



LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS
MODOS DE HABITAR

ABADA EDITORES

LA CASA

ESPACIOS DOMÉSTICOS MODOS DE HABITAR

II CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL CULTURA Y CIUDAD
GRANADA, 23-25 ENERO 2019



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La Casa. Espacios domésticos, modos de habitar
Granada 23-25 enero 2019

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La casa y sus transformaciones en la vida diaria de un complejo de viviendas producido en Brasil

The Home and Its Transformations in the Daily Life of a Brazilian Social Housing Complex

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Resumen

Adoptando una perspectiva cotidiana y considerando que una casa sólo se denomina habitable cuando comienza a ser modificada por sus dueños, identificamos intervenciones en el Complejo Residencial João Domingos Netto (2.434 viviendas), financiado por el Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida (2009-2016) y ubicado en Presidente Prudente (São Paulo, Brasil), a partir de observaciones sistemáticas y entrevistas. Los bajos ingresos que los residentes tienen en general no implican una homogeneidad de los mismos. Así, una multiplicidad de estrategias fueron identificadas para tratar la privacidad y la inseguridad, que confrontan la estandarización de las casas. Relaciones contradictorias entre reproducción e innovación, entre local y global pueden ser "leídas" en cada vivienda, en sus espacios internos y en las prácticas de sus residentes. Considerando la importancia de las relaciones entre la casa y la ciudad, problematizamos la propuesta de Lindón sobre "la casa búnker", cuya idea no se adecúa a las intervenciones.

Palabras clave: vida diaria, complejo de viviendas, Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida, Presidente Prudente, Brasil

Bloque temático: La casa: mitos, arquetipos, modos de habitar

Abstract

From an everyday perspective and considering that each house only becomes habitable when it begins to be modified by its owners, interventions were identified in the João Domingos Netto Housing Complex (2,434 living units), financed by the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (2009 - 2016) and located in Presidente Prudente (São Paulo, Brazil), based on systematic observations and interviews. The low income in common does not imply in a homogeneity of residents. Thus, a multiplicity of strategies to deal with privacy and insecurity, which confronts the standardization of the houses, were identified. Contradictory relations between reproduction and innovation, between global and local, could be "read" in each home, in their domestic spaces and in the practices of their residents. Taking into account the importance of the relationships between home and city, we problematize Alicia Lindón's proposal on the "bunker's home", which the idea cannot express those homes.

Keywords: everyday perspective, social housing complex, My Life My House Program, Presidente Prudente, Brazil

Topic: The house: myths, archetypes, forms of inhabitation

Introduction

Adopting an everyday perspective, we have been researching social housing complexes financed by the housing program *My House My Life* (MCMV), in medium-sized cities in the state of São Paulo (Brazil), with special attention to a case study located in Presidente Prudente¹ (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Presidente Prudente in red, São Paulo, Brazil
Source: Particular collection

1. The housing program MCMV (2009-2016)

The first Lula government (2003-2006) opened up opportunities for the institutionalization of a housing policy aligned with the debates held at the *National Forum of Urban Reform* by academics, technicians and social movement activists.² However, the structuring of a democratic and long-term urban development policy did not culminate in its implementation.

Due to the effects of the international subprime crisis of 2008 on the Brazilian economy, the second Lula government (2007-2010) adopted Keynesian economic growth policies, among them the MCMV.³ Approved in 2009, one of the program's purposes was to encourage the production and acquisition of new housing units intended for families with a monthly income of up to 10 minimum wages.

¹ Estimated population of 227.072 inhabitants, according to Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE).

² Adauto Lúcio Cardoso, Samuel Thomas Jaenisch and Thêmis Amorim Aragão, coords., *Vinte e dois anos de política habitacional no Brasil: da euforia à crise* (Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital-Observatório das Metrôpoles, 2017), 23.

³ Cardoso, Jaenisch and Aragão, *Vinte...*, 28.

