Centering community in the search for land tenure security: the experience of the Favela Community Land Trust Project in Rio de Janeiro

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Abstract: The Community Land Trust (CLT) is a land management model which involves the collective ownership of land by a community organization, in order to guarantee housing access for low-income families. This master's thesis focuses on the Favela Community Land Trust Project in Rio de Janeiro as a case study for CLT implementation in informal settlements, where the development of this community-focused housing model goes hand-in-hand with efforts to regularize the informal land that residents inhabit. Drawing on original field data from my participation as an intern for the Favela Community Land Trust Project, I found that the CLT model's emphasis on community development was central to the experience of each favela participating in the project. Both community leaders and technical supporters involved with the project elaborated on the difficulties of mobilizing residents and maintaining community participation, yet reinforced a vision of community development being the best way forward in their fight for land tenure security. Due to the laborious nature of land regularization and the structural barriers that favela residents face in maintaining community projects, the presence of an interdisciplinary group of external supporters was found to be crucial for favelas aiming to establish a form of land regularization that permanently protects them from removal.

Keywords: Community Land Trusts, community development, community mobilization, land tenure security, informal settlements, Rio de Janeiro, land regularization

Résumé: L'Organisme de foncière solidaire ("Community Land Trust", CLT) est un modèle de gestion foncière qui implique la propriété collective de terres par une association, afin de garantir l'accès au logement pour les familles à faibles revenus. Ce mémoire de master se concentre sur un projet d'organisme foncière solidaires dans les *favelas* à Rio de Janeiro comme étude de cas pour la mise en œuvre du CLT dans les quartiers informels, où le développement de ce modèle de logement – axé sur la participation de la "communauté" – va de pair avec les efforts de régularisation des terrains informels que les résidents habitent. En m'appuyant sur des données du terrain issues de ma participation en tant que stagiaire au Favela Community Land Trust Project, j'ai constaté que l'accent mis par le modèle CLT sur le développement communautaire était au cœur de l'expérience de chaque favela participant au projet. Les "leaders communautaires" et les techniciens impliqués dans le projet ont évoqué les difficultés rencontrées pour mobiliser les habitants et maintenir la participation de la communauté, tout en soulignant que le développement communautaire était le meilleur moyen d'avancer dans leur lutte pour la sécurité foncière. En raison de la nature laborieuse de la régularisation foncière et des obstacles structurels auxquels les habitants des favelas sont confrontés pour maintenir les projets collectifs, la présence d'un groupe interdisciplinaire de soutiens externes s'est avérée cruciale pour les favelas visant à établir une forme de régularisation foncière qui les protège de manière permanente contre l'expulsion.

Mots-clés: Organismes de foncière solidaire, développement communautaire, mobilisation, sécurité foncière, quartiers informels, Rio de Janeiro, régularisation foncière

Resumo: O Termo Territorial Coletivo (TTC) é um modelo de gestão fundiária que envolve a gestão coletiva da terra por uma organização comunitária, a fim de garantir o acesso à moradia para famílias de baixa renda. O presente trabalho enfoca no Projeto TTC no Rio de Janeiro como um estudo de caso para a implementação do TTC em assentamentos informais, onde o desenvolvimento desse modelo de moradia voltado para a comunidade anda de mãos dadas com os esforços de regularização fundiária. Com base em dados de campo originais de minha participação como estagiário no Projeto TTC, descobri que a ênfase do TTC no desenvolvimento da comunidade foi fundamental para a experiência de cada favela participante no projeto. Tanto os líderes comunitários quanto os apoiadores técnicos envolvidos no projeto falaram sobre as dificuldades de mobilizar os moradores e manter a participação da comunidade, mas reforçaram a visão de que o desenvolvimento da comunidade é o melhor caminho a seguir em sua luta pela segurança da posse das suas casas. Devido à natureza trabalhosa da regularização fundiária e às barreiras estruturais que os moradores das favelas enfrentam para manter os projetos comunitários, a presença de um grupo interdisciplinar de apoiadores externos foi considerada crucial para as favelas que pretendem estabelecer uma forma de regularização fundiária que as proteja permanentemente da remoção.

Palavras-chave: Termo territorial coletivo, desenvolvimento comunitário, mobilização comunitária, segurança de posse, favelas, Rio de Janeiro, regularização fundiária

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Introduction

"In turn, us residents, and I'll speak specifically on my behalf, that I do not sleep at night because this house is not paid for. If it's not paid for, it's not in my name. My name is stuck in the financial system with a debt, and the house is not paid off. It's not mine. For now, it belongs to the federal government, which made the loan. So what's my concern? My concern is about losing my story. It's not just the house, it's not just these walls. It's about losing my story. It's been twenty-something years here. So that's why we're still standing. As far as coordination goes, I fight, I speak, I give interviews, so that people from outside here will know: that there exists a form of– a housing project for the low-income population, that gives people this guarantee."[1]

The above quote is from an interview with a resident of Esperança, a housing cooperative in Rio de Janeiro's West Zone. Esperança is the first and only housing cooperative in the city sponsored by a subsection of Brazil's national social housing program, Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades. This particular resident was able to summarize, poignantly, the many issues that plague low-income residents of Rio de Janeiro in their quest for long-term and secure housing. Even as a beneficiary of a national housing program, this resident feels insecure in keeping the house they worked so hard to obtain, the house that they themselves helped build brick-by-brick with other cooperative members. So aptly described in this quote, a house is more than just four walls and a roof; a house is someone's story.

This specific case of Esperança is demonstrative of the larger issues in housing access in Brazil, and by extension in Latin America, where the region's stark income inequality is visible in substandard housing solutions. Among these solutions are government provided housing that leaves low-income families in urban peripheries with increasingly longer commute times and low living standards, as well as informal settlements, often in environmentally vulnerable locations, lacking a claim to property ownership. Considering this complex housing landscape, alternative solutions have emerged that aim to address both the insecurity of land tenure as well as the desire to remain in the neighborhoods where residents attribute their sense of identity and their history. It is precisely within this context that the Favela Community Land Trust Project emerged.

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[1] *"Por sua vez, nós moradores, eu vou falar particularmente no meu nome, que eu não deito à noite com a minha cabeça tranquila no travesseiro porque essa casa não está paga. Se ela não está paga, ela não está no meu nome. Meu nome está preso no sistema financeiro com uma dívida, e a casa não está quitada. Ela não é minha. Ela por enquanto pertence ao governo federal, que foi quem fez o empréstimo. Então qual é a minha preocupação? A minha preocupação é não perder a minha história. Não é só a casa, não é só as paredes. É não perder a minha história. Foram vinte e poucos anos aqui. Então, é por isso que a gente mantém isso de pé. Eu em quanto coordenação, eu brigo, eu falo, eu dou entrevista, nesse sentido pra que fora daqui as pessoas saibam: que existe uma forma de, de um projeto de moradia pra população de baixa renda, mas que a pessoa tenha a garantia."*

The Community Land Trust (CLT) is a model of collective property management which aims to achieve permanent housing affordability for its residents with a focus on increasing community control and empowerment. While originating in the United States, CLTs expanded to the United Kingdom and later throughout Europe, gaining momentum and acceptance as a solution to urban housing crises affecting low-income communities. Even more extensive housing crises exist in the Global South, demonstrated by the approximately 1 billion people who live in informal settlements (UN Habitat, 2016). While there are few cases of CLTs in informal settlements, the CLT model has captured the attention of urban policymakers and academics as a solution for the improvement and consolidation of informal settlements (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020). Successful cases of CLT implementation in informal settlements, such as the Fideicomiso de la Tierra of Caño Martín Peña in Puerto Rico, have been instrumental in the divulgation of the model to other communities facing similar issues (Basile and Ribeiro, 2022). Such has been the case for the Favela Community Land Trust Project which is currently undergoing a pilot project for CLT implementation in a few select neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro. This project was inspired directly by the Caño Martín Peña CLT, which successfully fought land speculation and threats of removal while utilizing existing community mobilization strategies to create a project that puts residents' interests before market interests.

The present work aims to analyze the Favela Community Land Trust (F-CLT) Project as a case study for CLT implementation in informal settlements, particularly focusing on how the model is tied to community development and how technical support affects the realization of this project. In this introductory chapter, I first provide context about the housing crisis in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro which led to the consideration of alternative models of homeownership. Then I explain how the CLT model functions and its main objectives, as well as detailing the current operations of the F-CLT Project. Following this contextualization, I present a literature review to connect the subtopics relevant to the research subject and highlight knowledge gaps. Lastly, I detail a conceptual framework relating to terminology used in this study and describe the methodology used to obtain and analyze data.

The housing crisis in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro

Despite significant advances in the past three decades, Brazil has one of the worst income distributions in Latin America: the top 10% of Brazilians earn 50 times more than the bottom 10% (World Bank, 2022). Coupled with income inequality lies the issue of housing

affordability; the formal real estate market in Brazil is highly speculative and aimed towards serving these top earners (Maricato, 2017). This inaccessibility is demonstrated by the national housing deficit, which was found to have increased steadily from 2016 to 2019, with the excessive burden of urban rent as the main determining factor of this deficit (Fundação João Pinheiro, 2021). Households earning below or close to minimum wage, particularly female-headed households, were found to be the most representative demographic of Brazilians affected by the housing deficit. This inequality is visible in major cities through the high percentage of urban residents that live in informal settlements, showing how a combination of income inequality and hostile real estate markets is linked to the housing deficit (Maricato, 2017).

The housing crisis in Brazil, intertwined with the issue of social inequality, has been the subject of various national social movements and reform policies. While Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's first two presidencies represented an increased focus from the State on reducing inequality and housing deficits, this change was met with intense real estate price increases and land speculation that counteracted the strides achieved by urban housing movements (Maricato, 2017). The national housing program Minha Casa Minha Vida has also received criticism for creating low-quality peripheral housing that did not address root causes to urban inequality (Davis and Fernandez, 2020). Other scholars note that urban interventions in Brazil are often a top-down approach from the State that fail to take into account local realities and input from those living in the affected area (Ribeiro and Litsek, 2020; Huguenin, 2021). Due to the ineffectiveness of these policies, social movement entities such as the União Nacional de Moradia Popular (UNMP) and the Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia (MNLM) sought to bring self-managed housing cooperatives as a more adequate solution to the housing deficit (Huguenin, 2021).

Rio de Janeiro is particularly affected by a national housing deficit, exemplified by its ranking as the top city in the world whose cost of living increased the most (EIU, 2017). Rio also has approximately 22% of its population living in *favelas* (IBGE, 2011), informal settlements where access to city services and transportation is substandard. Public policy and government action enacted towards this housing deficit and explosion of informal settlements in Rio goes back to the 1940s, with considerable variability in the municipality's treatment of favelas. Policies pursued by public authorities throughout the second half of the 20th century can be resumed as either removal or urbanization (Abramo and Faria, 2016). While favela removal initiatives began in the early 20th century, removal policies pushed by Rio's local government intensified during the 1960s (Soares Gonçalves, 2015). This wave of favela

removals which began in 1960 under Governor Carlos Lacerda aimed to eliminate the favela in its entirety, clearing the land for other purposes of urban development and sending favela inhabitants to mass housing projects ("conjuntos habitacionais") in peripheral neighborhoods (Abramo and Faria, 2016). Urbanization policies, on the other hand, sought to develop favelas and integrate them into the formal city through improvements in infrastructure and public services, with this type of policy present in between the Lacerda and Freitas administrations and amplified in the 1980s and onwards through a variety of government programs (Abramo and Faria, 2016; Leitão et al., 2014). These urbanization policies took on a variety of names and approaches throughout three decades, from Projeto Mutirão to Favela-Bairro to Morar Carioca. The evolution of these programs shows an increased willingness of the State to consider the rights of favela residents to remain in the land they inhabit (Leitão et al., 2014). Despite this evolution, these same urbanization programs still led to removal of parts of the affected favelas, and were often focused on the reduction or hindering of expansion of favelas located in central neighborhoods (Soares Gonçalves, 2015). Additionally, the arrival of mega-events such as the Olympics in 2016 led to harsh removal policies mirroring those of the 1960s, pushing residents away to peripheral, low-quality housing. Urbanization-focused policies therefore did not openly seek the removal of favelas as a main objective, in contrast to removal policies of the Lacerda administration, but they were not designed with the intention of improving access to centrally-located housing for low-income populations, and many of the proposed improvements came with little consultation of those residing in the targeted areas (Soares Gonçalves, 2015). Urbanization policies and their resulting infrastructure improvements also often resulted in two significant consequences on the affected territory: initiating property valorization and changing the socio-economic profile of its residents (Abramo and Faria, 2016).

Lack of housing access is both a national problem in Brazil and a local problem in Rio de Janeiro, where municipal government changes play a significant role in actions directed towards favelas. While removal policies most drastically affected favela residents, urbanization policies also had unintended consequences, leading to dislocation and peripheralization of housing. Such consequences demonstrate the complexity of the housing crisis, in which housing access is not just a matter of increased housing production but rather a consideration of factors that propagate social inequalities in cities, such as distance from the urban center and real estate speculation that bars minimum wage earners from the formal housing market. The top-down approach of urbanization policies in Rio in the past three decades failed to bring long-lasting improvements for favela residents, fueling the continuous

search by social movements and civil society actors for alternative solutions to housing access. It is precisely in this search for alternative solutions that the Community Land Trust model entered academic and activist circles as a possibility for regularizing favelas' informal land tenure while avoiding dislocation and further peripheralization of Rio de Janeiro's urban poor.

The Favela Community Land Trust Project in Rio de Janeiro

The Community Land Trust model began to gain traction in the network of civil society actors and urban social movements in Rio de Janeiro in 2018, in which the NGO Catalytic Communities (CatComm) played a significant role in initiating dialogue on the model's applicability to Rio's favelas. The Rio-based NGO was inspired by the Fideicomiso de la Tierra of Caño Martín Peña when they were awarded the World Habitat Award, which demonstrated how the CLT model could be successfully applied to informal settlements in Latin America (World Habitat, 2020). Since then, CatComm has organized international dialogues between the Caño Martín Peña CLT and favela community leaders in Rio de Janeiro, with funding from the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. As a result of these dialogues, the Community Land Trust model became more prominent in Rio, which Brazilian researchers and practitioners have translated as *Termo Territorial Coletivo* in Portuguese. In 2018, Catalytic Communities launched the Favela Community Land Trust (F-CLT) Project to manage the implementation of CLTs in Rio favelas and advocate for public policy inclusion of the model. The F-CLT Project now works with four pilot communities in different stages of CLT application, in addition to organizing a larger working group for CLTs nationwide.

It is important to note that there is currently no finalized Community Land Trust in Brazil. The participating pilot community that is closest to implementing a CLT is Conjunto Esperança, with an established and registered CLT association. However, since this process involves land regularization that has no certain resolution date, there is no guaranteed timeline as to when the CLT will be established in full, and another pilot community could very well arrive sooner if their land regularization process presents fewer barriers. The development of a CLT, particularly as the first example of this model in Brazil, is expected to take a long time and require continuous mobilization in the implementation process. The Fideicomiso de la Tierra in San Juan, for example, took over two years to complete their participative planning process alone, consisting of a large-scale operation counting on over 700 community meetings and outreach activities (Algoed and Hernández Torrales, 2019).

The Favela Community Land Trust Project is currently accompanying four different neighborhoods interested in implementing a CLT, denoted as "pilot communities." These pilot communities are Esperança, Shangri-Lá, Trapicheiros, and Vila Autódromo. Two of the pilot communities are housing cooperatives constructed via *mutirão*, in which the standardized houses were built by residents themselves in an organized process delegating each participant with work hours and tasks. These housing cooperatives were supported by volunteers from religious organizations, as well as by international funders and social movements. Despite the level of organization required in forming the housing cooperatives, both of these pilot communities are on irregular land and do not have land tenure security. Trapicheiros and Vila Autódromo are self-constructed informal settlements, representing the more typical format of favelas in Rio, in which houses are self-constructed by families and relatives and expanded upon over the years (Abramo and Faria, 2016). Both favelas have fought removal attempts by the local government in the past, with a large part of Vila Autódromo residents being evicted despite having usage rights to their land (Ivester, 2017). All four pilot communities are relatively small, ranging from a population of 20 to 70 households per neighborhood.

In addition to accompanying the four pilot communities in the process of CLT implementation, the Favela Community Land Trust Project also works extensively in advocacy for the inclusion of the CLT model in public policy. Another activity that the F-CLT Project has taken on since 2021 revolves around national dissemination of the CLT model throughout Brazil, meeting regularly with activists and civil society actors outside of Rio de Janeiro who wish to implement CLTs in their local communities. In 2023, the F-CLT Project helped organize and participated in regional workshops throughout the country, connecting first-hand experience from Rio to the challenges and possibilities present in other cities.

Defining characteristics of the Community Land Trust model in Brazil

For the purpose of this study, it is important to lay out the defining principles of a CLT. While the CLT model is flexible and adaptable to various local contexts (Davis et al., 2020), the structure of a CLT has definitive characteristics that distinguishes itself from other collective land tenure or social housing models. While there is great diversity in CLT applications around the world, most CLTs conform to the following defining characteristics: voluntary adhesion, collective ownership of land, individual ownership of homes, participatory management of the territory, and sustainability of the CLT's maintenance (Ribeiro, 2020). For contemporary CLTs in the United States, Davis (2010) denotes these

defining characteristics as common ownership of land, individual ownership of buildings, and a long-term (typically 99 years) title for the land that is owned by a nonprofit organization whose governing board is elected by a majority of the CLTs members. Davis affirms that a key part of the CLT model is a tripartite governing board, where homeowners in the CLT share governing responsibilities with neighboring residents and other public actors (2010). While the F-CLT Project retains most of these characteristics, they have adapted their vision for the model to the limits of Brazilian laws as well as other considerations for informal settlements, greatly inspired by the CLT arrangement used in Puerto Rico for the Caño Martín Peña communities.

The Community Land Trust model caught the attention of Rio-based housing rights actors for its focus on anti-speculation measures and on community development, in this way addressing the areas in which past housing policies failed to enact lasting change for socioeconomic improvements through housing access. In the context of informal settlements specifically, the CLT model is also seen as a long-term solution for securing land tenure (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020; Ribeiro et. al, 2022). In order to evaluate the experiences of the F-CLT Project, it is crucial to outline how the CLT model addresses these three objectives of combatting speculation, encouraging community development, and securing land tenure.

As mentioned previously, the principal defining factor of any Community Land Trust is a separation of land ownership and homeownership; members of a CLT are owners of their own homes, considered individual property just as in the traditional understanding of homeownership. However, the land in which said property pertains belongs to the CLT's legal entity. The owner is a community association that each member takes part in, whether as voting members of an assembly or as board members who take on a more active role in land management. This separation of land ownership and individual housing titles is meant to give each resident the security of owning their own home while avoiding the negative effects of real estate speculation. Real estate speculation targets the value of land, and not necessarily the physical properties occupying that land. Removing the land from the traditional real estate market, having it collectively managed by a community association and reserved for affordable housing, is meant to protect against this speculation that often leads to dislocation of low-income residents. Urbanization and infrastructure improvements in the area integrated into a Community Land Trust would therefore serve its original intended beneficiaries, avoiding some of the undesired mobility caused by property valorization that leads to long-time residents moving to peripheral neighborhoods.
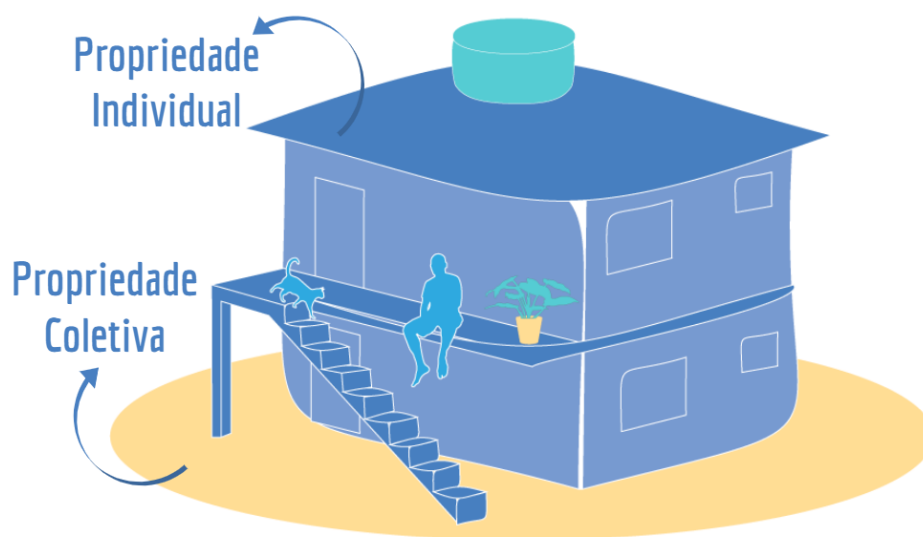
Figure 1. Graphic used in F-CLT Project presentations to visualize the separation of an individual housing title and collective ownership of the land.

Another crucial aspect of the CLT model is its focus on community development. While the term "community development" has a variety of meanings and uses in urban and development studies, which will be further explored in the theoretical framework of this study, this generally implies the direct involvement of CLT residents in decisions affecting their neighborhood. As mentioned above, the land of the CLT area is collectively owned and managed by a community association. This association is a legalized entity registered by public notary with a set of rules and regulations on how the CLT is managed, with particular attention to board member elections and the roles of each CLT board position. Aside from residents being directly involved in board elections and other collective decision-making about the CLT, the association is linked to community development in the sense that it can improve articulation between residents and public authorities in order to meet community needs. Ribeiro and Litsek elaborate on this point:

> "As soon as a community organization - created and regulated by residents - becomes owner of the occupied territory, the relationship with public authorities changes to another level. Bargaining power and negotiation is strengthened, not only with the government but with service-providing agencies, since all decisions relative to the territory must necessarily go through the property-owning entity." (2020, p. 12, author's translation)[2]

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[2]"A partir do momento que uma organização comunitária - formada e regida pelos moradores - se torna proprietária do território ocupado, a relação com o Poder Público muda de patamar. O poder de negociação e barganha é fortalecido, não apenas com o governo mas também com agências prestadoras de serviços, já que todas as decisões relativas ao território precisam necessariamente passar pela entidade proprietária."

Considering this aspect, the CLT model encourages community development not only by participation of residents in collective decision-making and management of their territory, but also in strengthening their relationship with public authorities and other actors to secure basic services and address community interests.

Finally, particularly in the context of informal settlements and for the Rio pilot project, securing land tenure is a primary objective of the Community Land Trust. For those living in informal settlements, land tenure security goes beyond legality and the mere possession of a land title: Zazyki (2020) highlights the significance of the perception that residents themselves have of their land tenure security. Some factors that affect this perception are the duration of an occupation, the size of the informal settlement, and the level of community organization within the settlement (Zazyki, 2020). The CLT model therefore addresses land tenure security by encouraging land titling that is fully regularized through the state, but in addition is regularized and maintained by the community association owning the land. In the internal regulations, decided on collectively by CLT members, rules on buying and selling within the land trust area are established. This protects residents from either state or non-state actors acquiring the land on which their home resides, or from nearby land value speculation affecting the costs of living in their neighborhood, reducing the perception of insecurity over land tenure.

Literature review

While the Rio CLT project is relatively new, many scholars have studied CLTs in other national contexts as well as collective land tenure in Latin America. Here I divide the relevant literature into three sections: collective land tenure and the social production of habitat in Latin America, community development as a focus of the CLT model, and the specificities of CLT implementation in informal settlements.

