in these activities");
- What were the main changes the organisation has been part of (e.g. "Please tell me in your own words what happened in the following events");
- Aspirations for the construction of the favela and for the organisation(s) (e.g. "Which events do you expect to see in the future that you could put in the timeline?").

At a certain point – chosen by balancing the amount of information already disclosed – I would ask them to describe some of the episodes/events had been mentioned beforehand, regardless of whether they had been represented in the timeline or not. These events of interest depended on each participant and the organisation in which

they participated (e.g. the internal struggle of accountability in SingingOrg) or what happened during the fieldwork (e.g. the killing of a local artist).

Every excerpt extracted from the transcription of interviews will be followed by the name of the participant and their organisation. When a quote is made to the observation diaries the wording used by the participant is not exactly as presented here, but was accurately reproduced from the handwritten diaries.

5.4.2 Observation (diaries)

Interviews and observation were combined during the fieldwork. Silverman and Marvasti (2008, Chapter 8) point out the common preference of qualitative researchers to use observation and interviewing as a powerful combination. They also highlight the risks of combining methods with different aims: observations are mainly used to describe behaviours, especially in studies of culture; interviews are adequate for understanding motivations, through narrative construction. Silverman and Marvasti's alert regarding the risks of applying different models/schools focus on the role of individuals in the social process. Although this was an important difference to consider, in this thesis it might also provide additional insights, since the scope of the thesis regards social relations that are manifested spatially in behaviours as much as in representations, as I explained in chapter 3 regarding Lefebvre's concept of "social space". Thus, contrasting these two different sources enabled the comparison of data (Mason, 2002, p. 34) and was also revealing of the contradictions that exist in space.

The observation comprised every aspect of the favela during the time I spent in the field, but in particular the work of individuals in CSOs, and aspects of the social life that related to the activities of the researched organisations, such as the football matches and the drug dealing. In that instance, at least once a week I would stop at FavelaOrg's stairwell and observe for 10-30 minutes the movement of the alleyway next to the small building. It was there that drug dealers set an observation point whenever the boss was at the dealing site and it was there where I heard an argument between neighbours which I use as an example in chapter 7. Observations were usually registered in a small notepad I would keep in my pocket using hand-written notes. Sometimes I would also use the mobile phone or the recorder device to record my impressions immediately after I had left the field. These notes were compiled into observation diaries that were systematically produced. At the end of each day, the

fieldwork journal would be filled in and eventual recorded files downloaded to the computer protected with an encrypted password.

The generated data also included observations of the general work I was engaged with and minutes of the meetings I was allowed to attend. Most of the time the diaries were accounts of my activities, and usually these included the reproduction of conversations I had had. Sometimes they would be complemented with media stories or Facebook pages that helped me in understanding certain episodes, especially when I had not been able to observe events the participants referred to during the interviews or conversation (e.g. elections for president of BurutiResidentsOrg, when the campaign was made on Facebook and many people publicly expressed their support for candidates).

5.4.3 Texts collection (documents and media reports)

The compilation of texts was helpful in this research because they provided an important background to the collected data and supported the information elicited. According to Mason (2002), additional documents are important in answering developmental theoretical puzzles that work with different scenarios, as they yield historical evidence. The choice of the favela to be researched was also made based on documents I assessed before the fieldwork, especially the reports produced by the governmental organisation UPP Social with statistics and descriptions of the favela. During the period of fieldwork, media stories that cited the favela of Mucuripe were also monitored on the Google News Monitoring tool and analysed during the production of the research diaries. Those referred especially to the violent events and demonstrations.

Other important sources for data collection were social media websites and organisational documents. Many organisations (such as CSROrg, SingingOrg and FavelaOrg) already had Facebook profiles in which news and invitations for events were posted and relevant data could be collected. These posts were especially valuable to identify the existing relationships and networks, for friends were tagged and manifestations of support publicly posted. Both social and traditional media provided valuable information to contextualise and follow up the analysed events.

The organisational documents I had access to during my work in the organisations were also kept. For example, the database of students and parents of SingingOrg, which I helped in compiling, was later used to understand the links of the organisation with residents (most students attended SingingOrg thanks to previous connections with Suelen). In FavelaOrg, registers of the previous years when the Brave Women Award was awarded helped in examining what guided the organisation.

5.5 Data Analysis

This section explains the steps taken for analysing the data: compiling texts, building a hermeneutic unit, coding, prioritizing and structuring/writing.

During the fieldwork, research diaries were produced with my accounts and impressions of the work. Also, twenty people were interviewed (list of names in Table 1). In three additional cases, the interviews were booked but the participants did not attend the agreed meetings. As explained earlier, the interviews could include visual methods to trigger narratives. Those interviews in which visual devices could be used provided twelve drawings and thirteen timelines that were analysed. In addition to the interviews and diaries, documents were collected at the organisations, and key media stories were being compiled to complement contextual information about the analysed events, such as the killing of a local dancer.

The first step of analysis was to transcribe all recorded information. Then, a Hermeneutic Unit (HU) was created in the Atlas.ti software to prepare the platform of analysis. The corpus of analysis was formed by the following texts:

- Field diaries produced during participatory observation, including meetings;
- Transcription of the audio interviews;
- Images of drawings and timelines made during interviews;

The software Atlas.ti made the task of coding much easier, since it enabled the association of chosen quotations with the appropriate codes, and the later editing of the code names and structure, which automatically updated references in every marked quotation. Codes were grouped in various categories to organise the initial assessment of the data. Those included the name of events identified during the generation of data, the names of the organisations involved, theoretical categories regarding the production of space and also emerging topics from the data. A list of all

the 198 codes used and the number of times they were grounded in quotations is in Appendix 6.

The coded events followed a list of events that were significant for the analysis of the transformation of space, especially those that involved CSOs directly. This list was constantly updated according to the emerging themes. Examples of such events were the Killing of a Local Artist, which halted all the activities in the favela for two days, or the Transformation of a Military Room, which was a complete renovation and resignification of an insider chamber, which was initially used as the police's weapon bunker that had been turned into a SingingOrg's music room. The decision of which were the relevant events was elicited from the interviews and from the compilation of all the events indicated in the timelines during the interviews. Thirteen timelines united a total of 125 events listed in an Excel sheet, which helped in identifying for example the recurrent mention of the pacification event and the beginnings (first times) of new initiatives.

The quotations were coded also to indicate the organisations (such as *FavelaOrg* and *CSROrg*) that were mentioned or involved in the coded excerpt. They included but were not limited to the organisations described earlier and mentioned further in this thesis. These codes also included informal organisations, such as the organisation of drug dealers or a group of women that met to discuss the medical use of local herbs.

Categories extracted from the literature were also marked, and they helped in identifying empirical manifestations of these categories, for example the codes on place making included: *Place-making - Prejudicial actions* indicating differential treatment of individuals according to their origin from the favela or from outside the favela; *Place-making - Spatial identity* indicating recurrent spatial reference as a strategy of self protection and driver of decision taking; or *Place-making - Symbols and demarcation* marking the material conformation of space to enact power or identity. Other important and recurrent codes were *Production of space - Process: horizontality* and *Production of space - Process: verticality*, which indicated what kinds of organisation of space were being produced in the highlighted excerpt.

Finally, emerging topics from the data included recurrent topics such as *UPP - Installation and maintenance* about the deployment of the UPP and its continuation in the long-term or insights like *CSO - Blurred non-profit categorization* which showed

the difficulty members of CSOs had to distinguish their organisations from other organisations that aimed to gain profit. There were also other less important or recurrent groups of codes created during the analysis not mentioned here.

Each marked quotation could be associated with as many codes as necessary, and quotations could overlap. Later, Atlas.ti also showed the instances where two codes were simultaneously marked in the same quotation (Menu Analysis→Code Cooccurrence Table). In this report, the software presented, for example, the list of quotations where the code *UPP - Installation and maintenance* overlapped with the code *Regulation of Space* or where the code *Organisation – FootballOrg* overlapped with the code *Process – Horizontality*. Analysing the cells where there was a high number of co-occurences was one of the sources for insights when prioritizing the findings that were relevant to the analysis. The coded quotations also included the documents generated with visual techniques, namely maps drawn by interviewees representing the favelas and their timelines, thanks to a functionality of the software to mark areas of an image. This multimodality supported, for example, the analysis of the importance of certain localities in the territory (such as the buildings of UPP and CSR often represented on the drawings), and also the identification of the context of events and practices mapped during observation (such as the pacification of the community or the establishment of organisations and programs).

Once the dataset was coded, I ordered codes from the most grounded to the least grounded, considering the number of quotations associated with each code. Not all the codes were explored in this thesis. The number of quotations grounding each quote was the first and most important criterion to prioritize the significant themes in the data and decide which findings should be presented in the final text. I disregarded more than half of the codes after this exercise, mostly because they were not significantly grounded in the dataset to build the argument. After that, the relevant codes that endured in the first draft of the results of analysis were marked with "*".

Then, a network of codes was designed in the software by grouping related codes, as illustrated in the example of Figure 9. This organisation of themes supported the generation of a preliminary structure of the two chapters of findings, according to the two main levels of analysis: the organising space (favela as an organisation) and the space of organisations in the favela (the space of each CSO). Appendix 5 contains the

drafted structure of the chapters constructed during this stage of analysis. The codes in grey are meta-codes created to organise the network.

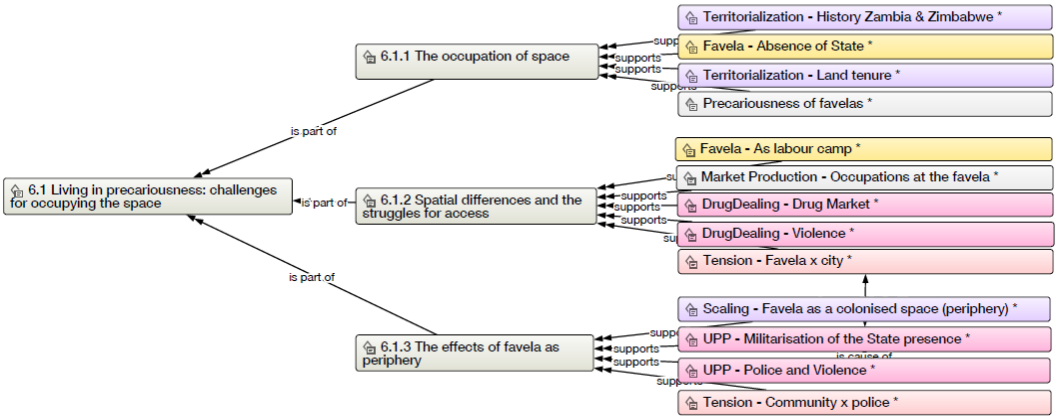

Figure 9 - Structure of topic created by aggregating codes

Once the first version of the findings had been drafted, an iterative process of rewriting and re-analysing data was made with the input of the supervisors. The defended arguments were challenged and the drafted results re-organised to structure the arguments in a clearer way. During this process I returned to the data in Atlas, which thanks to the functionalities of searching quotations and references the reorganisation of codes was made in a much easier way.

5.6 Research ethics & Health and Safety

This section will describe the ethics of the research and also some practical aspects of the research process, which involved the approval of the research project by The University Research Ethics Committee regarding themes such as hazards and risks.

One of the questions raised during the preparation of the informed consent of the research was how I would introduce myself to the participants of the study. Revealing unnecessary details about my university affiliation abroad for example may have generated biased responses and provoked suspicion. On the other hand, participants had the right to know at least that they would have been involved in research, even if they were not interviewed. In order to get access to institutions such as FavelaOrg and CSROrg, it helped to reveal my position at Lancaster University. For formal official access the research was explained according to the information sheet, “to analyse the part played by organisational dynamics in the development of slums”.

For those with whom I had minor involvement, I disclosed my role as student and researcher, and briefly explained my intentions in working with FavelaOrg and other organisations. Few of them expressed interest or curiosity for any detail of my position. For those with whom I had casual interaction, I only introduced myself as a volunteer of one or the other organisation. On many of these occasions, whenever I was accompanied by someone else who knew me better (as in the case of official meetings I attended on behalf of FavelaOrg), this closer person would reveal in a grandiloquent way that I had come from England. This appreciation for foreigners and foreign institutions, which is reproduced by organisations and individuals (Caldas, 1997), is to a certain extent a reflection of the colonized spirit many Brazilian people still carry toward rich countries, but also a fascination the Brazilian working class nurtures for foreign countries, regardless of their position in the geopolitical map. This worked almost as a compensation for my role as a researcher, of which they had had enough exemplars in favelas in the past years.

The informed consent was recorded at the beginning of each interview, wherein the participants were informed about the nature of the research and the voluntary character of their participation. Before the interview, the nature of the research was explained and the information sheet (translated to Portuguese) left with the participant. After that, the following commitments were made: names of persons, organisations and favelas would be anonymized; all the interviews would be conducted on a voluntary basis and the informant would be free to refuse to answer any questions with no required justification, and to withdraw their participation at any time; no information provided would be shared with people that are not involved in this research or any other institutions/organisations. The informed consent and information sheet are shown in Appendix 1.

I was afraid that the excessive bureaucratization of this interaction with participants would have hijacked the free spirit of conversation – especially given the level of informality in favelas – but to my surprise, after explaining the careful handling the data would receive, most of the informants reacted with a much more relaxed countenance, as though they had just exchanged promise-not-to-tell words with a friend. Finding a proper place to conduct the interviews was also a concern. Interviews demand private and quiet places, especially when they assume open-ended responses and approach sensitive information. Favelas are crowded busy spaces

where rooms are a rare resource. During the pilot interviews in 2013, the interviews were carried out in an open space at the top of the hill and I had to change place several times, causing problematic disruptions for the conversation. In the following year, the position in the organisations I worked with and the better knowledge of the territory helped me to find suitable indoor rooms most times.

Another major aspect of the data generation was the apparent hazard it offered at some level. Assessing the actual hazards and threats was somewhat difficult, and I tried to formulate safety practices and careful behaviours based on what I perceived as real hazards and away from the sole discourse of fear and prejudice, which widely haunt favelas. I was particularly unlucky on that matter because during the 10 weeks I was in the field there happened to be two killings and an attempted murder,[21] while no such crimes had happened in that territory for years before that. There was a high level of tension in the air, and the state program of pacification showed the first signs of instability and uncertainty. But it is also true that these events would offer no risk at all to me provided I followed basic practices of risk avoidance (e.g. not to attend demonstrations). Two of the murder attempts were deliberately aimed at their victims, who were involved in drug dealing.

I knew before I left for my fieldwork that there was possible turmoil in Mucuripe given the reports from colleagues and informants. There had been resistance to the police pacification unit and the drug barons were still active and powerful in the favela. In general, this would not represent a threat or a problem to whoever wanted to access the public buildings or was accompanied by residents, and I could easily have conducted my research on such terms. As I wanted to go further, my initial idea was to request formal permission to drug dealers to carry out the research there, but I was dissuaded by a colleague from the favela, who suggested it would be better not to give them this legitimacy and told me the formal link to local organisations was enough to grant me a free pass. This ended up being the case indeed.

There were some occasions in which I felt intimidated by local residents, though; some of them seemingly gang members. I learned to deal with it over time, as I understood most of these manifestations were not different from the harmless ones

[21] These will be better explained in chapter 6.

they would direct towards other residents as well. This was especially the case in Buruti, the part of Mucuripe with the older settlement in which people have been described as more passionate and blunt[22], even though I was also told during the fieldwork that they were more aggressive but less violent when it comes to settling disputes. Anyhow, even considering violent actions during my work, I had to try my best to put them in perspective when representing what happened. There are various conditioning processes that regulate the everyday life in the favelas. The risk of focusing on one of them is to intensify the biased representation of these communities, highlighting their violence as films and TV shows do, naturalizing the condition of violence against favela residents (J. S. Silva & Araujo, 2012). A further discussion of this issue is provided in the next section.

Health and Safety Procedures had been discussed with the Research Ethics Officer (Debbie Knight). The University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) approved the research project on 15/5/2013 along with the informed consent forms. Following the officer-recommended Lone Workers' Code of Practices, the following measures were taken: only the essential material/equipment was to be carried with me (mobile, recorder, diary); I wore shoes and clothes that did not hinder movement or ability to run away in case of emergency; I never conducted interviews inside private houses; there was always someone in my family aware of my location during my work; research activities were avoided whenever safety conditions were not fulfilled or any hazard was evident (e.g. drunk people, threatening behaviour, etc.); and I avoided isolated pathways and finishing work late in the evening.

[22] Although I have not met as many residents from Itaperi to attest the difference, I have heard from many participants statements similar to that of Thaisa (FavelaOrg): "in terms of behavior as well, I see a difference. Education and things like that… people here are gross, you know? I'm not joking, I work with children and I manage the catechism at the church [at Itaperi], I have worked there for many years, we have children from Buruti as well. They are very rebel, like the ones we see here [in the CSO] that don't obey us"

5.7 The reflexive process of research

Mason (2002, p. 5) highlights the importance of reflexivity for qualitative research, that is the importance of researchers critically and continuously asking themselves about what they are doing and why. This section is intended to reflexively acknowledge my role in the research process. I do not subscribe to the neutrality of positivist research or to the separation between object and researcher. I thus carry with me my personal background and social characteristics.

If, from the one side, being male, white and middle class prevented me from experiencing most of the prejudices and restrictions inflicted on most of the poor people living in favelas (mostly black and especially women), it also bears great responsibility for having had the privilege of accessing good education over my educational trajectory. I was especially privileged for having received higher education from a non-fee paying public university, an access granted to less than 10% of the (all rightfully entitled) applicants, and being later funded by a federal agency to obtain a PhD from a foreign institution. These are privileges that bear also great responsibility in terms of what use I will make of this investment and why.

The access to this education also made me experience fast social ascension, from my working class family origins to wealthy and affluent circles, which gave me the clear idea that something was very wrong with the structuring mechanisms of social wellbeing in Brazil, which disregarded the existence of a large group of society. My active engagement in social movements also showed me that this unawareness is two-fold: not only does the oppressor disregard the oppressed, but the oppressed are also considerably unaware of the mechanisms of exclusion, which conceal the selective access to supposedly universal rights in Brazil.

The naturalised mechanisms of inequality troubled me. What called me to the favelas was not their status as an ingenuous solution for lack of housing or the particularities of their geographic landscapes. I am bothered by the state of poverty ravaging the lives of favela residents, and the mechanisms through which these conditions are produced, maintained and concealed. This calling is inspired by the responsibility I feel to return the education I received, by engaging with problems (and particular methods) that are relevant to specific social settings of Brazil.

On the other hand, the favela is obviously not a public space built to be explored by researchers. First of all, in practical terms, a favela is the home of thousands of people who struggle, among other things, with their lack of privacy. That means walking along the tight aisles of favelas and passing in front of opened doors and windows demanded proper consideration of the people who lived there. More importantly, how favelas were represented in my writing should be bounded with respect and validity. Regarding the question of this thesis, it meant a balance between data provided with the authority of whoever lives there and the careful interpretation of this data in light of applied theoretical categories (e.g. social space).

Residents of favelas lack voice in most of the social settings across the city. However, in the favela, they do not. Nobody knows more about the everyday life of such spaces than the residents themselves. This does not mean they can realize the underlying reasons of the social processes they are subjected to, especially the ones unfolding from higher spatial scales, such as on the level of policy-making, which explains my epistemological choice for going beyond the individual experiences and exploring how they relate to a broader social order, which I relate here to the concept of spatial totality. In other words, the materiality of structures exists in everyday space, supporting social processes that are revealed in actual narratives.

One of my concerns when reporting the collected narratives was not using stereotypes, such as “favelas” in essential categories. Each favela holds a myriad of social manifestations and even the term is imprecise to identify the various areas that hold different social-spatial realities among themselves. During analysis, these separations were not always acknowledged, for the benefit of what they held in common, but during my contact with the field I kept in mind the importance of such differences.

During the generation of data, the basis of participatory research included its call for sharing power and aiming for equality. During this process, I purported to act on that basis. I think I was reasonably successful in establishing myself as a peer, at least in terms of work, which may have been crucial to get the level of responsiveness I have had when inquiring about sensitive matters. In summary, during data generation, I positioned myself as another agent of the field, in a collaborative process to produce knowledge. I do not claim to have completely apprehended the everyday life of the favela or to be able to speak in the residents’ names, after all that has never been the

intention. I argue, though, that the generated data was not the product of my lone observation, instead it was a collaborative process for which the input of favela residents was an inseparable component.

During data analysis, reflexivity was crucial for selecting what information was relevant to analyse. The kind of incidents that are frequently associated with life in the favela is hard for outsiders (more so for foreigners) to grasp. It is tempting to see and interpret life in a favela in a way that celebrates our own values. For example, in the western world, institutionalised hazards, such as heart attack caused by smoking or diabetes caused by junky food, tend to be more easily tolerated than suicide or certain types of violence, when (self) harm is not concealed in structural relations. With a similar stance, it would be tempting to crudely expose the violence of favelas as a useful instrument to luring my reader, and explore the exciting times of my fieldwork for the sake of the experience. If I want to provide a meaningful contribution, though, and be fair to the participants of my research, I needed to embody the sociability of favelas when deciding which events of my research were meaningful.

6 Favela Mucuripe as an organising space: analysing the territory

This thesis investigates what influences the organisation of space of CSOs in favelas beyond their workplace. In order to tackle this, I will discuss the organisation of the space at favela Mucuripe, and how this organisation influences the local CSOs. The chapter will present the territoriality of Mucuripe as grounded in the historical construction of the territory through various processes of settlement/immigration, and shaped more recently by the attempts of the state to integrate the territories of favela into the formal city. I argue that the recent interventions resonate with Lefebvre's (1991) idea of the production of abstract space, whereby the state is performing violent actions to erase the historical space, which nonetheless lives on. Because favela Mucuripe is the site of a current clash between historical and abstract space, this process could be observed in the fieldwork. And its results reveal a contested organisational space with unclear regulation that affects CSOs directly. Hence, this chapter will answer the first research question, revealing what historical and political processes affect the construction of space in favelas, and will also partially relate to the second research question by discussing to what extent the actions of CSOs are explained by their spatiality in favelas.

This chapter will examine first the historical space of Mucuripe, more specifically how the historical formation of the territory of Favela provides the social content that drives the work of CSOs in the territory. Then, it will discuss the production of abstract space, or how the recent attempts made by the state to regulate space explain the contemporary conditions of the organisation of the space of the favela. Finally, it will be argued in this chapter that the clash between these historical and abstract spaces results in a crisis of authority in the organising space of CSOs. This contested space is generated by the interplay of state, market and drug dealing practices in what can be considered overlapping territorialities.

6.1 Historical space: occupying and territorialising in Mucuripe

This section explains the main aspects that characterise the historical space of Mucuripe, and their impacts for local CSOs. I will explore the processes of territorialisation at Favela Mucuripe, which is formed by two communities: Buruti and Itaperi. The favela will be described from the point of view of the participants

and I will argue that the formation of this space is largely grounded in the historical "layering" of the territory (see sections 3.2.2 and 4.1.2), which mould the territorial "division of labour"[23] to which organisations continuously have to adjust. The section discusses first the differences between the favela and the formal city, which exposes an underlying tension between separation and integration, and then the differences between Buruti and Itaperi communities, within the territory of Mucuripe.

6.1.1 The historical occupation of Mucuripe

Favelas are very distinct social spaces in relation to the formal city. This section explores how the relation of favela residents to space is mediated by the duration of their occupation. Their long-standing territorialisation includes symbolic aspects of their *territoriality* – that is human activity of organising space in spheres of influence – such as the names used to distinguish outsiders.

In Mucuripe, the duration of occupation of the territory is a very important aspect of the appropriation of the space, and residents quite often refer to the history of the favela, especially to their own families, in an attempt to recall their right to that space. In a conversation with any resident about the favela or their everyday life, it is very common that at a certain point they will proudly mention for how long they have lived in the favela or when their ancestors had settled there. The following responses suggest how important the historical links to the territory are:

> The history of my family, in that house, there is a very rich history; you know… this is a very ancient family here, very old. They were immigrants, my father, my grandfather were from Pernambuco, my aunt-grandmother was from Espirito Santo and the family … sixty years ago, from what I know for example my mother's family, my aunt-grandma, my grandfather … they arrived here when they were young. (Interview with Victor, FavelaOrg [local museum])

> I was born here, my parents were born here, their parents came from Minas Gerais and here they got married, raised their children. There is no one left here from my mother's family, only her ... and her children. But on my father's side there is a lot of people here. (Interview with Renatinha, FavelaOrg)

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[23] By 'division of labour' I mean the social role played by the favela and its citizens in the relations of production during the settling and also the consequent territorial division of labour today. The term is used by Milton Santos, Claude Raffestin and also Lefebvre (1991, pp. 32, 58, 98) with this meaning.

> The first people that … that implemented [sic] this community, who created this community were my relatives that came from Minas and started forming … there were few houses, there was one house here and another there. (Interview with Sanja, MilitanceOrg [group of women that fights violations of human rights])

These references to family history are attempts to locate their presence in the territory beyond their individuality. Willing to transcend their own history, many residents resort to chronological time as a measure of legitimacy. This shows, among other things, that time in the territory is important social capital in the favela. Residents from this and other favelas use the same term when referring to people who are born and raised in the favela – "*cria"* which could be translated as *"*hatched" – and another expression to define those who started living there not long ago – "*veio do vento"* which could be literally translated as "came with the wind" (equivalent to "blow-in"). Being a *cria* gives legitimacy and authority to discuss and claim truths about the social space of the favela. And this is an important characteristic of the members of organisations if they want to be acknowledged as legitimate in the territory.