The institutional arrangement of MCMV was structured on the leading role of the private sector and was inspired by Chilean and Mexican experiences that aimed to warm up the housing market. Thus, the objective was, above all, to «impact the economy through the multiplier effects generated by the construction industry».⁴ Although the issue of democratization of access to urban land was not addressed, the federal government provided significant subsidies so that the lower income population was not excluded from the housing production,⁵ a fact that did not occur in any other social housing program in Brazil.⁶

Among the four modalities that constitute the MCMV, we give special attention to the *MCMV-Companies*. From 2009 to 2011 (first stage), the target groups of this modality were defined based on minimum wage: 0–3 (Target 1); 3–6 (Target 2) and 6–10 minimum wages (Target 3). Specific conditions were considered in each target group for the subsidies, financial and commercial mechanisms as well as the value limit of the housing unit. From 2011 to 2014 (second stage), the target groups were defined based on nominal values: 0–1.600 (Target 1); 1.600–3.275 (Target 2) and 3.275–5.000 reais (Target 3).⁷ A third stage of the program was announced, but due to the economic conjuncture and the political crisis that began in 2014 under the Dilma government (2011-2016), the launching was successively postponed.⁸

In this work, we have been researching the *João Domingos Netto Housing Complex (Conjunto Habitacional João Domingos Netto – CHJDN)*, located in Presidente Prudente and built in 2015. As a Target 1 project, it:

... offers almost a fully subsidized product, built by private companies, but distributed by local governments. Beneficiaries are defined by local governments based on their own demand registers. The residents are required to pay a monthly fee – which corresponds to 5% of the family income – to Caixa, which is responsible for buying the units from the company in charge of construction. The difference between the cost of the unit and the total amount paid by the residents is covered by resources from the Residential Leasing Fund, a public fund fed by federal budget. The subsidies therefore represent almost the entire cost of the unit.⁹

In the first years of the MCMV implementation, evaluations carried out by Ministry of Cities revealed that the expected objectives helped to alleviate the effects of the international crisis in Brazilian economy. Despite the good acceptance by the population in general, from the point of view of impacts in the cities social-spatial structure, its success was questionable.¹⁰

⁴ Cardoso, Jaenisch and Aragão, *Vinte...*, 29.

⁵ Ermínia Maricato, “O ‘Minha Casa’ é um avanço, mas segregação urbana fica intocada”, in *Carta Maior (website)*, May 27, 2009, consulted on September 9, 2015, <https://www.cartamaior.com.br/?/Editorial/Politica/O-Minha-Casa-e-um-avanco-mas-segregacao-urbana-fica-intocada/4/15160>.

⁶ Nabil Bonduki, “Do Projeto Moradia ao Programa Minha Casa, Minha Vida”, *Teoria e Debate* 22, n.º 82 (May/June 2009), consulted on September 9, 2015: 10. <https://teoriaedebate.org.br/2009/05/01/do-projeto-moradia-ao-programa-minha-casa-minha-vida/>.

⁷ Aduino Lúcio Cardoso and Luciana Corrêa do Lago, “O Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida e seus efeitos territoriais”, in *O Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida e seus efeitos territoriais*, coord. by Aduino Lúcio Cardoso (Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2013), 37-39.

⁸ Cardoso, Jaenisch and Aragão, *Vinte...*, 43.

⁹ Raquel Rolnik, *Guerra dos Lugares: a colonização da terra e da moradia na era das finanças* (São Paulo: Boitempo, 2015), 303-304.

¹⁰ Cardoso, Jaenisch and Aragão, *Vinte...*, 30.

Critical evaluations carried out by experts¹¹ indicated that the projects, especially Target 1 projects, presented a peripheral urban location pattern. Although MCMV regulations intended to avoid this,¹² the large majority of Target 1 projects were built in areas with deficient infrastructure and accessibility, cheaper and distant from the city centre, often corresponding to rural properties which were incorporated into the urban perimeter by local governments.¹³

Regardless of the critical understanding of the housing production process, concentrating great power and responsibility in the hands of private companies, and the consequences of that, we understand that it is in the next moment, that is, when the dweller begins to inhabit that space, that it becomes possible to understand problems that were not foreseen and, mainly, to verify how these *new characters* deal with the reality they were confronted with when they received the key to *their* house.

2. Materials and methods

From an everyday perspective, we understand that each house only becomes habitable when it begins to be modified by its owners, according to their possibilities. Therefore, in addition to the bibliographic survey, the research was carried out using methodological procedures of qualitative nature that involved primarily systematic observation and interviews with residents.