Collective land tenure and the social production of habitat in Latin America

While the CLT model remains relatively unknown in Latin America, forms of collective land management have long existed in the region. Arnold et al. (2020) claim that collective land tenure dates back to pre-colonial times and began to diminish during the colonial invasion of the Americas as well as during the expansion of capitalism in the 19th century. Collective land tenure, in this sense, was usually held in rural territories occupied by indigenous communities or by descendants of formerly-enslaved peoples. Arnold et al., however, assert that there is a link between collective land tenure that has long persisted in

rural areas of Latin America and the social production of habitat tied to more recent urban movements in the region (2020). Since the late 20th century, the influence of the Washington Consensus and organizations like the World Bank promoted individual private property as a form of social progress, therefore resulting in many policies targeting informal settlements to revolve around distributing individual land titles (Ortiz Flores, 2002; Arnold et al., 2020). In the aftermath of the rapid urbanization without adequate social housing policy, forms of collective housing emerged in what some Latin American scholars describe as "the social production of habitat" (Ortiz Flores, 2002; HIC-AL, 2017). Arnold et al. (2020) present the CVAM, Cooperativas de Vivienda por Ayuda Mutua, from Uruguay as the most prominent urban model of collective land tenure in Latin America. These housing cooperatives are represented by a national federation, FUCVAM, which has been dedicated to sharing experiences and collaborating with other regional housing rights movements, such as the União Nacional de Moradia Popular (UNMP) based in Brazil and the Movimiento de Ocupantes e Inquilinos (MOI) based in Argentina. Huguenin (2021) further summarizes the dialogues and exchanges that led to the expansion of cooperative housing models in Latin America: meetings between the forementioned national housing movements of Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina led to the creation of the Secretaría Latinoamericana de la Viviendia y el Hábitat Popular (SELVHIP), a network of organizations seeking to promote housing policy centered on self-management that challenge the dominant capitalist conception of housing markets.

Through this explosion of social movement networking around collective land tenure and housing cooperatives, collective land tenure landed into the domain of urban social housing policy, leading to further academic attention on alternatives to traditional mass social housing policy. Herrera et al. (2019), studying the case of Mexico's housing deficit and social housing initiatives, find that government programs focused on constructing social interest housing only focus on the economic aspect of social housing and not on overall quality of life. The same authors therefore suggest cooperative forms of social production of housing as an alternative to addressing the housing deficit, since the cooperative model involves resident participation in all steps of the social housing generation process, emphasizing the influence of FUCVAM and a few successful case studies in Mexico of cooperative housing projects. Despite the perceived success of the Uruguayan model and its potential in other Latin American cities, various authors underline the challenges this model faces in Brazil. Friedrich (2015), looking at the case of a housing cooperative in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, shares how cooperative participants underestimated the difficulty of gaining finalized

houses and land titles through this process, particularly without sufficient technical assistance and support from public agencies. Bordenave (2022) also highlights how administrative hurdles and government opacity significantly hindered the completion of the Esperança housing cooperative in Rio de Janeiro, which is notably one of the pilot communities of the Favela Community Land Trust Project. Huguenin shows as well how the concept of collective property was most difficult to implement in Brazil's adaptation of the FUCVAM cooperative housing model, with only the case of Rio de Janeiro being able to construct a legal framework for a collectively-owned housing cooperative, through the technical assistance of NGO Fundação Bento Rubião and with funding from international donors (2021). Among the goals of initiating these housing cooperatives in Rio was to prove to public authorities the viability of this model in Brazil (Huguenin, 2021), however, to this day both of these cooperatives face obstacles in obtaining full land regularization and property rights.

The aforementioned authors demonstrate that multiple connections arise between collective land tenure and the social production of habitat in Latin America, proving ample room for further investigation into how the CLT model fits in a regional and national context. Both Davis and Fernandez (2020) and Arnold et al. (2020) suggest that the history of collective land tenure in Latin America can be revived in urban movements, challenging the persistent norms of individual property rights that overshadow successful cases of social production of habitat in the region. Recent experiences in cooperative housing in Brazil show that collective land ownership is still debated as a possibility in the social production of habitat, and that despite the gains achieved through intra-regional networking organizations such as SELVIHP, cooperative housing movements faces obstacles in their application to different national contexts and in gaining institutional support. Additionally, Ortiz Flores asserts that while innovative examples of the social production of habitat have won international awards and are often labelled as 'best practices,' these types of examples still remain rare gems throughout the region (2002).

The Community Land Trust model and community development

The Community Land Trust has been employed as a model that combats gentrification, limiting the effects of real estate speculation on a neighborhood to ensure that residents are not displaced (Choi et al., 2018). Aside from its aim towards creating affordable housing, what sets apart the CLT model from other housing solutions is its focus on community development and empowerment (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020). DeFilippis et al.

(2019) denote two key areas of CLT-related research: the first area focuses on adoption and efficacy of the model and is mostly quantitative, while the second area focuses on the political potential of CLTs, the social changes they evoke, often referring to community organization and participation. DeFilippis et al. distinguish this second angle as being less studied, and a cause for debate in CLT literature (2019). Therefore in this review I will focus on the role of community development in CLTs.

Despite community participation being central to the CLT model, scholars and practitioners lament the diminishing role of the "community" part of Community Land Trusts (DeFilippis et al, 2018; Davis, 2022; Kruger et al. 2020). Other scholars note that community empowerment through CLT is not guaranteed, and that a focus on community participation in housing policy can fail to account for existing power imbalances within the community affected (Moore and McKee, 2012; Monkkonen, 2018). Tognato and Furtado (2022) reference cases of community organizers in the United States who clarify that there is no naturally established consensus on what is best for a neighborhood from all of its residents, and that often finding the answer to what is best for a certain neighborhood is found more easily in the disagreements and debates between community members than in unanimous agreement. Ribero et al. (2022), in a review of four international CLT cases, showed that the importance, and difficulty, of maintaining continuous community mobilization was a constant in all four cases. While scholars and practitioners unanimously agree on the importance of community participation in CLT management, these findings show that community involvement can be just as big of a barrier to CLT success as technical and legal barriers to land acquisition.

Partner organizations and funding is also a crucial factor to the community development aspect of the CLT model. Gray and Galande (2011) found in their case study of a CLT in the United States that having a paid community organizer had a great impact on the levels of community mobilization achieved, and that CLT residents felt a subsequent loss of the "community" in their land trust when this position was terminated due to lack of funding. Since many US-based CLTs supported by nonprofit organizations with a mix of private and public funding, pressure from funders is visible through the way certain CLT organizations have changed their focused to results-based housing development rather than community engagement (Kruger et al., 2020). Moore and McKee (2012) bring up the issue of the amount of work involved, whether paid or through volunteer availability, to implement and manage CLTs, elaborating on how this need led to a structure of more professionalized sub-regional "umbrella CLTs" in England that focus on filling the gap in technical support to smaller

CLTs. Maintaining community mobilization is therefore seen as a question of resource availability and the capacity of civil society actors to provide this resource. Funding and professionalized support of CLT is therefore a crucial point to consider in their longevity, as Moore and McKee state: "if CLTs are to be strongly reliant on community volunteers, the long-term governance and management of the organisation may affect the sustainability of CLTs or take their structure in different directions in terms of community emphasis and involvement" (2012, p. 288). Thompson similarly argues in the case of a CLT in the United Kingdom that relying on local volunteers presents a significant barrier, demanding "residents' proactive capacities, skills, and motivations to engage in complicated campaign and development processes" (2015, p. 1039).

Considering the focus that CLT literature has shown on participation and continuous community mobilization, there is a lack of studies that combine CLT case studies with literature on community development or that critically evaluate the role of participation and mobilization. Green mentions CLTs as an example of a "place-based approach" to community development, in which place-based approaches revolve around the idea that "the needs of the poor and low-income residents can best be met through local initiatives, especially those that are designed and implemented by residents" (2017, p. 87). Green discusses the challenges faced in implementing place-based approaches in the context of community development, particularly for community ownership. Training programs and financial resources typically target creation of for-profit enterprises, so getting the necessary funds and technical assistance in creating alternative forms of organization is difficult. Lack of managerial experience can also serve as a barrier to maintaining community-owned organizations. Tognato and Furtado (2022) also link community development theory to CLT implementation, and notably argue that those involved in the creation of a CLT must reconcile between the challenges of participative political processes and the pragmatism involved in the provision and management of housing services.

One issue among CLT literature focusing on community development is also the different conceptualizations of the term itself. Tognato and Furtado, for example, utilize a conceptualization of community development as an articulation between the organization of local initiatives and the engagement of the corresponding community in the pursuit of improved life conditions (2022). Gray and Galande (2011) mention community development in passing, and even as a point of contrast to community organizing. This interpretation of community development, so widely varying from the definition employed by Tognato and Furtado, could be linked to the specific history of community development in the United

States, which DeFilippis et al. (2019) claim changed in meaning by the end of the 1960s, referring more to brick and mortar development than radical social change involving mobilization of residents. Kruger et al. (2020) propose a more robust theoretical and conceptual framework for understanding who and what the "community" is in their study of CLTs, distinguishing between place-based and interests-based forms of community and ultimately showing that both of these forms operate in the CLTs evaluated by their case study. All of the above variations in conceptualizing community development demonstrate a lack of cohesion in seeing the problem of the "C" in CLT, as well as an over-reliance on experiences in the United States when it comes to analyzing more global experiences of collective land management.

Community Land Trust implementation in informal settlements

While Community Land Trust literature is abundant, most articles look at cases in the United States or Europe, and often involve housing construction or creating a CLT entity for neighborhoods that already take part in the formal city. The amount of CLTs in informal settlements, often associated with cities in the Global South (Basile and Ribeiro, 2022), are low but have gained scholarly attention, especially as the CLT model is increasingly discussed as a possible solution to improving and consolidating informal settlements. While a CLT is not the right solution for all informal settlements, the model tackles some of the downfalls of other common policy solutions, notably in comparison to policies that involve mass social housing, land titling, and upgrading (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020). As Abramo and Faria (2016) discern, such policies frequently lead to displacement in the case of Rio de Janeiro's informal settlements, either through increased property costs and cost of living in the case of upgrading and land titling, or through mass social housing projects located in urban peripheries.

As the CLT model has gained traction in policy discussions on informal settlements, scholars have pointed out the specific challenges and necessary modifications of the model to take into account. While one of the strengths attributed to the CLT model is its adaptability to different cities and even countries (Tognato and Furtado, 2022), Basile and Ribeiro (2022) make a crucial point about transferring policy models to different local contexts; 'best practices' can lead to policymaking that only tries to copy and paste a model without considering local reality, differing histories, and past policies already implemented in a city or neighborhood. One example that Basile and Ribeiro (2022) provide is that of the CLT board, the community-governed entity that manages the land trust. The typical makeup of a CLT

board is usually split as one-third residents, one-third adjacent residents, and one-third technical allies. While this board composition has proven to work well in cases from the US or Europe, such an arrangement could be problematic for informal settlements, considering that adjacent neighbors often favor removal policies of these same settlements. Another factor lies in the relationship informal settlements can have with public authority. CLT literature has highlighted the importance of local government support in land acquisition and policy enabling CLT creation (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020), yet Ribeiro et al. (2022) note in their comparison of CLTs in the Global North and Global South that support from public officials can become more ambiguous and weak in the cases from Latin America. This ambiguity is exemplified in the case of the Caño Martín Peña CLT in Puerto Rico, where the creation of the CLT itself was supported both financially and technically by a public entity (Algoed and Hernández Torrales, 2019; Veronesi et al. 2022), yet still faced various confrontations with the local municipal government in asserting their collective management of land (HIC-AL, 2017).

In the context of weak government support, what the literature has most predominantly identified as "technical supporters" can be seen as a key ingredient to CLT success in informal settlements. Basile and Ribeiro (2022) argue that technical supporters are an important part of CLT implementation, since they provide specific knowledge that can relieve some barriers for potential CLT residents and community organizers. Bordenave (2022) recounts the barriers that residents of the Grupo Esperança faced in accessing information about land regularization, and how the Favela Community Land Trust Project team aided in this access. The influence of technical supporters can be tied to the social production of habitat in Latin America as well, since Ortiz Flores also states that many of the successful cases of social production of habitat in Latin America count on interdisciplinary technical and professional support (2002). Ribeiro et al. (2022) argue that aside from being crucial for CLT implementation in all parts of the world, technical supporters are of particular interest to CLTs in the Global South in regard to avoiding possible cooptation of the CLT and maintaining community control. In addition to legal assistance and facilitating community participation, this often third party support can help secure funding from international organizations, as shown in two cases of CLTs in Puerto Rico and Kenya (Basile and Ehlenz, 2020). Despite the importance of technical supporters being mentioned in much of the literature on CLT implementation, and particularly CLTs in the Global South, the role of technical supporters, as well as extensive international collaboration among different

academics, civil society actors, and practitioners, has not been analyzed in the context of successfully implementing a CLT model in informal settlements.

While the focus on community development has often been mentioned in articles about CLTs in informal settlements, less so are the specificities of community organizing in informal settlements and the historical context of these same communities. Tognato and Furtado (2022) look specifically at community practices in CLTs, focusing on the potential of the CLT model in Brazil, however they still admit to citing research from case studies in the Global North as a frame of reference for community practices. Ribeiro et al. (2022) do point out that the socioeconomic context of cities in the Global South makes community mobilization more challenging, since residents already struggle to survive with the economic barriers and social disparities they face in everyday life. The same authors, however, emphasize that success in the community involvement sector can be attributed to the many experiences that Brazilian favelas already have in using resistance and community mobilization to form alternative ways of managing territory (Ribeiro et al., 2022, p. 24), yet this angle has not been extensively explored in existent literature on CLT management and community development.

Theoretical framework

This section seeks to define and elaborate on the following terms that are relevant to this study: the social production of habitat, community development, community mobilization, participation, and community.

The social production of habitat

By looking at the F-CLT Project through the lens of social production of habitat, I intend to take into account the wealth of experiences in Latin America that relate to self-managed housing initiatives and how housing is inherently connected to the social world. The social production of habitat can be briefly defined as "all processes that generate habitable spaces, urban components, and dwellings carried out under the control of autonomous producers and other nonprofit social agents"[3] (Ortiz Flores, 2012, p. 73, author's translation). The concept of the social production of habitat defines housing as a process rather than a mere product. This process has social and cultural value, a value that lies in the interactions between the actors it involves, implying social participation in all levels of

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[3] "todos aquellos procesos generadores de espacios habitables, componentes urbanos y viviendas que se realizan bajo el control de autoproductores y otros agentes sociales que operan sin fines de lucro."

planning and management (Salama, 2019). The dominant ideal of individual private property conceals the social status of housing, what Merklen argues is a major blind spot in Latin American governments' quest to treat housing deficits (2021). The social production of habitat therefore centralizes the question of housing as an intrinsic part of the social world. Ortiz Flores (2012) posits that the social production of habitat contributes to strengthening community practices, direct democracy, self-esteem of participants, and social coexistence due to its focus on participation, organization and solidarity between residents.

Housing movements in Brazil have been defined and critically analyzed as examples of social production of habitat in multiple scholarly works. Buguiere et al. (2016), for example, compare the original housing cooperatives in Montevideo to the cooperatives that they inspired in Rio de Janeiro, focusing on the political project of these cooperatives to understand the heterogeneous nature of the social production of habitat. Alencar (2013) studies the housing movement of Recife through the lens of social production of habitat, in which the real estate market and Brazil's land regularization landscape are significant barriers to this process, and finding that key partnerships for both technical assistance and political representation are crucial in accessing and negotiating land rights.

Community development

For being a term so frequently used by both international and local NGOs, the academic discussion on community development is broad and hardly unified. As Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan put it, community development is "an often-nebulous term defined by many conceptual and practical characterizations" (2022, p. 1). As seen in the literature review, community development can even be described as a process less focused on the targeted "community" and more on material production, depending on the context this term is employed in. For the purpose of outlining the theoretical framework of this study, I seek to outline the definitions of community development that are most relevant to the practices pursued by the Favela Community Land Trust project.

Veronesi et al., in their analysis of the Caño Martín Peña CLT in Puerto Rico, opt for the term "community-led development", defined as "strategies and processes for local improvement which are delivered directly by organised community members" (2022, p. 388). Elaborating on this open definition, they claim that

> "community-led development is not only about managing land once collective ownership has been secured, but also includes paramount and/or interconnected activities such as advocacy for supportive legislation or finance for communal land

> tenure, community organising and mobilisation, collective savings to finance projects, such as the provision of permanently affordable adequate housing, people-led data collection and documentation of households and neighbourhood characteristics, assets, infrastructure, and history" (Veronesi et al., 2022: 389).

This conceptualization therefore implies community organizing and mobilization as parts of the greater community development process, and envisions results of improved articulation with external actors in order to secure resources for the CLT.

Tognato and Furtado (2022), in their review of US-based CLT community practices and possible applications in Brazil, employ the following definition of community development:

> "a process that entails organization, facilitation, and action, which allows people to establish ways to create the community they want to live in. It is a process that provides vision, planning, direction, and coordinated action toward desired goals associated with the promotion of efforts aimed at improving the conditions in which local resources operate. As a result, community developers harness local economic, human, and physical resources to secure daily requirements and respond to changing needs and conditions" (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan, 2015, p. 297).

This definition matches in certain aspects with that of Veronesi. et al, in the sense that community development is seen as a process to articulate the demands of community members themselves, and one that includes a wide range of action. One notable difference though is the use of "community developers," implying a professionalization of community development.

Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2022) have also formulated a typology of three forms of community development: imposed, directed, and grassroots. Imposed community development typically involves private companies or government actors as primary stakeholders, in which they are providing a technical or structural asset to the community. It does not involve community participation or promote capacity building, this type of community development is more about the external agency providing their resources and expertise to do a project in the way they see fit. Directed community development, often pursued by local governments and NGOs, practices with greater focus on consultation of the designated public. This community input aspect makes directed community development more empowering and more focused on capacity building than the imposed form, but the consultation process can be superficial. The residents' input is considered but perhaps not of great importance, and the community consultation can be considered just another way to convince residents of a program that the NGO or local government actor is already going to implement. The grassroot form of community development sees the community in a much different way than directed and imposed forms; it's seen as "a place where people associate

with each other while building meaningful relationships critical for the community's subsistence" (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan, 2022, p. 7). For grassroot forms of community development, the emphasis is not only on results but rather on interactions between community members and on capacity building and empowerment.

An important point that Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan make is that these three different types of community development do not exist separately from another; in reality, they often act in the same space. While the grassroots form of community development is often highlighted by academics, social movements, and other third sector actors as a best practice, Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2022) point out that there are still drawbacks to relying only on grassroots community development. Members of a community might lack time and energy and resources to implement more complex projects. Relying on local participation and involvement can also be an obstacle, since both Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2022) and various CLT-oriented authors note how reduced levels of participation and community mobilization is commonplace (Davis, 2022; Moore and McKee, 2012; Tognato and Furtado, 2022).

For the purpose of this study, I propose a definition of community development that combines those used by Matarrita-Cascante (2015) and Veronesi et al. (2022): as a process that implies organization and mobilization to secure resources and improve the overall wellbeing of the geographic area determined as part of the community, while maintaining focus on the protagonism of community members to assess and act upon their collective needs. In this study, special attention will be given to the three types of community development formulated by Matarrita-Cascante (2022), looking at the role of external actors and challenges involved in grassroots organizing.

Community mobilization

Community mobilization and community organizing, concepts that fit within the above conceptualization of community development, are two other key terms to understand the dynamics of the Favela Community Land Trust Project. Tognato and Furtado (2022) conceptualize the community aspect of the CLT model as relating to both community organizing and community development, the former referring to the political mobilization of community members and the latter referring to the provision of services. Talpin and Balazard (2016) divide community organizing into different subtypes. One of these subtypes is broad based community organizing, more in the Alinksy tradition, which involves utilizing networks of civil society actors present in the area. Meanwhile, individual organizing seeks

the participation and mobilization of the "non-organized," those who are not part of existing organizations and usually the most marginalized. This type of organizing is intensive and involves door-to-door work and neighborhood meetings to address local issues and create a specific campaign based on these issues. Talpin and Balazard (2016) also mention how community organizing is dependent on foundations and member support, therefore not being dependent on public authority support but still dependent on private funding. In this line of thought, community organizing is perceived as a profession, that could be remunerated or volunteer work, similarly to how Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan imply a profession of "community developers" (2015).

A point of confusion lies in the difference between "community organizing" and "community mobilization," as both seem to be used interchangeably in CLT-focused literature. In the case of the Favela Community Land Trust Project, community mobilization is closely linked with community participation, seen as the process of seeking or facilitating residents participation in community-related activities, and could be interpreted as a mix of the two subtypes of community organizing delineated by Talpin and Balazard above. However, community mobilization is seen as a task requiring aid from technical supporters but also from within the community itself. For clarity purposes, I propose using the term community mobilization as an umbrella term for community organizing, referring to efforts to stimulate participation of the "non-organized" members of a community while also utilizing networks of civil society actors to bring about change in a community.

Community participation

The concept of community participation is also murky, with various academic interpretations. Hataya (2007) conceptualizes community participation in the context of urban development in one sense as "the mobilisation of the intended beneficiaries of a specific programme," in which the beneficiaries are sought as decision-makers in the implementation of a given project. Hataya adds, however, that in real world practice community participation should also be interpreted as a commitment to collective action, as "people's involvement in communal actions in order to obtain collective needs" (2007, p. 8). In this sense, community participation is defined as not just a commitment community members have to external actors instigating their consultation, but also the actions taking place within the community itself. Mitlin (2001) argues that an issue lies in the way government actors and NGOs evaluate community participation, particularly due to a lack of focus on interactions between community leaders and community members. Mitlin also brings up the issue of who

participates in community organizations, with a focus on gender, pointing out how studies have shown women to be more participative in community efforts, despite community leadership being more male-dominated (2001). These perspectives on community participation are relevant to the F-CLT Project's work, helping to critically evaluate how participation is enacted within the community development focus of this project.

A note on "community"

Perhaps the most ubiquitous term in this study, "community" is also found to have widely varying definitions and instrumentalization in the literature. For example, through the mostly North American based theory on community organizing, "community" is seen as a space of mobilization, with social and political meaning; it is an intermediary institution (Talpin and Balazard, 2016). Hataya (2007), on the other hand, notes how in the development world, "community" is often used to refer to the beneficiaries of a particular development project, regardless of the internal heterogeneity of this targeted population. Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan define community "as a locality comprised by people residing in a geographical area; the resources such people require to subsist and progress; and the processes in which such individuals engage to distribute and exchange such resources to fulfill local needs and wants" (2022, p. 295). Algoed and Hernández Torrales, in their analysis of the Caño Martín Peña CLT, choose to interpret community using the following definition by Oliver-Smith: "a group of interacting people who have something in common with one another, sharing similar understandings, values, life practices, histories, and identities within a certain framework of variation" (2005, p. 54). Accordingly, Algoed and Hernández Torrales describe the residents Caño Martín Peña as a community of "people who share a highly politicized geographical area" (2019, p. 40). Therefore, community can be an inherently political space of mobilization, a targeted group of beneficiaries, a group of people defined by their common history and values, a group of people tied to a geographical area, and a group of people defined by their exchange of resources to fulfill needs. Such variation in interpreting "community" demonstrates how the meaning is construed depending on the intentions of the actors that are identifying a community: whether the community is a geographic area or certain demographic targeted by public policy, or a group associated with social movements and seen as protagonists in said movements, and so on. These aforementioned definitions of "community" are also a non-exhaustive list of all the existing interpretations, rather presenting the understanding and framing of "community" that are most often linked to community development.