The need to acquire legitimacy through one's personal history in the favela is a strong barrier for the settlement of outsider organisations. Arouca (RecyclingOrg [collection and transformation of waste in the favela]) had also lived in other favelas such as Cachambi and was still seen as someone who *veio do vento*, although he had lived for fifteen years in Mucuripe. According to him that was a characteristic particular of residents from Mucuripe:

> Residents here don't want to open space to those who come from the outside […] they hand over from parents to children you see, and they don't want to open doors, like they don't do anything [to improve their community] and those who come from the outside are the ones who do stuff, but they try to diminish outsiders. […] Cachambi was a very open community, especially for those who … they know how to welcome outsiders you see… (Interview with Arouca, RecyclingOrg)

As noted by Arouca, the time one has been in the territory is a trait of the occupation of Mucuripe that is in many ways present in the interventions of CSOs. In his words, the community is handed over "from parents to children" who "don't want to open doors". In that sense, a CSO would only acquire legitimacy if led by a *cria* (hatched). In another example, while describing a dangerous quarrel he had had with drug dealers during football matches organised by FootballOrg (organisation of football tournaments), Victor was telling me why he would not be overruled in the decisions about what should or should be not allowed during the games: "we are all *crias* of the

community as well, I will not accept that they [drug dealers] come and fool us" (Field Notes, 16/04/2014). Being a *cria* for him was enough to demand the same respect and consideration, from drug dealers, regardless of their weapons and often-violent behaviour.

With the same motivation, Sanja was complaining about a book launched by FavelaOrg, which contained stories of people from the community involving individuals that had not been settled as long in the territory as she was. For her, as for many other people in the favela, the longer you have been in the territory, the more you have the 'right' to it:

> I've been here for 42 year, how long have you [FavelaOrg member] been in the community? Then if you haven't been part of this history, how come you present yourself as an ancient resident? There are people who have been here for much, much longer than you. Ok that you have ten, fifteen years of community, but there are others with sixty years in the community. (Interview with Sanja, MilitanceOrg)

In a community where most residents shared a limited and restricted access to their rights, the importance attributed to how long one had occupied the territory might be seen as an attempt to differentiate them using the only right they overtly claimed: the right to that territory. Regardless of the structural reasons for which the first settlers were led to live in the favela in the first place (such as lack of housing outside favelas, labour opportunities in the surroundings, or social barriers against people coming from favelas), this is now the home and place of spatial identification for people of later generations, who have always lived there and have no intention of leaving. The personal sense of belonging to the territory is apprehended also by the notion of place attachment: individuals attached to an area are less willing to be displaced (Vorkinn and Riese, 2001 in Saar & Palang, 2009). As a result, Mucuripe presents a demographically positive net growth (IBGE, 2011), and the attachment of its population to the territory is a strong characteristic of their historical space.

As can be seen from the above cases, the longstanding appropriation of the territory by means of occupying space affects the social space of the favela and the legitimacy of its organisations nowadays. This occupation of the territory structures social relations within borders/boundaries/frontiers, which is a key aspect in the production of the socio-geographic space. It is thus also a process of collective

territorialisation[24]. Santos (2009) refers to territory as the inhabited/human space, and explains that the occupation of space territorialises it, through the construction of systems of exchanges that differentiates a region from the outside.

Therefore, these systems delimit to local organisations particular territorialities, and define spaces where certain terms acquire meaning, which Raffestin (2012) calls the "semiosphere of territory", such as the terms *crias* and *veio do vento* described above. Particular territorialities directly affect the CSOs within the territory. Organisations such as FavelaOrg and SingingOrg rely on their members being *crias* to obtain the authority required to speak in the name of the community in meetings outside the favela. The disputes for legitimacy involving organisations in Mucuripe are very intense, as illustrated in Sanja's statement, and within the semiosphere of the territory, the duration of time one has lived there – in other words how long ago that individual has territorialised the favela – is usually associated with the right of the person to organise without being considered an exploiter.

I described above how the temporality of the production of the space of favela is important for their territoriality, and that impacts directly on the legitimacy of CSOs. Thus, the consideration of the historical construction of the territory should provide important indications about the contemporary organisation of space. Next, I will show how the historical inheritance of the favela results in variable levels of ordering and organisation across the territory, reflecting the heterogeneous settling processes of this population within Mucuripe.

6.1.2 The differences in the historical spaces of Buruti and Itaperi communities

I will describe below the main challenges faced in Mucuripe, and link these characteristics to the different trajectories of settling and occupation in the communities of Buruti and Itaperi. Differences in the appropriation of the favela space can generate different places in each community within the territory. Thus, the

[24] Other authors use the term territorialising differently, often applied in contemporary social theories as an 'anti-structural' concept to emphasise heterogeneity, but this interpretation is not as common in geography, for example.

section expands the implications of the territorial division of labour (as presented in section 4.2.3) for the contemporary organisation of the space in favelas.

One of the first questions I asked during each interview was "If I were a Martian that had just landed on Earth, how would you describe the place where you live/work, the favela?". [25] Responses often related to the past:

> It is a place of survival of a population. A population that was… abandoned by the governmental institutions and did not have an option, then they had this empty space, they seized it and made their homes, and then the government came… (Interview with Zico, BurutiResidentsOrg [dwellers association])

> In the past the *morro* was less dense, right? So there were more courtyards. Nowadays there aren't. Because families grew… then what was supposed to be a courtyard was made more and more dense… "my son got married", "build it over there…", it's the only space we've got. (Interview with Renatinha, FavelaOrg)

> A space of livelihood but… how can I say that… regarding the view of it, I think the favela was much more segregated in the past… I see, actually, in the role of some public policies that people talk so much about… they brought the favela to the city, to the *asfalto*.[26](Interview with Dani, SingingOrg [music education and schooling])

> This community [Mucuripe] is divided in three… erm, this *morro* is divided in three communities: Upper Itaperi, Itaperi and Buruti. […] Itaperi and Buruti still today are not…one does not love the other [giggles], unfortunately. I thought this had got better, but it hasn't, for what I can see it hasn't. (Interview with Suelen, SingingOrg)

Reinforcing the importance of one's history in the territory, as described in the previous section, the quotations above also support the relevance of the past for understanding the present. In most interviews, participants responded to the opening question about what Mucuripe is at the present, using direct or indirect references to the past, as illustrated above: "they seized it and made their homes", "In the past the *morro* was less dense", "the favela was much more segregated in the past", and "still today one does not love the other". They acknowledged, thus, that their present space

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[25] In the data, residents refer to the favela using various names: '*comunidade'* (community), '*morro'* (hill), '*favela'* (slum). *Morro* and *favela* have not been translated because their English equivalent words do not express the exact original meaning.

[26] The duality *morro* (hill) vs. *aslfalto* (road) is how favela residents have for a long time differentiated the favela from the formal city. This dichotomy was largely incorporated by the society of Rio, and became well known to refer to this separation across the city.

was not arbitrary but incorporated the content of past historical systems, which subsisted in the landscape. The past is also present today in the configuration of the territory, and I will illustrate that by examining the differences between the two communities of Mucuripe, namely Itaperi and Buruti.

Like other favelas, Mucuripe is far from homogeneous. Despite similarities and common struggles over the territory, different parts of it shape the hill differently according to its unique territorialisation. The most evident separation is the distinction between its two communities. In Suelen's quote above she described how "one does not love the other", in a reference to the longstanding animosity between the two communities. The formation of Buruti and Itaperi followed different historical paths. They emerged separately (on the opposite sides of the hill) and evolved until their boundaries could not be distinguished by an outsider. As mentioned in section 1.2, immigrants from Minas Gerais and descendants of ex-slaves occupied Buruti first, about a hundred years ago. Their history is thus grounded in the pre-republican period (before 1889) of Rio, then the capital of Brazil, inhabited by a slavocratic society. Itaperi emerged during a period of rapid development of the country, the 1930s, and received mostly immigrants from the northern (poorer) part of the country in a more recent wave of immigration, and thus with looser "roots" to the territory. This looser attachment was perpetuated and reproduced over time.

This difference in the history of the territory affects how today's residents perceive their social spaces. In the words of Kaka:

> Here in Buruti it happens that people, whether you want it or not, because we are all *crias*, and everyone knows everyone… living together is good. Even for certain complicated things… you can manage. Living together at Itaperi is more difficult, because most people are immigrants, from Ceara, they shut their doors… it's over. There is no conviviality such as in Buruti, where a family mixes with another one and gets together… when you realize you've got a first, second, third, fourth cousin in the same family unit. (Interview with Kaka, EntertainingOrg [parties and social events])

Kaka's view may be considerably overstated, being a resident of Buruti. But it is often apparent that the sociability in the two communities is different, and so are the styles of construction and pattern of occupation of the land. The much higher population density at Itaperi, where a more recent wave of immigrant workers settled, is for many a consequence of the kind of occupation in this favela, viewed as a site of temporary accommodation, as stated in another interview: "they [Itaperi's residents]

don't intend to live there for a long time […] they came to Rio only to earn money, so they live in conditions that are not adequate, but they see it as temporary accommodation" (Interview with Suelen, SingingOrg).

In a later casual lunch with a middle-aged man who lived at Itaperi, I could see an example of what Suelen was talking about in the above quote. This resident talked to me about his difficulties at work and about his girlfriend who lived in the North, whom he planned to bring to live with him for a while before they could finally return to their home state again and leave Rio forever. He argued that in effect that was a community with more temporary settlers. In contrast, at Buruti where more people are born and raised in the favela, they claim they wish to preserve the favela more, and to be more engaged with the development of the territory. It was beyond my scope to find out whether they were more or less engaged with the development of the territory, but the differences in sociability and historical occupation certainly impacted the kind of organisations that emerged in each community.

Despite common struggles with the vulnerability of their accommodation, Buruti and Itaperi have very different profiles in terms of the presence of organisations. Itaperi, where people are said to be more entrepreneurial, is the base for most businesses of Mucuripe. In particular, almost all bakeries are found in this community, which were frequently recorded in the drawings.[27] In addition, even though the annual fee paid to ItaperiResidentsOrg costs more than twice the BurutiResidentsOrg's, default is less usual at Itaperi. This is because these associations will only proceed with the registration of a property if all the fees are paid up to date, and the number of properties traded is much higher at Itaperi than at Buruti. Conversely, whereas Buruti has fewer businesses and less turnover of residents, the presence of CSOs is thriving. It houses not only 90% of the CSOs – in part due to the location of the school building and other suitable public spaces where most CSOs operate – but also the

[27] Bakeries are so present in Mucuripe that half of the drawings describing the favela pointed out the location of a bakery. This is arguably due to the everyday consumption of bread being a traditional habit of Brazilians, especially amongst the working class; which means bakeries take advantage of this loyal public and stock many everyday products as well.

large majority of the churches, another type of organisation which was often indicated in the drawings.

The different profile of organisations is a consequence of different ways of organising space, grounded by their singular historical processes. The two historical moments when each community was formed attracted different types of settlers: whereas Buruti was occupied by ex-slaves and immigrants from the south in the search of a new home one hundred years ago, Itaperi received immigrant workers from the farther and poorer north who nurtured the dream to meet their family again, during the 1930s. These two moments are related to distinct contexts of production of space, and the social division of labour was reflected into a territorial division of labour (Santos, 2006, p. 87). Thus, the territorial division of labour is not observed only in the favela in relation to the city – considering that most people in favelas are employed in low-wage or informal jobs in the formal city – but also within the favela, a social division is inherited from different historical contexts that consolidated different places.

The above means that the historical processes of construction of the territory of Mucuripe preserved different patterns of organisation in the contemporary favela. This inheritance of former patterns of territorial organisation was called by Santos (1978) "spatial roughness" (see section 4.2.3). In other words, the lasting forms of accumulated work from the past remain in the territory and the past division of labour enacts material contingencies for the present time. In the case of Mucuripe for example, these differences are observed today *inter alia* from the different place meanings constructed in each community in relation to the value attributed to the land. Santos (2006, p. 86) argues that the sociospatial formation is a more adequate instrument to understand the past and the present than the mode of production of a society, and in effect the latter is included in the former.

Other authors referred to the idea of the historical production of space as an iterative construction of territory, a "leafed space" (Raffestin, 2012, p. 122), in which figures historical "layers" of combined symbols, representations and practices. Every new territory depends thus on the used previous territory, and what we see in the landscape is not necessarily contemporaneous to the various processes of sedimentation which together resulted in the what Santos (2006) called *spatial roughness*. Differences between Itaperi and Buruti are thus a present picture of a historical process, and this historical process conveys the formation of different identities and different patterns

of territorial occupation. As I explained above, the current possibilities (such as the legitimacy of long term residents) and limitations (such as the difficulty to find free spaces at Itaperi) for CSOs are significantly influenced by this historical layering from the past. These are important elements of Mucuripe's historical space, which cannot be disregarded.

In this section, the historical construction of the territory of Mucuripe has been discussed, defining the characteristics of its historical space. First, I analysed the historical space of Mucuripe in relation to the formal city and revealed how these processes of appropriation are largely mediated by the time lived in the territory, which is a symbol of legitimacy and appropriation, providing a sense of belonging to the land that lead residents (*crias*) to reject those who are considered as outsiders or late comers (*veio do vento*) in the territory. Then, I analysed the differences within Mucuripe and showed how different ways of appropriating the territory shaped different territorialities in the two communities. This distinction is a consequence of the roughness of space, that is, crystalised differences of past divisions of labour. These elements largely influence the type and strategies adopted by local organising (spatial) practices today, as shown by the different profiles of organisations in the two communities and the strategies adopted by the CSOs in the favela.

Having established the importance of the historical construction of the territory for the organising space and provided a general idea of important elements of this historical space in Mucuripe, the next section will discuss the influence of multiple scales of space in the territory, and relate it with the production of abstract space. This will be done by analysing contemporary events in the construction of Mucuripe that reveal more about the political economy of space in this territory, which is disputed by processes of transformation that result in contradictory spaces.

6.2 Taking over the territory: a complex dispute for the space of the favela

The program of "pacification" (UPP), described in chapter 2, is led by the government of Rio de Janeiro to occupy the favelas of the city, taking over the control of these territories from drug dealers. The program is sponsored jointly by the state and big corporations, and also involves CSOs, which mediate and are affected by this dispute. This section shows that whereas drug dealers' actions on space

acknowledged the previous layers of territorial formation, in other words its *historical space*, the UPPs considerably expanded the space of capital accumulation and was the means for the attempt of production of *abstract space*[28] in the favela (Lefebvre, 1991). The state is replacing thus the violence of drug dealers for the violence of abstract space, and in both cases the actions of CSOs are hindered. This section discusses first the effects that drug dealing had for the territoriality and the social space of favelas, then it presents the analytical elements of the pacification at Mucuripe, and finally it describes the selectivity of this transformation in the production of the social space of Mucuripe.

6.2.1 The separation from the formal city: image of favelas as loci of violence

Like most favelas, Mucuripe was for a long time dominated by drug barons. That means the territory of the favela was used as a dealing site and hideout for the hundreds of people that would work for this organisation, which held the highest possible power within the favela. The location of Mucuripe in a wealthy area of the city made the strategic importance of the favela for the drug trade even higher, which meant at times a more violent and frequent presence of drug traffickers. How this territorial control impacted the life of residents and CSOs will be presented next, in order to discuss the effects of this violence on the historical space of Mucuripe and for the image of favelas in the formal city, exploring how the regime of drug dealers became embedded in the social identity of favela residents in the city.

The power and influence of drug dealers in the territory of Mucuripe has been in place for decades. Ironically, even the integration between the communities of Itaperi and Buruti that the government has recently attempted to promote with works post-UPP (pacification) apparently had a much lesser impact than the forced integration carried out by the drug dealers in the 1990s. Victor explained how the favela was first integrated then:

> Because before 1990, the drug trafficking here… what is drug trafficking, Martian? [laughs]. That is the illegal trade, right, of of… illegal drugs. Anyway, which are not

[28] The Lefebvre's spatial triad will be used in this section not as a theoretical application in itself, but as an analytical demonstration of how the production of abstract space takes place.

> authorized by law. And they disputed these territories here, right, so since the favela was colonised by different people, there was a barrier, I mean a proper wall, a concrete wall between the two communities. And the guys from there had a drug chief, like a 'tribal chief'. And Buruti's side had a chief and Itaperi's another one, then they started fighting for the control of the territory… until then residents that had nothing to do with the quarrel could not pass from one side to the other. So this feud lasted until 1990, when the so-called Red Command, which was a [large and famed] criminal gang, erm ... together with a few of Itaperi's residents who had been expelled by one of these tribal chiefs, they came back along with the Red Command and took Itaperi over. And then they also took Buruti over, which was the bordering *morro*. Thus, that wall had already… that concrete wall had been broken by a governmental intervention in nineteen eighty four, but now it was not a concrete wall anymore, that was a wall which was more in people's minds. And with the trafficking… only the drug trafficking managed to make these two communities unite. (Interview with Victor, FavelaOrg).

Another day, at work, Victor told me how he struggled to cross from Itaperi – where he would live – to Buruti – where he studied, before the 1990s integration: "I had to run to school without being seen because people from the two communities could not even cross each other [...] mate, today I work side by side with people from Buruti and Itaperi" (Field Notes, 09/04/2014). Victor referred to his colleagues from Itaperi who worked with him at FavelaOrg in the same room, an unlikely arrangement before 1990. As contended by Victor, the separation then came no longer from the actual concrete wall, as there was "a wall which were more in people's minds", and prevented such interactions. The drug dealers who united Mucuripe have held, thus, for at least 25 years, a territorial control of the favela, establishing internal and external borders and boundaries. It became possible for example to work side by side with people from the other community, which was very unlikely before, thanks to the integration promoted by the drug dealers. The presence of DrugDealingOrg (organisation of drug dealers) pervaded every social relation in the favela and their influence went beyond the control of mobility and flows (*relative space*), it was also structured in the social relationships of the favela (*relational space*) (Harvey, 2008, see section 4.1.2).

One of the main instruments DrugDealersOrg used to establish its influence was the authority to control the access to the territory, determining which local spatial practices were allowed or not, and hence mediating the state power. The president of Buruti's residents' association explained in the interview:

> […] traffickers wouldn't allow [outsider] social projects, you see… only what they thought was for the good would be allowed to enter, the ones they'd picked […] so, traffickers left the favela 'suspended' for 30 years, the government could not enter, even if they wished, they couldn't. (Interview with Zico, BurutiResidentsOrg).

As Zico added later, he meant "social projects" to be the governmental and NGOs interventions in the favela. The participation of legal public administration in the favela was thus limited to a few services deployed in the territory, often placed on the condition of later electoral support. This was the most common link the favela had with governmental agencies, the exchange of favours on the basis of electoral support. In the same fashion, Suelen (SingingOrg) told me that she had run for an elective role at the local social services of the favela, and learned a lot about the lack of engagement of the state representatives when she found out what the job was really about: "that is a political featherbedding [for votes], or a leveraging platform" (Interview with Suelen, SingingOrg).

Therefore, the control of the territory by drug dealers cannot be disassociated from the lack of control by the State. And for that reason the control of the territory by DrugDealingOrg would go, thus, beyond the drug trade. As a matter of fact, drug cartels had a well-established economic, political and ideological system. The mechanisms of institutional regulation used by the drug dealers were also vast. State services, such as social support and healthcare funding, which were considerably limited in the favela, were most of the times provided by the traffickers who would hinder even more the entrance of the other market services as well. It was very common for DrugDealingOrg to pay for medicines or the gas canister for cooking, for residents who could not afford them, for example.

But despite such spatial practices crafting a relationship of dependence and consent in Mucuripe, the instrument of control most resorted to by drug dealers was still violence, and their power pervaded organisations and the lives of residents, as illustrated in their close relations with the residents' association. In the 2000s, Thaisa (FavelaOrg) was the vice-president of ItaperiResidentsOrg, and one day she passed by their office during the evening and found her colleagues scared with the recent news: the president had been expelled from the favela by the drug baron, and there was a notice for her to go uphill and meet the drug boss. She called the other 13 directors and went with the group to meet him. He told the group that ItaperiResidentsOrg's president had been deposed and banished from the favela and

Thaisa would now assume the position of the new president. Apparently there were unrevealed businesses between the ex-president and DrugDealingOrg, which had not ended well. Although she was still scared by the shocking news, Thaisa then presented her conditions: "I will assume [the position] but you don't mess with my association and I don't mess with your business". The boss responded, "Very well, I won't mess with the association, whatever you do is done". However, this was not how things went on, as Thaisa told me:

> Later on he got crazy and wanted to know all the steps of the association. He expelled many people from the community and the others got afraid and started selling their houses. But for that, the transaction needed to be done at the association, and nobody could sell their properties because he wanted to know why each house was being sold and persecuted these people. He would take me from my home to know about one or another guy, that was hell! When he called me, his guys would knock on my door: "He is calling you", "OK, wait a minute I will change", "No, you will not change, you will come the way you are". I have been there with my pyjamas once. The neighbours would see it, close their doors and windows and wait for the parting shot, thinking I was going to be killed. Many times I was saved from such enquiries because the police would turn up, then his soldiers blew the whistle. Back then they would use whistles to indicate that the police were coming. Then he would say: "You go back home, we will continue later". (Interview with Thaisa, FavelaOrg)

For decades, the residents' association was for the favela what the governmental agencies would be for the formal city. As in many other favelas, they would regulate space, and mediate property trades, functioning as a small council. They would also interact with the formal authorities when they needed any intervention from the state, such as street lighting. This is a collectively enacted power, which was often co-opted by the local drug barons. In addition, by being subjected to the orders of the local drug boss, the organisation would become more powerful, as any decision would be reinforced (and sometimes implemented) by DrugDealingOrg.

Exploring these episodes of violence, the hegemonic discourse in the formal city has associated favelas with loci of criminality, as a strategy to cope with the social distance from these spaces, by formally disengaging with them. Slowly, favelas started being associated with drug trafficking and their violence, in part, thanks to the territorial disputes between factions and the confrontations between police and drug dealers. This image of violence was leveraged for example by broadcasting stories of drug dealers which would leave the favela on a mission to invade another territory, retaliate against the police or transport drugs or guns. These excursions were called

"*bondes*" (literally translated as "trams"), urban slang referring to a group of people moving together to the same place, a term which was co-opted by criminal groups (e.g. *bonde da Maré*, *bonde do Linho*).

As they were broadcast by the media or portrayed in films,[29] these *bondes* terrorised the city, in what some authors argue to be much more due to the effects of media construction than actual risks these events imposed to citizens (Ramos & Paiva, 2007). Outside the favelas, the growing association of favela residents with drug dealers held important implications for the reinforcement of prejudices and inequality in the urban spaces. As a consequence, organisations within favelas were also affected by this representation. This is illustrated by the following case described by Kaka (EntertainingOrg):

> Before EntertainingOrg, we were called '*Bonde* of Entertaining' then '*Amigos* [friends] do Entertaining', because we were having these problems with the police. Every time the police stopped us, and saw the shirt '*Bonde* of Entertaining' they thought it was linked to trafficking, because there was '*bonde* from here', '*bonde* from there' ... and the name *bonde* started being strongly related to the traffickers. Then, every time we were stopped by the police, wearing the shirt and carrying tickets with the name '*Bonde* of Entertaining', we would have to explain the same thing: what it was, what the objective was… and the police officers themselves suggested,
>
> "Hey, would you like a piece of advice? Change this name!". We thought,
>
> "OK", we gathered in a meeting, explained what was going on and changed it to Amigos do EntertainingOrg'. Then once we were going to buy meat for our barbecue party, we went to another community, because we had a friend who worked at the butchery there […] it was all of us, there were about eight of us in the bus, and there was a raid that day… only us in the bus. I was sleeping, tired, I only felt the bus had stopped and someone tapped on my shoulder. A police raid had stopped the bus and the police officers got in and searched us. They told us to stand, searched us, but… all good. Then they saw we had a big amount of money, with tickets… and asked what that was. We said: "This is a group, we organise events, the group's name is 'Friends of Entertaining'…"
>
> "Wait, Friends of Entertaining? There is something wrong…" [laughs] Because there was an emerging drug gang called 'ADA *Amigos dos Amigos*' [Friends of Friends]. Then he got that in his head, thinking we were involved as well. Then he called his commander and said,
>
> "We've got these individuals here, suspicious… they've got some money in cash, saying they organise events, they've got tickets and all but… the name is suspicious". Then I explained everything,

[29] Examples of films include 'City of God', 'City of Men' and 'Elite Squad'

> "I live at Morro Buruti, such and such street, if you want to go there I can take you to my house where I live…" Then the guy said,
>
> "Look, I will release you, but would like a piece of advice? Change this name!" [laughs]. Then I, shit ... we were always doing shirts. Then we gathered in a meeting again ... because for everything there was a meeting, we would not decide anything alone.
>
> "Damn, man, let's put EntertainingOrg, and we won't have any problem." Then, it [the name] got stuck because, in fact, at that moment the organisation was big. […] and people were always asking and we had to explain why we had changed our name. (Interview with Kaka, EntertainingOrg)

The Brazilian law states the presumption of innocence before proven guilty as in many other countries. But for favela residents, that presumption was often inverted in practice. Here, the analytical elements of social space (Lefebvre, 1991) help to explain the event described. EntertainingOrg's members had never advertised their organisation outside the favela, but because their organisation's name was then similar to a drug-dealing organisation they became suspects. The organisation's name is one of the elements of the *representation of space*. In addition, carrying a large amount of money in cash is no criminal offence, but that was a common practice among drug dealers, who obviously could not rely on electronic transactions. Carrying money in cash were *spatial practices* that characterised the social space of EntertainingOrg and that of the drug dealers. Finally, they were from the favela, as most traffickers. The symbols and codes used by EntertainingOrg's members, black people using particular slang words, were typical to life in the favela and shared by any resident regardless of their association to drug dealing. These codes are associated to the moment of *representational space*, a lived space that expresses elements not apparent in practices or representations, and which completes the spatial triad.

A group of white middle class people with the same organisation name would have not been treated in the same way, and the same assumption could be made about black people with no money or about people with no organisation that triggered suspicion in the police officers. Hence, each of the elements of the social space together contributed to make that social space similar to a drug-dealing organisation. However, the concept of social space is ultimately embodied by the individual, which draws the question in *whose social space* such an interpretation became possible.