Firstly, the location of the CHJDN in the urban network of Presidente Prudente was obtained, together with the other MCMV housing complexes (Figure 2).

Then, taking into account the size of the chosen housing complex, the research was conducted in two stages:

a) *Stage 1: Recognition and observations* – due to the large-scale of the CHJDN, a general characterization of its internal spaces and accesses was initially prioritized and registered via the production of maps, photographs and observations. After, a territorial cutting was defined, where the most detailed and systematic observations were made.

b) *Stage 2: Detailed observations and interviews* – recognition of social practices, identification of the main problems faced and the solutions to deal with them sought by the dwellers, registered through photographs, field observations, semi-structured interviews and information collected in social media, as posts made by the residents on the CHJDN Facebook group.

For systematic observation, four guiding aspects were defined to classify the resident's modifications:

a) *Aspect 1: New consumption patterns* – changes in housing units, construction of annexes inside the lot, installation of TV and internet antennas;

¹¹ Cardoso and Lago, "O Programa...", and Caio Santo Amore de Carvalho, Lúcia Zanin Shimbo and Maria Beatriz Cruz Rufino, coords., *Minha casa... e a cidade? Avaliação do Programa Minha Casa Minha Vida em seis estados brasileiros* (Rio de Janeiro: Letra Capital, 2015).

¹² Ministry of Cities' Booklet presents the following minimum requirements for Target 1 projects: located in urban network with previous existence of basic infrastructure that allows the domestic connections of water supply, sewage, electric power, roads access and public transport; waste collection and urban drainage infrastructure; existence or expansion of equipment and services related to education, health and leisure.

¹³ Cardoso, Jaenisch and Aragão, *Vinte...*, 43.

- b) *Aspect 2: Reaction to standardization* – interventions introduced when they begin to inhabit their homes;
- c) *Aspect 3: Reaction to monofunctionality* – interventions related to activities that go beyond inhabiting;
- d) *Aspect 4: Evidence of concern for safety and privacy* – inserting curtains, building walls, installing garage gates and safety equipment such as grides.