It is also important to note the issue of translation and interpretation of the word "community" in Portuguese, and particularly the usage of this word in Rio de Janeiro's urban context. While terms such as community development ("desenvolvimento comunitário") and community mobilization ("mobilização comunitária") involve a real world use that matches the literature's interpretation, community ("comunidade") is often used as a synonym for "favela." How "comunidade" came to be used almost interchangeably with "favela" is no matter of chance; rather, it came about in a complex web of both idealism from Christianity and an imaginary of Brazilian traditional culture, as well as intentions from actors both internal and external to favelas to counterpoise images of these areas as ridden with violence and morally lacking (Birman, 2008). Birman discerns various interpretations of this synonymous use, with one of them relating to favela residents' own emphasis on shared common spaces and common history, elaborating:

> "It can thus be indicated through the term community that significant personal experiences are deeply associated with their places of occurrence, with environments whose physical, geographic and social characteristics contribute to their importance."[4] (2008, p. 111, author's translation)

Such represents how this internal identification of favelas as communities is a way of valorizing shared experience and history, and the social ties associated with the urban space they occupy.

While community is a term that generally holds a positive charge, the use of this term as a synonym for "favela" complicates this assumption. Some authors argue, for example, that this use of "comunidade" is a euphemism. Birman (2008) notes that this euphemistic identification does not erase the stigmas associated with the term it means to replace. During my own personal housing search in Rio de Janeiro, I saw how rental listings exemplified this; landlords would often describe their property as being "longe da comunidade," literally translating to "far away from community," using this euphemism for favela without erasing the negative stigma. Santana et al. come to a similar conclusion on "comunidade" as a euphemism, arguing that replacing "favela" with "comunidade" hides the historical significance of slavery in Brazil, and its long-lasting impacts that persist into the substandard living conditions of favela residents (2021, p. 20). The way that favelas are seen as communities, and referred to as such literally in Portuguese, therefore depicts another factor which localizes the CLT model to Rio de Janeiro specifically and not just to informal

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[4] "Pode-se indicar assim por meio do termo comunidade que experiências pessoais significativas se encontram profundamente associadas aos seus lugares de ocorrência, a ambientes cujas características físicas, geográficas e sociais contribuem para a sua importância."

settlements, in the sense that the meaning of community and community development comes into contact with a pre-existing meaning and history behind the term that is tied to a national and local history.

Valladares (2007), who studies the academic focus on favelas and the dogmas created by their scholarly interpretation, makes an interesting point about the vision of favelas as spaces of community. Valladares argues that these dogmas can be problematic if they are not sufficiently called into question, even if they represent an activist tendency in research to "insist on the participation capacity of residents, on the understanding of marginalized neighborhoods as spaces of solidarity, on the link between territorial identity and involvement"[5] (2007:63, author's translation). In this light, imagining favelas as inherent spaces of community and solidarity can be an intentional activist approach to assisting in the valorization of historically marginalized areas. While Birman's (2008) aforementioned analysis proves that this idealization of favelas as communities is not a baseless myth, such an approach leaves room for the obfuscation of what defines a community in the context of informal settlements. Santana et al. demonstrate how this interpretation is seen in cases outside of Brazil referring to informal settlements overall, showing one instance where language from a document published by UN Habitat referred to informal settlements initially as "slums," but in the following sentence referred to them as "communities" when discussing "local participation" as a tool of urban development (2021, p. 31). This example implies that informal settlements are positively referred to as "communities" when their political participation and mobilization is centered.

In the language of the Favela Community Land Trust Project, the four geographical neighborhoods involved in the project are referred to as pilot communities ("comunidades pilotos"). The interpretation here goes both ways; community can be understood as a common-use synonym of favela, but being a project focused on community development, "comunidade" is likewise interpreted as a geographical area where residents are presumed to share common history, values, and work together to secure resources, in addition to mirroring a trend in development language that envisions informal settlements as targets of participative and solidarity-based policy. For the purposes of this study, I define community as a space of mobilization within the limits of a geographical area, with special attention to the interpretation of community by interlocutors contributing to my qualitative data considering

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[5] "à insister sur la capacité de participation des habitants du quartier, sur la lecture des quartiers populaires comme des espaces de solidarité, sur le lien entre identité du territoire et engagement"

the context in which they interpret community, based on their profession and their upbringing in Rio de Janeiro.

Research question

Using the aforementioned theoretical framework, this study seeks to delineate the factors that contribute to community development in Community Land Trusts, by focusing on the case of the CLT pilot projects in Rio de Janeiro. By evaluating the experiences of community development in the Rio pilot projects, I seek to add insights to the unique experiences of CLTs in informal settlements and connect them to the larger transnational experience of CLTs, ultimately bridging the gap between skewed research on the Global North and the realities of CLT implementation in the Global South. Accordingly, the central research question of this project is: How does the CLT model influence community development in the Rio pilot communities?

In answering this research question, I focus on the following factors:

1. The history and extent of community mobilization in each favela involved in the pilot project
2. The role of technical supporters in supporting the project and facilitating community mobilization and participation
3. Perceptions of community development through the context of Rio de Janeiro's informal settlements

Methodology

To study the effect of the CLT model on community development, I analyze the F-CLT Project as a case study, employing a qualitative research approach in which original data is obtained via participant observation and semi-structured interviews throughout my three months of fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro.

My role as an intern and my involvement with the F-CLT Project

From mid-February of 2023 to mid-May of 2023, I was present in Rio de Janeiro and accompanying all in-person events related to the F-CLT Project as a part of my internship. Shortly before and after my stay in Rio, I accompanied the project through virtual meetings as well. I discovered in the early stages of my internship that my role would be limited by my lack of technical knowledge specific to Brazil and to Rio de Janeiro, and after discussing this with my supervisor we came to accept that my involvement would be more based on my

research, and spending time observing and learning about the project in order to better frame my research perspective. My involvement in the project was for the most part attending and participating in community workshops, helping in some one-off tasks, and accompanying the team in internal and NGO-wide meetings. Accordingly, I refer to this three-month period interchangeably as my internship period and as my fieldwork, since my observations and interviews are directly connected to my involvement with the F-CLT Project.

Participant observation

Through my internship with F-CLT Project, I attended and assisted in facilitating community workshops in each community participating in the Rio pilot project, as well as taking part in other relevant meetings and activities related to the project. Community workshops were typically two to three hours in duration, with a defined methodology and plan for the workshop established in prior meetings by the F-CLT Project team. The majority of the workshops I attended were regular monthly meetings with the pilot communities to maintain progress on CLT implementation, from deliberating on how the CLT board should be designed to creating an internal regulation on issues affecting the CLT territory. Since each pilot community is in a different stage of planning, I was able to witness a variety of stages of CLT implementation that the F-CLT Project is undergoing. Other observations involved introductory and diagnostic community workshops, where the CLT model was explained and introduced while encouraging discussion on housing issues affecting the community in question. These experiences serve as relevant sources of qualitative data gathered by participant observation; such a method entails both observation and interaction with the topic of study and the transfer of field notes into descriptive data (Olivier de Sardan, 1995). Throughout my three months of fieldwork, I observed nine community workshops, two in-person staff meetings, three virtual meetings with the F-CLT Project working group, and countless smaller virtual meetings and communication within the F-CLT Project team.

Interviews

Becker and Geer (2009) highlight the complementarity that participant observation has with interview data, since instances of participant observation can be used to refine interview questions, while interview results can add meaning and nuance to prior observations. I organized interviews after at least a month of participant observation, in order to benefit from this complementarity and develop interview questions that filled knowledge gaps from my observations. While having particular questions in mind, I aimed for a

semi-structured approach in which I aimed to let my interviewees roam into other related subjects and formed follow-up questions on the spot. Semi-structured interviews are often the most favored qualitative data collection method, since this approach allows for flexibility while still consulting multiple interviewees on the same topic (Kallio et al., 2016). In the case of the interview data collected for this study, the semi-structured approach allowed me to distinguish the topics of most concern and to allow for a variety of explications to the phenomenon of community development through involvement with the F-CLT Project.

During my stay in Rio de Janeiro, I interviewed twelve people: eight were community leaders and residents of participant pilot communities, and four were external or technical supporters involved with the pilot communities and the F-CLT Project. The "community leaders" are referred to as such since they represented those most often present in community-based projects and often hold or have previously held leadership roles in their neighborhood association. Of these eight community leaders, four were women and four were men, and their ages ranged 40 to 70 years old. Of the external supporters interviewed, two were women and two were men, representing a similar age range to that of the community leaders. Three external supporters were linked to public agencies, while one of the external supporters interviewed was retired and unaffiliated to any specific entity. All the interviewees were born and raised in Rio de Janeiro, although in widely differing neighborhoods and socioeconomic contexts.

The interview data used in this study has been anonymized. While some of the individuals I interviewed were ambivalent to anonymizing their contributions, for others interviewed, anonymization was a key condition for them to share sensitive information and honest viewpoints. For this reason, I refer to interviewees with vague descriptors such as community leaders or residents affiliated with their respective pilot community, or as technical or external supporters. Some of the quotes taken from interviews have been edited to reflect this anonymity, omitting names and identifying information such as a certain title or position.

Case study approach

The present work analyzes the F-CLT Project as a case study of CLT implementation in informal settlements. Feagin et al. argue that case studies can "provide a richness and depth to the description and analysis of the micro events and larger social structures that constitute social life" (2016, p. 6). While case studies could present a lack of generalizability of results, they still have the potential to influence policy, procedures, and future research due

to the in-depth understanding of situations that a case study can reveal (Hancock et al., 2021). Case study approaches have also been utilized before for CLT research specifically, to accommodate the complex local contexts in which CLTs operate in (Gray and Galande, 2011; Thompson, 2015; Williams, 2018). This approach is justified to gain a deeper understanding of CLT implementation in practice, taking into consideration the many actors and processes involved in the context of Rio de Janeiro. A case study approach in this study is equally justified as the most feasible approach, considering the relatively short fieldwork period allowed within the constraints of my master's program.

Chapter 2 - Specificities of the Favela CLT Project: mixing land regularization and legal technicalities with community development

In this chapter, I present one of the main challenges of the CLT model in informal settlements, and particularly in Brazil: combining community development with land regularization. While the four pilot communities are in different stages of developing a CLT, from diagnosing the community's fit for the model to registering the CLT board's associative status, land regularization remains an issue across the board. This chapter aims to explain how the complexity of land regularization and legal technicalities affects the F-CLT Project, which at the same time intends to implement a solution for land tenure security based on community development principles. In the first section, I briefly explain the process and debates involving land regularization of informal settlements in Brazil. Then I will outline the legal framework for CLT implementation in Brazil, looking at existent laws, different associative statuses for community organizations, and the influence of local public policy. Lastly, I review the Favela Community Land Trust Project's participative methodology for CLT implementation.

Options for land regularization, achieving "full" land regularization

One of the prerequisites for fully implementing a Community Land Trust, in the case of informal settlements, is completing the process of land regularization. This process of land regularization can be done prior to starting a CLT, in which community members have their own individual land titles which they later concede to the CLT association, or done during the CLT initiation process, in which the neighborhood in question may try to obtain a collective land title from the beginning (Ribeiro and Antão, 2018). Ideally, land regularization is obtained before a neighborhood decides to incorporate a CLT, but in reality the bureaucratic barriers for land regularization in Brazil are time-consuming, complex, and dependent on significant technical assistance (Alencar, 2013; Fernandes, 2010). All four pilot communities in the F-CLT Project face hurdles in land regularization, with each community obtaining or in the process of obtaining different land-recognizing documents depending on the nature of the land they inhabit.

In order to contextualize the hurdles that each pilot community faces, it is important to highlight how land regularization in informal settlements in Brazil is by no means a straightforward process, and the actual land title or document received by residents depends on the type of land occupied and actions taken by the owner or by the affected municipality. The first consideration in the land regularization process is discerning if the informal

settlement is on public or private land. For private land, the most common step taken is claiming land rights via adverse possession ("usucapião"), in which residents can claim a right to a land title if they have been regularly inhabiting the area for at least five years and no owner has made claim to the land in this time period. There are a few issues with claiming adverse possession; those initiating the process have the burden of proof to show that there is no claim to the land, and the process can take years to pass through all the administrative steps (Oliveira and Nuñez, 2014). Another option for land regularization for those inhabiting private land is to negotiate with the landowner, if the owner is known, to transfer land rights at a reasonable cost.

For public land, the main options available for land regularization is through usage rights ("concessão de uso") or donation (Oliveira and Nuñez, 2014). The main difference between usage rights and donation is that usage rights do not offer inhabitants of the concerned land full property rights, not serving as a transferrable land title, while donated land could be converted into individual property titles and transferrable after a certain period of time. Usage rights tend to be the dominating form of land regularization for public land, although more recent laws may change this outlook. For example, Lei 13.465/17 emphasizes providing full private property rights (Ribeiro and Antão, 2018) and an amendment to the state of Rio de Janeiro's constitution in 2009 allowed for donation of public lands to help processes of land regularization (Oliveira and Nuñez, 2014). While usage rights can be seen as a victory for favela residents who have long awaited official recognition of their land tenure, this type of document can be misleading and provide a false sense of security against removal. One interviewee, a technical supporter accompanying the F-CLT Project, elaborates on the problem with usage rights:

> "There's been a false propaganda, I'm telling you, [one public agency] has done titling, turning in a juridical instrument which in reality is an administrative document recognizing occupation, which is not yet a land title. And perhaps the agency itself misleads people, making them believe that this one is a definitive title."[6]

The interviewee confirmed this to be the case for one of the pilot communities of the F-CLT Project, in which residents were led to believe that their usage rights were equivalent to a land title. Donated land, on the other hand, has been criticized by favela residents and civil society actors as exposing the newly regularized land to real estate market speculation and

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[6] "Tem havido uma falsa propaganda, eu vou te dizer, [uma órgão pública] tem feito titulações e entrega um instrumento jurídico que na verdade é um documento administrativo de reconhecimento da posse, que não é ainda um título. E talvez o próprio órgão induza as pessoas ao erro, ao fazer as pessoas acreditarem, que aquilo é o título definitivo."

external developers, avoiding state-led removal but leading to market-based removal (Oliveira and Nuñez, 2014; Abramo and Faria, 2016).

The aforementioned options all present issues in providing land tenure security to informal settlements, leading scholars to differentiate "full" land regularization, implying that these options fail to respect residents' right to the city and advocating for land regularization policy that goes beyond only offering land titles without considering the post-regularization reality (Soares Gonçalves, 2009; Granja and Magalhães, 2021; Pagani and Correia, 2022). Full land regularization comes with more challenges but is all the more necessary, as a regularization process that is incomplete or non-preventative could end up only reproducing the problems it was meant to solve. For example, regularization that leads to widespread displacement of urban populations to peripheral neighborhoods becomes costly in the end for public authorities, creating a need to expand public services to areas farther away. Despite this regularization often intending to erase informality, urban land regularization policies enacted since the 1980s have often initiated other forms of exclusion that only increased informality, leading to increased housing in peripheries and environmentally vulnerable areas (Soares Gonçalves, 2009). These negative affects of State-led land regularization relate to what Merklen (2021) argues that Latin American governments fail to address in treating the housing deficit: that housing access is not just a matter of having four walls and a roof, but rather a complex web of social relations. Similarly, land regularization cannot just be about giving a land title without considering the web of social relations that exist in informal settlements. While a land title is still a necessary part of any land regularization process (Soares Gonçalves, 2009), the many social factors that interconnect in providing housing must also be considered in achieving full land regularization.

Legal framework for CLT implementation in Brazil

In addition to land regularization, the legal framework for CLT implementation in Brazil relies on two aspects that must be formalized: the community organization that holds ownership to the land, and the separation of land ownership and individual house ownership. Ribeiro and Antão (2018) explain how through Brazilian law, community organizations can be registered as either an association, a foundation, or a cooperative. The same authors clarify the differences between each option and how they relate to forming a CLT: The formats of association and foundation are the most commonly represented, the main difference between the two found in the requirement for patrimony. This difference is what makes forming a foundation more difficult for informal settlements that wish to pursue the CLT model, since

they would need to already own property to register as a foundation. Registering the community organization as a cooperative is another option, although less pursued in Brazil as this format is less regulated and requires the definition of an economic activity. For these reasons, the association prevails as the most adequate way to formalize the community organization in order to manage a CLT. A group of interested community members do not necessarily need to wait for land regularization to be complete before starting the CLT community organization; they could begin structuring and registering the community organization, therefore speeding up the integration of collective land ownership. Such is exactly what the majority of F-CLT Project pilot communities are doing, as detailed in the following section.

The separation of land ownership and homeownership can be done via the legal framework of surface rights ("direito de superfície"). The F-CLT Project intends to use surface rights to guarantee an individual title to each household pertaining to the CLT, registered by public notary. This arrangement will notably allow for an individual to still buy and sell homes that are part of the Community Land Trust, transfer their titles to children or family members, and if allowed by the predetermined rules of the association, they can rent their property as well. Since surface rights are established via contract, this legal instrument allows the concerned parties to set their own conditions on the transfer of the property title (Ribeiro, 2020). Such conditions could be useful for defending the rules and values of the CLT, collectively designed by CLT members during the implementation process. One of these terms, for example, could be that an individual's house can only be sold to a household that fits certain requirements, such as being low-income or a single-parent household. Surface rights must be established for a determined time period under Brazilian law, and in the case of a CLT could be set to 99 years in order to retain land tenure security for the CLT residents (Ribeiro and Antão, 2018).

In addition to existent law on surface rights, Ribeiro and Litsek (2020) argue that the Lei 13.465/17 can end up facilitating the creation of CLTs in Brazil since it simplifies and accelerates land regularization. While this law may improve the necessary conditions of land regularization for CLTs, it does not guarantee alone the success of the model in Brazil and does not exist as public policy that encourages the model's implementation as a solution to informal settlements. Part of the F-CLT Project's work involves advocacy for the creation of public policy centered on affordable housing. Throughout the past year, activists, favela residents, and other civil society actors have joined the F-CLT Project in demanding the inclusion of the CLT model in the city of Rio de Janeiro's master plan ("plano diretor")

(Litsek and Fidalgo, 2023). This master plan is a municipal law that outlines a city's urban development and planning policy, which is updated every ten years. Even if the CLT can already be implemented in Brazil through the legal framework discussed in this section, those working with the F-CLT Project insist that the inclusion of the model in the city's master plan and in other public policy would greatly reinforce and facilitate CLT implementation.

The inclusion of the CLT model in the master plan suffered a whirlwind of approval and denial throughout 2022, finally being reinstated and approved June 28, 2023, although still subject to amendments and further discussion in August 2023 (Coelho, 2023). An issue noted by staff and activists affiliated with the F-CLT Project is that the amended version of the CLT included in this approved master plan presents two significant barriers to the model's implementation in Rio de Janeiro. The first barrier is found in an amendment stating that the CLT requires regulation via a specific law, therefore counteracting the existent legal framework established by legal scholars and urban planners. The second issue found in the master plan has to do with the impossibility of selling land owned by a CLT; this proposed article was removed, therefore challenging a key aspect of the CLT model that emphasizes removal of collectively owned land from the speculative market. Conflict revolving around the city's master plan and articulation between civil society actors and municipal delegates demonstrates how the F-CLT Project, despite the existence of a valid legal framework, still must confront longstanding political barriers that housing movements face in Brazil.

Participative methodology in the F-CLT Project

The past two sections highlight the complexity of obtaining land regularization and creating an associative status accepted by Brazil's legal system in order to establish a CLT. This section addresses how the Favela Community Land Trust Project inserts these two aspects into their work with the pilot communities while emphasizing community participation. The F-CLT Project's work in the pilot communities reflects the community development focus of the CLT model, emphasizing collective decision-making and direct consultation of community members on what they seek to achieve in a CLT. It is important to note that in the experience of the F-CLT Project, land regularization is not a separate process; it is heavily discussed from the onset of considering a CLT in a pilot community, and F-CLT Project staff and technical supporters have mentioned throughout my interviews and observations how regularization goes hand-in-hand with community mobilization. As one technical supporter from a public agency explains:

"Land regularization ends up becoming a fight. A fight against the state which doesn't do what needs to get done, a fight against the municipality which doesn't do what needs to get done. So I think that the CLT in this first moment, what counts is its capacity to mobilize. It mobilizes the community. Therefore it's fundamental a- the more mobilized a community is, the easier it is for you to do land regularization." [7]

In the reality of the F-CLT Project and the context of its pilot communities in Rio de Janeiro, land regularization becomes an intrinsic part of the project's work and is a frequent topic in community workshops. While the lack of regularization evidently presents obstacles to pilot communities in their path towards establishing a CLT, their involvement with the F-CLT Project heightens community awareness on land regularization options and could therefore, as this interviewee suggests, make the process easier.

The F-CLT Project outlines its plan of action in a given pilot community in three different phases: engagement, mobilization, and formalization (Ribeiro et al., 2023). Engagement involves identifying interested communities and forming an initial support network of community leaders and technical supporters that will accompany the process. Mobilization refers to working directly with community members, mostly via community workshops, discussing issues of territorial planning and explaining the CLT model. The formalization phase involves concrete actions to establish the CLT, such as officially registering the community organization, acquiring land via land regularization, finalizing internal terms and conditions for the CLT, and separating land ownership from homeownership through surface rights. Although these phases might seem to work naturally in chronological order, in reality the F-CLT Project performs engagement, mobilization, and formalization simultaneously in its work with the pilot communities. For example, two of the pilot communities are working on creating a community organization, in the phase of formalization, but at the same time are focused on mobilization in order to bring in new residents into the planning process and consecrate time to educating about the CLT model. This flexibility is necessary due to the duration of CLT implementation, a process lasting years.

A large part of the F-CLT Project's work in the four pilot communities revolves around organizing community workshops, in which my participant observation in these workshops serves as my main source of qualitative data, along with interviews. The

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[7] "A regularização fundiária acaba sendo uma luta. Uma luta contra o estado que não faz o que o que teria que ter feito, uma luta contra a prefeitura que não faz o que teria que ter feito. Então eu acho que TTC nesse primeiro momento, o que conta é a capacidade de mobilização que ele tem. E ele mobiliza a comunidade. Então é fundamental uma- quanto mais mobilizada a comunidade está mais fácil é você fazer a regularização fundiária."

methodology used by the F-CLT Project team to organize these workshops relates to the central challenge of the CLT as a tool for community development; CLT implementation requires significant technical assistance, yet at the same time demands continuous community mobilization. Community workshops therefore aim to strike a balance between these two needs, providing technical knowledge and assisting in logistics while also including community member participation as a central part of each step in CLT implementation. The effect of these attempts at inciting community participation will be further discussed in Chapter 3, here I review the types of workshops organized and what steps are taken to incite participation.

The most frequent type of community workshop I observed during my fieldwork were workshops located in the pilot community, guiding the respective community's progress towards defining the community organization and functions of the CLT board, and debating the terms and conditions of their CLT. These workshops typically presented the following format: an introduction with news and updates from the F-CLT Project team that pertain to that specific community, a brief presentation on which part of CLT creation they are addressing in the workshop (in most cases using a projector to present PowerPoint slides and graphics), separation of participants into smaller groups to deliberate on the part of the CLT central to that day's workshop, and then regrouping into a larger collective discussion on how the community would like to implement that particular part of the CLT. Some examples of workshop topics include deciding the number of positions in the CLT board and how they will be elected, deciding what community issues need to be included in the terms and conditions of the CLT, and discussing what role external supporters will have in the CLT and whether they will form a percentage of the board or not. These workshops are typically two to three hours long, taking place in a variety of spaces, from community centers to community leader's own homes.