Certainly, no favela resident would associate EntertainingOrg with a drug trafficking organisation. But the police officers in question embodied all the necessary elements

to suspect a group eight young men from the favela with money and a strange title. This example can only be interpreted when we localize the organisation and its members in a specific space-time, which provides content to their space. The urban context of Brazilian favelas and the effects of the local war on trafficking promoted by the police are part of the socio-geographic space of EntertainingOrg as they are of any CSOs from the favela. As the described interaction happened, the action of those police officers was "integral to" (Santos, 2006 see section 4.3.1) a (hegemonic) place where favelas were depicted in a reduced and prejudicial way, that is based on the dominant social space of the formal city. Hence, although the organisation's members were out of their territory, they were still associated with their original place: the favela. That also shows that the social space of the favela remained considerably different from the hegemonic social space of the formal city.

The anonymous agents who provided meaning to the used representations, e.g. *amigos do* (friends of) as a reference to a drug commando and *favelado* as a potential drug dealer, are unlikely to have had any direct relations with EntertainingOrg or its members before, and yet they were largely conditioned by the imposition of a pre-conceived space onto those favela residents. Those police officers operated with the authority of the bureaucratic state (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 280) to reinforce their dominant form of space which Lefebvre associated with "abstract space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). As also described by Lefebvre, the centrality of a hegemonic representation of abstract space would erase local and distinct representations in the transformed spaces to fulfil its "totalising mission" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 332). Harvey's (2008) explanation of relational space suggests that *totality* is structured in every part of the space, in other words an object exists only as a representation within itself of the relationships to other objects. The eight young people in that bus embodied the whole of the space of the favelas – both material and social – and the hegemonic representation of the formal city regarded them as criminals until proven innocent.

As presented in the examples above, the space of Mucuripe was to a great extent dominated by DrugDealingOrg. Coercion was highly present through authoritarian governance over the favela, in which sentences of death and expulsion from the favela were common. These practices influenced the image of favelas outside, implicated the hegemonic construction of favelas as spaces of criminality (erasing their content and particularity), and the regime of drug dealers became embedded

with the identity of favela residents in general. That imposition of a dominant view of favelas suffocated the possibility of what Lefebvre (1991, p. 52) called differential (local) spaces in these territories, such as the existence of a cultural organisation like EntertainingOrg.

Hence, in order to analyse what historical and political processes affect the construction of space in favelas, it is necessary to consider the local relations of the territory, such as the relation with drug dealers, but also the interaction with different spatial scales, which form the representation of the spaces of favelas over the city. In 2009, the state decided to act on the issues of favelas and regain control of these territories, enacting in a new security program the same representation of space that was conveyed by the police officers in the example above, but this time brought inside the territories of favelas.

6.2.2 Attempted integration by the State: the takeover of the territory

The organisation of the space in Mucuripe was affected by a major intervention of the state in 2009, impacting the lives of residents and activities of CSOs. The program of pacification inaugurated a new strategy of the state to deal with these territories. This process provoked strong transformations in the territory that directly affected the space and how it is organised. The actions emerging from UPPs will be discussed in this section, drawing upon Lefebvre's work in order to analyse its spatial elements (representation of space, spatial practices and representational space). As will be shown next, this program of pacification is an attempted integration to the city through the production of abstract space, and the civil society organisations are inevitably affected by this hierarchical and external intervention.

At the end of 2009, Mucuripe received its unit of the UPP program. This involved the previous military occupation of the territory by the elite squad – which were advertised to have expelled drug dealers and seized weapons – and the later deployment of a permanent unit with nearly 200 police officers specifically trained for the purpose of peacefully occupying favelas, a new model of action for the police in Rio. Authority over the favela would no longer be exercised by drug dealers, but should finally be given to the state. After decades of confrontation between the police and DrugDealersOrg, the president of BurutiResidentsOrg described to me how he

realised for the first time that this was a different approach being conducted by the police, changing the governance of the territory:

> […] if you had come here, I had to let them [drug dealers] know. I had to say when there was a journalist coming here ... that sort of thing ... so I would warn them, anyway, but did not accept it, I moaned over those things. Then the UPP came […] I saw that it had come to stay with two hundred-odd men. […] then after one week the captain went there and told me … 'Zico, I came here with all this information about you, what I am going to do with you is this: I brought you my telephone number, I would like yours and ... I do not want any information from you, I came from the intelligence service, I know everything that happens here ... so it's all set, if you need anything' … I saw that he really had come to stay. (Interview with Zico, BurutiResidentsOrg)

Zico continued by explaining the consequences of this change, which started a new form of governance in Mucuripe: "I had to decide whom I would obey; I told them [traffickers] that now I would only talk to the government". This change of governance had a great impact on local CSOs. However, at first this was not a negotiated process. As described above, the UPP captain addressed the president of the residents' association invested with formal authority and informed him of the new governance rather than consulting about any change: "I do not want any information from you […] it's all set". Zico knew that both parties exercised their domination with violence, and to him apparently it was a matter of deciding whom to obey. But as certainly known also by Zico, the actual control of the territory needed more than violence to be effective.

The effect caused by the impressive initial occupation by the state resounded everywhere. Soon after the pacification of the first favelas, Rio newspapers were praising the programme. The role of mass media in Rio was strong and apparently compelling in the accreditation of the success of UPPs. Among the newspaper stories I compiled regarding them, many effusively celebrated the programme, as can be seen from the headlines: "Benefits way beyond the Hills";[30] "On Rocinha Occupation, the redemption of São Conrado [area];"[31] "Pacification in Rio will work as the model for

[30] O Globo. Benefícios muito além dos morros: UPP agrada também a moradores do asfalto e valoriza imóveis. *O Globo,* 2010, March 13: 26.

[31] Ritto, C., November 8. Na ocupação da Rocinha, a redenção de São Conrado. *Veja*, retrieved from http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/brasil/na-ocupacao-da-rocinha-a-redencao-de-sao-conrado.

national pledge."[32] This propaganda was spread over the city, and even residents reinforced this message at times.

Whereas the government made a big effort to signify the pacification as the "solution" to the "issues" of favelas, its actual presence in the territory remained very much linked to the apparatus of coercion. However, the police realised a change of representation was needed, and among this war of information they initially tried to present a new image to the residents. One of the strategies adopted was to invite the local population for an open meeting on a regular basis to talk about the issues and build bridges with the community, who had always seen the police as hostile. However, as described by Victor, the UPP were only ready to talk and the community needed much more than talking:

> When the UPP got in, in 2009, they would organise a rapprochement meeting, in which we… every 15 days… we would convey to them all the difficulties we had. And we didn't want to know if UPP was a public security thing, we would throw all that shit that happened here… waste collection issues, neighbour quarrels, whatever problem we would get there and complain about it all [giggles]. Fuck, the state had been absent, in a way, we would report to DrugDealingOrg before. But since the state came in being 'social' and all that… we demanded all the shit that had not been addressed. Because before we would say to the drug dealers 'there is no water supply here', and the guy would say, "There is no water, what can I do? Would you like some money to buy medicines?". (Interview with Victor, FavelaOrg)

As Victor sharply pointed out, aside from the autocratic ruling, the drug dealers had previously to some extent played the role of the state in the territory before, providing even the means for a certain level of social wellbeing (such as medicines and financial support). However, they were not the state, and could not deliver many of the public services that citizens would expect in the city (e.g. "there is no water supply here"). Whereas the drug dealers could only do charity, the advertised presence of the state after UPP - the first stable and significant official presence until then – was perceived to mean that they would finally receive the same treatment as residents of any other part of the city, as Victor said: "we demanded all the shit that had not been addressed". Although the new meetings represented a positive channel

[32] Dantas, P. Pacificação no RJ servirá de exemplo para pacto nacional. *Agencia Estado,* 2011, February 23, retrieved from http://www.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,pacificacao-no-rj-servira-de-exemplo-para-pacto-nacional,683554,0.htm.

of communication with the community leaders and representatives, the actual performance of state institutions in the territory still resembled very much that of the drug dealers.

It should be noted that, unlike other favelas in poorer areas, Mucuripe did have public services available to the population (such as a school, health unit, and street lighting), but the quality and coverage of such services were still way below what was needed, much unlike the surrounding wealthy neighbourhood. After the take over from the state, a few public representatives from various secretariats were deployed at Mucuripe. However, none of them could be nearly compared to the presence of the police force, composed of nearly 200 officers in the territory,[33] which suggested that the dominant spatial practice of the state was still violence and coercion.

Finally, after the pacification, there was a considerable increase in the number of cultural initiatives coming from the outside. During the events of the Rio+20 world summit, in June 2012, cultural presentations were organised inside Mucuripe to take the "spirit" of the conference into favelas – as was being done at the same time in four other pacified favelas. At Mucuripe, several (dance and music) CSOs performed on three different sites (a stage built for the occasion and two pre-existing halls). SingingOrg was one of them. Among the fourteen different attractions there were groups of *capoeira*[34], samba, *cultura nordestina*, hall dancing, poetry and even jazz and classical music, which are two very alien styles to poor communities in Brazil. No funk presentation was invited. This is surprising, since the culture of favelas is traditionally related to funk music. During my observation at Mucuripe, on several occasions young people were singing, dancing or just listening (through loud speakers) to funk or rap – which are sometimes indistinguishable styles. Funk and samba are the main musical styles at the Mucuripe community, and some authors suggest they play a role of placing poor black people at the centre of culture (Velloso, Pastuk, & Pereira Jr, 2012). However, funk music has also been associated with drug

[33] 18 officers to 1,000 habitants, almost eight times more than the city's average, see Cano et al (2012, p. 170).

[34] *Capoeira* is a sort of dance that resembles a martial art. It is said to have been first practiced by slaves who were forbidden to practice fights, and turned a wide variety of kicks and spins into a game.

cartels, and their lyrics would exalt the power of traffickers and incite violence. Funk fests were then forbidden at pacified communities, which generated many complaints by inhabitants who challenged the prohibition of their traditional funk parties (Henriques & Ramos, 2011).

As presented in the examples above, the struggle of the state in the favela was about more than the attempt to control occupation and access to the territory; it was also an attempt to take over control from drug dealers to craft a different social space. The program of pacification was implemented not in terms of an objective proposal of services to the local population but operated negatively by denying the content of the dominated territory. In that sense, it relates to abstract space. In this process, the state performs the direct violent action needed by the production of abstract space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 280), based on coercion to support further actions of symbolic violence enacted with the instrumental use of space. In the case of favelas, this violence can be explained in terms of the three different domains of: conceived (media reports), perceived (police occupation) and lived (cultural interventions) social space.

The propaganda illustrated in the quoted newspapers, was an important tactic for controlling the arena of representation of space. Controlling the legitimate *representations of space* (conceived space) was one of the main instruments used by the state. Instead of properly involving the CSOs to unify social forces, the government of Rio relied initially only on the power of propaganda and mass media, and lacked much of the necessary territorial initiatives (on a local scale) involving civil society, in order to assure the engagement of local residents in the construction of new representations of space. In other words, they failed to territorialise the intended transformation, and instead reproduced inside and outside these territories their own representation of space – a favela pacified by the police –, which had been conceived away from the everyday life of individuals.

In terms of perceived space, it should be noted that, because it is the site of legal and illegal trade, in favelas the control of territory is a very valuable resource. The domain of the territory enables to decide which *spatial practices (*perceived space) can be performed, and thus means owning a symbolic capital for concessions. My data suggests that the impact of the pacification on Mucuripe's residents is undisputed: most timelines had the implementation of the UPP unit as a significant event in the

territory, and *UPP* was the fifth most cited term in every interview after *community*, *people*, *houses* and *favela*, occurring on average once every four minutes. However, it is challenged as to how much it changed the state practices in the territory. At Mucuripe, the implementation of pacification focused on spatial practices mainly restricted to violence and coercion, as suggested also above by the disproportionate number of police officers. Thus, with rare exceptions the involvement of civil society was to a great extent decided in offices of state representatives outside the favela (in higher spatial scales) and reproduced in the territory in hierarchical impositions that did not consider their local organisation. As argued by Fleming and Spicer (2008), one would expect that the production of spatial scales would require a process of rescaling, changing the organisational logics and thus its practices. However, that did not happen.

Finally, at Mucuripe the number of cultural interventions from the outside became more common after the pacification. Culture plays a major role in the domination of space, as demonstrated by the pervading presence of culture in Lefebvre's articulation between the conscious and unconscious, which is depicted in the *representational space* (lived space), of symbols and images. As cultural interventions overtly express in practice unconscious symbols, it promotes the affirmation and dissemination of what is understood here as representational spaces (the spaces of representation). For that reason, the manipulation of this space plays an important part in the production of abstract space, by replacing the previous "content" of space with one that can be "grasped" by abstraction (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 306). In Mucuripe, artistic interventions of funk music were widely associated to drug dealers and the violence that would come from favelas. In effect, lived space is largely the space of resistance to planned and regulated space, where symbols marginalised by the central space are embodied (Zhang et al., 2008). This motivated both their marginalization and the crafting of alternative cultural spaces. For that reason, the consumption of culture legitimized by the ruling class – such as the musical rhythms allowed in the Rio+20 summit – produced social signification by reproducing the kind of cultural manifestation that was adherent to the socialization of the formal city, while excluding others.

These three elements analysed above show that a new, abstract space was being crafted at Mucuripe. This is a space that overlooked local spatial practices other than military coercion; one that conveyed its spatial representation hierarchically through

the media based on the 'norm' of the formal city; and that controlled which cultural events were allowed, thus censoring undesirable representational spaces. Here, it is important to recall Lefebvre's concept of abstract space as the result of processes of abstraction, and not simply the space of capitalism. As highlighted by Wilson (2014), the important contribution of this view of space is to disclose how the space of capital facilitates direct and symbolical forms of violence, namely the violence of abstraction. The symbolic violence of abstract space is dependent on the direct forms of violence of the state (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 280), such as the military occupation in Mucuripe. The government in Rio operated as the bearer of abstract space by ignoring any existing substance in the territory of the favela and trying to force with its apparatus of coercion, the norms that were necessary for the expansion of capitalist space into the favela. The new conceived relationships tried to empty the existing cultural values and replace them with the violence of a bureaucratic state, such as the reconstitution of what were allowed as legitimate cultural expressions, forbidding funk fests. This instantiates the definition of state proposed by Lefebvre (1991) as a "realised abstraction" born of violence (p.280).

An important point that needs to be examined in this context is the relation between the violence of state and the expansion of spaces of capital accumulation. Despite the efforts of the state administration, the social space of the favela was not transformed as expected. As argued in other investigations (A. Barbosa, 2012; Fleury, 2012; Lacerda & Brulon, 2013), a possible explanation for this failed strategy of the government is precisely the concentration of the program in opening new access for market services and products, while neglecting the other dimensions of social control. The next sections will explore this argument in terms of conditions for the production of abstract space and its relations with CSOs.

6.2.3 The contested production of the abstract space of capitalism in favelas

During my fieldwork, Mucuripe was certainly living through one of its most agitated periods in the past years. In the week I arrived, the police had made three drug seizures, and after a few weeks a resident was shot dead by the police. This turmoil shows that the equilibrium reached with the pacification of the territory of Mucuripe was highly unstable. It will be argued next that the type of intervention carried out – oriented to the expansion of new opportunities for the formal market, careless about

the importance of CSOs, and permissive towards the continued operation of DrugDealingOrg – was a failed attempt to produce abstract space in favelas, which continued highly influenced by the historical space. The new territoriality imposed on Mucuripe, enacted by the police in new spheres of influence, contrasted with the previous use of the territory by drug dealers. Despite the violent actions, drug dealers would acknowledge the previous layers of historical formation of the territory, such as the cultural codes of favelas. Thus, the state replaced the direct violence of drug dealers by its own direct forms of violence, but failed to establish a hegemonic abstract space and created instead a more fragmented territory.

In April, 2014, the police killed a local artist at Mucuripe (David). It was not the first time a person had been killed in the favela by the police. However, the commotion around this case was particularly intense. This was boosted by a special TV program, broadcast the same week as the killing, paying tribute to the artist who was part of the TV show staff. Following this event, anger and furious reactions were demonstrated, especially by the younger people in the favela, and Facebook pages were full of comments similar to the following: "Grieving David. Rest in peace, we will make justice. UPP, fuck you!".

Demonstrations were also planned in the following week in honour of the artist. But in Mucuripe, some residents told me in confidence they were not comfortable with echoing a protest with hidden origins and which had propagated so much violence. The day David was found killed, cars were burned during the demonstration and even local residents suffered the consequences of the revolt. Then, on the day David was buried, traffickers ordered every organisation in the perimeter of the favela to keep the doors closed until 3pm. A few days later, when human rights militants organised a demonstration, drug dealers vetoed any activity not related to the protest in the territory, and Sheilla (SingingOrg) advised me not to come to the favela. In a later conversation with Suelen (SingingOrg), whose husband owns a shop in the favela, she explained to me why he shut the doors of his business that day:

> - On Thursday everything was closed, why was that? Did they order the doors to be shut?
> - They did. Those who can give orders and those who are sensible obey them. They decreed shutting. (Field Notes, 30/04/2014)

It was not uncommon in favelas dominated by drug dealers that, eventually, organisations could be ordered to shut their doors for any reason, but this should not be the case in pacified favelas. However, as drug dealers continued to perform their practices (dealing drugs), it was perhaps not surprising that they still retained their influence. In addition, the influence of the police was being undermined by the escalating rejection from the community. These demonstrations, which also affected CSOs, leveraged the dissatisfaction of residents with the pacification, and a petition against the UPP was later signed by hundreds of residents. In order to understand what is specific in the context of pacification that upset residents and put them against the police, it should be noted that the arrival of the UPP broke the socially complex dynamic space in Mucuripe by ignoring the cultural codes, which in contrast had been followed by DrugDealingOrg and other local organisations.

As much as physical violence and safety threats made by drug dealers could not be dismissed – being important and serious consequences of the dispute between rival drug gangs – these practices were already part of the social space (Lefebvre, 1991) of favelas. In that sense, Victor argued that Mucuripe had now been "discovered" by the state (in their new way of dealing with it), but had always been there. He was talking about the dynamics of disputes between different gangs, which would eventually invade the territory with the support of people from inside.

> I ask myself… why was there no UPP in 1990? Why did the trafficking have to do it [integrate both communities]? So the UPP entered in 2009… they are 19 years late [laughs]. Interesting isn't it, as you were talking I was thinking about that […] for example, the group which invades the community, or the ones who get in the place of those [drug dealers] who grow up and leave… they are able to know the history of the community: who they should respect, who, who… you know, they have a drug dealing activity, that is an action inside here, one will only die if involved in drug dealing. They are able to understand that this lady [pointing randomly] is very important to the community, she needs to be respected, that the elderly should be respected here, they know the history. They pass over from one generation [of drug dealers] to another; they know the history of the community. (Interview with Victor, FavelaOrg)

Victor was describing the disputes between rival gangs, which would at times result in the control of a territory of favela alternating. When a new gang invaded the territory to dominate the site of dealing, they would only kill people they knew were involved in their war, and once the dispute was over, everyday life in Mucuripe would return to normality as before. Thus, even though the violence of drug dealers cannot be dismissed as unimportant, it was incorporated into the social space of the

favela. Victor highlighted two important aspects of this pacification: first, the police were reproducing interests and logics that were not part of the (historically constructed) territory of the favela before, and that intervened in the existing social life built up over the years; and second, from the perspective of the favela there was nothing particular in the territory in this period that required the intervention of UPP, in other words the pattern of violence within favelas and disregarded by the state was long-standing in the favela. These reasons suggest that there was something external to the territory that triggered the program, and that was the coming World Cup in 2014 and the Olympic Games in 2016.

The UPPs considerably expanded the space of capital accumulation, by providing retail businesses access to the favelas' internal market, and opportunities to external contractors sponsored by the state to provide services in the new territories. The number of small businesses registered in the favelas with UPPs, for example, increased by 56% in the first year of the program, as they were accessing new credit in the financial market.[35] Even retailers' stock share prices rose thanks to the creation of new markets in the favelas, which included 280,000 new potential consumers.[36] This interest of businesses in favelas is unsurprising when we learn the extent of the mutual collaboration of the program: the initial funding for the UPP program, for example, was donated by a group of private companies (including Coca-Cola and Bradesco Bank),[37] jointly funding more than USD 10 million per year for the maintenance of UPPs. The spaces of capital largely benefited from the framework of legality brought to favelas by pacification, which reduced criminality outside their territories and opened up the way for a larger market within.

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[35] O Dia, 'Rio: abertura de empresas sobe 56% em favelas com UPPs'. O Dia, 2010, March, 20. Retrieved from http://noticias.terra.com.br/brasil/policia/rio-abertura-de-empresas-sobe-56-em-favelas-com-upps,a9291054a250b310VgnCLD200000bbcceb0aRCRD.html

[36] Biller, D., & Petroff, K., Favelas ajudam a puxar desempenho de varejistas na bolsa. Revista Exame, 2012, December 3. Retrieved from http://exame.abril.com.br/mercados/noticias/favelas-ajudam-a-puxar-desempenho-de-varejistas-na-bolsa.

[37] Lobato, Elvira; Antunes, Claudia, 'Empresas ajudam a financiar pacificação'. Folha de São Paulo, 2010, november, 28. Retrieved from http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ff2811201040.htm

Although the interests and rights of favela residents were not at the core of this program, they were nonetheless given more access to spaces of consumption as they had long demanded. This alleged integration was illustrated in the following statements by a state agent who works at UPP Social and explains how they mediate the initiatives of business interested in entering favelas:

> Another simple example: TIM [Telco company] wants to develop a… market research of perception in the territories. So we select agents in the field, we train these agents with UPP Social's view about what is a territory, what is citizenship… and we monitor with TIM the execution of this research within the living areas. (Interview with Datolo, UPP Social)

> There is clearly an interest of the formal city in these areas [favelas in wealthy regions], then they are brought to the 'spotlight'. For example… Mucuripe has an awesome belvedere… let's restore the belvedere, let's enable access to the belvedere. (Interview with Datolo, UPP Social)

Therefore, we could say that the major integration that the UPP program was sponsoring was the integration to the formal market. Businesses now had free access and favela residents could now offer services to outsiders. Favela residents did not acquire the formal status of citizens, but consumers (although to an extent they have always been both). In that lies the opportunity for the production of the abstract space of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991), which is the productive activity being no longer directed toward the perpetuation of social life but enacting an homogenised abstract social space. This was observed in the favela through the absorption of the market place by the main agents of production – local businesses, state and CSOs.

Opening this access to the expansion of market transactions in the favela required, though, a transformation in much of the social space of the favela. In the process of bringing the abstract space of capitalism into the favela the state had imposed its violent apparatus over the apparatus of violence of drug dealers. However, as explained by Victor, the violence of drug dealers was entangled with the territoriality of the favela already. Drug dealers "understand" who should be respected and "know the history" of the community. They produce space while acknowledging the previous layers of territorial formation (Raffestin, 2012) and restrict their actions to the interests of their local trafficking activity. As a consequence, residents – and consequently also CSOs – accommodate the pattern of violence promoted by drug dealers in their everyday life, and organise the social fabric according to – or despite – the conditioning features of trafficking (Cavalcanti, 2008). In contrast, police

officers treat any resident as a potential suspect, and disrespect the existing social space. The dancer that was killed was an important example of that.

This event triggered the anger of many favela residents, who could not differentiate the role of the police in terms of how much more or less violent than the traffickers they were, but in the different way how they imposed their norms with no respect for the local codes that characterised their social space. The police were mediators of an outsider state imposing new places in Mucuripe, by trying to enforce legal frameworks of the formal city (such as the payment of energy bills) through violence. The signification of these new places, erasing local distinctions, follows the process described by Lefebvre as the production of abstract space: "The dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49).

But as in any production of abstract space, contradictions arise with the dissolution of old relations and generation of new ones. In Mucuripe, the contradictions were particularly conspicuous because the previous social space – its representation and practices – was considerably preserved, for the intervention was largely limited to coercion and overlooked the practices of drug dealing, for example. This limited territorialisation in the favela was a consequence of a considerable limited focus of the program in actions that expanded the access of market products and services. Lefebvre (1991, p. 281) underlines that the constitution of the state is not independent of the relations of production, and originates from the violence of homogenization that subordinates various aspects of social space – such as culture, education, and legislation. Lefebvre also adds that in the history of capital accumulation the violence of the state cannot be separated from the instrumental space of the ruling class's hegemony. As I have discussed elsewhere (Lacerda, 2016), to a large extent the program of pacification of favelas is grounded precisely in the construction of this hegemony.

In this limited and biased attempt of production of abstract space, the exposed contradictions reinforced Mucuripe as a fragmented and contested space. The ongoing (and to a large extent unsuccessful) production of abstract space in the favela presented an opportunity to observe the process of transformation as it happened. Local CSOs are directly impacted by this dispute, as it makes the organising social

space more complex and confused, although they could have been instead a solution for the integration with the formal city had the state appropriated their mediating potential.

This section has discussed the program of pacification that was supposed replace the historical space of the favela for the abstract space of capital accumulation in Mucuripe. The events that have been analysed have shown the importance of relational thinking, as put forward by many authors adopted here (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1991; Santos, 1978), for whom the parts of a society can only be explained by the consideration of its totality.

I showed above that the power of the drug dealers, which operate in a spatial scale that could influence the whole territory of a favela, produced an oppressive organisation with strong influence in the everyday life of individuals and CSOs in Mucuripe, but this power only existed in constant dialectical tension with the formal city. Thanks to the effect of this contradiction in the social space of the urban city, even outside favelas CSOs and individuals from the favelas would be linked to criminality. The attempt to overrule this power and impose the authority of the state onto the space has created bigger tensions, because it was formed by violent actions. The analysis here argues that these were associated with the (partial) production of abstract space. The production of abstract space can only happen through the dissolution of old relations of the historical space, and in Mucuripe that was not fulfilled.

In this process, the new relations disregarded the potential of local practices which sustained the previous spatial territoriality which CSOs were part of, and the pacification ultimately resulted in a stronger fragmentation of the territory. Hence, the state missed the opportunity to leverage the presence of CSOs in the favela and, instead, made their organisation even more difficult, as will be shown in the next section: the complex disputes for the territory resulted in overlapping territorialities crafting the space of CSOs at Mucuripe.