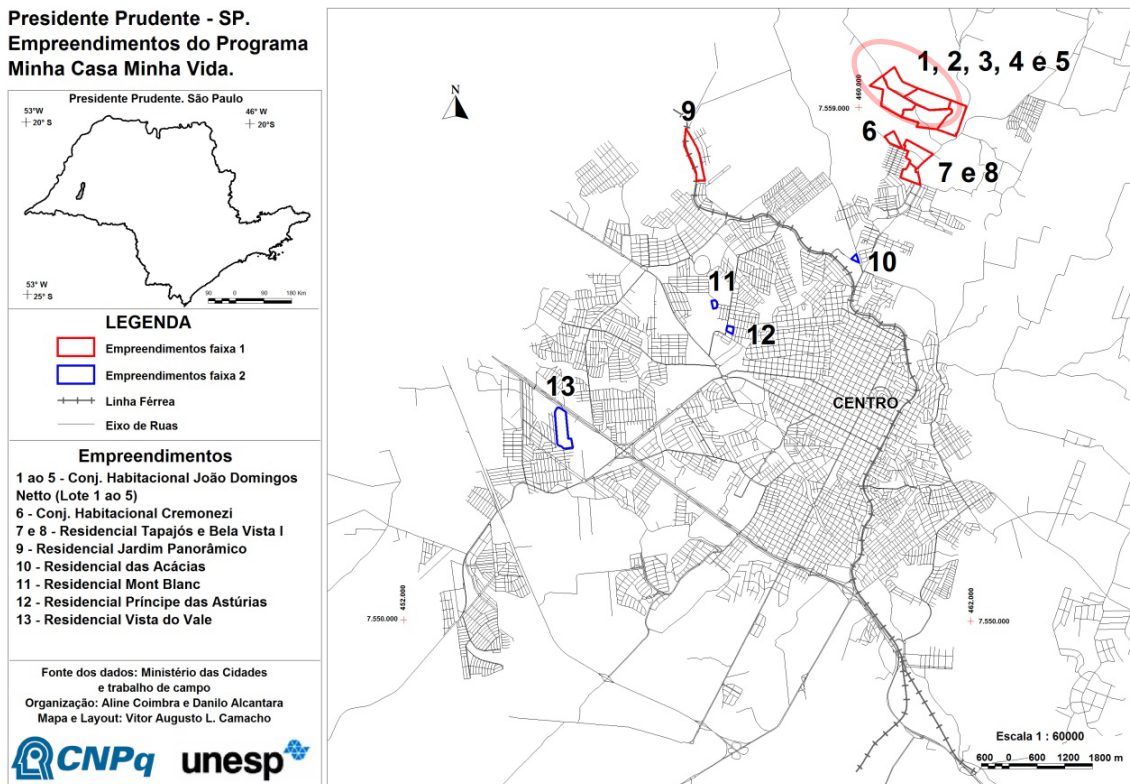


Figure 2: Target 1 and Target 2 projects of Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (2015-2016), Presidente Prudente
Source: Particular collection

3. Results and discussion

In this article, we examine aspects related to the contradictory relations between reproduction and innovation, between global and local, which are expressed materially and subjectively in the city of Presidente Prudente and in the spaces of the CHJDN. Evidencing the importance of the relations between home and city, we discuss the socio-spatial effects that emerge from these contradictions. Thus, we problematize the propositions of Lindón on "the bunker home", considering their aspect when we try to "read" them in each house, in their domestic spaces and practices of its residents.

Based on the methodological procedures described, the preliminary results of the research were as follows:

- a) In response to the lack of infrastructure, such as services and commercial activities, the first manifestations of product sales were identified, occupying public spaces (squares

and sidewalks of the main avenue) and in the interior of the lots, mainly in the front (construction of shops, such as convenience store, and service offerings, such as manicure, and a tattoo studio).

b) First interventions made in the houses by the residents, such as the construction of walls delimiting the front and sides of the lot, transforming the façades into construction sites and modifying the pre-established context.

c) Construction problems in the houses were identified, such as infiltration, rooms exposed to flooding and mold proliferation (in some cases reported by residents to the construction company, but the problems remained unsolved, which led them to question the relevance of the house insurance).

d) Few differences about the security were recognized by the residents when comparing the neighborhood they used to live in to the new neighborhood in CHJDN.

e) Difficulties faced by residents to organize themselves and claim their rights.

f) An increase of the socio-spatial segregation process and a reinforcement of the preference for private means of transportation were identified. Due to the peripheral location, signs of stigmatization were recognized by the residents (indicated by denials of delivery services and less opportunities to compete for job vacancies).

g) Insufficient infrastructure conditions and delays in the inauguration of public facilities (a kindergaren school and a public health center) for political reasons recognized by the residents.

h) Unsuitability of public spaces, in quantity and quality, poorly distributed in the housing complex and decontextualized from the city's environmental conditions, characterized by high temperatures and intense insolation.

3.1. Contradictory relations between reproduction and innovation, global and local

In the last decades, the transformations of global capitalism configuration and the diffusion of financial capital have posed new challenges to public policies, especially housing policies.¹⁴ According to an interview with Raquel Rolnik by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), this scenario is not particular to the Brazilian reality: «the increasing financialization of land and housing is a global phenomenon».¹⁵

Aligned to the global financial trend, instead of an effective social interest housing program, MCMV restricted the housing issue to «a problem of credit, of income, that is, an individual problem of the consumer-citizen».¹⁶ The program responded to the interests of *accumulation*, by enabling private sector access to public funds, at the same time that it sustained *legitimization*, by boosting employment and meeting the historical demands of social movements for housing rights.¹⁷

¹⁴ Luciana de Oliveira Royer, "Financeirização da política habitacional: limites e perspectivas" (PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2009), 194, <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/16/16137/tde-19032010-114007/pt-br.php>.

¹⁵ Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada-IPEA, "Entrevista | Raquel Rolnik", *Desafios do Desenvolvimento* 13, n.º 87 (2016), consulted on October 23, 2018: 16. http://desafios.ipea.gov.br/images/stories/ed87/pdfs/160616_revista_desafios_87.pdf.

¹⁶ Royer, "Financeirização ...", 18.

¹⁷ Mariana de Azevedo Barreto Fix, "Financeirização e transformações recentes no circuito imobiliário no Brasil" (PhD thesis, Universidade de Campinas, 2011), 263, <http://repositorio.unicamp.br/jspui/handle/REPOSIP/286383>.