Another type of workshop I was able to observe was an introductory workshop. This workshop took on a different objective, aiming to gauge interest and feasibility for the CLT model in a particular neighborhood. One of these workshops, for example, took place in a community center in São João de Meriti, a municipality in Rio's northern suburbs in which the CLT has gained the attention of civil society actors. The workshop's audience was therefore a wide variety of residents of different neighborhoods, most aligned with a particular NGO working in this territory. In this case, a large part of the workshop was dedicated to F-CLT Project staff presenting on the CLT model and how it fits into the context of Rio's housing crisis. However, one key element of this introductory workshop is

facilitating dialogue on how to solve issues involving housing in one's neighborhood or municipality, and clarifying to interested participants on doubts about how the CLT works. Even though the introductory workshop is meant to inform interested communities about the CLT model as a possibility, there are still participative aspects of the workshop, allowing for new perspectives on the project that the F-CLT Project team may not have encountered otherwise. The F-CLT Project also conducts diagnostic workshops, meant to help a potentially interested community discuss the issues affecting their community and how a CLT could address them. Through my fieldwork I was also able to attend one diagnostic workshop. While it may sound similar to an introductory workshop, in this specific case the methodology was much more participative since the majority of the event consisted of direct dialogue with and among neighborhood residents. Both diagnostic and introductory workshops are meant to engage with residents, community leaders, and other external supporters that are new to the project and requesting more information about the model.

The following graphic visualizes the steps involved in the F-CLT Project's methodology of participative CLT implementation in a given pilot community:
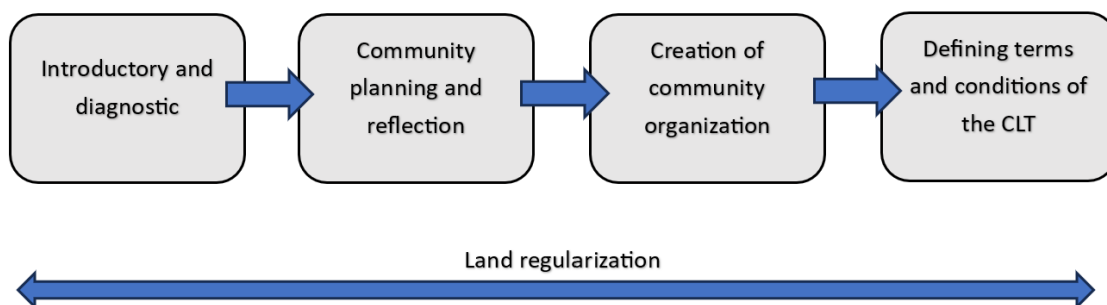
Figure 2. Flow chart depicting progression of workshops' objectives alongside ongoing land regularization process.

As mentioned previously, each of the four pilot communities involved in the F-CLT Project are at different stages of CLT implementation. In terms of the above graphic, one of the pilot communities is in the "introductory and diagnostic" stage, two are in the "creation of community organization" stage, and one is in the "defining terms and conditions of the CLT" stage. This conceptualization, however, does not permanently separate work in these pilot communities from the other stages, as past stages may be revisited with the inclusion of new residents in workshops, and ideas and reflections that relate to future stages arise naturally in

the discussions taking place in community workshops. Land regularization, as represented in the graphic, is an ongoing process accompanying all workshop stages.

Considering the F-CLT Project's focus on community participation in all stages of CLT implementation, special attention must be paid to how this participation unfolds during workshops. Through my observation of these community workshops, particularly those involving the creation of the community organization, consensus was determined during moments of collective decision-making to be able to define characteristics of the association they were creating. Each aspect or characteristic of the association is discussed in small groups, where members try to reach consensus over deliberation but may ultimately decide to vote. The same typically would occur in larger discussions with all workshop participants, with members of the F-CLT Project team facilitating and mediating the larger group discussion and calling for a vote when consensus was unclear. Some examples of these deliberated CLT characteristics are how many positions should there be on the CLT board, whether the association should have a separate board for external supporters, how elections would work and how often they would take place, who is eligible to serve on the board or be integrated into the CLT, among others. The F-CLT Project attempts to provide adequate time to deal with each characteristic, spacing out these decisions across multiple community workshops. This time-consuming aspect of CLT implementation relates back to the central challenge of combining technical work and logistics with community development (Tognato and Furtado, 2020; Green, 2017), demonstrating how the F-CLT Project must also confront this challenge and make decisions on their workshop methodology that balance pragmatism and participation.

Conclusion

The nuances of land regularization in Brazil, and in Rio de Janeiro specifically, present a challenge for the F-CLT Project in establishing a CLT in an informal settlement. For one, there is no single solution for informal settlements that wish to regularize the land they occupy; each neighborhood must reconcile with how inhabiting either public or private land will affect their options, and face further obstacles in confronting either public authorities, private owners, or general administrative bureaucracy. Such variation in options and obstacles to regularization is considered in the F-CLT Project's work with the pilot communities, in which technical supporters must adapt to each neighborhood's situation. For the outlook of CLT implementation in Brazil, an existent legal framework provides an advantage, albeit not guaranteeing the model's success. Civil society actors hoping to bring

the CLT model to Brazil recognize the importance of enacting public policy on the local level, yet such a pursuit involves confrontation with local politics and time-consuming advocacy work. Legal advocacy and technical knowledge are therefore required to implement a CLT in Rio de Janeiro's favelas, yet this work cannot take away from the essential community organizing work that ensures the CLT is designed in a participative way. The intensity of the efforts demanded, however, could pay off in the end if the CLT model provides a path to "full" land regularization, a form of regularization that is long-lasting and respects favela residents' right to the city while avoiding patterns of urban exclusion.

Chapter 3 - History and extent of community mobilization and participation in the pilot communities

Community mobilization and participation are frequently mentioned in CLT literature as a key challenge, albeit a necessary challenge in order to keep the "C" in CLT (DeFilippis et al, 2018; Davis, 2022; Kruger et al. 2020). When looking at the F-CLT Project as an example of social production of habitat as well, the participative aspect and the focus on organizing and solidarity represent essential elements to the project's success (Ortiz Flores, 2012). This chapter, therefore, examines how community mobilization and participation unfolds for the pilot communities, looking at how past and present experiences shape the way that the F-CLT Project functions as a form of community development. In the first section I review the foundation stories of the four pilot communities and their history with resistance and community mobilization to obtain or retain their right to housing. Secondly, I will detail ways in which these past experiences are reflected in current participation in the F-CLT Project. The following section will categorize and elaborate on the main barriers to mobilization, as identified by both community leaders and external supporters. Lastly, I discuss the nuances of participation in the F-CLT Project, through different interpretations of the term and highlighting the sometimes contradictory discourse around participation.

In my fieldwork I noticed that "mobilization" and "participation" were terms that F-CLT Project participants often used interchangeably. For my analysis, I clarify the difference between those two terms; community mobilization refers to the efforts to stimulate participation of the "non-organized" members of a community while also utilizing networks of civil society actors to bring about change in a community. In this sense, community mobilization is a tool to call forth participation, among other desired results of mobilization.

Previous experience with community mobilization in the pilot communities

As mentioned in the literature review, CLTs are new to Latin America, but community mobilization for housing needs is by no means a new practice. Ribeiro et al. (2022) connect this idea to the future application of CLTs in informal settlements in Brazil, arguing that favela residents have extensive experience in using resistance and community mobilization to manage urban territory. In this section I therefore seek to detail this experience, looking at the case of the four pilot communities.

While community mobilization might be presumed as a given in favelas, where centralized urban planning is replaced by self-organization (Loureiro et al., 2019), each of the four pilot communities has a unique history in its foundation, and differing levels of

mobilization were involved in their construction. For example, two of the four pilot communities are housing cooperatives that were built via *mutirão*, an organized effort to build houses over a period of time based on volunteer work by future residents. These two pilot communities, Shangri-Lá and Esperança, are connected via the same social movement, the National Union for Popular Housing ("União Nacional por Moradia Popular" or UNMP). Shangri-Lá's housing cooperative started as an initiative in the 1990s through the involvement of a Basic Ecclesial Community ("Comunidades Eclesiais de Base" or CEB). CEB members held bible study groups in the Jardim Shangri-Lá favela, where a group of 16 families lived in rented wooden barracks without running water and electricity (Huguenin, 2012). The CEB's actions in the favela, however, went further than simply studying the bible; meetings revolved around questioning poor living conditions, and eventually turned into a proposal for improving homes and creating a cooperative. Lacking sufficient resources for the construction of new homes, the group sought to utilize the *mutirão* as a way to finish the project. The Esperança housing cooperative, which initiated nearly two decades later, was therefore inspired by Shangri-Lá's experience albeit facing different conditions for land access through the national housing program Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades (Bastos, 2013).

Both housing cooperatives therefore experienced an organized project of community mobilization to self-construct homes via *mutirão*. One interviewee recounts how during the *mutirão,* community meetings took place weekly to meet the numerous demands and collective decisions needing to be made about construction and logistics. When asked about the challenge of community mobilization during the *mutirão*, one community leader expressed that mobilization was easier: "Everything you put forward in the beginning, everyone agrees on. Because they want housing."[8] In this sense, when people could envision a tangible product or result to the process, mobilization was stronger. Community leaders from these two housing cooperatives however lament the drop in participation they experienced after the houses were completed. Another community leader interviewed details the experience of Esperança:

> "There's a.. a considerable part here that focused only on this part about housing.
> They got the house, closed the door, threw out the key, as I like to say. During the
> period of.. before construction, pre-construction, we had various committees: kitchen
> committee, we formed a mobilization committee, to see people's involvement,
> everything organized. Afterwards we had the work committee, within the construction
> site: kitchen, mobilization, treasury, coordination, the construction committee, the

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[8] "Tudo que você coloca no início, todo mundo concorda. Porque ele quer ter a moradia."

>daycare committee . . . . So we had various committees. After everyone entering the houses, that.. sort of fell apart, you know?"[9]

This account displays the high levels of organization required to carry out the construction process, yet also recounts issues with fluctuating levels of participation from residents. Residents of these two pilot communities who participated in the *mutirão* therefore have extensive experience with community organizing and collective decision-making, yet with two caveats that would come to affect their involvement in the F-CLT Project; the fact that, in the case of Shangri-Lá, few of the original cooperative members remain as current residents, and in the case of both communities that a subsequent drop in participation was experienced once construction finished.

The two other pilot communities are more "traditional" favelas, in the sense that they were occupied and self-constructed slowly over time, typically by family unit and not in an organized and collective manner like the *mutirão*. However, what connects both of these favelas' experience in community mobilization is the fact that they both experienced a spike in mobilization when removal threats became apparent. The Vila Autódromo favela is a notable example, serving as the subject for much media attention and academic work on favela removals in Rio de Janeiro (De Barros, 2019). Vila Autódromo, once a favela of around 1200 residents (IBGE, 2010), was reduced to a now small community of 20 households that are still fighting for their right to remain. The first removal efforts towards Vila Autódromo began in 1993, led by Eduado Paes, at the time mayor of the sub-municipality of Rio's West Zone (and currently mayor of Rio de Janeiro). These efforts were successfully resisted by the favela's neighborhood association[10], and even led to the granting of usage rights to nearly all Vila Autódromo residents (Sánchez et al., 2016). Intensified removal efforts, however, reappeared in 2009 when Rio de Janeiro was chosen to host the 2016 Olympic Games. Despite organized resistance from Vila Autódromo residents, and extensive civil society support to their cause, the majority of residents were coerced to leave the neighborhood, and both current residents and technical supporters from affiliated NGOs testify a "demobilization" of those few remaining households.

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[9] "Tem uma, uma... uma parte considerável aqui que ficou só na parte da casa. Conseguiu a casa, fechou a porta, jogou a chave fora, eu costumo dizer. A gente no período de.. antes da obra, pré-obra, a gente tinha várias comissões: comissão de cozinha, a gente formou a comissão de mobilização, pra ver a frequência das pessoas, tudo direitinho. Depois a gente tinha as comissões de trabalho, dentro do de obras: cozinha, mobilização, tesouraria, coordenação, a comissão de obra, comissão de creche . . . . Então a gente teve várias comissões. Depois que entrou na casa, isso.. que se desfez, né?"

[10] I will use the term "neighborhood association" from now on as a translation for the Portuguese term "associação de moradores."

The Trapicheiros favela, while much less mediatized than Vila Autódromo, faced removal threats propelled by the construction of a luxury condominium in 2010. Before the condominium, Trapicheiros residents described the situation of community mobilization as relaxed, or even nonexistent. One resident of Trapicheiros details life before the condominium, and the effect it had on community mobilization:

> "Before, no one was worried about any of that. Everyone was living in their little world, everyone inside their homes, worried about nothing, like I said there wasn't anything that prevented us from living well. Everyone knew each other in the favela, but no one worried about housing, at all. We tried to make improvements, right? In our own houses without worrying about anything. There was no confrontation or anything that would threaten us. . . . But when construction started for the condominium, we needed to, as I said, have to set up a neighborhood association. Then we felt obligated, you know? We were forced to take the lead. That's when we started fighting for the community." [11]

This reflection contrasts the supposition of favelas and informal settlements as inherently mobilized spaces of community, as elaborated by Valladares (2007). This same sentiment about relations between residents before the removal threats was confirmed by two other interviewees from Trapicheiros; everyone knew each other, but everyone also lived their own lives and was not preoccupied with starting a neighborhood association. The onset of removal threats from the municipality, supported by housing developers and antagonistic condominium residents, led Trapicheiros residents to seek aid from external supporters, turning to public defenders and ITERJ[12] to defend their right to remain. One interviewee mentions how it was their favela's assigned public defender who encouraged them to found a neighborhood association:

> "Our defender said: listen you have to- do you have a neighborhood association? No. You all have to look for a support network. And then we started to understand what

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[11] "Antes ninguém estava se preocupando com nada disso. Cada um estava vivendo o seu mundinho, cada um dentro de suas casas, despreocupado com nada, conforme eu disse não tinha nada que nos impedia de viver bem. Todo mundo se conhecia na comunidade, mas não tem se preocupava com moradia, nada. A gente tentava fazer melhoria, né? Nas nossas casas sem preocupar com nada. Não tinha um enfrentamento ou algo que viesse nos ameaçar. . . . Mas quando começou a obra do condomínio, a gente teve que, como eu falei, ter a montar a associação dos moradores. E aí a gente se viu obrigado né? Nos vimos obrigados a tomar frente. Foi aí que nós começamos a lutar pela comunidade."

[12] Instituto de Terras e Cartografia do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, a public entity responsible for land regularization.

the *consello popular*[13] was about, right? The FAFERJ[14], right? The favelas, how they worked."[15]

Although community mobilization was initiated in Trapicheiros by threats from the condominium, community leaders highlighted how this mobilization later flourished into achieving other goals for the community. One tangible result of such was the construction and inauguration of a community plaza ("pracinha") with a playground and picnic tables. Trapicheiros residents were able to build the plaza with help from a group of university volunteers and ITERJ.

A key point to consider in the pilot communities' previous experiences with community mobilization is the importance of solidarity within favela organizing networks and involvement in social movements. For the case of the Shangri-Lá and Esperança housing cooperatives, experience sharing throughout national housing movements such as the UNMP was crucial in gaining general community support for the initiative. This knowledge transfer was even international, as one community leader from Shangri-Lá highlighted in an interview the FUCVAM in Uruguay was an inspiration for them:

> "It's one thing to read, it's another thing to see. And we did both. We read a lot about Uruguay, and one of our people went there to be able to participate. And I went the second time, which also like, then, we come back even more amazed by everything we see, you know? . . . So then, with my trip there, it made us expand, reinforce the idea of cooperativism in Brazil, of collective ownership, which is why we have so many other projects."[16]

Trapicheiros' residents also remarked on the importance of one particular community leader from a neighboring favela, who they encountered in their search for external supporters amidst the first removal threats. Multiple interviewees cited this same individual, and detailed how this alliance helped Trapicheiros understand the process of organizing a neighborhood association better, along with helping bring more civil society attention to their fight. One interviewee highlights the importance of experience sharing between favelas:

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[13] The *conselho popular* is a public audience where residents of all of Rio de Janeiro's favelas meet in partnership with NGO Pastoral das Favelas and public defenders in order to articulate their claims.

[14] The Federation of Associations of Favelas in the State of Rio de Janeiro.

[15] "A nossa defensora falou: olha você tem que- voces tem Associação de Moradores? Não. Vocês vão ter que procurar a rede de apoio. Eh aí a gente começou a entender o que que era o conselho popular né? A FAFERJ né? As comunidades, como é que elas funcionavam."

[16] "Uma coisa é você ler, outra coisa é você ver. E a gente fez as duas coisas. A gente lia muito sobre o Uruguai, e também foi uma pessoa nossa pra lá pra poder participar. E eu fui no segundo momento, que também assim, aí, a gente volta mais maravilhada ainda com tudo que vê, né? . . . . E aí, essa minha ida pra lá, fez com que a gente ampliasse, reforçasse a ideia do cooperativismo no Brasil, da propriedade coletiva, por isso que a gente tem outros projetos de cada palavra."

"So for example you see, there in the Pastoral das Favelas. There you see us, favelas from the West Zone, favelas from the Baixada, and so on. It ends up that one story connects to another, you know? And then you see that the problems you have here are not just problems you have here, they really exist throughout all of Rio de Janeiro."[17]

For the pilot communities, participating in solidarity networks and social movements oriented community leaders on how to mobilize their own communities, as well as helping them gain access to external resources. Most importantly, experience sharing reinforced community leaders in their ambitions to continue with community-related projects and envision new possibilities for their neighborhoods.

Effects of previous experiences in community mobilization in the F-CLT Project

As the history and prior experience in community organizing is presumed to affect the pilot communities' capacity for current mobilization towards CLT implementation, this section connects the history of community mobilization in the pilot communities with their current operations and path in CLT development. Through analysis of fieldwork data, I review how previous experiences affect residents' perception of the CLT model, and also how residents apply knowledge gained from these past experiences to deliberate on the adaptations needed when implementing a CLT in their neighborhood.

For some of the pilot communities, previous experience in mobilizing for housing positively affected their perception of the CLT model. While the Community Land Trust might be a new model in name, the idea of collective land management is not new to Rio de Janeiro, and those in the Shangri-Lá and Esperança pilot communities were already interested or had attempted to do collective land management before the F-CLT Project began. For many of those interviewed regarding these pilot communities, the general consensus was that the CLT model was something that the housing cooperatives had already envisioned beforehand. One external supporter relates in an interview about how the CLT model resembles the principles that Esperança was founded on as a housing cooperative:

"So when the CLT model comes it fit in well, because we had already discussed this, so this proposal I don't see how people could have much resistance, or at least the majority of people not have much resistance in accepting, because beforehand it was already that, right?"[18]

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[17] "Que aí você vai lá por exemplo, na Pastoral das Favelas. Aí você vê lá, a gente, das comunidades da Zona Oeste, das comunidades da Baixada, tal. Acaba que uma história ela vai se unindo a outra, entendeu? E aí você vê que os problemas que você tem aqui, não são só problemas que você que tem aqui, existe realmente em todo o Rio de Janeiro."

[18] "Então vem a proposta do TTC que se encaixou, porque nós já tínhamos discutido lá atrás, que nós já tínhamos discutido, então essa proposta eu não vejo que as pessoas tenham alguma resistência, ou pelo menos a maioria das pessoas tenham resistência em aceitar, porque lá atrás já era essa, né?"

One community leader from Shangri-Lá, in two different instances throughout our interview, gave their impression on the CLT in relation to their past experiences as a housing cooperative:

> "Because Shangri-Lá today is initiating a CLT, but for thirty years we lived fully understanding what was a collective property."[19]
> "So it's a remodeling, you know? A renovation. The CLT comes and brings a renovation to our history, it ties together what was loose."[20]

A different community leader from Esperança corroborates this reflection, referencing the influence of international housing movements as well: "The CLT comes into contact with something that we had already thought about- because the proposal that came from self-management and *mutirão* came from Uruguay."[21] These reflections demonstrate how experiences with the *mutirão*, with self-management and the mobilization it requires, are seen as parallels to the type of community development that the CLT model proposes. Community leaders and external supporters thus see the CLT as a revamping of the visions they already had for community development and collective land management. Although as detailed in the following section, familiarity with collective land tenure did not completely erase all doubt in the minds of residents of Shangri-Lá and Esperança regarding the new model, nor did this erase the usual barriers to community mobilization. Nevertheless, one technical supporter spoke specifically to how the history of Esperança impacts their capacity to mobilize for the F-CLT Project: "In my opinion this is absolutely linked to the success they have there, that [Esperança] was already a mobilized group. Which demobilized, but now is making a comeback."[22] Therefore, the level of community mobilization required to complete these housing cooperatives as well as their familiarity with collective land tenure positively contribute to these two pilot communities' reception of the CLT model.

Past experiences with community mobilization, however, do not always have a positive effect on a given pilot community's reception of the CLT model. Such was apparent during a diagnostic workshop for Vila Autódromo, in which tensions created by past involvement with the favela's neighborhood association led to shouting matches between residents during the workshop. Discussion among residents during this workshop

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[19] "Porque a Shangri-lá hoje, ela tem um TTC pra iniciando, mas a gente viveu por trinta anos claro na cabeça de que era uma propriedade coletiva."

[20] "Então uma remodelagem, entendeu? Uma repaginada. O TTC ele vem e dá uma repaginada nessa história, amarra o que tava solto."

[21] "O TTC vem de encontro também a uma coisa que a gente já tinha pensado- porque a proposta que veio de autogestão e mutirão veio do Uruguai."

[22] "Na minha opinião isso está absolutamente vinculado ao sucesso que é a lá, que ela já era um grupo já mobilizado. Que desmobilizou, mas que agora você tá retomando."

demonstrated a divide between those affiliated with the neighborhood association, and those who felt excluded or held critiques towards the association. Therefore, the idea of having the land collectively managed by an association, even if it was a separate one from the existing neighborhood association, led to distrust towards the CLT model by a few residents in attendance. The challenges faced by Vila Autódromo's previous experience with community mobilization, which saw public authorities divide different parts of the favela in order to weaken the social movement that emerged from their resistance to removal (De Barros, 2019), resurfaced in this workshop when considering how a CLT could fit in their existing panorama of community mobilization. The case of Vila Autodrómo is not alone in presenting distrust towards neighborhood associations: one community leader from Shangri-Lá mentioned during our interview another aspect of favela residents' wariness towards neighborhood associations, relating to their history in Rio favelas and connection to militias. This same leader recounted how they expressed initial discomfort towards the idea of an association managing the CLT, since simply hearing the word "association" makes one think about militia-controlled neighborhood associations. These examples illustrate a complexity to the effect that previous experience in community mobilization may have on establishing CLTs in Rio's informal settlements, showing that high levels of past mobilization do not always induce unity and consensus among residents, nor autonomy from external power forces that can co-opt organization efforts.

In addition to effecting residents' acceptation of the CLT model, previous experience with community mobilization is considered and utilized by F-CLT Project participants throughout the process of designing the CLT association and designating the terms and conditions of the CLT. One frustration I observed during community workshops for designing the CLT is that residents (and perhaps even F-CLT Project staff too) found it difficult to imagine some of the hypotheticals that the F-CLT Project's workshop methodology proposed; for example, thinking of how board members would be replaced in the case of resignation, or imagining budget limitations without knowing what kind of resources they would have. However, in some cases past experiences with community organizing helped contextualize these hypotheticals, making them seem more realistic and therefore necessary to address. One instance, for example, occurred during a small group activity revolving around conflict resolution which used fictional examples of neighborhood conflicts, one involving a dispute among neighborhood association leadership. One resident in this small group specifically mentioned how this hypothetical situation had actually happened before in their

neighborhood association, leading to a more dynamic discussion on how these conflicts should be handled in the case of a CLT.