6.3 Overlapping territorialities: the implications of contested spaces

The disputes for the space of favelas, discussed in the previous section, have many implications for the territory; and one of the most important of them is the difficulty

residents have in recognizing the legitimacy of the various rules and authorities that regulate their space. On the one hand considerations of spatial roughness explain the territoriality of the historical space, as explained in section 6.1, and on the other hand the recent attempt to establish the apparatus of the state in the favelas is a process of abstraction led by the expansion of spaces of accumulation, explained in section 6.2. I argue that in order to understand such indeterminacy it is necessary to see the territory as composed of overlapping territorialities: the attempt of producing abstract space over the historical space, which is nonetheless not fulfilled, creates a crisis of authority with layered territorialities in which different happenings are integral to contradictory places (Santos, 2006). The implications of this contested space for the CSOs will be explored here.

Residents often struggled to know who should reinforce the social order in the favela. One day, when I was arriving at FavelaOrg, I passed by neighbours who were fighting over a plumbing installation. A couple downstairs yelled at a woman who responded from the upstairs window, exchanging insults. At a certain point, the woman downstairs shouted: “I will call Zico [BurutiResidentsOrg’s president]!”. The other woman at the window responded “Ha… Zico is feeble!”. She then tried “I’m going to the UPP right now”, which didn’t work either, as the other woman responded: “I don’t care!”. The man downstairs then increased the tone, and implied he would ask the help of the traffickers. I could hear the quarrel from where I was seated and it lasted for a very long time with no solution. Amongst insults and claims for which part was right, there was no consensus between those neighbours about who should be the authority to decide over the issue.

The new influence exercised by the state and the police did not overcome the power of DrugDealingOrg, even though it opened space for a higher presence of market services and products. This overlapping of different flows of space production, and the corresponding effect on organisations, can be better comprehended with the view of the territory as composed of multiple territorialities, rather than a single and homogeneous one. Such analysis starts with the main issue of the pacification: after the implementation of UPP, drug dealers were still active at the pacified favela. In effect, although the spatial occupation of the police at Mucuripe was increasingly implemented, it remained focused on ending violent confrontation, but left many gaps

for the continued operation of DrugDealingOrg, as I could observe during FavelaOrg's tour, the Canvas Wall Track, explained below.

One of the main activities provided by FavelaOrg is the installation and maintenance of the Canvas-walls track. This trail crosses the two communities of the favela and stops by 27 stations, which contain painted walls telling various stories about the communities. They say the museum has a "live" collection and the art is not only on the walls but also in the people and artefacts that surround it, e.g. if a resident opens the window to look outside, it becomes part of the installation. But it was at the end of this path that I was presented with a stunning live and concrete – although unplanned – experience of life in favelas.

> At Itaperi, we passed by several drug dealers. In an observation point, a young man held a radio in his hand playing funk music. Further ahead, there were other two men, and one warned the other behind him, who hid a bag on his back, probably full of money or drugs. Further yet [towards the exit of the favela], there was 'point of containment', with armed men [drug dealers]. As we passed, I could clearly see the gun one of them was trying to hide inside his hood. A few meters away we could see the *boca,*[38] with lots of discarded [drug] bundles on the floor. Then, another observation point, and finally in the next turn (already in the access to the main road), four armed police officers in readiness as though that zone was completely under their control. I could see that there was a moral dispute, more than a *de facto* dispute, over the domain of the territory (Field Notes, 6/5/2014)

I was amazed to see that so close to the dealing site full of armed drug dealers, which was located almost at the end of the route at one of the main accesses to Itaperi, armed police officers were guarding the locality. They were so close to each other that it was impossible not to acknowledge each other's presence. Yet, it seems both groups got what they wanted: the police pretended to be in control of the territory by showing themselves at the main access of the favela and the drug dealers carried on with their business. Whereas drug dealers are interested in selling and profiting from this trade and avoid conflict, the police seemed to be more interested in pretending everything is under control for public opinion than actually taking control of the territory. As a result, the influence of drug dealers is thus still considerably preserved,

[38] The *boca*, originally *boca de fumo* (smoking shop), is the dealing site where people also gather to use drugs, and is heavily guarded by armed men. It got its name from the period when marijuana was the main drug being consumed, before the introduction of cocaine.

and overlapping territorialities result in a disputed space. In this arrangement, another strong contradiction subsists, the police were supposed to be the direct form of violence of the state, which supported the production of abstract space, but drug dealers were entangled with the historical space of the favela, and the police realised that as far as the formal city is concerned pretending was just as effective as taking control. Hence, the event of implementation of UPPs is *integral to* (Santos, 2006) the marketplace, as explained in section 6.2, in line with the interests of the elite of the formal city.

The maintenance of the power of drug dealers finds support in the respect individuals and organisations still held for their presence, and in these actions the influence of this disputed space for the work of CSOs becomes visible. While I was working there, Nilton (FavelaOrg) said he needed to let "the guys" (drug dealers) know before starting a project that they planned to do in the favela, filming the territory with an outsider partner. This was predominantly led by the fear Nilton had for the safety of the outsiders that would enter to film the favela under his responsibility. In addition, episodes of the so so-called "trafficking trials" conducted by the parallel drug court still happened, even years after the pacification. In one of the events I followed closely, the separation of RecyclingArtOrg ended in physical confrontation and was mediated by a DrugDealingOrg's trial. I describe next what several participants of the research, from RecyclingOrg, SingingOrg and EducationOrg, explained to me about this event.

RecyclingArtOrg was a recycling project that promoted collection and transformation of waste in the favela. One of its activities was to produce artworks using material collected from rubbish. After recurrent fights between its members (Luiz against Arouca and Vava), personal disputes between them escalated to a physical confrontation. Eventually, Luiz appealed for the police to intervene, but the police refused to get involved. After that, working materials from another CSO disappeared from the same building where they used to operate, and when the organisation that had been robbed inquired about that, they exchanged accusations. The organisation had links with drug dealers from another favela, which sent the message: if the local traffickers did not solve the issue, they would invade Mucuripe and settle it themselves. The three members involved were called before an audience with the drug boss, who told them something similar to the following: "Haven't you been

working together for eight months? Only now you've realized you don't get along? Why is it coming to me something you should have sorted yourselves?" The drug chief also warned against talking to the police first, threatening to proceed differently if that happened again. The lost material was later returned and the organisation split into two.[39]

This event illustrates the power in practice and symbolic influence that continues to be represented by drug dealers. The influence exercised by DrugDealingOrg within the favela is to a great extent a consequence of the absence of the state in regulating the space of the favela, and that changes the grounds on which CSOs operate. But the power of the drug dealers is not the only influence in the territory. After the pacification the uncertainty about norms and regulations became even higher, and that included particularly the regulation of the use of the land. Following the separation explained above, Arouca and Vava created RecyclingOrg, and occupied a piece of land to separate waste at the exit of the school building. But after a few months, the contractor appointed by the state to perform works on the metro line that passed below the favela handed Vava and Arouca an official notification informing them they needed that area for the metro works. Arouca refused to leave, and said the land belonged to him. The contractor then asked for the license of operation in that piece of land, and he laughed back at them and replied: "The law in the *morro* is different, it [the space] belongs to whoever gets it first" (Field Notes, 31/03/2014).

This struggle lasted a long time. A manager from the contractor pressed Arouca saying the orders had been given "from the top" and he had a timescale to follow, threatening to demolish what was currently occupying the area. Arouca responded by saying he would become a heavy campaigner inside the community against these works and asked the support of an outsider CSO to send thousands of e-mails to the responsible managers of the contractor. After these e-mails, the contractor proposed to build them a small workspace under a viaduct of the favela. RecyclingOrg refused, and with the support of HumanRightsState (a local organisation that fights for the rights of minorities) they arranged meetings between the city administration and the

[39] Despite the apparent softer stance in the boss' final statement, the narrative of this trial from Arouca and Camila conveyed a great relief that it didn't finish in a more violent way.

state administration to flatten the margin of the main road and provide them with a new collection point. That was a valued location, which other people also claimed later, but in the end RecyclingOrg finally got their new workspace.

The examples described above of the trial with the drug dealers and of the dispute over RecyclingOrg's new land depict a fuzzy regulatory space, but nonetheless with substantial influence of both the state – in this case often mediated by the hired business contractor – and the drug dealers. When the police refused to get involved in a disagreement initiated by RecyclingArtOrg, the drug dealers stepped in. And later when the use of a piece of land was disputed between the same CSO and a contractor paid by the federal government, the state and city administration were involved, looking for ways to settle the issue. In addition to the involvement of the public administration, organisations that operate in the market can also directly influence the ordering of the favela space. CSOs negotiate with the various ruling authorities according to what is required in each event.

These cases show contradictions between pre-existing and new spaces, or between historical and abstract spaces (Lefebvre, 1991), manifested through the dispute for norms and regulation of space. Santos (2006) emphasizes that the normative order during the expansion of capitalism requires a supporting legal framework. Hence, for the functioning of capitalism, the legal framework reinforced by the police is combined with norms that underpin the technical functioning of firms – "legal and technical mediation complement themselves" (Santos, 2006, p. 153, my translation) and such technical norms eventually also become political norms. In the example described before about RecyclingOrg's new workspace, the attempt of the contractor to impose its own technical rules against Arouca (the timescale that needed to be followed and the orders that came from the top) became political impositions on the use of the territory.

But Santos (2006) also highlights that every legal framework will be differently effective in each place, according to its spatial content. RecyclingOrg only vacated the space when the state administration, which had hired the contractor, found a new public space for the CSO's work. Arouca's bargaining position was that in Mucuripe things would work differently: he invoked the "the law of the *morro*". The complex dispute in the territory may give the impression that favelas are lands without rules, but this is not the case. Their difference lies in their particular technical and

informational content. Unlike the usual outsiders' perspective, the favela has its own regulations built up from the relations between it and the city (Magalhães, 2013a, p. 13).

Rules in favelas have more fluid and uncertain origins, but whatever they are they affect every organisation. Some of the rules refer back to the period of drug dealers' autocratic ruling, such as the dress codes, for example it is not allowed to wear a swimming costume within the favela (although the beach is close by and that is a common habit amongst working class people in Rio). While others emerged as a consequence of the type of territorial occupation, such as the requirement to claim a piece of land: be the first to fence it, as illustrated by RecyclingOrg's example. Such norms are the result of regulatory frameworks adapting to the technical and informational content of the favela, and while their origins are unclear, it is even more uncertain who should reinforce them. While the historical construction of favelas made them a peculiar regulatory environment, the clash of the abstraction promoted by the recent event of 'pacification' turned Mucuripe into an even more complex organising space.

Territories are, as explained in chapter 3, the result of the adaptation and accommodation of various processes of the social production of space that follow over time. But understanding the territory as currently inhabited by multiple territorialities, rather than a homogeneous layer of space, permits us to see the coexisting and contradictory spaces that are produced from the clash between abstract and historical spaces. In Mucuripe, DrugDealingOrg is allowed, for example, to carry on with its economic activity. The drug market established in the favela, which is mediated by the operation of DrugDealingOrg, generated a huge amount of money and mobilized a great apparatus of coercion. These conditions, which were materialized in the roughness of space (Santos, 1978), imposed restrictions for its transformation and opportunities for its exploitation. In that sense, for the police, who now control the access to that territory, it is much easier and more lucrative to explore this territoriality rather than to try to subvert it and create a new space over it.

This association is turned into a new spatial contradiction when the police are confronted with its mission, supposedly to reinforce the legal framework of the formal city, against drug dealers that operate fundamentally according to what Arouca referred to as "The law of the *morro*". Hence, as much as drug dealers and the police

share the same territory, they are integral to distinct places, and they become competing authorities in the favela. This contradiction is to some extent part of the contradictory formation of any territory, in which there are always dialectic functions of prohibition and transgression, interdiction and violation, norms and failure (Raffestin, 2012), but in the context of favelas it was certainly leveraged by the controversial failure to produce abstract space through formal 'pacification'.

Therefore, because of the overlapping territorialities of Mucuripe described so far we cannot speak of a single dominant space with a single culturally sanctioned set of norms in the favela, and organisations in the territory are integral to contradictory places (Santos, 2006). The uncompleted transition from a historical space to a new abstract space leaves Mucuripe in a state in-between the old and a new structure. On the one side, favelas evolved over time from precarious settlements where the patterns of occupation crafted singular social spaces, in which drug dealers were already incorporated. On the other side, the state attempted to impose external frameworks through the reproduction of abstract space largely reproduced in the formal city. My observation happened in a moment when this clash was still unresolved and manifested as an apparent spatial contradiction.

6.4 Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter assessed the effect of the political economy of the urban space (or what Lefebvre calls the social production of space) in the organisation of the space of favelas. It revealed how the historic construction of the territory and its political economy influences the organisation of the space. This analysis was significant to the objective of this research, in comprehending what influences the organisation of space of CSOs based in favelas beyond the limits of their workplace, because it highlights how the organising space of favelas can only be explained by the analysis of the totality of space, in which the whole explains its parts (Santos, 2006, p. 74), beyond specific organisational places. This reflexive thinking had been explained previously in this thesis also in the words of Harvey (2008, p. 274): "[a]n event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it".

The analysis in this chapter was particularly significant for answering the first research question of this research, what historical and political processes affect the construction of space in favelas? This chapter first explored the historical process of construction of the territory of Mucuripe, which results from the layering of historical social spaces, generating a 'spatial roughness' with elements of past divisions of labour such as the concentration of cheap labour in the favelas in precarious buildings, and which condition the profile of CSOs contemporary organisational action (Santos, 1978). I first examined this historical construction of the territory by examining the contrast between the socio-geographic space of favelas and the formal city, and then discussed the differences within the territory of the favela, explained in terms of the competing places of its two communities. The different trajectories of territorialisation in the favela and the different profile of organisations that result from them, in addition to the importance of being a *cria* for acquiring legitimacy in the territory, show how much the historical production of the territory impact CSOs and the organisation of space, and even drug dealers comply with the requirements of this historical space.

Next, recent violent transformations of the territory were examined, namely the program of "pacification". The chapter showed that the organisation of the territory is the outcome of conflicting processes of territorialisation, and the norms that guide the production of space in favelas are disputed and contradictory, denying important features of its historical space. This can be considered a late attempt to fully integrate favelas in the abstract space of capital accumulation, following the process described by Lefebvre: "abstract space took over from historical space, which nevertheless lived on, though gradually losing its force, as substratum or underpinning of representational spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 49). The historical space of favela subsists entangled with the territoriality of the drug dealers at Mucuripe. The effects of this entanglement are not limited to the boundaries of the territory. Events such as the members of EntertainingOrg being raided by the police show that the organisational practices will always have a dialectical resistance contextualised in totality, beyond the organisational context. In this case, these individuals' practices were framed as criminal thanks to the spaces of representation crafted in the hegemonic social space that was reproduced by the police. Out of the hegemonic representation in the urban social space, the program of pacification was implemented

by the state to promote a hierarchical intervention in the territory of Mucuripe in order to integrate it into the space of consumption by means of the abstraction of space.

But the dissolution of the old relations, which should be engendered by abstract space, did not occur at Mucuripe, as demonstrated by the strong influence drug dealers still exert. In this context, the favela of Mucuripe was riddled with contradictions and I argued that seeing this space as formed of overlapping territorialities helped in understanding the tensions CSOs were subjected to. In events that illustrated the simultaneous and conflicting influence exerted by drug dealers, the state, and the police on CSOs, I portrayed favelas as contested spaces, at the boundary of dominant spaces and not fully part of any of them. CSOs operate in the territory in a highly complex regulatory space, in which transformation happens by means of sanction and violation, and respond to this context accordingly in each event.

Hence, the chapter also contributed to partially answering the second question: To what extent are the actions of CSOs explained by their spatiality in the context of favelas. More than the form of space (for example the managerial techniques), it is important to examine the technical and informational content conveyed by the social relations, and observable through the events that involve these organisations. In the case of RecyclingArtOrg, for example, its activities were influenced by the problems in the territory that motivated the creation of the organisation, while disputes for the regulation of its space, such as the drug dealers' trial and the dispute for a new workplace, were strongly determined by the context of the favela.

In conclusion, CSOs are affected by the technical and informational content of the space, which need to be interpreted as formed by overlapping territorialities. The next chapter will examine how CSOs mediate the production of socio-geographic space. It will focus on the actions of each CSO, which participates in the construction of a fragmented territory; and demonstrate how we interrogate that through the events of these organisations.

7 The space of organisations in favela Mucuripe: analysing CSOs

In the previous chapter I discussed the organising space of favelas, in other words I focused in the territory of Mucuripe and its influences on CSOs. This chapter is about the spaces of organisations, in other words the actions of CSOs that exist in Mucuripe (Itaperi and Buruti). The previous chapter showed how the everyday life of CSOs is strongly conditioned by the historical construction of the territory and the contemporary production of abstract space operating at various spatial scales. This chapter will demonstrate the role of CSOs in this process, by presenting two contrasting ways of organising space: vertically, by reproducing places that are hierarchically imposed on the territory, and horizontally, by engaging with meanings and practices that were already part of the territory. Organisations engage with both approaches, and this will be shown by analysing various events the organisations were part of. The chapter thus continues the discussion about the second research question – to what extent are the actions of CSOs explained by their spatiality in favelas? – and addresses the third research question – what mediates the different approaches of CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela?

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the mechanisms that lead CSOs to reproduce an abstract space or reinforce its historical space. I organised the chapter in two sections according to the two different ways of engaging with the territory, as proposed by Santos (1999a): the organisation of verticality is engendered when CSOs reproduce places crafted on the outside and the organisation of horizontality is produced when CSOs transform the territory from contiguous places within it. I argue in this chapter that these organisations promote contradictory actions, as they do not bear a permanent place of their own. The place-meanings that characterise them are constantly challenged in different events that lead to different responses from the same organisation. The main mediator that drives each approach is the technical phenomena or technique: In Mucuripe, verticality is driven by managerial techniques that force CSOs to accept representations of space imposed from outside, and horizontality is driven by the appropriation of cultural techniques available locally such as cultural and sport practices. These differences reveal the importance of

analysing the available means to produce space as a key mediator for the adopted approach of each organisation.

7.1 Reproducing abstract representations: the verticality of space

This section will examine cases of *verticality* in the territory, in which CSOs engage with the production or reproduction of hierarchical relations that establish places crafted on the outside with motivations that are not driven by local needs. In that instance, I will first show how organisations reproduce outside and abstract representations of space in their organisational space. Then, I emphasise the role of technique as the mediator for the reproduction of abstract space, and show cases of organisations that absorb managerial techniques when they blur their means (to maintain the organisation) and ends (the purpose of the organisation).

7.1.1 Reproducing representations from the outside

As described in the previous chapter, the overlapping territorialities in favelas result in contested organising spaces. In adapting to this overlapping, contradictory actions are reproduced by CSOs. This section focuses on the struggles of FavelaOrg and other organisations to deal with the clash between their own intended actions and external flows of the production of their social, material and cultural space that unfold from the common sense on favelas and the logic of the marketplace. This clash sometimes leads organisations to adopt prejudicial discourses and managerial concepts that deny their own local representations, hence reproducing abstract representations of space in their organisational spaces. In this transformation new places are crafted accordingly.

During an interview with Suelen, from SingingOrg, we were talking about the high number of organisations in the favela, and the relationship among them. Then slowly increasing her tone, she seemed clearly distressed as she spoke about various kinds of organisations, which depict the scenario of a contested space:

> There is a guy here who says he teaches at the university, and for me he is a real… exploiter I guess… he speaks for the community, he wants to speak for the community […] there is a site here at Itaperi called (omitted), I have been there with the pastoral church to distribute clothes, to perform philanthropic work, something I don't really enjoy doing… and I said then, nobody should live there. The houses… it looks like you are somewhere else, houses are plastered, the floor is mud… I lived [like] that forty

> years ago, but now he… during a meeting [with other organisations], this guy came and said that this area should be… *nobody should ever leave that place*, that it should be listed for protection. Before saying nobody should ever leave there, he should first go and live there himself for one year: go down to the supermarket, climb back carrying milk, water… see people ill and not being able to move, see the parallel power [drug dealers]… because that is the highest part of the hill, to see them doing whatever they want there. How come a person who comes from the outside says something like that? […] I see that very clearly, poverty makes money, by selling… selling the 'poor thing' who we should all help… (Interview with Suelen, SingingOrg)

Suelen's anger referred to a common discourse in intellectual environments in Brazil: many portrayals of the favela romanticise their life and culture in an attempt to overturn their hegemonic representation as spaces of precarity and absence. The idea behind this is that Mucuripe would only be a bad place if we represented it like that, and we should thus build favelas as centres (of culture) to blur their condition as peripheries. Although this proposition has its importance and use in certain contexts, it can potentially downplay serious material conditions of living which are only felt by the ones who live in the space of a favela, as Suelen explained above. This representation can be thus alienating in the content of their everyday life, and lead to an abstract representation of the favela that impacts the CSOs in that territory.

The above event clearly upset Suelen, who was not only a resident but also an active militant for the reduction of poverty and improvement of social conditions of the favela. This also created for her a tension of having to collaborate with organisations that reinforce these views to some extent, while trying to change them. Her experience in viewing people suffering in those conditions was reason enough to accept any means for changing those conditions, even if to do so sometimes the organisations needed to compromise their values, a struggle Suelen was aware of. She later added another example of how other CSOs use the condition of poverty in favelas to attract donors.

> The [NGO] school where my children study makes various institutional videos, and something I do… I fight a lot, because I think certain things we need to change, to leave behind. […] in their institutional video, the children – who by the way were not from the community but actors – were asking as though they were begging 'I want knowledge!'. (Suelen, SingingOrg)

Suelen described the strategy used by the non-profit school that provides free education to children in the favela of using certain stereotypes to ask for money from donors. In that instance, they advertise the image of these children as beggars, in need

of external philanthropy to have education. This is problematic for a number of reasons, including their idea of education as a gift to those children and not a right that had been denied them. Suelen highlights in the statement above how this CSO reinforces a prejudicial representation of favelas. Reproducing the hegemonic discourse about favelas has probably helped that school to mobilize donors, since the reproduction of the donors' discourse makes the communication more appealing to them, but in this process organisations also internalise the same discourse. Therefore, in order to attract donations, CSOs are pushed towards the commodification of their activities, and as a consequence the principle of organisation in the favela could become the one of the market. The next cases illustrate this idea further.

Sometimes, the influence from market discourses is not as explicit, and even members of the organisation may remain oblivious to the sources of their actions. For example, in 2012 FavelaOrg started a new initiative completely dedicated to the community: *Brave Women Award* was a symbolic award dedicated to honour women from the favela. After a first round of interviews, a group of winners would be chosen, and a poster for each of them would be printed and presented during a formal meeting to acknowledge the honoured people, in accordance with the purpose of FavelaOrg to preserve the history of the favela. However, a controversy about the criteria for selecting the women for the award soon became apparent within the organisation.

The interview and selection of candidates for the award was under the responsibility of one of the directors, Tandara. Thaisa, another director, nominated herself as one of the candidates, thinking her story well-fitted the purpose of what the museum wanted to depict. Thaisa was not appointed as one of finalists, and asked Tandara the reason for that, although none was given. After much insistence, she received the official response, during a meeting, which she said was "because in my interview I did not talk about sad things nor cry at any moment", and then revealed her frustration: "so in order to be a brave woman you've got to have lived tragedies, an assassinated son, a drug dealer husband…? Thank God I had none of those so far!" (Interview with Thaisa, FavelaOrg).

In 2012, I attended the first ceremony of this award, which runs every year. In my 2014 fieldwork, I could see how important this award was for FavelaOrg to bring the organisation closer to the community, because many people in the community

nurtured a strong resistance to this CSO, mistakenly believing it had earned a lot of money with no return to the community. Even though that was not given as the reason for the creation of the award, the Brave Women Award initiative would increase the visibility of the museum to the local community, which could finally see themselves represented in the CSO's actions. In addition, the award was important to the favela because it established a more transparent alternative to the dominant discourse of what favela residents were like. However, when implementing the program, FavelaOrg applied an image of a "brave woman" that had been absorbed from the representations of favelas conceived in the formal city, even though the mission of the organisation was to recall the history of the favela from the perspective of the residents.

A struggling life made of tragedies, entangled with criminality, was the myth of the *favelado* held by outsiders (Valladares, 2005). Whereas FavelaOrg was supposed to claim that the favela had an image of its own, it was ironically reproducing the same image from the outside. Victor was another member of the organisation who challenged this construction with a personal view during a casual conversation: "Is the drug addict who succeeded in raising children a brave woman? Hell no, she got into drugs already. Brave is the single woman who raised her child, bringing him to the football and all that" (Field Notes, 02/05/2014). This was a reason of later debate within FavelaOrg as they realised with experience what they were fighting for. The organisation claimed to preserve the memory of the favela, and in an internal debate they agreed that this memory had many versions, and the version that depicted a brave woman as a victim was not one that made justice to the places of favela as they understood them. And I observed yet another event at FavelaOrg in which external discourses crafted the representations of their space, as explained next.

Most of FavelaOrg's realizations had been enabled by governmental funding granted on the basis of an innovative cultural proposition. This source of funding was limited and unstable, and for that reason one year before the start of my fieldwork, members of FavelaOrg had decided that the tourist visit to the walls they painted was their main service, and one that should eventually provide the financial sustainability of the organisation. But despite the good feedback from visitors, the number of visits was still extremely low – twice a month – for the intended financial outcomes. This triggered an internal process of revision and changes in the communication of the

service. Due to its strong institutional image, that is a wide recognition in different places, the organisation was very competent in establishing partnerships, and used them to help its institutional development. One of these partnerships was made with a researcher of tourism markets from a federal university. The researcher explained to them that the price charged for the visit was too high for a museum ticket, and she suggested to change the name of the service from "visit the museum" to "favela-tour", which was a type of service the "market" was more likely to pay a higher price for. The website was then updated according to this market-oriented discourse.

But a name is never only a name, and the term favela-tour had a strong meaning attached, linked to commodification of the favela. Visiting the history of the favela through art works was supposed to be a de-colonial encounter, when visitors could learn from the favela and in the favela, whereas a favela tour is a touristic attraction widely associated with the voyeurism of turning poverty into a commodity, for visitors who often look to confirm negative stereotypes produced in films about favelas (Freire-Medeiros, 2011), which they bring to the territory. The offer of a commoditised service would thus incorporate contractual expectations generated in the market place that had not been conceived when FavelaOrg was created. Framing the visit of the museum according to abstract requirements would aggressively change the symbols of their social space.