Between reproduction and innovation, MCMV housing policy model, on the one hand, reproduced the strategy implemented in Brazil in the 1960s by the National Housing Bank (BNH) housing policy, which used real estate production to activate the economy and, on the other hand, innovated by providing an unprecedented amount of subsidies and inserting the financing of housing in the daily life of the beneficiary families.

The contradiction can also be identified in the political context of the launching of MCMV, as André Singer explained when interviewed by IPEA:

Essentially, this mix of elements could be defined as follows: a macroeconomy following the orientation of the neoliberal tripod – that is, high interest rates, free exchange and lofty surpluses – but associated with a policy of fighting poverty that leveraged the Brazilian economy, mainly after 2004. This policy of fighting poverty could be expressed by another tripod that, in some way, is symmetrical to the neoliberal tripod: the Family Grant, transfer of income to the poorest in an expressive volume, (...); the payroll deductible loan, an invention of President Lula's first government, which allowed low-income groups to have access to consumption; and, thirdly, the significant increase in the minimum wage.¹⁸

From contradictory relations between global and local, between reproduction and innovation, socio-spatial effects emerge, expressed materially and subjectively in the city of Presidente Prudente and in the spaces of the CHJDN.

3.2. Socio-spatial effects emerge in Presidente Prudente and CHJDN

Located on the northern outskirts, the CHJDN is inserted in an area traditionally occupied by social housing complexes. Although in the last decades the northern periphery has received infrastructure improvements, it is still a monofunctional area without sufficient employment opportunities, public transportation services and commercial activities. The discontinuous expansion of the urban network and the unequal occupation of the territory have led to an intensification of the spatial fragmentation and social segregation processes, which were recognized by the residents (preliminary result letter f). The CHJDN has a limited connection to the urban network and its access is able by one single road, 7.5 km distant from the city centre.

Beyond the critical evaluations about the peripheral urban location pattern of the Target 1 projects, researchers pointed out that the standardization and the large-scale of the projects were the key to profitability.¹⁹ Although the MCMV regulation provided a maximum limit on the number of housing units to avoid mega-projects²⁰, the CHJDN was approved as five different housing complexes (Figure 3), but built as a single one by three different companies, totaling 2,343 houses. The size of the housing units varied according to each construction company and followed the minimum standard stipulated by Caixa (Table 1). The homogenization of the architectural design and the construction techniques resulted in a single typology (living room, kitchen, bathroom and two dormitories), disregarding variants such as the physical characteristics of the terrain, local bioclimatic conditions and the diversity of the familiar compositions of the residents.²¹ Also, standardization was identified in the productive process, which was based on the contradiction between *archaic* and *modern* by associating, on the one

¹⁸ Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada-IPEA, "Entrevista | André Singer", *Desafios do Desenvolvimento* 12, n.º 86 (2015), consulted on October 23, 2018: 14. http://desafios.ipea.gov.br/images/stories/ed86/pdfs/160328_revista_desafios_86.pdf.

¹⁹ Rolnik, *Guerra...*, 311.

²⁰ Cardoso and Lago, "O Programa...".

²¹ Rolnik, *Guerra...*, 310.

hand, low-skilled labor and a traditional construction system with low mechanization and low quality, which implied in constructive problems (preliminary result letter c); and on the other hand, the use of technological innovations that allowed control of production and costs.²²