Residents also reflected on both successes and failures of past experiences during F-CLT Project community workshops, and applied these reflections to the CLT's design. In Shangri-lá for example, during a discussion on whether external supporters of the community should have a voting seat in the CLT board, one resident mentioned that they were not opposed since they saw this arrangement work well before in their experience. In another workshop in the same community, a community leader suggested using a similar leadership model that they saw in other housing social movements. During a community workshop in Trapicheiros, one community leader explains how their neighborhood association worked before in regard to management and different positions held, and in the context of the workshop, this reflection implied that the F-CLT Project's proposition was overly complicated. Later in a small group discussion, the same person remarked that what the F-CLT Project described as an "external consultative board" was basically what they already did in the neighborhood association, consulting outside help when needed but not necessarily having outsiders in everyday association activities. Similarities with the neighborhood association in Trapicheiros were brought up frequently during workshops discussions, leading to discussion around the necessity of a CLT association in addition to the existing neighborhood association. Residents using their past experiences in community organizing therefore can both support the process of CLT design, while also questioning the format or suggestions provided by the F-CLT Project team based on their own lived experience, inciting the necessary adaptations of the model to fit their local context.

Barriers and challenges for community mobilization

During both interviews and throughout my participant observation of community workshops and F-CLT Project meetings, community mobilization was cited consistently as a significant problem. When asked about what barriers or challenges they encountered in mobilization, both community leaders and technical supporters interviewed gave varied responses, most of them fitting into the following categories; free time and availability of residents, lack of understanding of the CLT model, the slow pace of the project's development, clientelistic tendencies, and overall challenging a culture of individualism. In this section, I review how those involved with the F-CLT Project perceive these barriers and how these barriers relate to the CLT model and to more systemic challenges in grassroots organizing.

Free time and availability

The level of community mobilization required to implement a CLT implies high levels of participation in meetings and community workshops. Ribeiro et al. (2022) argue that the socioeconomic context of cities in the Global South makes community mobilization more challenging, since residents already deal with barriers in life just to survive. This argument was supported by one technical supporter of the F-CLT Project:

> "There's another discussion about the case of the poor from favelas, that a lot of them work a lot. They work, they have two three jobs to guarantee- jobs no, they have two or three sources of income. Not employment, but odd jobs. One odd job here, one odd job there, sell a business, take care of, uh… take care of kids, fix cellphones, doing a thousands things, right? A thousand, thousand runarounds as they say, right? To be able to have a little of- to guarantee a few of their expenses, you know? Not all of them, but the basics. So arriving late at night and going to a meeting, to debate, it's too much."[23]

This interviewee references the systemic issues that hinder community mobilization, a persistent inequality in Rio de Janeiro where favela residents are more concerned with basic needs than with community development initiatives that take away from the little free time they have. Interestingly enough, community leaders rarely mentioned free time and availability, or work commitments and general survival, as the main barrier to community mobilization. In interviews, they only mentioned these in passing while pointing to the various workarounds that either they or the F-CLT Project had attempted to overcome this issue. One community leader from Trapicheiros explains issues with availability to attend community workshops:

> "So there's some who say, when it's a Saturday: 'ok but Saturday, come on, that's my day off, that's the day I go to the beach, that's the day when I want to have a beer.' And then someone else on Sunday: 'but Sunday I like to relax, just stay at home, I work all week long.' Ok then, a day of the week, a day of the week at night, 7pm, let's do it. Several days and several different times. But there's always someone: 'No but at night I get home from work tired.' And then there's the case of woman: 'then I need to get home, I need to make dinner' or even the men if they live alone and all, 'I have to prepare my schedule get my stuff together,' for the next day. So basically everyone has their own life, their own life, you know, in the way they lead it. And there's not much we can do about that."[24]

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[23] "Tem uma outra discussão no caso dos pobres de favela, que muitos trabalham muito. Eles trabalham, eles tem dois três empregos pra garantir- emprego não, tem duas três fontes de renda. Não emprego, mas trabalho bico. Faz um bico aqui, um bico ali, vende um negócio, cuida do eh... cuida a criança, conserta celular, faz mil coisas, né? Mil, mil correrias como eles chamam, né? Pra poder eh ter um pouco de de- pra garantir um pouco das suas despesas, né? Não todas, mas as básicas. Então chegar de noite e ir pruma reunião, pra discutir, é muita coisa."

[24] "Aí tem uns que fala assim, quando é no sábado: pô mas sábado, porra, é o dia da minha folga, é o dia que eu vou pra uma praia, é o dia que eu quero tomar minha cerveja. Aí o outro no domingo, fala: mas domingo eu

This community leader therefore understands the importance of free time and the difficulty of organizing residents who must work long hours to make ends meet, yet also shows the frustration they have towards trying everything they can to work around schedules and accommodate these needs to no avail. This barrier to mobilization touches on the critique towards community development initiatives as being unable to address the typical external factors that cause marginalization (Green, 2017), as this interviewee relays, there is not much that community leaders can do to change the wider socioeconomic inequality that affects favela resident's availability to participate in community projects.

While no community leaders cited resident's free time as the main barrier to mobilization, nearly all community leaders interviewed mentioned the effect that their involvement had on their own free time and personal lives. Even if these residents are passionate about the project and bringing improvements to their community, many could not help but express disappointment in the lack of attendance in community meetings considering that they themselves make sacrifices in order to attend. The following quotes from interviews with community leaders illustrate this sentiment:

> "Eh, it's a charge, people sometimes don't understand that you have your personal life, you have your work. You have all that and you still have to take more care of the community, you know?"[25]
> "There's people who even send in the [WhatsApp] group something like, 'oh I'm not going because today is my birthday.' How many birthdays have I spent away from home? Away from home. You get it? That's why this time around, I want to dedicate myself a bit more to my family, for my granddaughter that needs my help, you know?"[26]
> "It's very tiring. Because you have to combine your work time, your family time, and your time with the [neighborhood] association."[27]

These frustrations put a spotlight on how the personal charge and time commitment of community leadership may negatively affect community development initiatives. The involvement of community leaders, as one technical supporter relayed to me in an interview,

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gosto descansar, ficar só em casa, trabalho a semana toda. Tá então, um dia de semana, dia de semana à noite, sete horas, já combinamos. Vários dias e vários horários diferentes. Mas sempre tem lá, pô, mas a noite eu chego do trabalho cansado. Aí eh aí no caso das mulheres: ai eu tenho que chegar em casa, tenho que fazer jantar, ou até os homens mesmo que moram só e tal, pô tenho que fazer minha agenda preparar minhas coisas pouca, pro dia seguinte. Então quer dizer cada um tem a sua vida, a sua vida da forma, né, que pode levar. E a gente não tem muito o que fazer."

[25] "Eh é uma cobrança, as pessoas as vezes não entende que você tem sua vida pessoal, tem seu trabalho. Você tem tudo isso e você ainda tem que cuidar mais da comunidade, entendeu?"

[26] "Tem gente que ainda manda no grupo assim, ai eu não vou não porque hoje é meu aniversário. Quantos aniversários eu passei fora de casa? Fora de casa. Entendeu? Por isso que dessa vez assim, eu quero me dedicar um pouquinho mais pra minha família, pra minha neta que ela precisa da minha ajuda, entendeu?"

[27] "É muito cansativo. Porque você tem que juntar teu tempo de trabalho, teu tempo de família, teu tempo com associação"

is crucial to mobilizing residents since they are hearing from neighbors, from people who know their lived experience better than external actors would. However, these leaders still have obligations and often deal with the same socioeconomic barriers that their neighbors face, to have to sacrifice their little free time to community projects.

The comprehension barrier

The majority of community leaders interviewed highlighted a lack of understanding of the CLT model as a barrier to mobilizing residents. As one interviewee puts it: "I think that for all the information that [the F-CLT Project] has provided, that we have provided, there's still a lot of difficulty for people to really understand."[28] This same community leader continues with a remark that summarizes the issue with mobilizing residents around a complex model like the CLT: "If you don't understand something, you don't participate."[29] This creates a sort of catch-22 since the more residents participate, the more they would understand the CLT model, argue other community leaders:

> "The more that they're present in the plenary session, the meetings, the more they'll understand. Because don't you go thinking that I understood this all of a sudden: it was participating, it was asking, it was questioning."[30]
> "I didn't understand a lot, cause it was pretty complex, you know? And up until what point, like how is it that the house will be mine but the land won't, it's pretty complicated. But after having participated, they were understanding."[31]

Community leaders therefore perceive that having more residents in community workshops and meetings for the F-CLT Project will help overcome this challenge of understanding, yet mobilizing residents in the first place is difficult if they feel the CLT model is too complicated.

Another community leader from Esperança, however, links this lack of understanding of the CLT model to a larger cultural context:

> "There's residents here within [the community] that still have doubts. They can't separate that the CLT: the land is collective and their improvements, the construction is theirs. They can't advance in this. Because in our culture, the home is tied to the land. So people have a certain difficulty. They have a certain difficulty to.. to accept that the land is in the name of a third party. They don't understand what a legal entity

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[28] "Acho que por mais informações que vocês tem passado, que a gente tem passado, ainda há uma grande dificuldade pras pessoas entenderem realmente."
[29] "uma coisa que você não entende, você não participa."
[30] "Quanto mais elas estiverem presentes nas plenárias, nas reuniões, elas vão entender mais. Porque não pense você que eu entendi isso de uma hora pra outra: foi participando, foi perguntando, foi questionando."
[31] "Não entendia muito, que era meio complexo, né? E até que ponto, aí como é que a casa vai ser minha e o terreno não, é meio complicado. Mas depois por estar participando, foram entendendo."

is. When you talk about representation in the CLT, about the legal knowledge of the CLT, they don't understand that the majority of [representation] is from residents."[32] While more residents participating and attending meetings would help with understanding the CLT model, this interviewee highlights the underlying barrier that is harder to overcome; a cultural emphasis on land ownership. In the same interview, this community leader stipulated that land is related to power, explaining why their neighbors are hesitant to relinquish this power when already facing socioeconomic marginalization. Such hesitance and cultural dominance of individual land ownership inhibits the understanding of the CLT model, even if these same residents participated in housing cooperatives before.

Two other community leaders from Trapicheiros also recounted one instance of how misunderstandings about the F-CLT Project can circulate among residents :

> [Interviewee 1]: "So nowadays people are more involved, they're getting to know more. But even then there was still one guy who said this one comment now: 'the CLT is over they're not going to have it anymore, guys.' (Interviewee raises voice) Who said that? (They lower their voice) 'The CLT is over, there's no more CLT.' They said that. Then I said, but did this person participate in the meeting? They participated. And she said that so and so said that the CLT is over. Who said that? (Interviewee laughs)"[33]
>
> [Interviewee 2]: "That's it. As talked about in the meeting, it was the possibility of not entering in the master plan. These are things independent of it entering in the master plan or not."[34]

I attended myself these workshops where the master plan was discussed and its importance was explained by the F-CLT Project team. While there was some clarification on how the master plan's initial rejection does not affect the legal viability of a CLT, it is reasonable that some residents took away a different meaning. Such issues relate to how technical supporters handle the complexities and language necessary to explain the CLT, further elaborated on in Chapter 4. This instance of misunderstanding demonstrates that participation in meetings does not cure completely the challenge of understanding the CLT model, and that information shared outside of community workshops plays a significant role in mobilization efforts.

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[32] "Tem moradores aqui dentro que ainda tem dúvida. . . . Eles não conseguem separar que o TTC: a terra é coletiva e a benfeitoria, que as paredes é dela. Ela não consegue avançar nisso. Porque na nossa cultura, a casa está ligada à terra. Então as pessoas tem uma certa dificuldade. Tem uma certa dificuldade em.. em aceitar que a terra fique no nome de terceiros. Eles não entendem que é uma pessoa jurídica. Quando se fala numa representação do TTC, que a formação jurídica do TTC, eles não entendem que a maior parte é dos moradores."

[33] "Então hoje em dia as pessoas estão mais envolvidas, estão conhecendo mais. Mesmo assim que ainda teve um abençoado que falou agora um comentário: 'o TTC que se acabou não vai ter mais, gente.' (alto) Quem falou isso? (baixinho) 'O TTC que se acabou, não tem mais TTC.' Falaram isso. Aí eu falei, mas a pessoa participou da reunião? Participou. E ela disse que fulano falou que TTC acabou. Quem falou isso? (risas)"

[34] "É. Como foi falado na reunião, foi a possibilidade de não entrar no plano diretor. São coisas independentes dele entrar ou não no plano diretor."

Connecting this challenge of (mis)understanding to the availability factor, having to share information outside of meetings also relates to the frustration some community leaders feel about the personal charge of their involvement in the project that they feel is not shared with other residents. One community leader from Esperança recounts of how certain residents get used to receiving information about the project through neighbors who attended meetings, instead of attending themselves. This extra task of having to relay information creates a frustration for this particular community leader: "If I was able to be present, why not them?"[35] This observation, as well as that of the misunderstanding about the CLT in the master plan, demonstrate instances of conflict that arise between community leaders and other residents outside of official meetings, demonstrating the importance of these every day interactions have on the advancement of community development initiatives. Such relates to Mitlin's (2001) assertion that governments and NGOs do not consider these interactions in their evaluation of community organizations, and the idea of community unity among the urban poor is an assumption that the F-CLT Project has had to confront.

The slow pace of the F-CLT Project

Another barrier to community mobilization that is particular to the F-CLT Project is the envisioned timeline to establish a CLT. It could take years to develop a CLT, particularly one that is collectively construed, and particularly one that involves land regularization, as is the case for the four pilot communities. The F-CLT Project being such a slow process was a factor identified by multiple interviewees as a barrier to continuous mobilization. One community leader in Trapicheiros gave an example of how gaining the usage rights document was easier to mobilize around, since people knew they had a good chance of obtaining the document and that it would not take as long: "And when everyone found out that we were going to win, I think they got very excited, they came to more meetings, they searched more and already knew what was going on."[36] This remark, however, hints at a barrier to mobilization that is not just about the CLT process being slow; it has to do with what residents perceive as the chance of it coming true. The same interviewee later recounts:

> "I think that they think it's something that is tedious, delayed - which it really will be, right? It's not going to happen overnight, right? . . . And people sometimes don't have that feeling, you know, to continue? That it's going to take a while, they kind of stop believing. . . . People have gotten so used to a lot, no, a lot of suffering, a lot of

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[35] "Se eu pude estar presente, por que ela não?"
[36] "E quando o pessoal soube que nós íamos ganhar, eu achei que eles se empolgaram bastante, vinham mais nas reuniões, procuravam mais já sabia das coisas."

> broken promises, you understand? Therefore the tendency is [to participate] only
> when they seem something palpable."[37]

This remark reflects how past experiences affect mobilization, sometimes in a negative way, this time implicating the role of external actors and broken promises. While this aspect will be touched on more in Chapter 3, this tendency to not participate in community projects that do not have an immediate, palpable result is identified as a barrier faced in mobilizing residents who may like the idea of a CLT but do not believe that it will ever come to fruition.

Some parts that slow the process, however, are independent of the CLT model in itself and more tied to the context of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro's public authorities. One technical supporter from a public agency theorizes about how bureaucratic barriers particularly affect favela residents:

> "Sometimes in Trapicheiros the community ends up not having improvements that
> would be easy to be resolved, due to one or another bureaucracy that was not
> respected and all that. Being that, uh, do these bureaucracies, do they happen for
> every type of social demand? Could it be that more burdensome bureaucracies exist?
> That fall onto populations with fewer resources? In my understanding, yes, in my
> understanding there exists a selectivity there in the form of openness in relation to
> demands. So the demands of the elites, uh, of the people who have power are resolved
> with much more promptness and speed than working-class demands."[38]

This interviewee's commentary reflects a key caveat of CLT implementation in informal settlements, and more generally speaking in the Global South, where government support is unlikely or minimal (Ribeiro et al., 2022). When government support is lesser and bureaucratic barriers higher, the demands of community mobilization increase. Another external supporter involved closely with Esperança's land regularization process and participation in the F-CLT Project provided an example that illustrates well this idea. They spoke to the difficulties involved with the Caixa Econômica[39], in which residents still faced numerous delays and setbacks despite an increased willingness of the Caixa to cooperate amidst administration changes: "And if, on our side, we, in a way, go to one of these

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[37] "Eu acho que eles acham que é uma coisa que é maçante, demorada- que realmente vai ser, né? Não vai ser de hoje pra amanhã, né? . . . E as pessoas as vezes não tem esse senso, né, de ficar? Que vai demorar, estão meio que desacreditados. . . . As pessoas que estivem tão acostumada assim a muito, não, a muito sofrimento, a muito promessas que não são cumpridas entendeu? Então a tendência é só quando vê alguma coisa assim poupável."

[38] "Em Trapicheiros às vezes a comunidade acaba não tendo melhorias que seriam fáceis de serem resolvidas, por conta de uma ou outra burocracia que não foi respeitada e tudo mais. Sendo que, eh, será que essas burocracias elas acontecem pra todo tipo de demanda social? Será que não existem burocracias mais pesadas? Que se abatem sobre as populações com menos condições? No meu entendimento, sim, no meu entendimento existe uma seletividade aí na forma de abertura em relação às demandas. Então as demandas das elites, eh, das pessoas que tem poder são resolvidas com muito mais presteza e velocidade do que as demandas populares."

[39] A state-run financial institution in Brazil, which in this case is responsible for handling Esperança's housing contracts as part of the Minha Casa Minha Vida-Entidades program.

meetings without everything very well agreed on or very fine-tuned, then the process slows down more."[40] Therefore, lack of community mobilization slows down bureaucratic processes even further, such processes limited by systemic issues. As this same interviewee continues to argue: "The housing issue is an issue that structurally, it's committed to the system. So it's not enough for you to change a government. That you won't make this automatic change in the structure, right?"[41] CLTs, as Green argues, are particularly affective at addressing structural and root causes of housing affordability, since they make a permanent change in the affected land's regulation that will not be affected by political administration changes (2017). However, this argument is based off the experiences of CLTs primarily in the US and Europe, where the need for community mobilization to address bureaucratic barriers is lesser, reflecting the challenges that CLT implementation face when transferring from one national context to another, and from formal housing to informal housing. While all CLTs may face this challenge of maintaining residents mobilized for a prolonged period of time in the development phase, this slow pace is further exaggerated by systemic issues in the relationship between favela residents and public authorities in Rio de Janeiro.

Clientelism as a barrier to "real" mobilization

In addition to the slow pace of CLT implementation, clientelistic intrusions in community development practices present another issue that is specific to some of the F-CLT Project's pilot communities yet representative of larger national, and even regional, trends. The topic of clientelism arose in interviews with both community leaders and technical supporters, and I noted that technical supporters tended to hold stronger opinions about the damage of clientelism. For example, one technical supporter cited clientelism when asked about what they thought was the main barrier to community mobilization:

> "The favela did in fact improve due to that pavement, in a way yes. But the regularization issue was not resolved, the conflict with, with the building next door was not resolved. Up until what point is it worth it to trade your vote for an instant improvement that has no continuity? After the election, was that politician present there? No he wasn't. So that's an example of a factor that hinders the advancement of a real mobilization, of a good, real mobilization."[42]

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[40] "E se, do nosso lado a gente, de certa forma, vai pruma reunião dessa não com as coisas muito bem acordadas ou muito bem sintonizada, aí o processo trava mais."

[41] "A questão habitacional ela é uma questão que estruturalmente, ela está comprometida com o sistema. Então não basta você mudar um governo. Que você não faz essa mudança automática da estrutura, entendeu?"

[42] "A comunidade melhorou de fato por conta daquele asfalto, certa medida sim. Mas a questão fundiária não foi resolvida, o conflito com, com o prédio vizinho não foi resolvido. A garantia de permanência não foi resolvida. Até que ponto vale a pena você trocar o seu voto por uma melhoria instantânea em algo que não tem

This interviewee's emphasis on "real" mobilization implies that clientelism is a form of community mobilization, albeit one with a negative charge. The same individual later on defines real mobilization as "when the community, based on its resources, the residents, are able to present their demands and have their demands resolved."[43] While this definition is vague and clientelism could be considered a way of residents presenting demands and having them resolved, I interpret this interviewee's remark as seeing clientelism as the antithesis of community development, which refers to collectively organizing to bring long-lasting changes that are led by community members and not politicians. Another technical supporter, for example, when discussing what defines community development, remarked that community development involves the "freedom to choose your candidates, not doing what [name removed] said yesterday: let's call the representatives and tell them that we'll vote for them, if they help - that is a lack of development."[44] In this case, the interviewee was referring to an instance in one of the F-CLT Project's plenary sessions where a community leader made suggestions on how to make progress on the CLT model's inclusion in Rio de Janeiro's master plan. In the eyes of technical supporters, these methods are illegitimate forms of mobilization.

While community leaders did not necessarily praise clientelistic practices in interviews, three of them admitted to these practices rather openly in interviews and did not come to the same conclusions as these two technical supporters. One community leader clearly identified the clientelistic relationship their community has with politicians: "For us to get any kind of thing here was through some political alliances. Alliances in quotes, right? People who helped us and that we helped by voting for them."[45] This particular community leader shows a critical regard to the so-called alliance, yet highlights the necessity of this vote exchange in order to acquire basic improvements. Reliance on clientelism for basic improvements can be tied to the previous subsection's focus on the slow pace of advancement in the F-CLT Project, reflecting a barrier to mobilization in the sense that residents, in some of the pilot communities, are more inclined to mobilize around a palpable result, which in many cases politicians offer. Maricato mirrors the previously highlighted commentary of an

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continuidade? Depois da eleição, esse político estava presente ali? Não estava. Então isso é um exemplo de fator que dificulta o avanço de uma mobilização real, de uma boa mobilização real."
[43] "quando a comunidade a partir dos seus recursos, dos moradores, consegue apresentar as suas demandas e ter resolvido as suas demandas."
[44] "Liberdade de escolha de dos seus candidatos, não fazer o que foi falado ontem pela [name removed]: vamos chamar os vereadores e dizer pra eles que a gente vai votar nele, se eles ajudarem- isso é falta de desenvolvimento."
[45] "Pra gente conseguir qualquer tipo de coisa aqui foi a através de algumas alianças políticas. Alianças entre aspas, né? Pessoas que nos ajudaram e a gente ajudou com a votação pra elas."

interviewee lamenting the higher bureaucratic barriers faced by the urban poor in Brazil, coupling this observation with the flexibility that clientelism offers: "This apparent flexibility is combined with a remarkable bureaucratization resulting from exaggerated procedures and excessively detailed rules and regulations" (2017, p. 23). Reliance on clientelism, particularly to overcome the excessive bureaucracy that burdens Rio's urban poor, is therefore one challenge to address in pursuing "real" community mobilization.