When discussing the association between space and ideology, and the mechanisms of operation of abstract space, Lefebvre (1991, p. 59) concluded that "in the spatial practice of neocapitalism, representations of space facilitate the manipulation of representational spaces […]". He referred here to the example of the Mediterranean being transformed into a "leisure-oriented space" for the then industrialized Europe, assuming a specific spatial role in the social division of labour. In practices such as the services provided by tour operators, the representations of the Mediterranean as a "non-work" space facilitated the manipulation of representational spaces, such as the references to the sun and the sea. Likewise, when attracting visitors in the context of a capitalist society, FavelaOrg had to adapt its offer to the discourse used in the spaces of capital accumulation, and by adopting the term "Favela Tour" the CSO was reproducing an abstract space and manipulating their representational spaces. However, there is a difference that is worth highlighting: the above example shows a much less centralised or planned arrangement than the one implied by Lefebvre, as

FavelaOrg seemed more to have been pushed into the adoption of these representations rather than to have actively tried to fulfil a role in the intended division of labour (Lefebvre, 1991).

The cases exemplified above – Suelen collaborating with organisational practices which she was critical of, the Brave Women Award reproducing a prejudicial view of favela residents, and a local museum adopting abstract market-oriented representations – are inherently contradictory. Not only because the very members of these organisations are the ones reproducing the abstract space which they rationally reject, but also because of the conflict between the spatial practices aimed at the development of the territory and the overt representation of a poor and disempowered favela. This contradiction is similar to what Lefebvre called a "major contradiction of modernity", when discussing the cases of Venice and Florence: the economic and literal consumption of an absolute and de-historicized space destroyed by the people who now consume them (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 122). In these cases the abstraction of space, consumed and reproduced based on their instrumental representations, subsumes the historical existence of localities.

If we know these actions are contradictory the question that remains is what leads these CSOs into this contradiction - what mediates the different approaches of CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela? First, it is important to establish that these organisations only partially fulfil the social space of abstraction, which places them in-between different structures. When they do adopt abstract representations from the outside they are being influenced by distant places that dominate the representations of favela. Santos (1999a) refers to this type of organisation of space ("territorial cutting") as "verticality". As described in section 4.3.1, verticality is formed by actions that displace the existing meanings in the territory to incorporate flows of production which originated away from the territory. Santos also associates verticality with the process of homogenisation, which is closely linked to Lefebvre's idea of abstract space.

> The advancing process of homogenisation happens through a process of advancing hierarchisation. Homogenisation requires a dependent integration, reliant on another point in space, either from inside or outside the same country. […] verticalities are vectors of a superior rationality and a pragmatic discourse

> produced by hegemonic sectors, which creates an obeying and disciplined everyday life. (Santos, 2006, p. 193)

In the construction of a homogeneous and abstract space, the integration with the *totality* of space imposes actions hierarchically, guided by logic deemed superior, such as the market advisor's suggestions to FavelaOrg. And if a single space is intended to dominate across various territories it should be expected that it comes from hegemonic sectors of society. In that sense the dominant discourse absorbed by FavelaOrg and the other CSOs mentioned above is the bearer of verticality.

However, as explained earlier, the mechanisms of reproduction of representations of abstract space influence different organisations differently according to the event. CSOs in the favela are to a great extent regulated and conditioned by the market, the state, and the drug barons, other than by the communitarian demands, and they negotiate this disputed influence accordingly. In order to examine what leads an organisation to operate vertically when they do so, the next section will explore other examples of verticality by expanding the discussion on the importance of the means of producing space in defining these actions.

7.1.2 The role of technical means of production: verticality of spatial production

In the struggle for self-maintenance, organisations attempt to reproduce their own socio-geographic spaces. In this section, I show that this attempt may be conditioned by distant places, with flows aimed at the outside (Santos, 2006, p. 192), and argue that the main variable to understand when this is the case is to observe the mediating role of *technique* (see sections 4.2.3 and 4.3.2). In the cases presented here, the struggle for reproduction leads the organisations to frequently question their own motivations and to try and reconcile the requirements posed by their sponsors with their own needs. I will present cases in which organisations blur their means and ends by adopting outsider techniques for the sake of their maintenance.

As described in the previous section, the external influence on FavelaOrg's activities was bigger as they established partnerships with outsider organisations, which were mediators of the production of outside representations. In another one of FavelaOrg's partnerships, for example, students from a business school were trying to improve the "efficiency" of the CSO. While I was working there, the members of FavelaOrg spent

days trying to fill in the Business Model Canvas'[40] poster, which had been provided by the consultants of this business school. This is a classic business tool intended to map organisational building blocks to support the definition of strategic plans. The poster had gaps in which to fill what were the key activities, value propositions, customer relationships, channels, etc. One day, while I was working there, they had a meeting to fill in the poster, a task they had been struggling with for a long time. I explained what each box meant and suggested that, in order to make sense of those terms, they should pretend their services (using the example of the favela tour) were business services offered for profit. They could then relate to the questions being asked and also discuss where it was not applicable.

The struggle of FavelaOrg's members in filling in that poster was because all those terms were alien to them, as favela residents working in a NPO. That framing did not make sense to their activities, because that kind of representation was created in a different context and its application was supposed to erase local places. In that instance, an efficient use of such a managerial tool could lead the organisation to attract visitors ("customer relationship") and provide ("perform key activities") these visitors ("customers") with a pleasant experience ("added value"), charging them a price ("revenue stream") that covered all the expenses ("cost structure") and allowed the organisation to profit. It assumed, thus, practices with a fixed form and void of ideological content, in which the relationships were based on instrumental exchanges and the effects should be accounted for in terms of costs and revenues with a positive output.

FavelaOrg's goal was to preserve the memory of the favela, and for that it needed to obtain money to fund their activities. As explained in the cases above, the organisation had been advised by business consultants about how to proceed to fund their activities. These partners conveyed the managerial knowledge which they

[40] The Business Model Canvas (see http://www.businessmodelgeneration.com/canvas/bmc) is a managerial tool designed to support the process of planning the strategy of a business organisation. It consists of a visual chart where selected building blocks of the business operation are represented: key activities, key partners, key resources, value propositions, customer relationships, channels, customer segments, cost structure and revenue stream. Each block contains guiding questions whose answer should provide an overall design of the business

believed to be effective to provide the organisation with increased revenue. However, the managerial tool used by the consultants (Business Canvas) was not created by them, and the term used by the market advisor ("favela-tour") was not theirs either. These representations grounded in abstract concepts, such as the "tour" or "market", empty organisations of all political value.

A similar attempt to impose managerial practices happened with SingingOrg. When a group of donors decided to start funding SingingOrg one year before my fieldwork, a new unit of the organisation was opened in a different favela, and the management of SingingOrg became centralised in this new unit. At Mucuripe, the founder of the organisation Sheilla lost a great extent of the control she had over her activities and the organisation. That troubled her, and she was now put under a lot of pressure to comply with the new activities and new management practices, as she described during an interview in 2013.

> [That] is something too new for me, and I took too much time to assimilate, uhhh… because SingingOrg was *mine* before. So the person who helped me a lot with that was Walter, posing me a question when I was in doubt. He asked if I wanted to be… if what… I had created if I wanted it to be a sardine or a shark's tail. Then, I think that, once in a while I remember that… you know I think that… if you grow up, it's not that I will lose the *identity* but the fact that I can grow, I can *expand*, being able to provide more *opportunities*, receiving more children is… as difficult as this change may be for me, becoming a shark's tail, I think that is what *needs to be done*. You get it? Rationally, it is what should be done, because I won't live forever. (Interview with Sheilla, SingingOrg)

Sheilla had the opportunity to see SingingOrg grow and have a bigger impact ("provide more opportunities"), but that could also mean a detachment from the initial intentions for the organisation ("lose the identity"). Being no longer a "sardine" to become a "shark's tail" meant that she would also be the part of a whole she could no longer foresee or control. What troubled her was whether she should support SingingOrg's expansion or not. In order to take this decision she would need to decide where the boundaries of the organisation would lie. In a NPO, finding the means for developing activities is often a challenge, and the lack of resources makes everything more pressing, making it look like there is no real choice ("what needs to be done").

Sheilla's concerns were not baseless. After the CSO had already operated for one year with this new configuration, she and the other two local residents who worked at

Mucuripe could not absorb the new administrative practices that had been implemented. This generated a high pressure from the donors, who threatened to stop the money coming if immediate action was not taken, and Sheilla for a moment thought she would not cope with the pressure anymore. The similarity of this case to a corporation CEO being pressured by shareholders' governance was remarkable, as the capitalist governance was reproduced, the control of the organisation was not in the hands of its main operator anymore. In addition, part of SingingOrg's planning had been done from the outside, by volunteers or staff hired by the new donors. This generated many quarrels between people from Buruti (Mucuripe) and staff at the new office over the new "instruments of control" (Email from Willian, see below), which acquired a central role, as explained in this e-mail from the main donor to Sheilla and her managing partner at the organisation, Suelen:

> I believe it has always been clear the need of SingingOrg to have its instruments of control implemented. In our meeting on Saturday, it became clear that we are still very weak in this area in Buruti's unit, and we cannot live without prioritizing these actions any longer. Thus, I will not accept the absence of such instruments anymore. More specifically, I see we are not producing, as insistently agreed, the diaries of our projects, its reports of assessment and accordingly our communications, letters, etc. (Email from Willian, 2014)

SingingOrg's dependence on the monthly income from the donors put Sheilla and Suelen in a vulnerable position in this struggle. Even though they had started SingingOrg themselves and worked with children from the community, they now had to comply with a set of actions planned by people from outside the territory. Once the tension was established and the disputes between the two units of SingingOrg started compromising the normal performance of its practices, attempts to split the organisation off started being examined. Sheilla reported how this eventually led to more open threats: "[…] did I tell you that? Walter told me that the only reason I was not thrown out yet was because of the musical group. If it was not for that I would be gone by now" (Interview with Sheilla, SingingOrg). Sheilla was about to be expelled from the very organisation she had founded.

At first, she resisted performing the new administrative practices saying that she had not started the CSO for that. Then, she realised that before these sponsors joined the organisation her job was no easier, since the lack of resources were also hindering. Sheilla then relinquished her own planning and changed the spatial practices of the

organisations, even though during my period of fieldwork the external donors were still not satisfied with the current state of affairs, nor was Sheilla:

> I think this is [now] a very different structure from what I had imagined. […] I think in my opinion we are worse off than in the way I would do it before. I believe I would obtain a better performance from the 'messy organisation' I had [before]: Flute? Sure, let's play flute. Book? Ok, let's read a book! So, I'm not sure. (Interview with Sheilla, SingingOrg)

Sheilla appeared bothered, among other things, with the new compulsory schedule of activities she had to follow with the children. The external control of timing and methodology applied to SingingOrg meant a growing extent of abstraction and domination of the organisational space by people from the outside. Nevertheless, she agreed to carry on with that partnership, making it unclear whether maintaining the organisational space was the means for fulfilling the needs of the territory or the ends in itself. This kind of domination was not only a burden for SingingOrg, and other CSOs that had external control needed to operate in flows towards the outside.

I present next an example of FootballOrg that involved CSROrg, an NGO funded by a CSR program of a big corporation. Although it was funded by a corporation, CSROrg received from the state government rights to use the school building, followed an educational program proposed by the international NGO Unesco (which controls the project in partnership with the corporation), and was really managed by a third party local NGO – ThirdSectorOrg – which controlled other projects as well. Amidst such confusing governance, observing the events, which CSROrg was involved with, helped in revealing what the organisation was enacting in space.

FootballOrg had for many years organised competitions at the school building's football pitch, only "for the sake of playing football" (Interview with Victor, FootballOrg). Official matches would usually happen at Mucuripe's gymnasium, whose facilities were maintained by CSROrg. Eventually, an external firm approached them and offered to fund the competitions partially in exchange for advertisement during the matches. The CSO planned to use this money to buy an electronic scoreboard and other minor equipment, but CSROrg intervened. The use of the football pitch fell under CSROrg's responsibility and if any money was to be given they wanted to be compensated as well – even though that was a public space granted by the state to the corporation's social project.

> It was blocked by CSROrg. When they got here they had a meeting … the guys of the NGO [CSROrg] looked for the representative of the firm, they found out who he was and asked for a meeting. This meeting was cancelled; it was cancelled because CSROrg demanded a veeeery high compensation to allow any sponsoring in here. I said, shit man, they were going to give us the scoreboard, you know? They were going to give us the scoreboard, they would also register FootballOrg, they would do all that, you know? […] So that ended up inhibiting us, it ended as not a good thing. (Interview with Fred, FootballOrg)

CSROrg and the external firm failed to come to an agreement, and the offer of support was withdrawn and the competitions were carried on without the means to buy the electronic scoreboard. Of course, it may have been that CSROrg intended to collect its share of the deal to use the money for the sole benefit of the community through its services. But in this process, they went about exercising their legal rights to control that portion of territory, driven by the hierarchical guidelines of the outside governing corporation.

The struggles over the use of the gymnasium continued for some time. In 2012, CSROrg argued that there were safety hazards with the gymnasium and closed it down completely, preventing the community from using it. Thus, all football matches were suspended for over a year. The decision of CSROrg to close the football pitch was again based on the rational calculation of the benefits perceived to the organisation alone, disregarding the use of the land from the perspective of the community in that territory.

In order to understand what would have guided CSROrg in these decisions, it is useful to examine the origins of each organisation, and how each of them operated in order to examine what was behind their actions (Santos, 2006). The centre of the actions of each organisation, which is the place influencing the meanings and representations that shape each action, were considerably apart. Whereas FootballOrg were only interested in organising their matches and the intended partnership would serve the purpose of improving its games, CSROrg were interested in constructing a certain public image for the funding organisations. It was ultimately a marketing project benefitting from the image of philanthropy in favelas. In the partnership between FootballOrg and the firm, CSROrg had nothing to gain, and hence decided not to compromise the resources under their control. Thus the normative logic of the market was absorbed in processes of place-making which were centred in the space of

abstraction: “radiating out from centres, each space, each spatial interval, is a vector of constraints and a bearer of norms and values” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 356).

As previously discussed in section 4.3, the arrangement whereby distant places determine the nature of a local action is classified by Santos (2006) as *verticality*, where events/happenings are *integral to* places strange to the territory. Santos (2006, p. 109) identifies an integral happening in the compulsory execution of shared tasks, even if the ends are not shared. Thus an integral happening engenders the reproduction of integral places regardless of their territorial links, in other words regardless of their previous bonding of territoriality. The compulsory execution of shared tasks was strongly present in the cases previously presented of FavelaOrg and SingingOrg, wherein the source of the new actions in these organisations went back towards an abstract space (the space of capital accumulation) that had been crafted for them. These events in which this new knowledge was transmitted to them were integral to this abstract space. In effect, FavelaOrg and SingingOrg were led to the adoption of managerial techniques as a condition to fund the existence of their organisation, although FavelaOrg was persuaded to adopt them and SingingOrg was forced to it. In both cases, the “tools” and “rationality” of abstract spaces operated a violent process of “devastation” and “destruction” of the former existence – SingingOrg’s practices and FavelaOrg’s planning – for the benefit of the instrumental abstraction of space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 289).

FavelaOrg had made several rounds of planning based on its history before, but the current planning was about denying previous representations of the organisation and framing its practices in an order that had been previously conceived for them. A “strategic plan” was a tool estranged from FavelaOrg’s needs and its former planning, a tool that disregarded the organisation’s political content. SingingOrg operated most of the time responding to the needs of the territory and focused on internal demands. But in the events when new practices were established to fulfil an external plan, and instruments of control were implemented, the space being produced was integral to places away from their local territoriality. As the resistance from Suelen and Sheilla demonstrates, the deployment of new procedures was rather the violent imposition of place-meanings that until then was unfamiliar for them.

Organisations of verticality are defined by Santos (1999a) as hierarchical and generative of territorial fragmentation. In the cases presented above involving

FavelaOrg, SingingOrg and CSROrg, and in the previous section, there is a clear pattern of hierarchical relation, whereby actors occupying a higher spatial scale impose the use of resources in a certain way. This verticality generates new places in the territory that were previously unfamiliar to its residents: SingingOrg's instruments of control, FavelaOrg's abstract plan, and CSROrg's restraint of the use of the football pitch. This fragmentation of the territory reveals points considerably apart from each other, connected by all kind of social forms and processes, and where the normative control of the production promotes an external planning process that facilitates the alienation of spaces and of people who inhabit them (Santos, 2006).

These three cases above focus on different aspects of the transformed space. In SingingOrg's case, the relations established between the CSO's new board of directors and the three favela residents that worked at the organisation every day resembled relations between shareholders and managers of a business. In FavelaOrg, the abstract representation of the organisation was made with the support of a managerial tool (Business Canvas). In the case of CSROrg, the relationship with the community revealed the domination of the local space driven by the instrumentality of a corporation. What results from these flows of verticality is, thus, a territory permeated with alien spaces, with artefacts and relations that are not typical to the territory. These transformations are driven by the technical approach of these actions. These examples reinforce the importance of relations of production in general to the characterisation of social space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 129), and show the production of abstract space as the realization of a new form of pre-existing space – "dominant space is invariably the realization of a master's project" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 165). In all cases, managerial techniques arguably stand out as meaningful instruments of domination, and confirm the important role of technique as mediator between individuals and their surrounding space in the analysis of the transformations of space, and particularly in driving the crafting of verticality (Santos, 2006).

But Santos highlights how space is simultaneously and inseparably composed by verticality and also horizontality (Santos, 2006, p. 192). The next section examines the possibilities of actions of CSOs in the favela, and shows that these organisations are also the mediators and producers of the transformation of space, not simply the subjects of how space is socially produced.

7.2 Appropriating the means of production: horizontality of space

This section will examine cases of territorial *horizontality* in which CSOs produce contiguous relations in space through actions that are centred in the territory (Santos, 1999a). I will first demonstrate why CSOs can be seen as important mediators of the production of the historical space, presenting cases in which the organisational actions are driven by local needs. Then, other cases of horizontality will be examined to show their relation to the appropriation of the means to produce space, that is the role of technique. Santos highlights the importance of technique as the mediator between individuals and the transformation of space, and I will show that most CSOs in favelas, to some extent, use culture and sport as the available means of appropriating space, and that feature is linked to the characteristics of the territory.

7.2.1 Transforming the territory from within

Whereas, on the one hand, organisations at Mucuripe are largely affected by the intervention of the state, the drug dealers' dispute for territories, and the enlargement of the access to market products and services, on the other hand the CSOs' are also producers of the socio-geographic space of the favela in their own ways. This section will discuss the role and importance of organisations in mediating the transformation of the territory, in places contiguous to the flows of production of space. This is discussed drawing on Lefebvre's argument that space is recognised as the medium and the outcome of social relationships.

The developing presence of the state at Mucuripe was more evidently attested through the military forces that were now present in the territory. Although this leaves a major gap of real inclusion for the residents of favelas, the coercion exerted by the state brought also benefits to the everyday lives of residents and organisations. Suelen, who is a member of various organisations at Mucuripe, revealed to me how her activism had changed, even in a weak and still emerging experience of democracy such as that of favelas, in which after pacification the state took only partial control of the regulation of space:

> I see this sharp difference to the old days … that is, with the state you can argue, with the parallel power [drug dealers] you cannot. This is whopping, the parallel power would kill, steal, rape ... and you've got nothing to say, you won't argue anything … but with the state yes you can argue. (Interview with Suelen, SinginOrg)

Suelen compared the illegal and undisputable violence practiced by drug dealers with the institutional frameworks underpinning the intervention of the state, which enabled them to denounce and argue against what they considered unfair. And argue they did. Regardless of the unclear and heterogeneous presence of the state in the favelas, their official occupation changed how organisations operated in the favela, and Suelen was increasingly realising that. As the drug dealers were no longer a totalitarian organisation in the regulation of the space of the favelas, the gaps were to a certain extent disputed by the influence of CSOs in the territory. The intensification of overlapping territorialities, as described in the previous chapter, was arguably leveraging an opportunity for the CSOs to step in as one of the regulators of the space of the favela.

There are many ways an organisation can shape the territory. FavelaOrg, for example, make direct interventions in the space, including paintings on the walls with depictions of local history, which changes the landscape and informs local residents about the (often unknown) history of the territory. FavelaOrg proposes that their museum is not formed only from the material artefacts but from the whole territory of the favela, and during the tour they emphasize they are more than an open-air museum, but a live museum. In that instance, the other objects of that landscape, and even people, become artefacts of that visiting experience. But whereas it is easy to perceive the impact of many of these straightforward interventions, less obvious mechanisms of space production are revealed in the everyday spatial practices of FavelaOrg, such as in the example below.

FavelaOrg controls a relatively spacious terrace for events, which is rarely used. They decided, thus, to sublet the terrace for family parties and social events, which would contribute a required service to the community and generate a new revenue stream for the organisation. One of the days I was there, I saw a woman coming to see the terrace and talking to Victor (the administrator) afterwards. She was complaining about the bureaucratic process for letting the space (she needed to bring documents, fill in a form and talk to one of the directors for approval) and about the terms and conditions imposed for using the terrace. With a pedagogical tone, Victor explained: “Do you live here? I’m from the favela as well. We know how the parties are in here, don’t we? So, you need to talk to someone who will explain all the rules to you”. When he returned, Victor was telling me that he was of the opinion that too much

philanthropy for too long had made residents used to receiving things with no effort and in the way they wanted.

It is true that parties in favelas – even family parties – usually go on noisily over the whole night, and also that their residents have for a long time been the target of many philanthropic programs, from various types of organisations. But it is hard to discuss the controversial questions of whether favelas are really the receivers of "too much philanthropy" or not, or whether their residents are spoiled or victims. Whichever the case, what was significant in this example were the differences of understanding between Victor and the applicant about the rules and regulations for the use of a public space, and consequently the power of the organisation to re-orient the practices and habits of residents. By controlling a scarce resource in the territory (a party hall), FavelaOrg conditioned the access to this resource to adjusting and complying with the regulations on noise limits, safety measures, etc., and thus structured the territory of the favela. FavelaOrg was coordinating systems of actions (necessary for letting the space) and systems of objects (such as the hall and their workspace) to reinforce a certain ordering of space that followed interests crafted within the territory.

The case above illustrates the capacity of the CSO to construct the territory, which is dialectically related to the influence of the territory in the organisation. FavelaOrg was influenced by the territory as much as it was influencing it in various ways. Victor argued that FavelaOrg and its activities could not be separated from the favela, and for him the development of one was the development of the other:

> [FavelaOrg] wants to foster in effect the community, but with the clear objective of preserving its memory, you see? That embraces a lot: this is a living museum, then everything is memory. Then, if you do an encompassing initiative to develop something else, you are interested in capturing memory, which is an ongoing memory… thus the more events happen in the favela, the higher is the mobilisation, and the more it [FavelaOrg] is able to earn funds to redistribute for memory recording, the bigger is the [museum] collection. (Interview with Victor, FavelaOrg)

The organisation – its practices, artefacts and representations – cannot be disassociated from the territory, because the action for one is included in the other. Many of the FavelaOrg's practices and representations only make sense insofar as they are based inside the favela, since they are embedded in the formation of its very space, by preserving its memory and disseminating it among the favela residents. In the same way, the organisation was shaping the territory not only with artistic

interventions but also with the regulation of the space. That brings the point that if organisations are mediators of the processes of production because they are intertwined in the social relations of space, drawing the boundaries of an organisation, in other words which local aspect is or is not constituent of it, becomes ultimately a political act (Dale & Burrell, 2008, p. 171). As described in the example of FavelaOrg, whereas the organisation was structured by the spatial conditions of the favela as a museum that proposed to tell that history, the museum became also part of the same history, shaping its future.

Another example of this embeddedness of CSOs within the territory is how FootballOrg emerged from the local sociability of the favela, a well-organised and voluntary local football league. Just walking around Mucuripe was enough to feel how much football was important to the lives of its residents. Conversations about football were frequent, the same kind of conversation that I had heard in a typical day at work many times in my life referring to the Brazilian Premier League, but in these cases they referred to their local league championships within the favela. This passion for football had resulted in the creation of FootballOrg, when a few friends realised they needed the organisation to reinforce the regulation of tournaments and empower referees during games.

In the past, players who were members of DrugDealingOrg, had threatened the referee and other players because of disagreements during the games. Some of them had carried guns during the matches so as to intimidate others. So the creation of FootballOrg was necessary to enact boundaries, and change the players' behaviour regarding what was and was not allowed in that space. To avoid any punishments for the whole team, after a while drug dealers would no longer bring weapons to the football pitch, would never challenge a referee decision, nor threaten other players. When they did, the offence would have been promptly punished by FootballOrg, after each participant team's representative had secretly voted on the matter.

The temporality of FootballOrg's actions went beyond the moment of football matches and carried also an organisational principle (Santos, 2006, p. 96), as becomes clear in the episodes of struggle for the use of the football pitch. As narrated previously, there have been struggles over the control of the football pitch with CSROrg. The most significant of them happened in 2012, when CSROrg argued that there were safety hazards with the gymnasium and closed it down, preventing the

community from using it. In 2013 Victor (FootballOrg) sent an email to the president of CSROrg, copying various representatives of the funding corporation and the partner institution, in which after a long description of the issue they were facing he demanded a meeting, and concluded:

> We would like to remind you that other than members of FootballOrg we are fathers, mothers, uncles, brothers and activists in the community. In every meeting of the territory we are present to debate the agenda of the community development. In these meetings, ever since the roof of the football pitch was removed, we noticed a general discomfort in the community, not only because of the missing roof but also because of what the interrupted competitions represented. (Email from Victor, 2013)

FootballOrg started sending e-mails to the board, to representatives of the funding organisation and to the managing organisation, in which they described how a football pitch that belonged to the community had been hijacked. They also brought a large group to protest inside CSROrg's office. CSROrg finally capitulated and decided to proceed with the works, and a project was proposed for the renovation of the gymnasium. During the course of my fieldwork the tournaments were re-started.