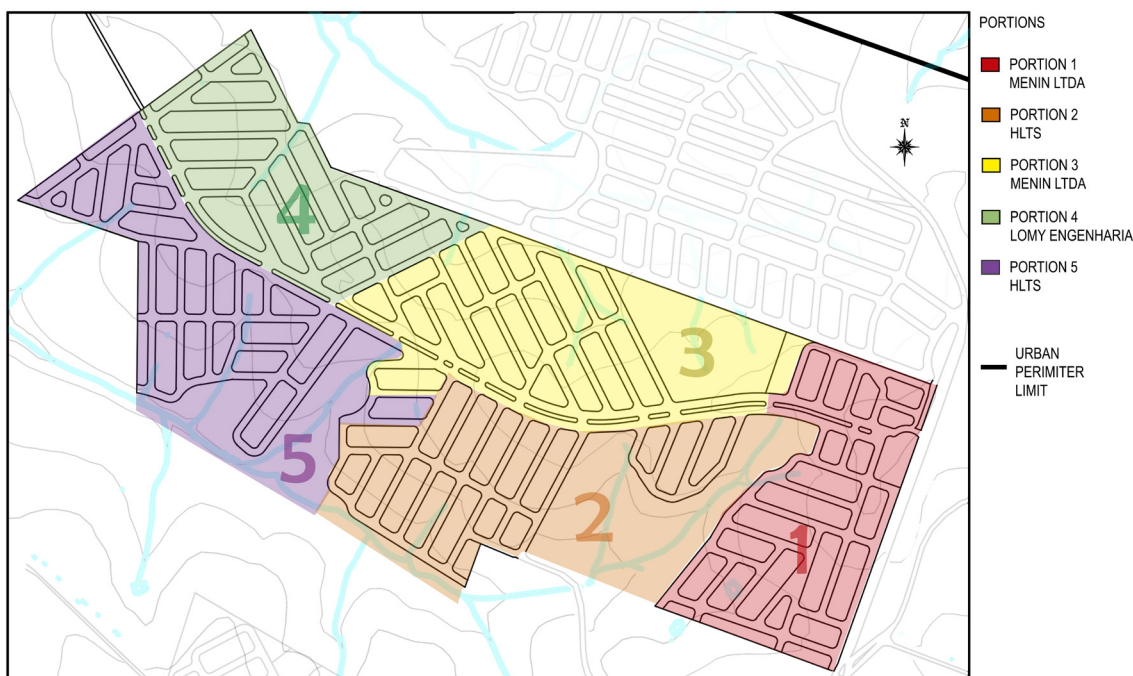


Figure 3: Portions built by each construction company, João Domingos Netto Housing Complex, Presidente Prudente
Source: F. Andrade Santos (2018)

PORTION	CONSTRUCTION COMPANY	HOUSING UNITS	HOUSING UNITS AREA	HOUSING UNITS VALUE	FINAL INVESTMENT
			m ²	R\$ (thousand)	R\$ (million)
PORTION 1	Menin LTDA	484	43,6	66,3	32,1
PORTION 2	HLTS	483	44,5	65,2	31,4
PORTION 3	Menin LTDA	466	43,6	65,6	30,5
PORTION 4	Lomy Engenharia	444	43,6	66,4	29,5
PORTION 5	HLTS	466	44,58	66,6	31,1

Table 1: Housing units area of each portion of João Domingos Netto Housing Complex (2016)
Source: CAIXA (Caixa Econômica Federal)

As a consequence, the CHJDN (Figure 4) gained form as an artificial and standardized agglomeration of houses, distant from the experience of the heterogeneous, the unexpected

²² Lúcia Zanin Shimbo, "Habitação social, habitação de mercado: a confluência entre Estado, empresas construtoras e capital financeiro" (PhD thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010), 361, <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/18/18142/tde-04082010-100137/en.php>.

and the diverse, which are proper to urban life. This condition led us to problematize Lindón's discussion about the *bunker's home* and *city's deconstruction*.²³



Figure 4: Photograph of João Domingos Netto Housing Complex, Presidente Prudente
Source: Particular collection

In discussing the *city's deconstruction* in the context of metropolitan expansion of Latin American cities, Lindón argues that the relationship between home and city is configuring a peculiar process of a resemantization of the notion of home, which has had significant repercussions on the city itself.²⁴ This process occurs when an inhabitant ceases to recognize oneself as an *inhabitant of the city*, where one's house is a point of reference, to recognize oneself as an *inhabitant of a home*. This *home's enthronization* has led to the «protected and closed home», that is, the *bunker's home*. In this sense, mechanisms are created to constitute the home as a «closed space in relation to the exterior», a fortress.²⁵

The *home's enthronization* and the rejection of the city imply a reduction of sociability, unforeseenness and contact with the unknown, elements that are characteristic of the urban everyday life. This process, which the author defines as *city's deconstruction*, results from the combination of elements that are enhanced by the role of the *bunker's home*, such as the hostility of the urban environment and the disappearance of the notion of neighborhood. The first is constituted by insecurity, distrust of the other and rejection of what is different, which intensify seclusion, condition the enhancement of the private motor vehicles and drastic reduction in the number of people interacting; the second, redefines the neighbor only as a

²³ Alicia Lindón, "La casa búnker y la deconstrucción de la ciudad", *LiminaR Estudios Sociales y Humanísticos* 5, n.º 2 (December 2006), consulted on May 6, 2015: 18-35. <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=74540203>.