Challenging a culture of individualism

Another identified challenge to community mobilization is what some interviewees identified as a culture of individualism. This factor was mentioned by nearly all the technical supporters interviewed, with only one community leader directly addressing the idea of a culture of individualism being a main barrier. One interviewee attributed this barrier of individualism to human nature, but also to systemic issues: "There's the natural issue that people have their needs, they're different, right? And there's the issue of the system, right? Which doesn't encourage this type of activity."[46] This external supporter sees the CLT model as a type of collective activity that must confront both natural tendencies and societal pressures towards individualism. Another interviewed technical supporter brought up this challenge of individualism in the case of Trapicheiro's issues with mobilization:

> "Maybe an individualistic culture leads people to want to reject collective actions, to think that collective actions don't get results, to think the politics is all bought and it's useless for us to fight because nothing will change coming from the people's will, that those in power are the ones who need to recognize these problems themselves and not from our struggle. . . . The fact that we perhaps don't have the mobilization that we would like in Trapicheiros, well, doesn't speak to the community, it speaks to our individualistic culture."[47]

This interviewee sees the culture of individualism, similarly to the other technical supporters interviewed, as something larger than the pilot communities it affects in the F-CLT Project. He also asserts that this culture of individualism is connected to the lack of faith that favela residents' have in achieving advances through mobilization, fueled by a political environment that favors clientelism over the people's will.

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[46] "Tem a questão natural que as pessoas tem as suas necessidades, ficam diferentes, né? E tem a questão do sistema, né? Que não alimenta esse tipo de atividade."

[47] "Talvez uma cultura individualista leve as pessoas a quererem a rejeitar as ações coletivas, a achar que as ações coletivas não dão resultado, achar que a política é toda comprada e que não adianta a gente lutar porque nada vai mudar a partir da vontade popular, os donos do poder é que precisam eles mesmos se darem conta de dos problemas e não a partir do, da luta. O fato da gente não ter talvez uma mobilização que a gente quisesse em Trapicheiros, assim, não depõe contra a comunidade, depõe contra a nossa cultura individualista."

One point related to this larger societal issue cited by technical supporters, which arose frequently during workshops and in a few of the interviews with community leaders, has to do with the universality of how difficult community mobilization is. As one community leader clarifies on the difficulties of community mobilization: "But I don't see that as something particular to Trapicheiros, you know? I see that in favelas there's a lot of that."[48] The same sentiment was repeated during community workshops, in which F-CLT Project staff would often alleviate residents' concerns about their challenges with mobilization by affirming that mobilization is difficult everywhere, not just in their specific neighborhood. Two technical supporters also highlighted how this challenge of community mobilization does not only affect favelas:

> "I live in a middle class residential building. No one goes to the condominium's meetings. So it's not only the poor who don't have this habit. It's in society overall. I think that maybe everywhere, not just in Brazil, people don't have this, people don't have this comprehension that there exists problems that are collective and are only solved in a collective way. They keep trying individual solutions."[49]
> "That this is, or at least here in Rio, it's what happens in any place. So if you, for example, if tomorrow there'd be a condominium meeting in my building, not even half of the residents go, you understand? . . . It's something that makes up society, not a problem of this or that favela. It's overall, right?"[50]

Both interviewees pointed to a wider issue of the societal dominance of individualism, while also referencing differing expectations between favelas and formal neighborhoods to be a "community" and inherently organized.

Nuances of community participation in the F-CLT Project

The idea of community participation is closely related to community mobilization, and sometimes this term was used interchangeably in interviews and community workshops. For the sake of my analysis, I choose to separate the concepts and look at participation as the intended result of mobilization. Participation relates to the part of community development that focuses on the protagonism of community members to assess and act upon their collective needs. Looking at the nuances of participation in the F-CLT Project therefore helps

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[48] "Mas isso eu vejo que não é uma coisa peculiar do Trapicheiros não, sabe? Eu vejo que isso nas comunidades tem bastante"
[49] "Eu moro num prédio classe média. Ninguém vai na reunião de condomínio. Então não é só o pobre que não tem esse hábito. Na sociedade como um todo. Eu acho que talvez em toda parte, não só no Brasil, as pessoas não tem essa, não tem essa compreensão de que existem problemas, que são coletivos e que só se resolvem de forma coletiva. Elas ficam tentando saídas individuais."
[50] "Que isso é, o que pelo menos aqui no Rio, é o que acontece em qualquer lugar. Se você, por exemplo, se amanhã tiver uma reunião de condomínio no meu prédio, nem metade dos moradores vão, entende? . . . É algo que perfaça a sociedade, não é um problema dessa ou daquela comunidade. É no geral, né?"

evaluate and critically analyze how this protagonism is established and how participation is construed throughout the development of the project. Hataya (2007) provides two different interpretations of community participation that are relevant to my experience in the F-CLT Project: participation as the inclusion of targeted beneficiaries as decision-makers, and more broadly as "people's involvement in communal actions in order to obtain collective needs" (Hataya, 2007, p. 8). In this section, I will highlight how both of these interpretations took shape during my fieldwork, and discuss some of the paradoxes of participation that the F-CLT Project faces.

Participation as decision-making by beneficiaries

Firstly I will discuss participation in the sense that the beneficiaries are sought after as decision-makers, with this conceptualization of participation most common in development programs targeting marginalized urban neighborhoods. In the F-CLT Project, this participation involves seeking the opinion and consensus of residents of each pilot community throughout the implementation of a CLT. This consensus is for the most part established during community workshops, from brainstorming on community problems and possible solutions, to co-constructing the CLT association, to deliberating on the terms and conditions of the pilot community's CLT.

One issue with assessing the participation of pilot community residents relates to the aforementioned challenges of mobilization, resulting in issues with attendance and representation. Both technical supporters and community leaders frequently referred to the prevalence of "the usual group."[51] "The usual group" was a phrase used to describe Trapicheiros in an interview, yet that I find to a certain extent representative of the other pilot communities as well: a small dedicated group of residents, most of them with prior or current leadership positions in the community, that are present in every workshop. While this group's consistency can be an advantage, considering the slow pace of CLT implementation, the presence of the same group of residents is a symptom of a lack of mobilization. As one technical supporter states: "You have a group that is more interested but you fail to mobilize all the community."[52] As detailed in the section of F-CLT Project methodology, participation is built into the construction of a CLT at each step of the process. Therefore, in each decision on how the CLT board will be run, what functions each position will have, what rules the CLT should follow, and so on, the same group of residents are deliberating on these issues.

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[51] "aquele grupinho de sempre"
[52] "Você tem um grupo mais interessado mas você não consegue mobilizar toda a comunidade."

Another factor in this participation is how consensus and decision-making are determined, and my observations of community workshops provide firsthand experience of how the F-CLT Project's participative methodology worked in practice. When deciding on a given issue involving the CLT, team members from the F-CLT Project facilitating the workshop would try to find consensus from residents first, and then ask for a vote on the issue if consensus was not possible. For example, in one workshop I attended, one resident suggested that the mandate for CLT board elections should be one year. When a facilitating F-CLT Project team member asked for elaboration, this resident argued that a one-year mandate would lessen the personal charge of leadership on the chosen board member. A community leader in this same workshop intervened and suggested a three-year mandate, arguing that the CLT was a complicated project that requires board members to be committed for more time. The F-CLT Project facilitator then asked the other resident, who gave the initial one-year suggestion, if they agreed on a three-year mandate and said resident agreed, accepting the community leader's reasoning. This example illustrates how instigating resident participation may work in practice: some options are suggested by residents, but they might not be deliberated, or could end up agreeing with whatever option a community leader prefers, and the consensus is reached easily. In other instances, sometimes consensus was assumed in the absence of discussion or deliberation between different options. This had happened throughout workshops in Trapicheiros and Shangri-Lá discussing the CLT association: one option was suggested by the F-CLT Project team, usually based on the experience of Esperança's completed associative status, and if no one seemed opposed to that option they would affirm a consensus and move forward. Lack of deliberation in this sense can seem appropriate, considering the need to keep advancing in the project and also the large amount of information that the F-CLT Project team needs to relay to residents. These instances might be more representative of "directed" community development, where external actors are paying attention to community needs and seeking participation, but the CLT model in itself is not changing much from one pilot community to another.

Participation as a commitment to collective action

When looking at the interpretation of participation as a commitment to collective action, many of the community leaders expressed disappointment in the proportion of neighbors that were regularly involved in the F-CLT Project. Just as attendance affects representation and decision-making for the CLT, it also affects how community leaders perceive their neighbors' commitment to community projects in general. However, one

community leader from Trapicheiros brought up an interesting point about different types of participation, that despite low attendance in meetings he still felt that Trapicheiros residents were participative:

> "But to compensate [for lack of attendance], I also can't complain because it's like: when I need help from the community, with something, there's always someone or another who's helping, you know? So that person maybe they're not participative with going to a meeting, but they are participative in a neighborhood cleanup. Or otherwise they're participative in organizing a party, like what we even did with the F-CLT Project, country-themed, some get-togethers. Eh, picking up food distributions, then there's always someone getting out of their car, giving a helping hand. So, I think that the community is participative in this aspect."[53]

This leader's reflection provides a contrast to more bureaucratic approaches to participation. Whereas government programs and NGOs often envision participation as community meetings, votes, and consultation for decision-making, here participation is valued just as much in the sense of commitment to helping neighbors, to interactions that happen outside of meetings. Such can be connected to Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan's (2022) typology of community development, in which "directed" community development evokes consultation process through organized meetings, through participative methodology, meanwhile "grassroots" community development is represented by those participative moments outside of meetings, less structured but as this community leader mentions, equally important and demonstrative of a community's potential to work collectively towards improvements.

Other technical supporters and community leaders pointed to "quality over quantity" as a justification for low attendance, adding nuance to what participation means for them and the importance of said participation. As one technical supporter addresses:

> "Well, if on the one hand there could be a better participation, on the other hand those people that are participating actually contribute, actually participate, they're not just people merely present, they're not there just to be there, they're there wholeheartedly wanting to better the community."[54]

This interviewee illustrates how it is better to have people present that are "wholeheartedly wanting to better the community" rather than just mere numbers, favoring this second interpretation of participation as a commitment to the community rather than just being

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[53] "Mas em compensação, eu também não posso reclamar porque assim: quando eu preciso de ajuda da comunidade, com alguma coisa, sempre tem um ou outro que tá ajudando, entendeu? Então aquela pessoa ela não é participativa em ir a reunião, mas de ela é participativa no mutirão de limpeza. Ou de repente ela é participativa em organizar uma festa, como a gente já fez aqui até com TTC, caipira, algumas confraternizações. Eh, pegar cesta básica, aí sempre tem um que sai do seu carro, ou que cede a mão de obra. Então, eu acho que a comunidade ela é participativa nesse aspecto."

[54] "Então, se por um lado poderia haver uma participação maior, por outro aquelas pessoas que estão participando de fato contribuem, de fato participam, não são pessoas que tão fazendo mera presença, não tão ali só por estar, estão ali de corpo e alma querendo melhoria da comunidade."

present for consultation from external actors. A similar narrative of "quality over quantity" came up during a diagnostic workshop in Vila Autódromo. In this instance, a representative from the F-CLT Project team was reinforcing the idea of needing more attendance, to have power in numbers, particularly when confronting public authorities. A community leader, however, countered this positioning, argued that the quality of residents present in the meetings was more important than the quantity. Considering the context of the workshop, where there were known issues of distrust between neighbors and past conflicts with the neighborhood association, this leader's comment may have reflected a bias towards some neighbors that they felt should not be involved. In this sense, the idea of quality over quantity can be both an alternative assessment of participation as a commitment to the community and not just a source of consultation, yet also representative of biases or rifts that community leaders have with other residents.

Paradoxes of participation

Throughout my fieldwork I noted a few paradoxes of participation, or predominant ideas involving contradictory factors at play. The role of community leadership in participation is one of these paradoxes, as their prevalence in the F-CLT Project as "the usual group", can be seen as both an advantage and a disadvantage when evaluating participation. These leaders represent "quality over quantity", they are engaged because they believe in the project and their involvement is a key asset to the F-CLT Project's advancement in any of the pilot communities. On the other hand, community leaders are not perfect, they could still have conflicts with neighbors, and as mentioned previously they have their own lives to live as well. For example, among the F-CLT Project team, two pilot communities in particular were discussed in regard to community leadership inhibiting efforts to include more residents in the project, due to general conflict and distrust between certain neighbors. Regarding the personal charge of leadership, a few community leaders even outright told me in interviews that they would not want to be a part of the CLT board or hold a leadership position in the new association, despite their current level of participation in the F-CLT Project. Such demonstrates a problem with "the usual group" and overreliance on these residents for the bulk of community participation; while they are key to introducing the F-CLT Project to the wider community, they are not free from personal bias or conflict, and they can reach burnout from dedicating too much time to projects without transfer of leadership responsibilities to other residents.

Another paradox is represented by one idea that was repeated consistently throughout interviews and community workshops: that participation would increase naturally as the project advances. Community leaders interviewed explained this hypothesis as residents becoming more involved as the end result becomes more viable:

> "And we believe that when the time comes, when the legal part is ready, that we'll say, look, it's here. Do you want - would you want to be a member? We believe that the majority will say yes, they won't want to be left out. Because supposedly one would think that staying out, you won't have any benefit."[55]
>
> "It's step by step but we're going to get there. I also think like this: as it's going along, like, when you put this document together, when everything's organized, it's one more step. Maybe people will believe more, be more interested, you know? I think so. . . Then, with time people will gain more trust."[56]

This assertion was mirrored by F-CLT Project staff in community meetings, reiterating this same idea that as the project advanced it would gain numbers, referring to international experiences such as the Caño Martín Peña CLT in Puerto Rico as an example of gaining numbers over time. Accordingly, the F-CLT Project staff based their hypothesis of increasing participation on international experiences, while the community leaders based the same hypothesis to their previous experiences of community mobilization where residents are more interested in palpable results. There is, however, a certain paradox to this assertion; those working for the F-CLT Project, in both team meetings but also in conferences and introductory workshops, emphasize how participation being present in all parts of the CLT implementation process is a defining principle of the model. Examples of social production of habitat in Latin America also emphasize the importance of participation at all levels of the process (Salama, 2019), particularly in order to pursue alternative forms of housing that counterpoise past government programs with top-down approaches (Herrera et al., 2019). The acknowledgement of this need for participation from the beginning therefore creates another catch-22 situation for the F-CLT Project; the CLT is meant to be participative throughout all the steps of its implementation, yet fewer residents are inclined to participate until they see the latter stages of development of the CLT come to fruition.

This paradox of participation connects back to the prevalence of "the usual group": most of the definitions and decisions of CLT design will be made by this smaller group of

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[55] "E a gente acredita que na hora que for, que a parte jurídica tiver pronta, que a gente fala, olha, tá aqui. Você quer- vai querer ser membro? A gente acredita que a maioria vai falar, não vai querer ficar de fora. Porque supostamente pode pensar que se ficar de fora, não vai ter algum benefício."

[56] "É passo a passo mas a gente vai chegar lá. Eu acho também assim: a medida que for passando, tipo assim, quando montar esse documento aí, quando estiver todo certinho, é mais um passo. Talvez as pessoas volte a acreditar mais, interessar mais, entendeu? Eu acho que sim. . . Aí, vem com o tempo as pessoas vão pegando mais confiança."

consistently active residents, so if a given pilot community's CLT project gains in numbers after most of this design has been done, this could present issues to new members who may want to make changes. Or even if said newcomers to the project are fine with the terms of the CLT that emerged from past workshops, this development calls into question the participative aspect of the CLT, and the emphasis that both academics and practitioners put on having participation at all steps of the process. On the other hand, this insistence that the CLT will naturally gain more participation over time relates to a pressure that both the F-CLT Project team and participating pilot communities feel to advance. For example, during one community workshop in Shangri-Lá, one of the residents remarked that she thought there were too little people in attendance to be making decisions on the CLT's design. While the F-CLT Project facilitator assured this resident that they were just working on drafts and that they would wait for final approval with more residents present, a community leader chimed in, emphasizing the importance of advancing in the project with each workshop and not waiting around for everyone to be present. During another community workshop I attended in Trapicheiros, due to a combination of regular issues with mobilization and also just chance that a couple of "the usual group" were sick or absent for other reasons, we encountered the same issue. In this case, the F-CLT Project facilitator of that workshop insisted on still advancing with the three residents that were present, to be able to finalize a draft of the associative status that would later be circulated to the entire community. These instances exemplify this pressure to advance in the project, even if it means foregoing a certain level of community participation. These examples from the F-CLT Project's work in these two pilot communities brings to light the reality of community development, which may underperform on the idealistic expectations of participation desired by the CLT model and other examples of social production of habitat in Latin America.

Conclusion

There is one phrase that I heard during my fieldwork that I feel summarizes a good part of this chapter: "If you don't stay on top of things, nothing will happen."[57] I heard this phrase mentioned by a resident talking about simple public services, such as road pavement, in one of the first workshops I attended as an intern. Little did I know that this would be the defining phrase of my fieldwork, with this same sentiment expressed in various workshops and interviews. I mention it here since it brings together all four sections of this chapter;

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[57] "Se não ficar em cima nada vai acontecer"

previous experience of community mobilization in favelas, how those experiences affect the present, the barriers that are faced in community mobilization and how those barriers affect participation, and the levels of participation that practitioners and community members are willing to accept.

"If you don't stay on top of things, nothing will happen" is a phrase that reflects the four pilot communities' history of community mobilization; this sentiment is developed from decades of life experience, seeing community initiatives fail, seeing public services never delivered because the community was not mobilized enough to confront public authorities for services they are owed. The fact that this sentiment was repeated so much in interviews and workshops shows that this lived experience affects how residents envision the viability of the F-CLT Project, knowing what realistically must be done in their communities to obtain actual results. This phase similarly represents the barriers faced in community mobilization; many of these barriers are symptoms of structural, systemic issues of inequality, of a bureaucracy that requires favela residents "stay on top of things" to guarantee their rights despite the time constraints they face in achieving the necessary organization to do so. Lastly, this phrase similarly relates to the levels of participation seen and the reality that the pilot communities face in achieving CLT implementation; residents and practitioners alike must reckon with the reality of a loss in participation if it means advancing consistently in the project, because if they do not advance, nothing will happen.

Chapter 4 - The role of external supporters in the Favela Community Land Trust Project

 The history and extent of community mobilization, as well as the barriers of land regularization, are defining factors of the CLT experience in the four participating pilot communities. External supporters, varying from public defenders, technicians, students and scholars, and the F-CLT Project team itself, are an integral part of this experience as well. In this chapter, I examine the role of external supporters in the F-CLT Project, paying attention to how these actors affect both mobilization and confront technical barriers tied to the CLT model. In the first section, I look at how external actors have operated in the pilot communities in the past, and the lasting perceptions that these actions have created for both community leaders and external supporters of the F-CLT Project. Then I will distinguish the different ways that external actors support the pilot communities, from technical knowledge to visibility and legitimacy. The following section looks specifically at the role that external supporters have in community mobilization, and finally I discuss the dependency that the F-CLT Project has on external support.

 Being the focus of this chapter, I want to first clarify some confusion on the terms "technical supporter" and "external supporter." During my fieldwork, both terms were used interchangeably, although "technical supporter" would usually imply a role that works specifically with land regularization or bureaucratic work. "Technical supporter" is also a terminology found in the literature on both CLTs and the social production of habitat (Arnold et al., 2020; Davis, 2022; Ribeiro et al., 2022; Ortiz Flores, 2002). "External supporter" was used frequently by the F-CLT Project staff, and by residents of the pilot communities, as a more broad term to refer to everyone involved in the project that is not living in one of the pilot communities. Therefore, "external supporter" is an umbrella term that includes "technical supporters," which refers to those assisting in a particular technical aspect of the CLT model, be it land regularization or designing the associative status.

 I find the use of the word "external" as the main identifier for these types of supporters as a point of interest. A generalized term makes sense, since these supporters range from researchers and students, to public defenders, to church members, and more. However, they are not just called "supporters." The emphasis on "external," therefore, points to the perception of their role. Their identity is in opposition to those that are internal, the

favela residents[58]. This implies that the system of support here is based on flows that come from the outside inwards. This flow can be representative of patterns of government support, of NGO support, of church support, that has led to dependency, or failed projects, leading to less valorization of residents' own protagonism in community development. For this reason I believe that the F-CLT Project therefore externalizes these supporters intentionally, in an effort to avoid repeating these patterns. If one emphasizes these supporters as external, they are showing that the support is still important and bringing resources to the community, but they are not part of the community and not the main protagonists of the CLT. This highlighting of the external is therefore a way to emphasize protagonism of favela residents, and is often done by these same external supporters themselves.

In addition to clarifying the terminology used in this chapter, I also must clarify who exactly these external supporters are, and where the F-CLT Project itself fits into this spectrum of support. The majority of external supporters that I interviewed would be considered technical supporters, people who provide their expertise in legal or practical matters relating to CLTs. However, some external supporters are students, church members, or other people generally interested in the project and in housing rights overall, who participate from time to time in events involving advocacy or mobilization. The F-CLT Project's team, a group of five employees of the larger NGO Catalytic Communities (CatComm), fit into the category of external supporters, and when I discuss the role of external support in this chapter I am including my former colleagues and the work of the F-CLT Project.

External actors, broken promises, and conscientization

The emphasis on the "external" of external supporters is likely connected to the tendency of favelas to be targets of various programs and policies coming from external actors, whether from public authority, NGOs, religious groups, or larger international institutions (Valladares, 2007). Before elaborating on the role of external supporters currently involved in the F-CLT Project, it is important to discuss this aspect of the past involvement that pilot communities have seen, how this affects their interpretation of external support and how external supporters in the F-CLT Project conscientize their support in the context of resident protagonism.

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[58] I have translated the Portuguese "morador" for resident, but I would also like to point out how this term also emits a sense of externality, and sometimes those involved with the project would use "morador" implying residents of favelas specifically.

Despite the pilot communities representing smaller neighborhoods that typically receive less attention from external actors, community leaders had a lot to say about how support in the past had led to broken promises. One resident from Trapicheiros speaks to the example of their involvement in co-designing a law meant to provide resources to improve housing in favelas:

> "It's 90-someting pages, right? In a law that was only made, but nothing happened. It stayed there on paper. They're never going to put all that about technical assistance for housing eh, social interest housing. They would be technicians, right? Engineers, architects that come to favelas, and there's public funding you know? . . . And that money is there to be used. There's a house that's kind of bad there in the favela, this funding goes there and the technicians from the municipality, evaluated by community leaders, let's go there and improve that house. That was all from the meetings to do this project. But none of that ever left the drawing board. We know that this political issue, and for favelas, things are really difficult, really difficult."[59]

This community leader illustrates a perfect example of the types of failures that Rio favela residents are used to, even in processes that were designed to be participated and include residents' voices. Another community leader from Esperança discussed these broken promises:

> "Because we have these promises from public services, so when one goes – even today this still happens a lot – when we go and we need some help. Not help, just that they do their part. So, a meeting is organized with the secretary. And when that day arrives, the guy who's representing who doesn't know anything, I mean, so – we don't – we are never able to resolve many things that have to be resolved, because it depends on them."[60]

In the context of public authority[61], this interviewee recognizes that these "promises" are services that they are owed as residents and citizens, and that they have to fight for representatives of public services to "do their part." As mentioned in Chapter 3, these broken promises lead to a lack of motivation or disillusionment towards community mobilization.

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[59] "São noventa e poucas páginas, né? Numa lei que só foi feita, mas nada aconteceu. Ficou só lá no papel. Eles nunca vão botar essa que é assistência técnica habitacional eh, interesse habitacional social. Seriam técnicos né? Engenheiros, arquitetos que vinham nas comunidades, e existem recursos públicos né? … Que esse dinheiro seria pra utilizar. Tem uma casa meia ruim ali na comunidade, esse recurso vai lá e os técnicos da prefeitura avaliados com a liderança, vamos lá dar uma melhoria nessa casa aí. Isso foi todas as reuniões pra fazer esse projeto. Mas nada disso saiu do papel. A gente sabe que essa questão política, e pra comunidade, as coisas são muito difícil, muito difícil."