The examples above are changes engendered in the everyday life of the favela. Observing how FavelaOrg and FootballOrg utilize their resources to enact and regulate space reveal instances of spatial production, in the same way as all social practices are practices of production (Fairclough, 2009, p. 122). The two CSOs would use different mediators: whereas FavelaOrg would control the use of facilities, a rare resource in the dense space of favelas, FootballOrg regulated participation in a social activity. In both cases, the appropriation of space occurs through the labour of the organisations, and can transform local spaces, for example by changing habits, uniting different groups in the same organised space, building projects or attracting outsider investments. Harnessing systems of objects and systems of actions in the favela make these organisations important agents in the regulation of what is allowed and what is forbidden, and as illustrated in the examples above the motivation for these organisational actions is found within the territory.

Therefore, the examples of FootballOrg and FavelaOrg above reinforce the importance of CSOs for the production of space, but they also show that these organisations do not only reproduce external representations and practices, they can be the centre of their own actions, transforming the territory from within. Santos (1999a) calls *horizontality* similar types of organisation of space, or "territorial

cutting". As previously discussed in section 4.3, horizontality is formed by contiguous places and flows of production that are directed towards the territory, such as the appropriation of a football pitch in the territory to fulfil the needs of residents of having a site for leisure. Horizontality is theoretically linked to the preservation of the organic social fabric of the territory, in contrast to its fragmentation discussed in the previous section.

It is important to highlight that the context of analysis for the outcomes of the actions of these organisations is the territory, rather than the individuals involved in each action. For this reason, the enactment of norms and imposition of behaviours in the above cases of FavelaOrg's subletting its terrace or FootballOrg's rules for the competition are not classified as verticalities in the same way as in the cases described in the previous section on FavelaOrg's adoption of the Business Canvas Model or CSROrg's rules for the use of the football pitch. That is because in the cases described in this topic the engendered order is based on the organisation of local needs and practices, whereas the previous cases showed attempts to impose a pre-determined organisation regardless of the local relationships, and often denying them.

The socio-spatial embeddedness of organisations described in this thesis resembles what is described by Yeung (1998), who sees organisations as social agencies that operate according to particular modes of rationality. Yeung focused on business organisations when explicating that "modes of rationality" govern the responses of firms to different historically specific contexts, and reorganise thus the space of society, constituting the same structures that constitute them. However, the embeddedness of CSOs follows a different dynamic. The examples of organisational agency discussed above do not mean that each organisation is producing space following the same logic (mode of rationality) every time, in other words they are not necessarily constructing the same space or are integral to the same place. In effect, even when analysing the same organisation such as FavelaOrg, the previous section showed that the intentions of its actions were considerably different from what was has been described in this section.

Thus, the overlapping territorialities in Mucuripe are manifested not only in the presence of different organisations that are integral to contradictory places, but the same CSO might be integral to contradictory places according to the event. As I have argued earlier in this chapter, one of the main reasons for the change of intentionality

in the organisational actions according to the event is the available means to produce space. As discussed for the cases of verticality, I will examine next the cases when horizontality is adopted in Mucuripe by discussing the mediating role of technique, showing that the horizontality of production is linked to appropriation of the cultural means to produce the territory.

7.2.2 The role of technical means of production: horizontality of spatial production

This section will discuss cases in which CSOs respond to the conditions of available means to produce space, and appropriate techniques existent in the territory. As described previously, Santos (2006) emphasizes the importance of technique as the mediator for the appropriation of the territory, and describes the organisation of space when technique is not alienated as the horizontality of space. The section will first discuss the meaning of appropriation by highlighting the actions of RecyclingOrg as significant examples of actions in space aimed to serve the needs of the group that perform them in space. Then it will discuss the importance of technique in this and other cases in mediating the appropriation of the territory, and highlight cultural initiatives as key means for the transformation of space in favelas, arguably because they depend on little less than one's body to develop new techniques. Finally, it shows how CSOs play a key role in providing the necessary conditions for the appropriation of space through horizontality.

Arouca (RecyclingOrg) collects rubbish from the favela, separates it, and sells it to recycling plants. And in order to boost his waste collection, he has also organised campaigns in the favela about how to collect and separate recyclable waste, which he would bulk buy from the residents. RecyclingOrg's activities sometimes involved the generation of profit and sometimes the free spirit of philanthropy. During his interview, Arouca tried to reconcile the fact that his organisation was for him a source of personal income with the model of what he called a "third sector" organisation. He would claim that he was in between the dichotomy usually used to classify non-state organisations (second sector vs. third sector): "Actually, the sector 'two and a half' is more social than private; it is not private and is not social but is more social then private". (Interview with Arouca, RecyclingOrg). I will shift Arouca's attempt to place himself in a categorised social sphere based on moral grounds by pointing out

how this question becomes less important when the focus of analysis is the relation with the territory, and to what extent the organisation is embedded in it.

Favela residents suffered considerably with the precariousness of waste collection and RecyclingOrg started the first systematic work to tackle that. The first project it promoted was a massive campaign of communication to raise awareness of the need to separate and dispose of waste in a proper way.

> We created also an institutional mascot to mobilise people, this is a tool for us to get to children […] we made jingles too, which we broadcasted on the community radio […] I wondered if I would still have all that energy for ten more years or so, but in less than one year we actually managed to change a lot of things, less than one year, we worked a lot, you know. (Interview with Arouca, RecyclingOrg)

Following this event, the organisation set a point for collection of recyclable waste and started a programme to buy the residents' recyclable material, transforming the territory with the mediation of their technology. The organisation was, in that way, transforming the environment through its work. It is particularly important here that the organisation engaged with the territory, enabling its local development in many aspects, such as making educational campaigns, reducing waste and providing additional income. Residents that were benefiting from the actions of RecyclingOrg had their needs satisfied, and hence were appropriating the space through the organisation.

In a similar fashion, many individuals find the possibility to engender transformations of space with the mediation of CSOs that were created with that specific purpose. In other words, CSOs would provide the means to appropriate space. This explains to a great extent the high number of CSOs at Mucuripe. It is difficult to know the exact figures, but this is probably the favela with the highest number of organisations in the city. Some more politically engaged participants, such as Tandara (FavelaOrg), argued that the number of organisations reflected the high demand for public services in the favela, and thus the need to fulfil it:

> NGOs started appearing… from this gap, right? I believe, a gap emerged, the necessity, demands not met… and people decided to create their non-profit organisations because… someone has got to do it, right? And you know 'where your own shoe pinches', right? Be it at the road, the hill, the outskirts, on the periphery… WE who are IN that territory, in that place, we know what the needs are. So people need to occupy this space. (Interview with Tandara, FavelaOrg)

Tandara claims that CSOs emerge in the favela to respond to local needs. What Tandara does not explain, though, is why other favelas which are just as precarious are not as well served in number of CSOs as Mucuripe, or what justifies the high concentration of organisations in cultural initiatives. Expanding Tandara's explanation, I will purport here that there are elements specific to the territory that lead to a certain profile of organisation. For example, for decades there was no organised action from the civil society to tackle the issue of waste collection, while it was according to local surveys by far the main problem suffered by residents, yet in contrast at least four CSOs work with martial arts in the territory. I argue that the high number of organisations in this favela, and their concentration in cultural or educational activities, stems from the technical content of the territory in light of the relationship between the favela and the formal city. In favelas, CSOs are the platform for accessing means for the production of space that would not be achieved otherwise, as explained next.

Mucuripe, as most favelas, is culturally vibrant. Many typical traits of the Brazilian culture – such as samba and funk music – emerged from favelas and spread over the city, being absorbed by the rest of the population often after a process of commodification of this culture. Besides sport activities, Mucuripe particularly thrives in cultural creations, and many artists who became famous were born there. The condition of favelas as cultural producers for the city is particularly important inasmuch as it does momentarily reverse the traditional relation between centre and periphery established by their historical construction. Despite the lack of recognition by important agents of the city, which maintains the stereotypes of favelas as deprived of cultural potency (J. L. Barbosa & Dias, 2013), it is not difficult to observe the role that cultural expressions have for the appropriation of the space, "culture gives us the sense to be part of something that is part of ourselves: the territory" (J. L. Barbosa & Dias, 2013, p. 15, my translation). That trait is very strong in Mucuripe, as can be seen in the following statement, from one of the many interviews in which the high number of cultural and sport initiatives were emphasised:

> I see that in the potential that the community has in generating new artists, sport teachers … in the cultural area. We've got drums, the teacher is from the community; *capoeira*, the teacher is from the community; rapper, dancer, they come from the community. Erm …. The flautists, the saxophonist, the boxing coacher, the … the ballet teachers, hall dance … if you make a survey you will see everything around here is about music, we've got pianist … if you come, or someone from the outside comes,

> and practically … plants a seed, it sprouts there … and whoever was in that process carries on with it. (Interview with Kaka, EntertainingOrg)

Cultural organising practices are often related to the recognition of otherness and reinforcement of local identity, which are indicators of the process of place making. As explained by Kaka, in Mucuripe there is a relative abundance of such organising practices. Excluding churches, according to my own assessment, out of 41 CSOs in the favela nearly 40% of them, such as DancingOrg, CircusOrg, JazzOrg, SambaOrg, BoxingOrg, FootballOrg, and JiuJitsuOrg, were either cultural or sports initiatives. And I argue that there is an important connection between these two categories of culture and sport, which relates to what I heard from Andreia (HumanRightsState), who works with young people in Mucuripe. Andreia says the body is very important for girls, as they use their sensuality in dances and performances as a common strategy for empowerment in a male-dominant space; the body was an instrument that "nobody could take from them, and which allowed them to express themselves, imprinting their own mark" (Field Notes, 25/04/2014).

The body is for many people in the favela the only resource, thanks to the present conditions for production inherited from past historical arrangements, or what I explored previously as *spatial roughness* (Santos, 1978, see sections 4.2.3 and 6.1). Whenever money, tools or technology are lacking in a territory mainly inhabited by poor people, relying on their bodies allows for an autonomous way of producing their own space. This reasoning can be applied to cultural performances (dancing, singing, etc.) and sports activities (football, Jiu Jitsu, etc.), where the most important resource is one's own body. Thus, the number of cultural initiatives in favelas is arguably in line with the restricted access to other means of producing space, and these cultural initiatives are largely organised by CSOs. By organising these manifestations, CSOs introduce favela residents to a new set of productive relations so they can participate in the socio-geographic production of their own space. These organisations consolidate individual practices in a connected system of actions, and in order to do that they also provide access to systems of objects, which would be difficult to access individually if not through these organisations.

Santos (2006) emphasizes the importance of technique as the means to appropriate the territory. The mediation of techniques applied to the appropriation of the territory corresponds to a counter-hegemonic process of resistance to the alienation of space

promoted by the technical phenomena of the current era, which, according to Santos (2006) estranges techniques from individuals. Santos explains that we no longer hold the capacity to perform or even understand most of the technical actions performed around us to transform the environment and serve our needs, such as how to produce almost the totality of the objects we depend on to live. The contemporary systems of actions propagate the deliberate creation of objects serving instrumental aims, adjusted to the optimization of exchange; this extreme specialisation of objects engenders a subsystem of techniques that invades and imposes itself on other spatial circuits.

The separation of individuals from the content of technical phenomena that transform their environment in ways we cannot fully understand makes objects impenetrable to us. Santos referred to this as the "banality and mystery of current technique" (2006, p. 141), which emerged from a scientific intentionality that alienates objects from us. However, the level of separation and alienation is not the same across different territories. In more urban and modern social arrangements people are usually more dependent on the formal circuits of production and market exchange. In contrast, informal settlements and communities are more used to transform their dependence on money and formal resources in ingenious solutions for the creation of new objects. Tandara illustrated that when talking about the difficult process to deploy one of their most innovative initiatives: the regular screening of films on a big water tank.

> Because for five years we developed these activities without any means, with heart and soul, and from the desire to do something. But in that way we would carry this chair [uphill] and the spine would be burning three days later. But we did it! You know? It's like when we had no datashow, no money … we appropriated this water tank, and 'let's make a cinema out of that'. And we did it! Nowadays everybody wants to have their films screened here, but it was pure creativity. It's what I usually say: we … the favela resident, the community resident, is always overcoming difficulties or suffering using creativity, isn't it? Because that makes us to stop and think, to be able to create. Have you got no money, boy? You have to manage on your own.

Because favelas are marginalised in the process of hierarchization of interests, and their territories disempowered in the history of capital accumulation, they also become excluded from the technical means to produce space. On the other hand, being excluded from the technical systems to a certain extent also excludes favela from the global techno-scientific-informational *milieu* (see section 4.2.1) that suppresses local knowledge. In the precarity of the favela lies also the opportunity to

CSOs to challenge the coded actions that undermine local knowledge. Whereas in the formal city the technique is alienated from the everyday knowledge that was once necessary for our subsistence, favelas are less permeated with the global place where sophisticated techniques dominate, and become a fruitful space for ingenious solutions. Santos discussed how differently positioned the territories would be in this normative and systemic organisation of space.

> At the same time, relevant portions of geographic space, situated particularly in the cities (especially the big centres of underdeveloped countries), escape the rigour of rigid norms. Old objects, and 'less informed' and 'less rational' actions construct in parallel a social fabric in which life, inspired by more direct, more frequent, and less pragmatic personal relations, can be lived emotionally, and in which the exchange of individuals creates culture and economic resources. (Santos, 2006, pp. 154–155 my translation).

Although not impermeable to the practices of the market and the state (as discussed in the previous topics) the favela is largely a space of exception, "inspired by more direct, more frequent, and less pragmatic personal relations", as cited above. Artistic practices find thus in the favela a fertile space for experimentation of new possibilities. And organisations, as strong mediators of the production, aggregate information and concentrate the conditions for such practices to take place. This is not only the case of providing important means of production (such as physical space), but also establishing (spatial) relations and redirecting information according to the territorial priorities. In doing so, they connect contiguous places in the territory, establishing the organisation of horizontality, as illustrated next.

Another instance of local practices of cultural expression being leveraged by the infrastructure of CSOs is the project developed by FavelaOrg in partnership with a Canadian university. The university funded the commission of five eco-art panels (Green Walls) made with local plants by community artists to be put on the walls of houses in the favela, with the agreement of the residents. The project involved many people, including the artists, a mediator for the artists, contractors, a representative of the university, and FavelaOrg members. It was a relatively complex enterprise because it involved *inter alia* researching about the local plants with a group of local elderly people, developing an innovative panel, and planning the best places for the exhibition. This process led to a lot of learning for all those involved and to the establishment of new connections and relationships.

After the joint project had finished, FavelaOrg was still making the plaques to put under the artworks, and planning ahead for the best ways to leverage a new kind of art intervention in the favela, when two of these panels were removed by the house owners where they were exhibited. This was a source of much consternation and an attempt was made to rebuild the outcomes of the project, which they eventually did. Although it was understandable why FavelaOrg focused its concerns on the final output of the project, which were important interventions in the territory, it is worth noting the importance that the process had had, regardless of its final artworks. Even if the final panels had all been removed, the territory would have already been transformed, with the social relations established between the individuals and organisations involved, the knowledge acquired during the process, and the funds that had been given, among other aspects. More than the ornamentation of the landscape provided by cultural artefacts, the territoriality of that project was engendered during, and not after, the creation of the Green Walls. Its importance is largely linked to the appropriation of technique, which provides the capability to reproduce in the future the actions that created those artefacts.

In FavelaOrg's project, the opportunity of developing and consolidating local techniques that those artists had created – such as botany, painting and carving – opened more opportunities for residents to appropriate the territory. FavelaOrg's Green Walls was oriented to serve the needs of the territory, and promoted the appropriation of techniques by residents according to their pre-existing practices. Thus, this organisational event was integral to the territory of the favela, with forces of production aimed at the inside and connected by contiguous spaces, which characterises flows of "horizontality" (Santos, 2006, p. 193). The role played by FavelaOrg with this and other projects (such as the favela tour), as well as by other CSOs (such as CircusOrg, SingingOrg or RecyclingArtOrg), is crucial to organising the cultural manifestations that transform the territory appropriating space.

As argued by Santos, the appropriation of space requires the appropriation of the technique because the technical phenomena mediate the transformation of the territory. In that sense, the dozens of cultural organisations that leverage the development of the territory play a key role in establishing flows of transformation where the scale of action is not disassociated from the scale of the actor, where places are made with the purpose of fulfilling the needs of the territory, in flows of

horizontality. The case of FavelaOrg illustrates how organisations empower and support the appropriation of space by means of the appropriation of technique, and therefore, the environment (Santos, 2006, p. 24).

The examples discussed in this section, in addition to the cases described previously of CSOs harnessing systems of objects and systems of actions in the favela, describe the organisational agency of CSOs reproducing local places, and thus organising the horizontality of space. This section also discussed events involving the same organisations that had been presented previously crafting very different places according to the context, and I argued that a crucial aspect for the CSO engaging with one or other territoriality was the role of the technique in the analysed event. In the cases above, the available techniques of cultural expressions promoted the appropriation of the technique and reinforcement of horizontality.

7.3 Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter discussed the space of CSOs in favelas, in particular the interfaces and interactions that shape and delimit these spaces. The (re)production of the organising space was discussed using events in which CSOs were somehow involved. It helped thus to answer what are the relations between the actions of CSOs and their spatiality in the context of favelas, which had been partially done in the previous chapter, expanding also the conceptual discussions made especially in section 4.3.3 about the importance of events (or happenings) for the analysis of the organisation of space. The chapter showed that the same organisations might have contradictory actions depending on the event, according to the place motivating the action. The actions of individuals and organisations in each event analysed were not necessarily integral to the same network, place or scale, even though they were all selected on the basis of their materiality in the same territory of Favela Mucuripe.

Organisations in favelas do not produce a completely different (alternative) space from what surrounds them, as much as they try to conciliate different dominant spaces - such as market vs. community or state vs. criminality - being not fully part of any of them. In that sense, they assume an interstitial (and contradictory) ontological condition, responding to the context of a contested space in favelas. Whereas CSOs can also be seen as social agencies that engage in various organisational networks to

shape space, these organisations do not have what Yeung (1998, p. 104) called *a priori* "modes of rationality". Instead, they will operate using different logics, or acting on different intentionality, according to the event. Thus, each happening could be contradictory to each other, and the ensemble of actions would still define the same single organisation.

Rather than assuming that organisations are fluid and may behave differently in every instance, I demonstrated in this chapter that various established spaces dispute the influence in the actions of these organisations, which I framed here in two different structural arrangements, which engender order and lasting effects. First, the chapter discussed cases of *verticality*, based on the reproduction of places distant from the territory, and then it presented the possibility of *horizontality*, based on the organisation of needs and practices from within the territory.

As discussed in the first section, the political economy of space was manifested in the organisational space through abstract representations conceived in higher scales of social space that were reproduced locally in the actions of CSOs. Organisations in favelas reproduce abstract space when bridging the means and ends of their existence, illustrated in the cases of SingingOrg and FavelaOrg that had to adapt to the market place in the commodification of their space (SingingOrg's practices were subjected to instruments of control and FavelaOrg's planning emptied of ideological content). I related these cases to examples of verticality, when the domination of the territory is obtained linking distant points hierarchically, fragmenting the cohesion of the territory. By examining these examples closely, I argued that the need to find means of maintenance (self reproduction) was the main reason for subverting original ends and reproducing social spaces that were estranged from their historical space. For that reason, the reproduction of verticality was associated to the adoption of managerial techniques.

In contrast, the second section presented cases of horizontality of space production, in which democratic and homologous happenings crafted the unity of the territory. It started by arguing that after the implementation of the UPP, the new social reality at Mucuripe, with more spaces for democratic disputes over the predominant place, increased the importance of CSOs in shaping the favela through actions that were integral to the territory. This was shown for example in the actions of FootballOrg, which included the enactment of rules for football matches according to the interests

of the community, and the opposition to the previously mentioned attempt of CSROrg to withhold the football pitch from the community. In this discussion, I highlighted the importance of technique in mediating such transformations. In that instance, the appropriation of cultural techniques is the means to produce space and drives the creation of CSOs in Mucuripe. Thus, CSOs play a key role in organising and leveraging the development of technical skills, and when they act like that they operate in flows of horizontality, improving the cohesion of the territory.

This chapter answered more directly the third research question – What mediates the different approaches of CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela? Whereas the previous chapter had examined the influence of the organising space in the CSOs, this one emphasized that either in reproducing external places or crafting new ones, organisations are always the bearers of territoriality and agents of transformation. In this process, they reproduce contiguous/local places when they engage with the available techniques of the territory, which in the examples above were driven by the domain of cultural and sport practices in the favela. In contrast, CSOs reproduce hierarchical/abstract places when they are forced to adopt the space of their donors or funders, and the adopted techniques follow the instrumental use of the space, which is disconnected from local needs. These contrasting behaviours can be observed in the same organisation at different events.

CSOs at Mucuripe are not producers of specific and pre-determined territorialities; the same organisation (e.g. FavelaOrg) might construct different places (e.g. local history of favelas vs. abstract space of capitalism) according to the organisational event (e.g. painting walls with local historiography vs. changing the name of the favela tour). It was in the analysis of particular events that the places CSOs were integral became apparent, and distinct places could be observed in the territory with the mediation of these organisations. The relations that CSOs establish with their surrounding space are characterized by their engagement in contradictory actions, and rather than fixating on the indeterminacy of the organisational space, I argued that these actions are driven by the contradictory places that motivate them, and can be comprehended when analysed in relation to the surrounding space.

8 Conclusion: summary, contributions and implications

This chapter will revisit the arguments made in this thesis and discuss their contribution and implications to the field of space and organisation, and to the practice of CSOs in Brazilian favelas. The chapter is divided in two sections. I start by summarising the theoretical foundation and findings of this research. The second section presents the conceptual and empirical contributions, which include theoretical and practical implications of the thesis. It also draws reflexive notes on the limitations of the thesis.

8.1 Summary of the arguments presented

There is arguably no better context to show the importance of analysing organisations from the perspective of the production of space than that of favelas. Even for the reader unfamiliar with the reality of favelas, based on the examples discussed in this study it might be evident how important considerations on the spatiality of favelas are for explaining their empirical reality. The territories of favelas have become very different from the formal city after decades of segregation, and attempts of integration made through various points of contact, of which CSOs are important instances, reveal tensions that arise from this exchange. Exploring this context, I demonstrated how the organisation of space affects and is affected by the activity of CSOs. In order to achieve this, I drew on a theoretical framework mainly informed by the works of Henri Lefebvre and Milton Santos, and discussed the links between space and organisations. More specifically, I analysed the links between the space of single organisations and the space across organisations, that is, the *organisation of space*.

In chapter 1, I introduced the problem of CSOs in favelas and the importance of analysing their relations with space. The objective of the thesis is to comprehend what influences the organisation of space of CSOs based in favelas, beyond the limits of their workplace.

In chapter 2, the empirical motivation was discussed by explaining the historical and spatial context of favelas. These territories are informal settlements, which emerged as solutions to the housing issue, particularly in the city of Rio de Janeiro, but that

became largely segregated and excluded from the public policies and private services planned for the city. The chapter focused on the role of organisations in resisting evictions and transformation of these territories, a role often neglected by the literature in the field of favela studies. In this chapter I also justified the use of the term CSO to delineate NPOs from a perspective of the power struggles that shape and define their organising space.

The literature on space and organisation was presented in chapter 3, which analysed the main contributions of the studies of space: revealing aspects of power and control, and interrogating the boundaries of organisations. This chapter also referred to the limits of studies of space and organisation, which focus on workplaces or in ephemeral forms of organising. I located, thus, the need to expand the analysis of organisations beyond the workplace and with lasting effects on space. In order to do that, one of the main theories I drew from was the work of Henri Lefebvre, which as I have shown is largely adopted in organisation studies. The use of Lefebvre's work is currently rather limited, mainly to his analytical triad of social space. This theoretical triad is also applied in this thesis, but in this chapter I proposed to expand its application by exploring Lefebvre's wider theoretical framework, in which he presents the mechanisms of the violent production of 'abstract space' as the state supported commodification of everyday life.

In chapter 4, I built the theoretical framework of this thesis, which advances the current literature of the field of space and organisation. I focused on the work of Henri Lefebvre and Milton Santos. For Lefebvre, in the production of abstract space the socio-spatial reality is emptied of substantive content and reduced to abstractions produced throughout the history of capital accumulation. In that sense I also emphasized the contradictory and political character of the social production of space which is present within Lefebvre's work (1991). In this chapter, I also presented the work of Milton Santos, an acclaimed Brazilian geographer, largely read in the social sciences in Latin America in Management and other disciplines, to support the investigation of organisations in socio-geographic spaces. The focus in the (geographical) relation of the individual with space motivated the change of terminology from *social* space to *socio-geographic* space. Santos's work contributed in explaining the historical process of construction of fragmented territories such as favelas. Focusing on the mediating role of technique, Santos' concepts such as spatial

roughness (defined as the current configuration of the territory that is inherited from past divisions of labour), and also the distinction between verticality and horizontality (contrasting the hierarchic fragmentation of space with preservation of the organic social fabric) can largely contribute to understanding the links of CSOs with the totality of space.

The methodology of this thesis was detailed in chapter 5, which explained the processes of data collection and analysis of this qualitative interpretive analysis. The fieldwork was carried out in a favela of Rio, and involved two communities and concentrated on eleven of the dozens of CSOs in the territory.

In chapter 6, I answered the first research question, "What historical and political processes affect the construction of space in favelas?". This chapter focused on the organisation of favela Mucuripe. I discussed the importance of considering the historical construction of the territory, and also the various scales of intervention, which shape the organising space to reveal conditioning aspects of CSOs. At Favela Mucuripe, the historical construction of the territory, which unfolds the layering of different space-times (spatial roughness), could be observed, for example, in the differences between the places of Itaperi, where people are more entrepreneurial and establish more businesses in a more densely occupied space, and Buruti, where residents that had settled for longer periods are more attached to their territory and where non-profit CSOs thrive. In the same chapter, I discussed how the production of abstract space through the program of 'pacification' now clashes with the historical space of favelas in crafting the hegemonic places. This was discussed using the dispute for the control of the favela between drug dealers and the state, which operates as the legitimate though violent arm for the access to more subtle manifestations of abstract space, hence showing how the organising space was also conditioned by various spatial scales of intervention in the favela.