²⁴ Lindón, "La casa...", 24.

²⁵ Lindón, "La casa...", 27.

social actor who resides near in terms of physical distance and increases the dissolution of social relations network, which were not necessarily deep, but used to exist.²⁶

3.3. Detailed observations and interviews

Although the MCMV regulations do not permit interventions until all the installments have been paid, modifications were identified since the first month after the keys were handed. In figure 5, cases of interventions were selected and can be classified according to the four guiding aspects.

a) *Aspect 1: New consumption patterns* – in some cases, walls were constructed in the frontal limit of the lot (Fig. 5B, 5C), in other, only the exterior walls of the house were painted (Fig. 5A). In both cases, it is still possible to see the house, which does not occur in cases that roofs were built in front of the lot (Fig. 5D, 5E). Furthermore, installation of TV/internet antennas (circled in red in Fig. 5A, 5B, 5C, 5F, 5K, 5L, 5O) and air conditioner (Fig. 5L) were identified. These interventions indicate that having low income in common does not imply a homogeneity of residents; for example, in figure 5E, besides the roof in front of the lot, a two floor annexe was built behind the house, while in figure 5F, there is not a roof but a tensioned tarpaulin, no walls were constructed in the front limit of the lot and a small annexe was built behind the house;

b) *Aspect 2: Reaction to standardization* – the similarity between interventions (Fig. 5B, 5C, 5D and 5P, 5Q, 5R) indicates an overlapping of standardizations;

c) *Aspect 3: Reaction to monofunctionality* – interventions related to commercial activities were identified (Fig. 5G, 5H, 5I, 5J), and also religious activities (Fig. 5K), in which regular reunions are held according to the sign on the wall;

d) *Aspect 4: Evidence of concern for safety and privacy* – in some cases, grids were installed in doors and windows (Fig. 5M, 5N) and in the frontal limit of the lot (Fig. 5O) and walls were constructed and garage gates were installed (Fig. 5P, 5Q, 5R); in other cases, curtains and glass adhesives in the windows and doors were identified (Fig. 5M, 5N, 5O, 5P).

The interventions made by the residents revealed a variety of particular forms of inhabiting homes and different priorities that go beyond inhabiting, as a response to the inflexibility of housing units typology and monofunctional context.

Considering Lindón's proposal, the interventions made by the dwellers cannot express the idea of the *bunker's home*. Although some of the interventions were revealed to be strategies used to deal with insecurity and privacy, that did not necessarily imply in a «closed space in relation to the exterior», since the elements that mark the boundaries between domestic and outdoor spaces create transitions.²⁷

Regarding the interviews, the absence of physical barriers facilitated our contact with the residents. This fact indicates, at the same time, the exposure and reduced privacy that the residents may be subjected to. However, it also indicates possibilities of socialization that can occur especially when the lot is not delimited with a large and solid barrier, such as walls and gates. In addition, the interviewees were solicitous and were willing to answer all the questions.

²⁶ Lindón, "La casa...", 28.

²⁷ Lindón, "La casa...", 27.

In some cases, it was possible to note the relationship of proximity and informality established among interviewees who were neighbors. Such behaviors may indicate that distrust and the tendency to individual daily practices and restricted to the interiors of the residences, discussed by Lindón, although are not absent in the CHJDN, still coexist with collective practices.



Figure 5: Cases of interventions made by the residents, João Domingos Netto Housing Complex, Presidente Prudente
 Source: F. Andrade Santos (2015-2016)

4. Final Considerations

Taking into account the transformations of global capitalism, the financialization and expansion of access to consumption in Brazil (2003-2016), in which MCMV is inserted, we confirm that access to *home ownership* involves contradictory relations between reproduction and innovation, between global and local that could be "read" in each house of the CHJDN. Considering the relations between home and city, in particular, such relations allow us to conclude that the idea of *bunker's home* is not adequate to characterize them, as evidenced by the various material and symbolic elements that demarcate boundaries between home and outdoor spaces, while creating transitions.

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