[60] "Porque a gente tem as promessas do serviço público, então quando se vai -até hoje acontece muito disso- que a gente vai e precisa de alguma ajuda. Ajuda não, que eles façam a parte deles. Então, é combinado uma reunião com o secretária. E quando chega no dia, o cara que é representante que não sabe de nada, quer dizer, então, a gente não- nunca consegue resolver muitas coisas que tem que resolver, porque depende deles."

[61] I often use "public authority" as a translation of "poder público" in Portuguese, although in this context the interviewees are typically referring to the local government and the municipality. Some external supporters of the F-CLT Project, such as public defenders and those working in a public agency dealing with land regularization, would refer to "public authority" implying they do not belong to this group.

One technical supporter from a public agency confirms this disillusionment through their experience working with various Rio favelas:

> "So I think that people don't believe in this . . . I think they have a reason to not believe. Because there are so many promises, so many projects, so many people that enter the favela saying that they'll do so many things."[62]

One would think that considering these past failures and broken promises from external actors, that these community leaders would never want to collaborate on future programs, such as the F-CLT Project, that also come with promises about improving favelas. There is, however, one piece to the puzzle that a few interviewees unlocked: most of the disdain that residents of the pilot communities feel towards external actors is focused on public authority. The same technical supporter quoted previously expanded on this point, clarifying to me: "Because really it's the public authorities who do this business of going in with a project and not fulfilling."[63] When one community leader from Trapicheiros mentioned, similarly, how broken promises led to disillusionment among residents, I asked if they could provide examples, to which they responded:

> "From the government, all the time. We have various examples, we do. There's things that even, independent of promises, things that are our own rights, that if we don't chase them – even chasing them it's difficult, you know?" [64]

This resident clarifies that what the state is promising is related to their rights, simply "doing their part," which these public representatives frequently fail to do. In this sense, the fact that the F-CLT Project comes from an NGO, and not representing the local government or public authorities, is an advantage to the project's reception in these pilot communities. Although the fact that the project comes from an NGO and is not government-affiliated does create problems with longevity and funding, as discussed later in this chapter.

These broken promises and failed policies from public authorities therefore leads the pilot communities to trust in other actors, primarily NGOs, who provide the services and technical assistance that the State fails to provide. Bordenave (2022) argues that in Esperança, the state failing to fulfill its promises led the community to look for new actors that could assist in their regularization process. From my observations, I noticed how external supporters themselves sometimes referred to their role as replacing the absent State. During one community workshop in Shangri-Lá, a F-CLT Project team member was sharing

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[62] "Então eu acho que as pessoas não acreditam nisso . . . eu acho que elas têm razão de não acreditar. Porque são tantas promessas, tantos projetos, tanta gente que entra na comunidade dizendo que vai fazer tanta coisa."

[63] "Porque na verdade quem faz esse negócio de vai com projeto e não cumpre é o poder público."

[64] "Tudo tempo de poder público, né? A gente tem vários exemplos, tem. Tem coisas até que no, no independente de promessa, coisas de direito nosso que se a gente não correr atrás, mesmo correndo atrás a vida está difícil entendeu?"

information about necessary survey work that would need to be done in order to move forward in the land regularization process. They mentioned a university group that would come in person to do this survey, and even explicitly said that they were "going to do the municipality's job."[65] These reflections point towards the conclusion that the F-CLT Project and other external supporters are taking over the State's responsibility for issues such as land regularization, showing how the context of Rio's favelas adds to the necessary workload of CLT implementation since there is less support from public authorities as in other cities where the model is present.

This history of broken promises from external actors leads to the external supporters of the pilot communities to pursue a sort of conscientization around their role. Ribeiro et al. highlight the importance of maintaining resident leadership as a core principal in CLTs, stating that "it is essential to preserve [residents'] protagonism, and this involves raising awareness of technical supporters and the development of direct democracy mechanisms in the management of the CLT" (2022, p. 21, author's translation).[66] This focus on protagonizing residents and community leaders was mentioned frequently by the external supporters I interviewed. One public defender elaborated on the importance of external supporters in maintaining this protagonism:

> "I always think that in a community, it is the residents themselves who must carry out their own structuring as a community, the rights they want to implement, the policies they want to be implemented in the community, the type of relationship you have. I think it is the residents themselves who have to establish this. And of course you always have, like all favelas in Rio, most of them at least, you have support. Be it from public defenders, the Pastoral, [NUTH]- from favelas, NGOs, mandates, councilors representatives, etc. Anyway, there are a series of actors there who also have a supporting role, who give support in some way, but whose role, whose internal action in the community must always be dependent on the protagonism of the residents themselves, you understand?"[67]

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[65] "a gente vai fazer o trabalho de prefeitura"

[66] "É fundamental a preservação do protagonismo deles, e isso passa pela conscientização dos apoiadores técnicos e pelo desenvolvimento de mecanismos de democracia direta na gestão do CLT"

[67] "Eu sempre acho que numa comunidade, são os próprios moradores que devem levar adiante a sua própria estruturação como comunidade, dos direitos que querem implementar, das políticas que querem ser, que sejam implementadas na comunidade, do tipo de relacionamento que se tem. Eu acho que são os próprios moradores que tem que estabelecer isso. E claro você sempre conta com, como todas as comunidades do Rio, a maioria delas pelo menos, conta com apoios. Seja de defensoria pública, de pastoral, de terra- de favelas, de ONGs, de mandatos, de deputados vereadores etcétera. Enfim, se tem ali uma série de atores que também tem um papel de apoio, de que dão apoio de uma maneira, mas *cujo* o papel, *cuja* atuação interna na comunidade deve ficar sempre na dependência submetida ao protagonismo dos próprios moradores, entende?"

Another external supporter describes their role as "trying to give support there without taking up space, that should be occupied by the residents."[68] One technical supporter similarly spoke to the need to always respect the will of residents targeted by the F-CLT Project:

> "We always have to take as principle the popular will and the will of the people who live in the place. So if we have a community that prefers [individual] ownership, but we need to respect that. I think it all depends on what – what constitutes the interest and will of the people who are living there, right? So I always try to avoid the attitude of someone who will guess what is best for others. People know what's best for themselves, right?"[69]

Therefore among the external supporters interviewed, there is a consensus on the protagonism of residents when partaking in something like the F-CLT Project. This awareness comes from an acknowledgement of how projects have failed in the pass, either failing to deliver on promises made or failing to be as inclusive and participative as they intended to be.

Through my experience interning with the F-CLT Project and being present in team meetings and discussions, the protagonism of pilot community residents was a primary concern. Aside from consulting the participant pilot community residents on all decisions during the CLT development process, I noted how during workshops the F-CLT Project staff would often downplay the role that they themselves play in the project, highlighting residents' own work and participation. The phrase "community control" was also often utilized by F-CLT Project facilitators during the workshops when discussing the importance of certain parts of CLT management, and the expected outcomes of having a CLT. However, sometimes this ideal of protagonism came into conflict with pragmatic concerns. In one workshop in Trapicheiros, while discussing the role of external supporters on the CLT board, the residents did not feel inclined to hold elections for these positions, seeing that they would be fine with accepting whoever a chosen external organization decides to send to assist. A F-CLT Project team member, however, challenged this conclusion, emphasizing that they would lose "community control" if not electing external board members. This created an interesting situation where an external supporter, in an attempt to emphasize resident protagonism, at the same time diminished this protagonism by doubting a decision that the residents themselves suggested that they found to be more realistic.

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[68] "conseguir tentar dar um apoio lá sem tomar o espaço, tem que ser ocupado pelo morador."

[69] "A gente sempre tem que tomar como princípio a vontade popular e a vontade das pessoas que moram no local. Então se nós tivermos uma comunidade que prefere a propriedade, mas precisamos respeitar. Eu acho que tudo depende do que é- do que constitui o interesse e a vontade das pessoas que estão morando ali, né? Então eu sempre tento evitar a postura de alguém que vai adivinhar o que é melhor pro outro. As pessoas sabem o que é melhor para elas, né?"

Another example of this gray area between resident protagonism and pragmatic concerns arose during a team meeting when discussing methodology for an upcoming workshop. Two team members responsible for planning the workshop had centralized resident protagonism into the design - workshop participants were to define themselves categories of different issues that would need to be addressed in their CLT's terms and conditions. Upon discussing the methodology, other team members doubted the feasibility of this setup; they thought that such a methodology of having the residents themselves define categories would be too confusing, and that it would be better to be more straightforward and have the team present existing categories. This led to a debate on resident protagonism, with one team member arguing that they should always have residents as involved as possible. The other side of the debate, though, pointed out the practical matters of running technical workshops with limited time. This observation connects back to the paradox of participation discussed in Chapter 3, in which the principles of the CLT model's emphasis on participation and resident pragmatism sometimes collide with the amount of resources available and the complexity of the model. The external supporters of the F-CLT Project desire to avoid the failures and broken promises of past participative favela improvement programs and are conscious of the weight that these past experiences have, yet in practice they may have to sacrifice some ideals on participation and adapt their vision of resident protagonism.

Different types of support provided

In this section, I aim to outline the different ways that these external supporters operate in and affect the pilot communities in their path towards CLT implementation. First and foremost, the most obvious support that external supporters provide is technical knowledge. Due to the nature of the CLT model and the particular conditions of the pilot communities, most of this technical knowledge revolves around either land regularization or the legal status of the CLT association. Explaining land regularization, how it works, and the various options available was a large part of the technical knowledge that I observed during community workshops, particularly in the introductory and diagnostic workshops that I was able to attend. In Vila Autodrómo, the utilization of this technical knowledge on land regularization was a core part of the workshop: the F-CLT Project team talked specifically about the options available and the fragility of the current usage rights that they possess. In another instance during a community workshop in Shangri-lá, a F-CLT Project team member similarly took some time in the workshop (otherwise meant for creating the association, not for land regularization) to explain the difference between possession and ownership through

Brazilian law, and how their status as possessors was more precarious than having full ownership. An issue with technical knowledge provided by external supporters, though, is that they may receive conflicting information. For example, one of the facilitators of this workshop explained how their usage rights contracts were *not* equivalent to property rights. But as discussed in Chapter 2, sometimes other external actors or public agencies have presented usage rights as equivalent to property rights.

Another factor in this provision of technical knowledge is the language used to explain complex concepts involving land regularization. For me this role was most clearly demonstrated during an introductory workshop that the F-CLT Project organized in a northern suburb of Rio. The team member of the F-CLT Project who was presenting used lots of examples with casual language to explain different points about land regularization, and the entire presentation was animated and dynamic. In this case, the technical support provided was not just pure technical knowledge but also an ability to speak to different audiences and engage those who are listening. One community leader from Trapicheiros speaks to the importance of language use when providing technical assistance:

> "It's really important, because sometimes us as representatives may not be able to transmit the right message to residents. But when someone comes from the outside, which always happens, maybe this person with another language, with another language but like, of favelas, there's the people from NUTH[70], they work directly with favelas on removal issues. So they already have the language to work with this type of people. The people from ITERJ, because they do land demarcations, topography, mapping, so they already know a lot of favelas."[71]

This interviewee speaks to the importance of familiarly of working with favelas as an external supporter, to be able to communicate complex issues to affected residents. Such illustrates how external supporters of the F-CLT Project do not share pure technical knowledge, they possess a certain linguistic know-how of communicating with different audiences.

One important aspect of this technical knowledge around land regularization that the F-CLT Project brings to the pilot communities is that it can help cut costs and save time in the process. For example, *usucapião* is well known by favela residents as a way of gaining a land

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[70] Núcleo de Terras e Habitação, a section of Rio de Janeiro's public defender's office dedicated to housing rights and land regularization.
[71] "É muito importante, porque às vezes a gente como representante talvez não consiga transmitir a mensagem correta pro morador. Mas quando vem uma pessoa de fora, como sempre acontece, talvez essa pessoa com outra linguagem, com uma outra linguagem mas assim, de comunidade está tipo o pessoal do NUTH, eles lidam direto com comunidades com questões de remoção. Então ele já tem a linguagem pra trabalhar com aquele tipo de gente. O pessoal do ITERJ, porque faz demarcações de terra, topografia, mapeamento, então ele já conhece muitas comunidades."

title, however, it is often a more lengthy and tedious process than expected. Once during a workshop in Shangri-Lá, the F-CLT Project team referenced this time barrier and suggested another path to land regularization, with the help of university-based external supporters, that would be quicker. The type of technical knowledge that external supporters provide also helps cut costs involved for land regularization. One example of this was during a workshop in Esperança where F-CLT Project representatives presented the option of registering their contract with the public notary collectively instead of individually to save on the costs of registry. In this way external supporters not only help cut costs by offering support voluntarily to these communities, but with their technical expertise as well, which allows them to find alternative solutions that save time and money.

Technical knowledge around creating an association and the legal status of the CLT constitute another key contribution from external supporters. Through the workshop format, residents of the pilot communities are able to consult F-CLT Project staff frequently on the possibilities of their association. When comparing the current CLT association in development to Trapicheiros's existing neighborhood association, one community leader referenced the role of this enhanced technical knowledge:

> "And [the association] for the CLT, it's going to be a bit more, uh how would you say, it's going to have a bit more force because it's going, it's being created in a more ample way, with more basis in law. With our association created really fast and all, we didn't have any type of experience, we created a basic association within our limitations. So we have our statute that prohibits certain things, but it's the statute that was provided by the public defender's office itself, for something basic, right?"[72]

The associative status of the CLT therefore, due to the inclusion of technical support, proposes a more strengthened legal basis. This remark also represents different levels of technical knowledge provided by external supporters, showing how the F-CLT Project staff are guiding an association creation process that is amplified in comparison to what the public defenders provided, which was a basic template to quickly register a neighborhood association.

These examples show that the support that external supporters are providing to the pilot communities of the F-CLT Project go beyond simple knowledge sharing or one-off voluntary work. One of the ways that community leaders felt they most benefitted from the presence of external supporters was how they were connected to new resources through their

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[72] "E a do TTC, ela vai ser um pouco mais, eh como se diz, ela vai ter um pouco mais de força porque aí ela vai, ela está sendo criada de uma forma mais ampla, com mais embasamento de lei. Com a nossa associação criada assim muito rápida, a gente não tinha nenhum tipo de experiência, criamos uma associação básica dentro dos nossos limites. Que a gente tem o nosso estatuto que proíbe algumas coisas, mas tá lá o estatuto que foi dado pela própria defensoria pública, pra uma coisa básica, né?"

involvement. Such is exemplified well in the case of Trapicheiros, where multiple community leaders interviewed referenced how connecting with external actors put their small favela on the map and brought new resources to them, whether these external supporters were from other favela neighborhood associations or NGOs such as Catalytic Communities, or even public sector actors such as public defenders and ITERJ. One community leader from Esperança highlights the connections that their involvement with the F-CLT Project brought:

> "The CLT, it directed us to social services. Both state and federal. Through which we also didn't make much progress, but it is also through these people that they also kept guiding us. Because this is what happens: that within this group everyone knows each other. Hey so-and-so from there, from such-and-such place, look for so-and-so, so-and-so will direct you."[73]

What this interviewee references is more than just connecting resources, but connecting pilot communities to a network of supporters. A technical supporter interviewed discusses the same phenomenon, relating to social capital:

> "Social capital means that, it means having contacts, having networks, to build bridges with universes that aren't your universe. . . . When you have supporters from other territories, that are from institutions, from other places. And the greater the range of supporters, the better your conditions for action."[74]

Therefore external supporters are not just providing their expertise and their time to the pilot communities; they are also utilizing their social capital to connect community leaders and residents to larger networks. The community leader from Esperança references this as well, about how the CLT connects them to a group of actors that are interlinked, but that may have not been a part of their "universe" otherwise. This interviewee's argument for the importance of having a greater range of supporters is backed up by other experiences of social production of habitat in Brazil. Alencar (2013) notes how in the case of housing movements in Recife, the amount of partnerships that each movement established was more important than the actual resources these external supporters provided, since having a larger network of supporting actors strengthened their negotiating power for accessing land.

Another type of support that external supporters provide to the pilot communities of the F-CLT Project, also tied to their social capital, is giving visibility and legitimacy to the

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[73] "O TTC, ele nos encaminhou ao serviço social. Tanto estadual quanto o federal. Que também não tivemos grandes avanços, mas é através também dessas pessoas que eles também foi nos encaminhando. Porque que acontece: que dentro desse grupo todo mundo se conhece. Eh fulano de lá, de tal local, procura fulano, fulano vai te encaminhar."

[74] "O capital social significa que, significa ter contato, ter redes, construir pontes com universos que não são o seu universo. . . . Quando você tem apoiadores que são de outros territórios, que são de instituições, de outros lugares. E quanto maior é o leque de apoiadores melhores são as suas condições de atuação."

pilot communities and their struggles. A community leader from Trapicheiros illustrates this point:

> "People, uh, those guys that are involved with the CLT: the technicians, allies, students started coming here to do workshops with us, discuss, explain, no, you're a really small community, you need to have visibility, you need to bring this to social networks."[75]

Another community leader from Trapicheiros mentioned how external supporters brought more attention to their cause, and that a prominent television network even came to report on the favela. In addition to visibility, external supporters also give further legitimacy to the pilot communities' struggles. During one community workshop in Trapicheiros in which residents were deciding which external supporters to have affiliated with their CLT association, one resident mentioned how the Favela Sustainability Network[76] should be listed since their partnership legitimizes Trapicheiros as an environmentally-conscious community, a counterargument to claims by neighboring condo residents that they're invading the Tijuca forest. This comment illustrates how the mere presence of some external supporters legitimizes their cause, linking the community to a larger network that will represent them in cases of conflict.

While the F-CLT Project's advocacy work is not a part of this case study's focus on community development, it is relevant here when considering how larger local and national lobbying around the CLT model provides legitimacy to the pilot communities. The involvement of the F-CLT Project in the city's master plan, in trying to get the CLT model recognized in local public policy, serves as an example of gaining legitimacy. One F-CLT Project team member even admitted in one of our meetings that the most important result of having the CLT approved in Rio de Janeiro's master plan would be the legitimacy it provides, since the legal framework to establish a CLT is already existent in Brazilian law. External supporters such as those working for the F-CLT Project use their knowledge of city planning to seek out opportunities where the CLT model can be presented and debated as an alternative for social interest housing, expanding the model's exposure to new actors and therefore expanding the pilot communities' capacity to negotiate and obtain results, as argued by Alencar (2013) and by the interviewed technical supporter above.

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[75] "Pessoas eh, essa galera que frequenta o TTC: os técnicos, aliados, estudantes começavam a vir aqui fazer oficina com a gente, conversar, explicar, não, vocês são uma comunidade muito pequenininha, vocês tem que ter visibilidade, vocês tem que trazer isso pra rede social."

[76] Rede Favela Sustentável, which is a project run by NGO Catalytic Communities, the same NGO that the F-CLT Project is associated with.

Role in community mobilization

In addition to providing the technical knowledge necessary to develop a complex housing model like the CLT, as well as giving visibility and legitimacy to the pilot communities' struggles, external supporters also play a key part in community mobilization. Effectively, one community leader in Esperança argued that this provision of technical knowledge and new avenues for resources was a main factor in mobilizing residents:

> "When the F-CLT Project came, so it really came with everything, right? We're going to do, uh, I'm going to talk to the legal department at the Caixa, the legal department of the municipality, and understand the public registry. And then with this they went searching exactly for other resources, as I already said, the social uh state and federal you know? Which means, they went, they went looking for paths that we didn't know about. We were here meeting in the dark, not knowing what to do. So when the F-CLT Project arrived it really was a light. With this we also were able to bring some people back to the meetings."[77]

This interviewee summarizes the wide array of support that the F-CLT Project brought to Esperança, and credits an increase in community meeting attendance to this support.

However, the role of external supporters in community mobilization was also seen through direct actions. One external supporter interviewed mentioned the role of external supporters overall in mobilization efforts, speaking to door-to-door work in the pilot communities:

> "So, you have people going that, that are people from the public defender's office, people from the universities, right? In addition to the community, the residents, there's always a bunch of outsiders, to help do this. And that, that's in the two communities that are involved for a long time, Trapicheiros and Esperança. But I believe that it'll be the same thing in Shangri-Lá and Vila Autódromo. Right? Outsiders helping in the mobilization part."[78]

Aside from organizing workshops, the F-CLT Project team and other external supporters are also involved in the dissemination of information about the workshops and the CLT model directly to non-organized residents. The F-CLT Project frequently utilized door-to-door work

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[77] "Quando o TTC chegou, então realmente ele chegou com tudo, né? Nós vamos fazer, eh, eu tento conversar com o jurídico da Caixa, jurídico da prefeitura, e entender o cartório. E daí com isso foi buscando exatamente outros recursos, como já tinha dito, o social eh estadual e federal né? Quer dizer, eles foram, eh foram procurando caminhos que a gente não sabia. A gente ficava aqui reunidos no escuro, sem saber o que fazer. Então o TTC quando chegou realmente foi uma luz. Com isso também nós conseguimos trazer algumas pessoas de volta para as reuniões."

[78] "Então, tem gente que vai que, que é a pessoa da defensoria, o pessoal de universidade, entendeu? Além da comunidade, dos moradores, vai sempre um monte de gente de fora, pra ajudar a fazer isso. E isso, isso nas duas comunidades que estão há mais tempo, é Trapicheiros e Esperança. Mas acredito que vai ser a mesma coisa de Shangri-lá e Vila Autódromo. Entendeu? Gente de fora ajudando nessa parte de mobilização."

as a method of community organizing, and one technical supporter interviewed recounted an anecdote of how the network of external supporters participate in this type of activity:

> "But something really interesting about CatComm is that they've managed to attract a bit the interest of young researchers or even undergraduate students, that haven't even finished their degree, who end up providing support, even unpaid! I recall a meeting in Trapicheiros, where we were doing a door-to-door activity, gathering some information, talking to the residents.. and to every one of them, in each house. And one of the people who was helping, who was there with a clipboard, taking notes, was someone who was in the WhatsApp group who discovered [the project], who ended up entering the group, someone from São Paulo! Who doesn't even have ties to the CLT, who doesn't have ties to any institution, it was a student who simply was interested and came, who was visiting Rio de Janeiro, and took advantage of being in Rio de Janeiro, and decided to participate in the activity."[79]

This anecdote reveals how external supporters use their network, derived from their social capital as professionals and scholars, to recruit volunteers that help directly with community mobilization, not just technical support. In this way, the external supporters also take on responsibility for community mobilization, not leaving this work completely to community leaders. One resident in Trapicheiros spoke to the importance of having external supporters involved in community mobilization, as a way to confront some of the barriers they themselves face as community leaders:

> "Maybe with these outsiders coming – which there will be, in [the CLT association] – there could be another vision, a better vision, maybe a better way to, then, add more people, right? The residents themselves. I don't know. Maybe there's a strategy there, that they could come with a strategy to get people more enthusiastic."[80]

This community leader sees outside support as a way of not only gaining their volunteered time towards the F-CLT Project but also gaining new perspectives on how to keep mobilizing residents.