However, the production of abstract space was not realised spatially, and the established crisis of authority provoked by the continued influence of drug dealers and the state opened space for the co-existence of multiple territorialities. As a result, a contested organising space was engendered. The transformative potential of CSOs could have been used to promote the effective crafting of the intended zones of influence in the process of integration between the favela and the formal city. Instead, examples such as RecyclingOrg description of the drug dealers' trial, the meeting

with state representatives, and the struggle with a business contractor show that CSOs at Mucuripe had to adapt to the overlapping territorialities of the favela by negotiating in each event with different actors of power. In these cases, each event was an opportunity for the reproduction of norms but also for transgression, constructing contradictory places in the territory.

In this analysis, chapter 6 also partially answered the second research question, "To what extent are the actions of CSOs explained by their spatiality in favelas?". Many events described in this chapter examined the influences of the overlapping territorialities of Mucuripe in the actions of CSOs, for example in the case of RecyclingArtOrg facing the trial of the drug dealers, BurutiResidentsOrg negotiating with the state after the takeover, or FavelaOrg's Canvas Walls Track passing by a negotiated control of the territory by both drug dealers and the police. The analysis of these happenings showed different levels of influence of various places affecting the CSOs in each case, and hence their manifest inclusion in the totality of space. That is because events/happenings bear the content of the social relationships that organisations are embedded in, and enable the analysis of aspects absent in the representation of organisational forms. A similar approach was taken in chapter 7, which examined the actions of CSOs in each event, and how they faced the fragmentation of the territory.

In chapter 7, I turned my attention to the production of the organisations in the favela, and discussed how the spatiality of organisations produces – and is produced by – the organisation of their space. Observing the places each event was integral to (Santos, 2006), that is which place they reproduced, I showed that individuals and organisations are more or less integral to different places according to the context of the event. This was shown in two sections: first by analysing how abstract space is reproduced in the territory by organisations in flows of verticality, and then examining the emergence and resistance of these organisations in appropriating the space and producing the territory in flows of horizontality.

The first section of this chapter explored the symbolic violence conveyed by the socio-geographic production of abstract space in CSOs. In the analysed events, actions that imposed the adoption of alien representations and abstract practices had originated away from the territory of favelas. FavelaOrg, for example, adopted hegemonic representations of a "brave woman" for an award that was supposed to be

centred on the favela, and accepted the commoditised name of "favela tour" for a visit that had different intentions. Such actions were emptied from ideological content and led the organisation away from its political intentions of preserving the autonomous memory of the favela. These examples illustrate, as also discussed in the previous chapter, cases of verticality through which hierarchical relations establish places within the territory that are crafted from the outside.

But organisations are also producers of their own space, and in the following section I explored the events in which the origin of actions were considerably grounded in the territory and led by CSOs, engendered through actions integral to places within favelas, which thrive in cultural and sport manifestations. FavelaOrg, for example, which had a strong material presence in the community, reinforced a new relation with the space by conditioning the access to their resources (the party hall) in exchange for respect of other residents' rights to silence. The organisation also performed various cultural interventions in the territory. I discussed how the appropriation of space organised around the needs of the territory is mediated by the applied technique, and reinforce contiguous relations that reveal the horizontality of space (Santos, 2006).

This analysis of the relations between CSOs and the surrounding space, which presented two contrasting approaches for the organisation of space, complemented the answer to the second research question, by showing contradictory relations of the organisations with space. Identifying the places conveyed by the actions in each event, such as FavelaOrg's adopting the hegemonic discourse of favelas in Brave Women Award and reinforcing the local socio-geographic space in Canvas Walls Track, demonstrate what the organisation was integral to in these cases. The classification of the approach of the CSO as verticality or horizontality in each event was not the finding in itself, but was the analytical organisation that made apparent how each action was related to the territory. In a dialectical relation between organisations and the totality of space, the same CSOs engage with verticality or horizontality depending on the context of the event, and thus I examined what mediated one or the other case.

In that sense, chapter 7 also answered the third research question, "What mediates the different approaches of CSOs in reproducing or resisting the reproduction of abstract space in the favela?" showing the role that the applied technique had in each case.

CSOs reproduced abstract places hierarchically when the practices and representations of the abstract space of capital accumulation were imposed on them through managerial techniques. That was the case when they absorbed the discourse on favelas that supported practices of commodification of this territory, for example favela residents as impoverished people and "favela tour" as a legitimised way of integration, or when managerial practices were adopted by the CSOs that were subordinated to outsider organisations. In contrast, local and contiguous places were reproduced by organisations when the motivation for action was within the territory, and mediated mostly by organisations dedicated to sport and cultural techniques. This behaviour at times could also be linked to the enactment of norms, but always based on the local needs of the territory, such as the regulation of football matches or the implementation of artistic installations with the community, which result in a higher social cohesion within the territory. Therefore, the engagement with the local means of producing space, that is local techniques, mediated the reproduction of contiguous places.

Finally, in this thesis the influence of outsider spaces in organisational actions was identified based on the idea of totality, according to which it is not the sum of parts that explains the whole, but on the contrary the whole explains its parts (Santos, 2006, p. 74). As I have shown, the places each event was integral to suggest that organisations engage with the realization of contradictory tasks according to the events, which reveals contradictory processes of place making according to the context. Thus, in examining what influences the organisation of space of CSOs, I demonstrated that it is important to consider the context of the social relations that underlie their social-geographic space. As a result of being systemically and historically embedded in space, organisations are porous to the influence of overlapping territorialities, and mediate the encounter of social spheres that cannot be considered as mutually exclusive.

8.2 Contributions and limitations

The analysis of the socio-geographic space of organisations provides a number of theoretical and empirical contributions. Theoretically, the concepts incorporated from geography advance the considerably under-theorized field of space and organisation, and the application of these concepts in the study of CSOs promotes new perspectives

whereby we can analyse these organisations. Organisation studies are considerably limited to the consideration of the form of organisations and their workplace, and this thesis demonstrate how the analysis of the socio-geographic space incorporates the content of social relations which can explain the conditioning aspects for actions and the possibilities for new transformations. Empirically, the choice of favela as an interrogative space can offer contributions that hopefully address various misconceptions about the favela as an organising space and results in external interventions that disregard the legitimacy and importance of the ongoing actions of local CSOs.

A major contribution of this study to organisation studies is grounded in the domain of critical management studies. The constructed perspective of the socio-geographic production of space contributes to organisational analysis in highlighting the importance of analysing the relations between organisations with their surrounding space: understanding how historical transformations affect the present organisational space; how contemporary events construct and organise space across organisations; and how organisations mediate the construction of the territory by reproducing or resisting to the abstraction of their space. These aspects of the relation between organisations and their territory are particularly important for CSOs, since these organisations generally do not follow abstract modes of rationality based only on efficiency and financial outcome. Such organisations have particularly important relations with their territory, beyond their workspace.

According to Lefebvre (1991, p. 31), every society produces its own space; and as such, the city cannot be regarded as just a collection of people and things in space. Likewise, I demonstrated here that organisations are not just collections of people and resources; they are formed and produced in, with and through their organising space. The discussions advanced in this thesis about the approaches of CSOs to the organisation of space can contribute to organisation studies in advancing the understanding of the relations of organisations with space especially in contexts where the transformation of the territory follows selective and fragmented processes of place-making. The conditions of territory, such as the available technical means, provide the conditions for the construction of the CSO, and the level of dependence and exchange with formal spaces of capital accumulation provide the extent to which hegemonic representations will influence the actions of the organisations. As

proposed by Lefebvre, it is "in" space and "through" space that social relationships are organised and realised; and this thesis also contributed in expanding the application of these concepts to organisation studies.

In effect, this study expands the use of the theory of Henri Lefebvre, from his widely applied spatial triad (*spatial practice*, *representation of space* and *spaces of representation*) to the more central issue of his main work (the social production of abstract space). Instead of interpreting the everyday of organisations according to the framework of Lefebvre's spatial triad, this thesis aimed at linking these analytical terms (conceived, perceived and lived spaces) in each organisation to the wider context of the production of abstract space, and the resulting clash with the historical space. This application is ontologically attached to the concept of totality, which is often left aside in the literature of space and organisation. Therefore, scholars of organisation can relate, for example, the problematic imposition of abstract managerial knowledge to marginal spaces (Cooke, 2006; Dar, 2007; Dar & Cooke, 2008; Mir, Mir, & Srinivas, 2004; Srinivas, 2008) to the inescapable violence of abstraction produced by the expansion of spaces of capital accumulation.

These considerations bring back the *content* of space to the analysis. It is a common gap, more often in non-critical approaches to organisation studies, to privilege only the *form* of organisations, absent from its social relations. Therefore, in this thesis I analysed the events involving CSOs much beyond their workplace, in light of the totality of their social relations. Beyond the organisational structure or practices of each organisation, it was the context of each CSO's social relations that revealed the influence of the organising space in its actions and the way these actions produced material, social and cultural space. This was a permanent concern in Lefebvre's writings, where a constant conceptual elaboration of the content – which is grasped in perception and representation – associates the philosophical elements of space with the material moments of everyday life (Elden, 2004).

The dialectical relation of organisations with space was shown explicating the mutual presence of horizontality and verticality. These apparently contradictory stances (neighbouring places connected by a territorial continuity vs. points distant from each other connected by all kind of social forms) reveal how organisations could be considered products and producers of their space, emphasizing that their actions need to be contextualised in light of the available technical means to produce. The

application of these concepts contributes also to the analysis of fragmented spaces through the ideas of Milton Santos, which were presented here to the Anglophone readership. Despite his wide application in these academic spaces away from the mainstream of organisations studies, Santos has been absent in organisation studies also in the domain of CMS. His ideas were particularly useful in this thesis as they were considered within his larger theoretical framework.

Amongst these ideas, the thesis applied the importance of technique as the main mediator for the transformation of the territory to distinguish the different ways CSOs engage with the transformation of their surroundings. Therefore, it shows that the actions of organisations are to a large extent explained by the technical means available to them as the outcome of their relation with space and the historical construction of the territory. In that sense, the analysis of the favela was a particularly rich environment to demonstrate how the means available to organisations are dependent on past divisions of labour, which became crystalized in the territory through the layering of its construction in different periods in which different techniques were unevenly distributed. That became evident in the distinction between the two communities (Buruti and Itaperi), formed during different historical moments, and how that affected the contemporary profile and distributions of organisations across the territory of Mucuripe. This has implications in terms of the need to approach space historically, beyond the contemporaneous analysis.

The focus proposed by Milton Santos in the relation of individuals with the transformation of the territory over time provide more analytical categories to work with the reality of dominated territories than the general theory of Lefebvre offers. The production of abstract space is more violent in territories that are more likely to incorporate new spatial forms crafted in distant centres, and thus manifest more frequent occurrence of verticality. Thus, my thesis agrees with Santos (2006) in that verticalities are more frequent in poor territories where the production of space is selective and often follow the project of alien places, led by managerial techniques as meaningful instruments of domination. That makes evident that the process of production of abstract space is not homogeneous as suggested by Lefebvre. In addition, I contribute to the understanding of Santos' framework in demonstrating the role of organisations as main agents of creation and reproductions of techniques. The importance of technique as a mediator in crafting the territory is a theme already

strongly linked to the field of MOS, and that opens opportunities for further articulation of how the observation of this transformation can be done.

The concepts above build up an important contribution to the way we consider the indeterminacy of organisations and the contradiction of organisational events. As discussed in this study, CSOs in favelas try to conciliate different dominant spaces, such as the market place or the place of drug dealing, being not fully part of any of them. Approaches to organisations that focus on the individual experience of organising, which are very prominent in the contemporary field of space and organisation, note this fluid nature of organisations and observe the process of engaging with space as individual experiences with mostly unknown implications. From a different perspective, I suggested that, although organisations may present loose structural relations, approaching the organising space as composed of overlapping territorialities gives the key to considering what contradictory forces are disputing the influence over organisations, and discloses the lasting material effects of organisational actions in the transformed socio-geographic space.

In that instance, the nature of DrugDealingOrg could be interpreted in different ways according to the context. At times, drug dealers assume the behaviour of CSOs in the territory. They occupy the same organising space and act upon it, sometimes overlapping or partnering with other CSOs thanks to the money they have available for funding social actions, such as the provision of medicines. At times, drug dealers are more similar to formal businesses instead, instrumentally calculating their actions to maximise their profit, including negotiating with the police and avoiding conflicts, as demonstrated in my visit to the Canvas Walls Track. However, a closer examination of DrugDealingOrg will probably show that they are neither a CSO nor a business, because the much more complex interests that favour affiliation and motivate their actions do not share the same assumptions with these types of organisations. DrugDealingOrg should be examined through the marks they leave in the territory, or in other words the outcome of the space that they produce, as observed in the events analysed here, which were pervaded by the participation of drug dealers.

This thesis also provides a modest contribution to the multidisciplinary field of third sector research. Building on the existing critique to the liberal view of civil society in organisations, this study validated what has been argued in previous research

(Mintzberg & Srinivas, 2009; Sundstrom, 2006) that CSOs are associated with global and local institutions of different spheres (such as businesses, governmental agencies, or criminal groups), engaging dialectically with them. Hence, their relation with the territory speaks more about their nature than their institutional analysis. Based on this idea, I argued that classifying such organisations in sectoral categories (i.e. first, second, third) becomes less an ideological exercise of locating their (self-proclaimed) spheres of social life and more an effort of observing their material and social effects in space, which provides useful analytical categories. Incorporating the view of space reinforces that organisations are porous containers of power relations, which are integral to various affecting place-making processes, aiming to reproduce their own socio-geographic spaces in civil society.

The thesis also contributes to studies of favelas, which are multidisciplinary and include an emerging area of interest within organisation studies in Brazil. Favelas sustain a relation of dependency to the formal city – largely dominated by what Santos (1979) called the "lower circuit" of urban activities – and the presence of the state is very limited. However, they do not lack their own singularity and cultural expression, and a regulatory space of their own. I demonstrate that rules in favelas unfold from their specific technical and information content, and in order to see the coexisting and contradictory spaces that are produced after the failed production of abstract space during pacification, it is necessary to understand the territory as inhabited by multiple territorialities. The apparently contradictory actions undertaken by the same organisations (such as the commodification of FavelaOrg's tour which exhibits works of resistance against this very prejudicial view of favelas) illustrate how such territorialities are realised within the same groups.

In a more general account beyond organisation studies, the idea of favelas as the result of primitive stages of capital accumulation could enable the observation of the direct effects of mass migration (Chakrabarti & Dhar, 2009), marginalisation (Chandhoke, 1988) and exploitation of poverty (Meschkank, 2011) as the necessary elements of a wider spatial contradiction, which sets the context to a hierarchical attempt to dominate the territory with material violence and coercion, in a much more abrupt way than the development of the capitalism is usually observed in Western urban spaces. In this scenario, this study showed a space similar to what has been described by other authors, where NGOs appear as the new agents of integration for

the development of areas previously excluded from the advanced economy (Kothari, 2011; Srinivas, 2008; Teegen, Doh, & Vachani, 2009).

Besides the particularities of favelas, this investigation also speaks to and of other realities with similar violent enclaves within the heart of urban societies that they are part of. In the Anglophone academia, many works inspired the analysis of such enclaves by exploring for example the role of state repression in the North of Ireland for sparkling violence and revolt in economically deprived areas (White, 1989), the marginalisation of unwanted land uses and minority groups as the causes for structural violence in north-American cities (Greenberg & Schneider, 1994) or the structural continuation of past conflicts from rural areas that explain the current violence in slums of Central America (Rodgers, 2009).

In regard to the empirical contribution, the investigation of favelas in this thesis was a conscious intended choice to generate knowledge away from the centre of management studies, which privileges the reality of corporations and the cultural context of the Global North, even among studies developed in Brazil. Although epistemological debates convey disputes about to what extent certain types of research give voice to the individuals who are researched, this thesis has hopefully shed light on the struggles and attainments of organisations acting within spaces of precarity, which are largely overlooked in management research and public programs. As a result, I offered an account of CSOs in favelas that challenges and criticizes the way these organisations are often addressed by outsider (private and public) organisations, which apply the same assumptions used in the formal city in line with an abstract representation of otherwise concrete and local realities.

In that sense, an important outcome of this research is revealing to the management audience overlapping territorialities operating in favelas, which place them away from images that are commonly used to categorise them homogeneously. As explained in chapter 2, favelas have been depicted as spaces of scarcity, where the lack of resources defined the way of living, and of ingenuity where social innovations occur. They have been associated with criminality, and have also been depicted as places of intense sociability with a vibrant culture. Favelas have also been the target of populist political actions and philanthropic initiatives, which reinforce the image of a dependent territory. All these elements can certainly be observed, and it is precisely in recognizing their mutual existence, rather than selecting the ones that confirm a

pre-existent bias, that effective programs can be planned and implemented in a democratic and inclusive way.

CSOs have an important role in that. As I have shown, it is how they engage in activities that make them mediators of a selective integration of the favela with the market. This largely reproduces what the government has also sponsored, and which resulted in the analysed crisis of authority in the favela. Hopefully the cases discussed in this thesis will encourage a more respectful consideration of the nature of these organisations, and a more careful assessment of the conditions of favelas – which is related to basic needs of access to public services – before proposing or carrying out any intervention or partnership in the territory. Any sort of so-called 'integration' where the mission of an organisation precedes the needs of the territory is likely to be only an additional burden to these residents.

Among the limitations of this thesis, two main aspects should be highlighted: the limited dataset and the range of possible approaches to the problem. The first limitation concerns the limited reach of my fieldwork, which focused on a specific favela of Rio. Beyond the complex reality found in any favela, and which no research could claim to grasp anyway, the differences between favelas in the city can still be significant. This is certainly the case also for other works on favelas and works in other similar enclaves cited above, and as such they ought to be seen in combination.

In addition, the effort invested in this thesis to relate the activity of these organisations with their spatiality brings an inherent topical limitation, which is the need to demonstrate specific aspects of their territoriality that affect them (such as the bonds with the land, the dispute for control of the territory or the lack of regulation), among all the possible links in the totality of their relations with space. In line with the adopted epistemology, what I provided thus were examples that I selected in a – although systematic – subjective process to represent what I considered the most meaningful aspects of this relation. Certainly, the choice could have been different, and future research exploring this relation should expand, for example, what we know about the overlapping territorialities and contingent places of organisational events.

In conclusion, I have argued in this thesis that the emergence and actions of CSOs in favelas need to be interpreted within the spatial-historical context of favelas, in other words in relation to the so-called totality of social relations. This study showed the inherent tension between the production of abstract space unfolding from the formal city and the historical space of the favela, which resulted in a contested organisation of space with overlapping territorialities. Each organisation manifested the unfolding contradictions differently, and responded to them, according to the context. In tackling this issue, the importance and funding of each organisation should be leveraged in their own terms, in relation to their means to produce space, and thus preventing the reinforcement of the gaps of the territory or attempts of integration, which distance residents from their actual needs.

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10 Appendix

Appendix 1 – Research ethics: informed consent and information sheet

CONSENT FORM

DEVELOPING SLUMS - ORGANIZING SPACES AND SPACES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Researcher: Daniel da Silva Lacerda

PARTICIPANT, thank you for your time and availability to give this interview today, DATE. This conversation is being recorded. I will read five statements to you, and I need you to answer with 'yes' or 'no' for each one of them.

1. Have you read and understood the information sheet IDENTIFICATION for the above study, and have you had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily? ~~Agree?~~

2. Do you understand that your participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason? ~~Agree?~~

3. Do you understand that any information given by you may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team? ~~Agree?~~

4. Do you understand that your name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations? ~~Agree?~~

5. Do you agree to take part in the above study and confirm that you have received a copy of the sheet I am reading now? ~~Agree?~~

I will now start the interview.

Daniel Lacerda, Organization, Work and Technology, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YX, UK
Tel: 07528 636340 • E-mail: d.lacerda@lancaster.ac.uk

LANCASTER UNIVERSITY MANAGEMENT SCHOOL

DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION, WORK AND TECHNOLOGY

INFORMATION SHEET

DEVELOPING FAVELAS - ORGANIZING SPACES AND SPACES OF ORGANIZATIONS

To: Invited Participant
Ref: Academic Research in your community
Letter Version: 1-English

You are being invited to participate in doctoral research with academic purposes. The objective of this research is to analyse the role performed by organizational dynamics in the development of precarious spaces such as slums. For achieving this, two favelas will be investigated: Morro do Cantagalo and Morro São João.

The field collection consist in mapping all social projects and NGOs installed in these two communities, in addition to interviews with local dwellers and observation of everyday activities. The observed phenomena are the precarious conditions of the favelas and the organizing practices of their inhabitants. In this process, no individual will be identified, nor put under distress at any level. All the interviews are conducted on a voluntary basis and the informant is free to refuse to answer any questions, or withdraw its participation at any moment.

The analysis will focus on the social setting. Whenever possible, it will be referred to the organizations rather than to the participant. The collected data will be accessed only by the research team involved in the aforementioned project. Any publications based on the same data will respect the guidelines provided in the consent form to be delivered to the participant.

If you have any doubts you can contact me anytime, and if you have any concerns or complaints about this project you can contact Professor Bill Cooke from Lancaster University:

Charles Carter - OWT
Lancaster University LA 14YX – UK
(44) 1524 610957
b.cooke@lancs.ac.uk

Sincerely yours,
Daniel da Silva Lacerda

Daniel Lacerda, Organization, Work and Technology, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YX, UK
Tel: +447528 636340 • E-mail: d.lacerda@lancaster.ac.uk

Appendix 2 – Codes used for the transcription of interviews

During the transcription of data, the following codes are used to represented metadata:

…	reticent speaker
[…]	suppressed excerpt
underlined	emphasis given by the speaker
[]	Code of transcription
(.)	Small pause
(x.0)	Long pause in x seconds
==	No audible pause
(?)	unclear audio

Appendix 3 – My first day in the field

25th March 2014 was not the first time that I entered the favela I was going to research for the next ten weeks (I had known it for years, and had also conducted a pilot research in 2013). But in a way this was the first day with a different look on the favela. It happened two days before the planned first visit because I had received an e-mail from Natalia, the person responsible for the incipient volunteering program at FavelaOrg, saying that she could meet me that day with Leticia, one of the directors. FavelaOrg was my main organisation of interest in the coming days, because it had such a fascinating role in the transformation of the geographic space and it was also part of a network I hadn't had access and was still distant from. I had to pursue them on the phone and later through e-mail to get the chance to work there – even if it was a nonpaid work – and I wanted to grasp this opportunity.

There are three main accesses to Mucuripe: a lift on Buruti's side, a ramp road that divides the two communities and the monorail that cuts through Itaperi. The lift is usually the preferable route for those who don't want to navigate the high slope along the road, and it was also the most convenient way to get to FavelaOrg. It is accessible from the tube station, and the reason for this high integration with the transport system is in part explained by the name of this access. Officially, this is not meant to be an access to the favela, but the entrance for the "Belvedere" (a beach observation point) – even though the vast majority of the lift users actually used it to enter the favela. Built on the hills, favelas in Rio usually enjoy staggering views, and the pressure for better mobility was also seen as an opportunity by the government to share their position with the wealthy people from the 'road'. I took the lift, and waited for Natalia on the upper platform, close to the favela's entrance.

Twenty minutes later, a very young man passed by me and said "The belvedere is on the other side"[41]. This was his way of saying "this favela is not a tourist site, go away". He approached me because I looked lost, or perhaps too alien. It might be

[41] Whenever 'Interview' is not explicitly mentioned as the source, statements were extracted from the research diary and not recorded, thus they may not reflect the exact words used by the participant.

because I followed passers-by's conversation with interest, or because I was constantly looking for Natalia, or just because I was too white for an average favela resident. This episode reminded me of a similar interaction I had had one year before during my pilot visit to the field (explained in chapter 4), except that this time I was at the entrance, not even inside the territory. Had it happened in the last week of my stay, I would have replied "yes, pal, I know" and smiled back. Instead, I told him I was waiting someone, in an apologetic way. Even if it was a known place for me, it had become novel again. I was skating on thin ice during my first interaction, for an unexpected sense of alienation of the space I had judged to know well. He insisted on the provocation, smiled at me and said "you like chicks, do you?". And before I could finish my reply Natalia showed up, attracted by the word Museum I was pronouncing: "Daniel, is that you?".

Natalia had been waiting for me downstairs; there was a mis-communication in the e-mail. She is a young woman, proud of her black origins as demonstrated by her hairstyle, a rare case in the favelas. Natalia's confidence was also the result of her education, she was one of the very few that managed to graduate from a university. On our way to FavelaOrg, she didn't follow the shorter path, because she needed to drop the groceries she was carrying to a neighbour's house. This house happened to be in front of Buruti's 'smoking shop' (*boca*), where drugs are sold in the favela. I remembered passing it by a few years ago and it was then guarded by armed men (pistols and machine guns). Now, the weapons were not visible; and the atmosphere seemed equally – and ironically – relaxed and convivial. However, two tough-looking guys controlled the access in each of the alley's entrance. We then carried on to FavelaOrg.

FavelaOrg's base was located on top of the local Catholic chapel in Buruti. This was a concession made by the church for ten years, which was about to be renewed. During the meeting, Natalia told me that the normal path to FavelaOrg from the lift exit was easier to remember, and I should not take the same path as we had done today. Leticia, the museologist who attended the meeting, was one of the three Museum members who did not live in the favela, and the only director that had not participated in the foundation of FavelaOrg. We agreed in this meeting that I would help them with the administrative processes and (Excel) tools, and support ideas for fundraising, such as the English translation of a book they had brought out with the

photos and history of FavelaOrg artworks: painted house walls commissioned by local artists that depicted the history of the favela. After this meeting, it still took one more week for me to start working there because they were living through an uncertain period, with their funding blocked by bureaucratic rearrangements at the government, due to the approaching elections and the World Cup.

When I left the Museum I went to meet Sheilla, the friend who led SingingOrg, and whose confidence allowed me to explore the organisation in-depth. Sheilla had many reservations against FavelaOrg, and I had to be careful to choose my words when talking about them. But there were few organisations of which she would be sympathetic anyway, pretty much a common stance in the favela. Sheilla showed me the works that were being carried out at SingingOrg base, a hall in the basement of the main building of the favela. Located at the top of the hill, this building housed most of the organisations in the favela. This was the second time the room was being renovated – I had participated in the first one along with other volunteers – but this time a small donation had made possible professional servicing of the electrical and hydraulic systems. She was happy and on our way out she was telling how she had finally got rid of RecyclingOrg, an organisation that was previously sharing the same space with SingingOrg, and how their new temporary space was making the building dirty. To our surprise, on our way out we passed by Arouca, the leader of RecyclingOrg.

The scene was somehow embarrassing and we couldn't say if he had heard anything, but if he did he pretended not to, and we started talking about his new space for collecting and storing recycling material. He was temporarily based near the entrance of the school/CSROrg building, waiting for a recently obtained piece of land to be ready before moving out. This organisation had a strong impact in the favela because it helped addressing its main issue – namely waste disposal, according to the own dwellers – while generating income to the territory. I talked briefly with Arouca about his ideas for the future and I promised to pay him a visit to exchange other ideas and give him a hand with the moving. And it was just like that, a bit by chance but also as the result of an eager spirit, that I had a promising first day – of many others – in the field. I had unknowingly set the grounds for the access to most of my data, even though I was highly unsure of what this data would be.

Appendix 4 – Example of drawings made during the interview

The representations of the space made through the drawings were often fruitful instruments to trigger narratives. In some cases, they were revealing in themselves. The authors of the drawings below, as with most participants, lived and worked at Buruti, which partially explains why they concentrated their representation on that side of Mucuripe. The names of organisations and territories were blurred to provide anonymity and the names of the localities of the favela were replaced with the bubble "locality". The red dotted line in the drawings roughly indicate the boundary between the two communities, in which Buruti is located on the (upper) left and Itaperi on the (bottom) right.

Figure 10- Drawing of the community by Victor (FavelaOrg)

What is represented in each drawing changes according to the participant, but there are also striking similarities, which these drawings try to illustrate. On Figure 10, Victor (FavelaOrg) indicated all the different localities of the favela, with focus on the school building on the left end, even though FavelaOrg is one of the few

organisations that are not based in this building. Almost all participants indicated the school building in their drawings.

As seen on Figure 11, Kaka's elaborate drawing largely over-scale the representation of the samba hall ("*quadra*"). Most of Kaka's interview concentrated on the organisation he had made with friends, EntertainingOrg, even though he spent most of his time working for a governmental organisation, YouthState. EntertainingOrg's main practices were the organisation of parties, which often happened at the samba hall, hence the space where these practices were territorialised. In addition, samba halls are usually a key facility for any favela, since the availability of public spaces is usually very low. The *quadra* is thus an important centralized space of socialization. When parties are not taking place, local bars (which sometimes also function as bakeries) are the places of encounter, and Mucuripe is full of them. All participants who were from the favela indicated a bakery and/or bars on their drawings.

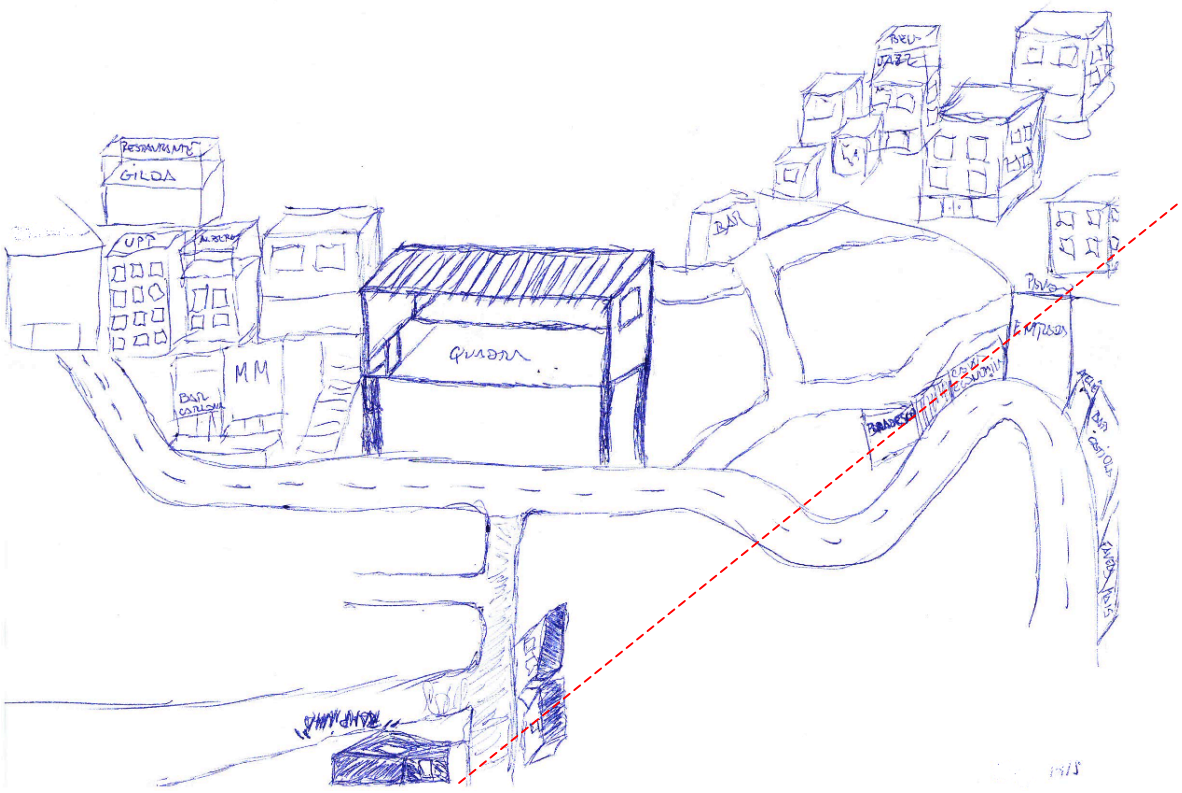
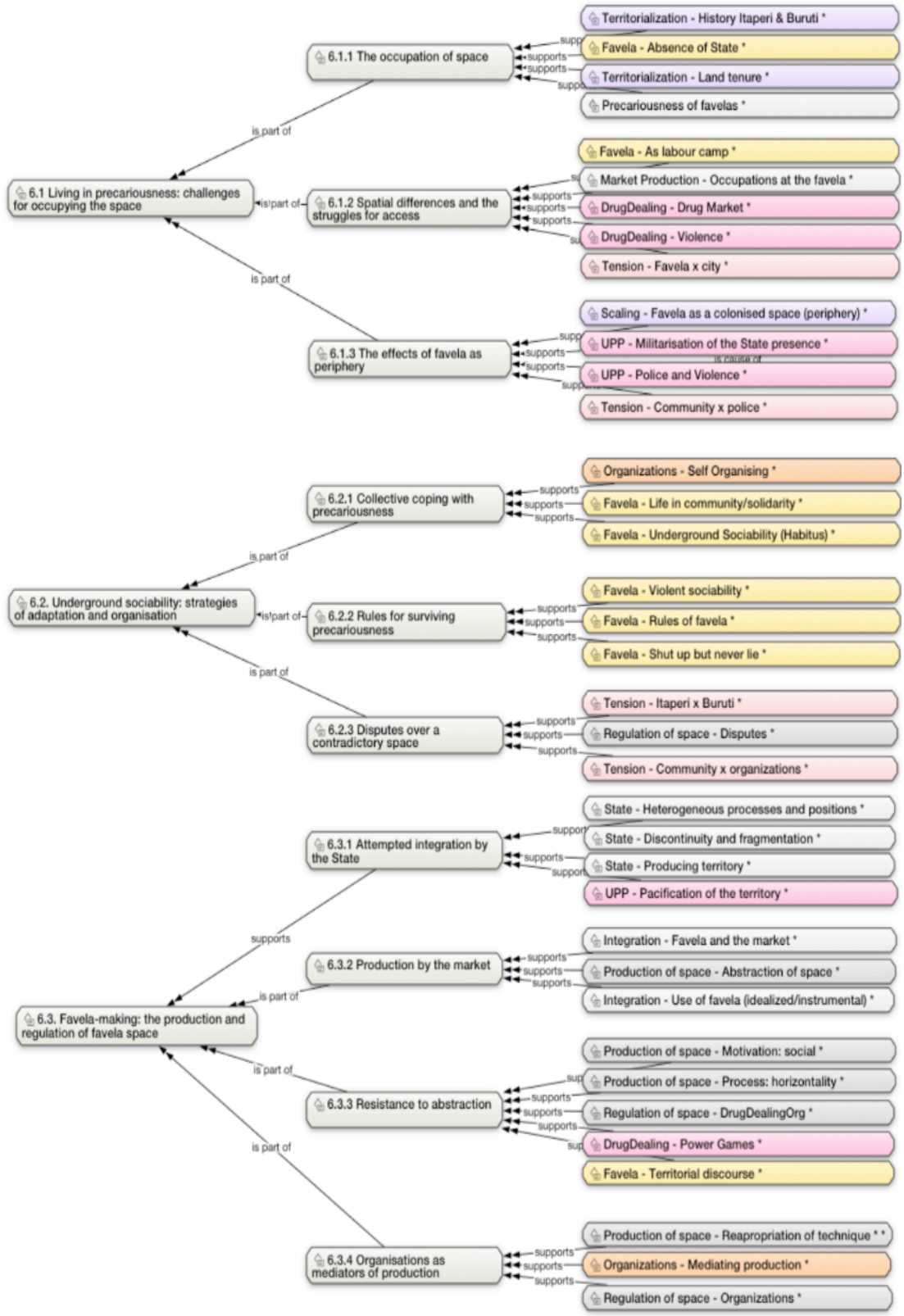
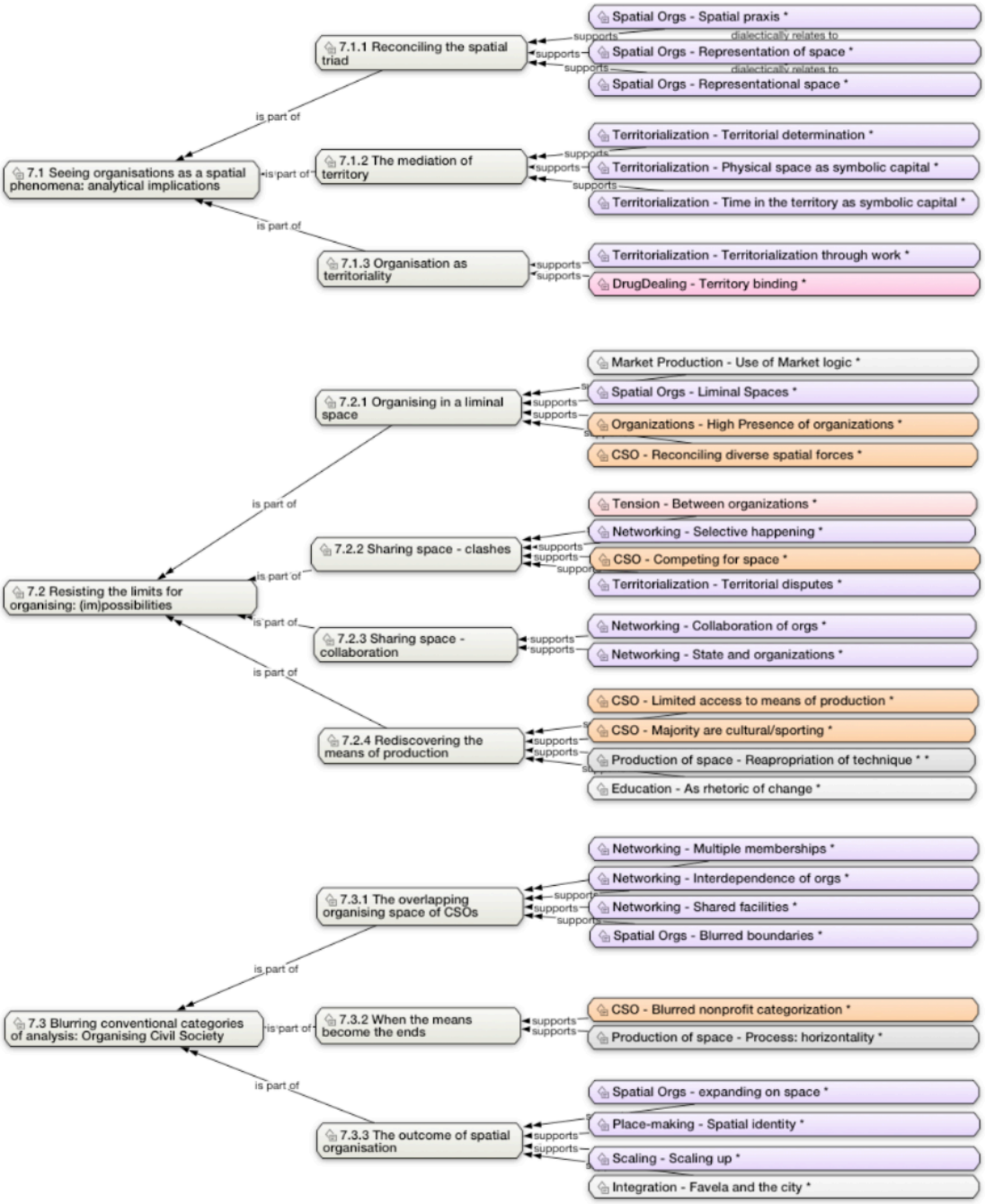


Figure 11- Drawing of the community by Kaka

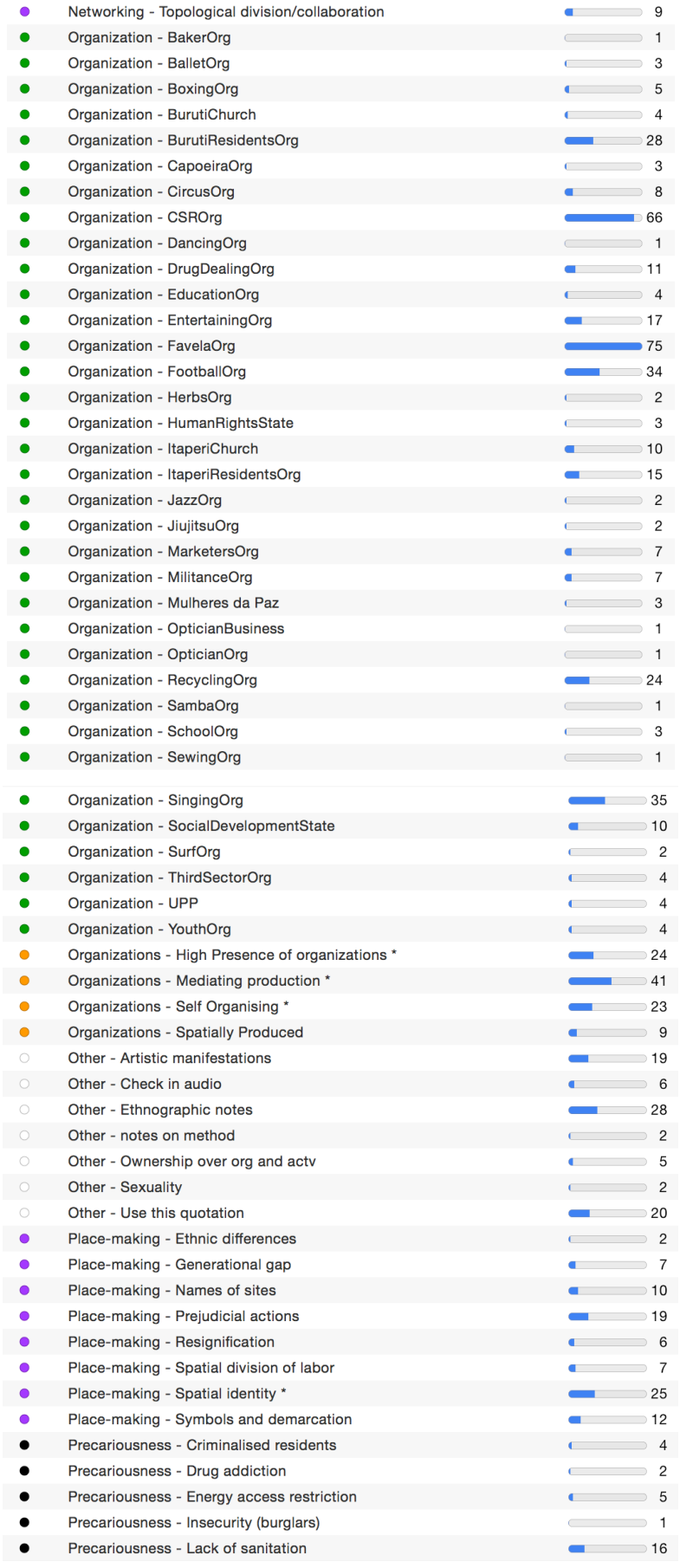
Appendix 5 – Codetree with the structure of the initial round of analysis




7.1 Seeing organisations as a spatial phenomena: analytical implications
is part of
7.1.1 Reconciling the spatial triad
7.1.2 The mediation of territory
7.1.3 Organisation as territoriality
supports
dialectically relates to
Spatial Orgs - Spatial praxis *
Spatial Orgs - Representation of space *
Spatial Orgs - Representational space *
Territorialization - Territorial determination *
Territorialization - Physical space as symbolic capital *
Territorialization - Time in the territory as symbolic capital *
Territorialization - Territorialization through work *
DrugDealing - Territory binding *
7.2 Resisting the limits for organising: (im)possibilities
7.2.1 Organising in a liminal space
7.2.2 Sharing space - clashes
7.2.3 Sharing space - collaboration
7.2.4 Rediscovering the means of production
Market Production - Use of Market logic *
Spatial Orgs - Liminal Spaces *
Organizations - High Presence of organizations *
CSO - Reconciling diverse spatial forces *
Tension - Between organizations *
Networking - Selective happening *
CSO - Competing for space *
Territorialization - Territorial disputes *
Networking - Collaboration of orgs *
Networking - State and organizations *
CSO - Limited access to means of production *
CSO - Majority are cultural/sporting *
Production of space - Reapropriation of technique * *
Education - As rhetoric of change *
7.3 Blurring conventional categories of analysis: Organising Civil Society
7.3.1 The overlapping organising space of CSOs
7.3.2 When the means become the ends
7.3.3 The outcome of spatial organisation
Networking - Multiple memberships *
Networking - Interdependence of orgs *
Networking - Shared facilities *
Spatial Orgs - Blurred boundaries *
CSO - Blurred nonprofit categorization *
Production of space - Process: horizontality *
Spatial Orgs - expanding on space *
Place-making - Spatial identity *
Scaling - Scaling up *
Integration - Favela and the city *

Appendix 6 – List of codes with number of quotations associated in the data

CSO - Blurred nonprofit categorization *	16
CSO - Competing for space *	16
CSO - Limited access to means of production *	22
CSO - Majority are cultural/sporting *	19
CSO - Reconciling diverse spatial forces *	14
DrugDealing - Drug involvement	5
DrugDealing - Drug Market *	17
DrugDealing - Local sociabilities	16
DrugDealing - Power Games *	22
DrugDealing - Separate State	20
DrugDealing - Territory binding *	14
DrugDealing - Violence *	24
DrugDealing - Youth cooptation	9
Education - As rhetoric of change *	22
Education - Eager for education	12
Event - Accountability issues at SingingOrg	8
Event - Brave Women Award	4
Event - Creation of MarketersOrg	13
Event - Debates on DrugDealingOrg association	2
Event - Disputes over renovation of the underground	5
Event - Drug Dealers returning to the favela	1
Event - Elections for president ResidentsOrg	12
Event - Evening school tutoring	9
Event - FavelaOrg Musical Festival	2
Event - Football match	9
Event - Framing the favela tour	2
Event - Killing of a local artist	25
Event - Political re-organization of secretaries	10
Event - Removal of rubbish collector	2
Event - Renovation of football pitch	9
Event - Separation of RecycleArtOrg	7
Event - Shootings at the blue couch	11
Event - Transformation of a military room	11
Event - Visiting a Favela Museum	7
Favela - Absence of State *	23
Favela - Apropriating outsider discourses	17
Favela - As labour camp *	14
Favela - Life in community/solidarity *	17
Favela - Reverence for military forces	6
Favela - Rules of favela *	22
Favela - Shut up but never lie *	7
Favela - Territorial discourse *	18
Favela - Underground Sociability (Habitus) *	17
Favela - Violent sociability *	27
Integration - Between the two communities	10
Integration - Favela and the city *	15
Integration - Favela and the market *	20
Integration - Use of favela (idealized/instrumental) *	18
Market Production - Development of internal market	12
Market Production - Hegemonic (mediatic) discourse	13
Market Production - Occupations at the favela *	8
Market Production - Price of Estates	5
Market Production - Use of Market logic *	25
Networking - Collaboration of orgs *	18
Networking - Interdependence of orgs *	13
Networking - Multiple memberships *	15
Networking - Rhizomatic differentiation *	17
Networking - Selective happening *	20
Networking - Shared facilities *	14
Networking - State and organizations *	25


Networking - Topological division/collaboration 9
Organization - BakerOrg 1
Organization - BalletOrg 3
Organization - BoxingOrg 5
Organization - BurutiChurch 4
Organization - BurutiResidentsOrg 28
Organization - CapoeiraOrg 3
Organization - CircusOrg 8
Organization - CSROrg 66
Organization - DancingOrg 1
Organization - DrugDealingOrg 11
Organization - EducationOrg 4
Organization - EntertainingOrg 17
Organization - FavelaOrg 75
Organization - FootballOrg 34
Organization - HerbsOrg 2
Organization - HumanRightsState 3
Organization - ItaperiChurch 10
Organization - ItaperiResidentsOrg 15
Organization - JazzOrg 2
Organization - JiujitsuOrg 2
Organization - MarketersOrg 7
Organization - MilitanceOrg 7
Organization - Mulheres da Paz 3
Organization - OpticianBusiness 1
Organization - OpticianOrg 1
Organization - RecyclingOrg 24
Organization - SambaOrg 1
Organization - SchoolOrg 3
Organization - SewingOrg 1
Organization - SingingOrg 35
Organization - SocialDevelopmentState 10
Organization - SurfOrg 2
Organization - ThirdSectorOrg 4
Organization - UPP 4
Organization - YouthOrg 4
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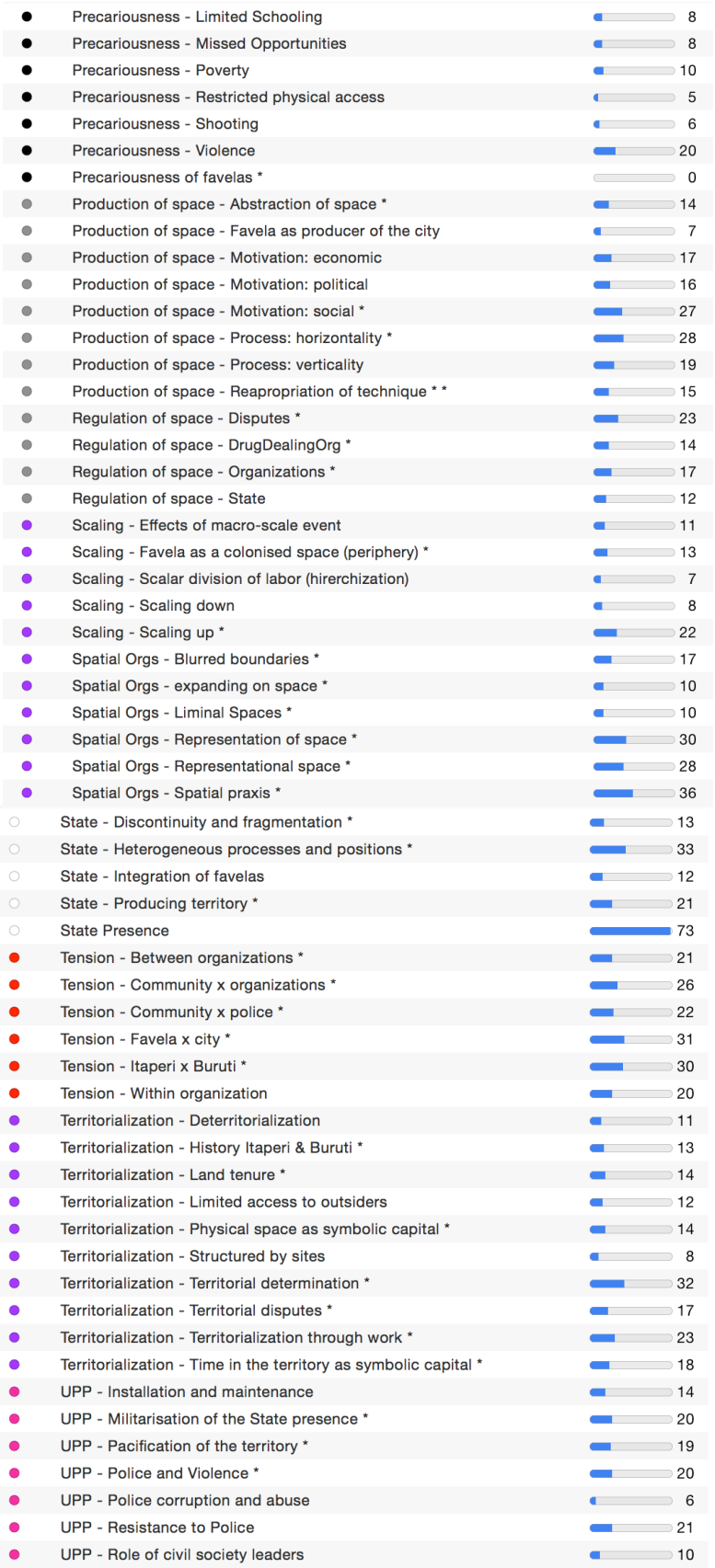
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