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[79] "Mas uma coisa muito interessante na ComCat é que eles tem conseguido atrair um pouco o interesse de jovens pesquisadores ou de pessoas que estão ainda na graduação, que nem terminaram a graduação, e que acabam prestando apoio até de maneira não renumerado! Eu lembro de uma reunião em Trapicheiros, que a gente tava lá realizando uma atividade de porta em porta, recolhendo algumas informações, conversando com os moradores.. e em cada um, em cada casa. E uma das pessoas que estava auxiliando, que estava ali com uma prancheta, notando, foi uma pessoa que estava no grupo de WhatsApp que tomou conhecimento, que acabou entrando no grupo, uma pessoa de São Paulo! Que não tem vínculo com o TTC, que não tem vínculo com nenhuma instituição, era um estudante que simplesmente se interessou e veio, por estava no Rio de Janeiro, e aproveitou que estava no Rio de Janeiro, e resolveu participar da atividade."

[80] "Pode ser que vendo pessoas de fora -como vai ter né, nessa outra associação- pode ter uma outra visão, uma visão melhor, pode ter um jeito melhor pra, assim, agregar mais pessoas né? Os próprios moradores. Não sei. Pode ser que tenha uma estratégia lá, que eles podem vir com uma estratégia que as pessoas fiquem mais animada."

One technical supporter spoke specifically to how the NGO Catalytic Communities (CatComm) implements a methodology around mobilization, adding another level to the F-CLT Project team's role as external supporters.

> "Because CatComm found a method for mobilization. Uh, CatComm, they systematized the process of mobilization. Mobilization isn't simply going door to door. Mobilization concerns a planning of a mobilization. Establishing where you go, what – what you're going to say, what information are you going to collect from people, how are you going to treat people. And CatComm did as such: they assisted the neighborhood association in this work. So it's a, it's a real partnership. The neighborhood association is interested in mobilizing, but they don't always have the best tools to do so. CatComm found that tool. And on the other hand, CatComm also wouldn't be able to operate in this territory if they didn't have the neighborhood association there which is the legitimate entity – the representation of the place is the association, it's not an NGO." [81]

This interviewee adds to the prior point made about outsiders providing a different perspective that community leaders might not have, in new strategies for mobilization. This technical supporter, though, makes an interesting point about partnering with the existing neighborhood association; just as external supporters may give legitimacy to pilot communities and their causes (this legitimacy aimed towards the outside), the community leaders and the neighborhood association similarly give legitimacy to external actors wishing to work with their community and mobilize neighborhood residents.

In addition to all of the above effects towards mobilization that external supporters induce, the work of the F-CLT Project team is significant, and their role as community mobilizers does not go unnoticed by pilot community residents. I saw how this was exemplified during one community workshop in Trapicheiros, during which participants were defining who would be responsible for different functions in the CLT association. When an F-CLT Project facilitator mentioned the function of mobilizing residents, one community leader jokingly suggested the F-CLT Project team as the responsible organ for community mobilization. While this response was meant as a joke, and the residents later discussed the importance of community mobilization and how this responsibility would have to be shared equally among those involved in the CLT association, the fact that participants immediately

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[81] "Porque a ComCat trouxe um método de mobilização. Eh, a ComCat, sistematizou o processo de mobilização. A mobilização não é simplesmente você ir de porta em porta. A mobilização diz respeito a um planejamento de uma mobilização. A estabelecer aonde você vai, que- o que você vai dizer, que informações você vai recolher das pessoas, como você vai abordar as pessoas. E a ComCat fez isso: auxiliou à associação de moradores nesse trabalho. Então é uma, é uma verdadeira parceria. A associação de moradores tenham interesse em mobilizar, mas nem sempre tem as melhores ferramentas pra isso. A ComCat trouxe essa ferramenta. E por outro lado, a ComCat também não conseguiria atuar no território se não tivesse uma associação de moradores ali que é a entidade legítima -de representação do local é a associação, não é uma ONG."

thought of the F-CLT Project team as the main actors in community mobilization demonstrates how external supporters provide more than just technical knowledge.

Community mobilization and community development as a learned skill

The methodology used by CatComm, and the amount of time that F-CLT Project staff as well as other external supporters dedicate to community mobilization, all point towards community mobilization, and community development, being a learned skill which involves capacity building. Two Trapicheiros residents referred to a community leader from Vila Autodrómo, for example, as already having that skill to mobilize, that they imply are lacking:

> [Interviewee 1]: "When Dona Penha speaks, it's a thing that like, stings. She's impressive like that, the way she speaks, the knowledge.."
> [Interviewee 2]: "Us not really, we're starting. We're learning to walk. We're still learning, you[82] are teaching, you prepare us, you know? You-"
> [Interviewee 1]: "You're capacitating us."
> [Interviewee 2]: "Yeah, you're capacitating us. For us to advance, you know? Because it's all very new for us too."[83]

These two community leaders therefore see the ability to mobilize as a skill, one that involves capacity building. Most notably, they see the F-CLT Project team as the ones furnishes this skill, passing knowledge on mobilization specifically and not just technical knowledge.

While speaking to their experience in forming the housing cooperative, prior to involvement in the F-CLT Project, one community leader from Esperança also refers to this idea of collectivism being a skill, a competence requiring specific knowledge and methodology:

> "My sister is really tied to the Catholic Church, and she's also a sociologist. She wrote a part of this project, since it's not only about getting a group of people together and then saying: 'Hey, you're going to work in the construction site this day, be there.' There's an education for being collective. So you need to have an identity, between those people that are going to be in that project, right?"[84]

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[82] Here the interviewee is using the term "vocês," the plural form of "you," referring to the F-CLT Project team which I was interning with. Depending on the interview, the interlocutor would see me as part of the team and refer to me as such, or they would talk about the team as a separate entity.

[83] "1: [A Dona Penha] falando é uma coisa assim, arder. Ela é assim impressionante, a forma ela falando, o conhecimento..
2: A gente não, nós estamos começando. Nós estamos engatinhando ali. Nós estamos aprendendo ainda, vocês nos ensinam, vocês nos preparem, sabe? Vocês-
1: Estão nos capacitando
2: É, estão nos capacitando. Pra gente avançar, entendeu? Porque é tudo muito novo pra gente também."

[84] "A minha irmã é muito ligada a Igreja Católica, ela também é socióloga. Ela escreveu uma parte desse projeto, porque não é só você juntar um grupo de pessoas e dizer assim: "ó, vocês vão trabalhar na obra tal dia, esteja lá" não. Tem uma formação de coletivo. Então tem que ter uma identidade, entre essas pessoas que vão entrar nesse projeto, né?"

Community leaders, from their previous experience in community organizing, recognize the know-how necessary to mobilize residents around a collective issue. The F-CLT Project team recognizes this need for methodology as well, and not only for the workshops that involve co-designing the CLT association. One workshop I attended in Esperança was catered more to this idea of learning to work collectively, not having a specific objective relating to the CLT's terms and regulations. While later on in team meetings we debated the issue of having workshops that are not directly related to a part of the CLT formation, again relating to the pressure of the project to advance, both residents and external supporters recognize the importance of these workshops that center on building identity and a sense of being able to accomplish things collectively, before moving on to more complex aspects of the CLT.

One external supporter similarly highlighted a need for methodology in community mobilization:

> "Because a [neighborhood] association doesn't necessarily have, possess, the methodological knowledge to develop their actions. Not always– Of course there exists knowledge arising from practice, this exists, but the course of knowledge arising from practice works better when it has a theory and a system behind it."[85]

Taking this viewpoint, the interviewee acknowledges the importance of community leaders' lived experiences, yet argues that this knowledge is enhanced when combined with external supporters who provide a methodology to community work. One interviewed community leader from Trapicheiros confirmed this claim when speaking to his participation in a course given by the Sustainable Favela Network, where the focus was on mobilization for environmental issues yet nevertheless caused him to reflect on his own leadership role and the way he had envisioned community projects until then.

Aside from the methodology and professionalization that external supporters use in community mobilization, sometimes the presence alone of external actors can bring more momentum to a community project. One technical supporter makes a link to the presence of external supporters providing legitimacy, as mentioned beforehand, to the mobilization of residents:

> "Or their presence also makes the work have a more professional image. This professional image facilitates people's engagement, or the support of residents, you're seeing there that there are people interested in the community who are not just people from there, they're outsiders, who are volunteering their time. Well, so if there are people from outside spending their time here to improve my location– So who am I to

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[85] "Porque uma associação não necessariamente tenha, possuía, o conhecimento metodológico para desenvolver suas ações. Nem sempre- lógico que existe a conhecimento que é decorrente da prática, existe, mas o decorrer do conhecimento que é decorrente da prática funciona melhor quando ele tem uma teoria e uma sistemática por trás."

say that, that this won't work? So I'll be present, yes, I'll honor these meetings here."[86]

The presence of external supporters can also serve as a form of mediation, in the case where conflict exists between neighbors or some residents feel disconnected from existing community organizations. During a diagnostic workshop in Vila Autódromo, the presence of external supporters such as the F-CLT Project team and a public defender served as a way to mediate rifts between residents. Multiple residents of Vila Autódromo mentioned in the workshop that they only came since the event was organized by a third party, and during one dispute that erupted between residents, a public defender was able to provide input and calm the situation to a certain extent. This however does not mean that external supporters always help bring in new residents to community projects, successfully targeting the "non-organized" (Talpin and Balazard, 2016). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the F-CLT Project still faces the problem of finding participation beyond "the usual group" of dedicated community leaders.

One external supporter, most connected to Esperança, spoke to how they saw their role as not technical, but as simply being present to support the continuation of the community's mobilization, to prevent participation from falling and the movement from failing:

> "What I'm doing now for the CLT, is trying.. that Esperança doesn't make the mistakes as other processes in which I participated, right? So, in popular movements, we have a situation of a peak and then a drop, right? Of participation. That.. almost all of them, you know? People participate a lot, bam, bam, bam, bam, then that movement starts falling, falling, falling, falling down until zero, right? . . . Therefore, what I'm trying to do now in this moment along with the CLT, it's like I already have a vision of the experiences of other movements that we participated in– which fell, others we lost to parallel power[87], we lost because of those awful things– it's trying to see if this movement in Esperança, it won't fall, you know?"[88]

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[86] "Ou a presença deles também faz com que o trabalho tenha uma imagem mais profissional. Essa imagem profissional facilita o engajamento das pessoas, ou o apoio dos moradores, cês tão vendo ali que tem pessoas interessadas na comunidade que não são apenas as pessoas dali, são pessoas que vem de fora, que tão gastando seu tempo. Pô, então se tem pessoas de fora gastando o seu tempo aqui pra melhoria do aqui do meu local– Então quem sou eu pra dizer que, que que isso não vai dar certo? Então eu vou estar presente, sim, eu vou prestigiar aqui essas reuniões."

[87] A direct translation of "poder paralelo," a term used to describe the influences of traffickers and militia groups, in this sense parallel to the absence of the State.

[88] "Que eu tô fazendo agora no TTC, é tentar... e a Esperança não ocorra nos erros de outros processos que eu participei, né? Então, no movimento popular, a gente tem uma situação de pico e depois de queda, né? Da participação. Isso.. quase todos eles, né? As pessoas participam muito, pá, pá, pá, pá, depois aquela movimento ele vai caindo, caindo, caindo, caindo e às vezes zero, né? . . . Então, o que eu tô tentando fazer agora nesse momento junto com TTC, é como eu já tenho uma visão das experiências de outros movimentos que a gente já participou- e que caíram, outros nos perdemos por poder paralelo, perdemos por essas coisas ruim- é tentar ver se esse movimento da Esperança, ele não caia, entendeu?"

This interviewee highlights the effect of the presence alone of external supporters, continuously, as a way of maintaining a level of participation that often dies out throughout the lifetime of a social movement.

Overrepresentation of external supporters

While the aforementioned data points suggest that the presence of external supporters creates a positive effect on mobilization, there is still an issue of too much presence. External supporters and community leaders alike referred to this overrepresentation of external supporters in F-CLT Project events. One technical supporter argued that this overrepresentation was a symptom of a lack of mobilization: "But if the community isn't mobilized this happens: a meeting with twenty people of which fifteen are external supporters."[89] I saw for myself during community workshops this tendency. In Trapicheiros and Shangri-Lá there were a few instances in which more external supporters were present than residents of the pilot communities. I noticed from my time as an intern that this overrepresentation was a primary concern from the F-CLT Project team, and meetings in which external supporters outnumbered residents usually led to discussions afterward about the need for new strategies for mobilization. The main issue with this overrepresentation could be seen as one of legitimacy of the F-CLT Project itself; an overrepresentation of people from outside the community calls into doubt the effectiveness of the CLT model as a community development initiative, particularly one that aims to be participative and more of the grassroots variety as Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2022) have categorized.

Having an overrepresentation of outsiders is not only a preoccupation of external supporters and the F-CLT Project team themselves; community leaders similarly expressed dismay over these occurrences. During one of my interviews with two community leaders from Trapicheiros, this disappointment was apparent:

> [Interviewee 1]: "I cried during the meeting. Everyone saw. I was devastated. Because we had such a small group of people, I don't know, I don't know, how many people were there?"
> [Interviewee 2]: "There were more people from outside."
> [Interviewee 1]: (Interviewee speaks in an exasperated tone) "From outside than from inside. And that was horrible, it was horrible, because we saw your efforts." [90]

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[89] "Mas se a comunidade não está mobilizada acontece isso, uma reunião com vinte pessoas que quinze são apoiadores externos."
[90] "Interviewee 1: Eu chorei na reunião. Todo mundo viu. Eu fiquei arrasada. Porque a gente tinha um grupo mínimo de pessoas, sei lá, sei lá, quantas pessoas tinham ali?
Interviewee 2: Tinha mais pessoas de fora.

It is notable how the emphasis in this exchange was not just on a lack of participation from community members, but on the ratio of people from outside the community to those from within. Community leaders therefore believe in the importance of having a balanced representation of both internal and external actors, and their vision for the project is to have a decent amount of residents involved in order to be successful.

Frustrations from external supporters towards community mobilization

All of the above observations and reflections from interviews are related to a frustration that I perceived from external supporters, and particularly from the F-CLT Project team, towards their role in community mobilization. During one internal meeting, some team members voiced their frustration with the lack of participation, or the lack of results from mobilization efforts, showing how the amount of effort required to continuously mobilize residents of the pilot communities added on to other technical and administrative work that they are already responsible for. I saw for myself some of the sources of these frustrations, for example during one workshop in Trapicheiros where a F-CLT Project facilitator starts the meeting off by talking about their team's advancements in advocacy work on the city's master plan, meanwhile most of the residents present were on their phones not paying attention. During this same instance, this team member said that they were missing the residents' presence at the master plan's public audience, again demonstrating a frustration felt towards the lack of mobilization when the F-CLT Project invested so much effort into public policy advocacy. Some residents subsequently offered either reasons for not being able to attend or commitments to attend the public audience in the future, and in this case the F-CLT Project team member was also aware of the constraints that pilot community residents face in finding the free time to attend these types of meetings. Nevertheless, this example illustrates a frustration felt overall towards the barriers of mobilization, some that may feel out of the control of both community leaders and external supporters no matter how much effort they exert.

Dependency on external supporters

Considering all the types of support described thus far in this chapter, the dependency of the F-CLT Project on external support is key to understanding the sustainability of the CLT model's community development focus. The F-CLT Project team, as well as other external

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Interviewee 1: (exasperada) De fora do que de dentro. E aí foi horrível, foi horrível, porque a gente viu o esforço de vocês."

supporters that either volunteer their time or technical expertise, play a significant role in the current development process of CLTs in the pilot communities. In my interviews, I tried to gauge how both external supporters and community leaders felt about depending on this support system to implement a CLT. One community leader from Trapicheiros, when asked if they think the CLT project could continue in the future with less support from the F-CLT Project team, answered as such: "I don't think so. Like I think it's quite difficult, it is, then we'd have to keep waiting on the government which doesn't show up, right."[91] This community leader pointed directly to their experiences with broken promises from public authority, implying that the level of support they received from the F-CLT Project team was more consistent and reliable. One external supporter for Esperança helped illustrate the extent to which the F-CLT Project gives support to pilot communities:

> "Ideally the community would structure itself and have conditions to maintain all the necessary structure. Today, in my evaluation, we cannot advance with the Caixa, with the municipality, without the help of technicians from the F-CLT Project. Currently they're available to [Esperança] practically for free, you know? You don't just get a lawyer whose available there for a community, doing meetings and having chats with the population. That's another thing, what [the F-CLT Project team] is doing, is something out of the ordinary, you know?"[92]

The support mentioned here also represents areas not necessarily tied to the CLT development process itself, but related issues such as land regularization and articulation with public authorities. In this sense, the work that the F-CLT Project does in Esperança is seen as essential in fighting bureaucracy, and the interviewee points out how this level of support provided for free is unusual in the local context of Rio de Janeiro.

When it comes to dependency on external support, another key point is how external supporters tied to public agencies can contribute to fluctuating levels of support. Technical supporters from public agencies, even with the best intentions, can be limited by their employer. As one interviewee puts it: "Of course the performance of us technicians, civil servants, who are part of the staff, always comes up against certain obstacles, what we think is the right thing to do is not always what the management considers right."[93] Changes in

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[91] "Acho que não. Assim eu acho que é meio difícil, é, aí teria que continuar esperando do poder publico que não vem, né."

[92] "O ideal é que a comunidade se estruture e tenha condições de manter toda estrutura que for necessário. Hoje, a minha avaliação, a gente não consegue avançar com a Caixa, com a Prefeitura, sem auxílio dos técnicos do TTC. Hoje dispõe pro grupo praticamente a 0800, entendeu? Você não consegue ter um advogado que se dispõe aí pruma comunidade, reunindo e fazendo um bate-papo com a população. Isso é uma coisa, o que é a [name removed] faz, é uma coisa fora do comum, entendeu?"

[93] "É lógico que a atuação de nós que somos técnicos, concursados, que somos do quadro, sempre esbarra em determinados obstáculos, nem sempre os nossos aquilo que a gente acha correto de ser feito é o que a gestão considera correta."

administration of the public agency also affect the goals and alignment of the organization, an issue that another interviewee reflected on but declined to further elaborate on. Such fluctuation of support from technicians in the public sector reflects the larger issue of having less public support overall in the context of informal settlements in Brazil (Ribeiro et al., 2022; Burguiere et al., 2016). Due to a lack of support from public authorities, and the changes in administration that affect even those technicians from the public sector that do wish to help the pilot communities in their regularization and CLT development, the pilot communities transfer most of their expectations towards the F-CLT Project team to fill in these gaps.

During my observations of community workshops, I saw how residents perceived the F-CLT Project staff as having the role of partaking in the bureaucratic regularization process in addition to general organizing around the CLT. Similarly to an occurrence I described relating to the project's role in community mobilization, one Trapicheiros community leader made a joke about how the F-CLT Project staff are the main actors in their regularization process, during a workshop defining the functions of each part of the CLT association. Although this remark was executed in a joking manner, it still represents the overall perception that community members have towards the F-CLT Project and their role as a replacement of the public services and technical assistance that they fail to receive consistently from other sources. Two community leaders from Esperança also hinted at this idea of the F-CLT Project replacing other external actors whose support is inconsistent:

> "Interviewee 1: So, the F-CLT Project, it came to us and this was really good, because honestly– the Fundação Bento Rubião, is what was doing all the juridical, uh, social work, social and more, right? They're the technicians. And honestly Bento Rubião has been decaying, and suddenly [name removed], from Bento Rubião, discovers the F-CLT Project and indicates us to.. you know? Which nowadays is honestly, is our right-hand man.
> Interviewee 2: (Interjecting, in a joking tone) "and left!"[94]

From this interaction it is clear that community leaders see the F-CLT Project and its staff as the main partners they have in community development, not only in organizing and facilitating workshops for CLT implementation, but for pursuing the regularization process when another external actor lost ground and backed out from the community.

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[94] "Interviewee 1: Então, o TTC, ele chegou pra gente e foi muito legal, porque na verdade- a Fundação Bento Rubião, é que teria todo o trabalho do jurídico, eh, social, social e mais, né? É o técnico. E na verdade o Bento Rubião ele foi também decaindo, e de repente a [name removed], do Bento Rubião, conhece o TTC e nos indica para.. né? Que na verdade é hoje, é o nosso braço direito.
Interviewee 2: E esquerdo!"

The F-CLT Project's scope of services provided to pilot communities, as demonstrated by these aforementioned data points, often goes beyond organizing community workshops and providing technical support to the CLT implementation process. The project's team often got involved in additional tasks that, although related to the CLT, were not necessarily part of their job and added to their already heightened workload, which combines advocacy work with community mobilization work. One instance during a workshop in Esperança illustrated the tension that this dependency on the F-CLT Project team created for both pilot community residents and external supporters. The F-CLT Project team had decided, leading up to this monthly workshop, that they would no longer be able to accompany Esperança residents in their regularization process, and that they would have to leave this work delegated to the Fundação Bento Rubião. This announcement sparked a notable reaction from residents of Esperança during the workshop. The residents seemed surprised that the F-CLT Project team was deciding to withdraw completely from the process, and many expressed their desire for the team to stay involved. One resident commented that they would much rather prefer the F-CLT Project to be responsible for regularization than Fundação Bento Rubião, and also argued that even if regularization is not part of their job it is a necessary prerequisite to establishing the CLT and therefore of direct interest to the F-CLT Project. This announcement led to some tense discussions about the external supporters involved in regularization and the barriers that residents face with bureaucracy, although eventually the tension was resolved to a certain extent when one F-CLT Project team member opened up about the frustrations they personally felt in leading with a process they could not fully represent the community on, and another resident chimed in to acknowledge that they as a community would need to do their part. This occurrence represents, however, a bigger issue in reliance on external support for CLT implementation, specific to the case of Rio de Janeiro favelas. Land regularization is such a significant bureaucratic barrier that grassroots-type community development cannot tackle alone, it requires direction from technicians, and in the case of Rio these technicians are from NGOs whose performance can wane, as is the case of the Fundação Bento Rubião.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, when referring to "external supporters," the F-CLT Project team forms part of this category. Not only are they also external supporters, but I would argue that they are providing the majority of this support. Whereas other external supporters are certainly helpful and give momentum and legitimacy to the F-CLT Project's progress in the four pilot communities, the F-CLT Project team itself works full-time on managing the CLT implementation process in each pilot community. One

external supporter interviewed, a public defender, spoke to their level of involvement in the project in comparison to the F-CLT Project team: "But it's more of a job of accompaniment, of support, and not frontline work. The frontline work is from the F-CLT Project itself, [names redacted] and all them."[95] This "frontline work" involves the contribution of salaried employees for the F-CLT Project, who plan and organize community workshops, evaluate progress, all while providing technical assistance as well and taking on extra responsibilities, such as those relating to land regularization mentioned above. As both community leaders and external supporters that I interviewed reflected on, it is difficult to imagine this level of work being performed by volunteers from other organizations or entirely by community leaders themselves who hold other work obligations.

With all these factors to consider, project management and evaluation of results is a preoccupation for the F-CLT Project. With the CLT model being so new to Brazil, with discussions on its potential implementation only starting in 2018, the eventual establishment of a CLT in one of the pilot communities is still far off and dependent on advancements in land regularization alongside the participatory planning process of creating and defining the CLT association. The community development approach of the F-CLT Project could lead to a long-term "full" land regularization for the pilot communities, yet this approach tends not to lend to measurable short-term improvements. A lack of short-term results creates a certain pressure for the F-CLT Project team, who believe in the worthwhile efforts of community mobilization and participation but also desire tangible results to their hard work on a multi-year project. Pressures created by the need for deliverables and metrics is not unique to the F-CLT Project; Marshall and Suárez (2014) find that international NGOs are more likely to exert monitoring and evaluating pressure that is metrics-focused in comparison to local NGOs. Aside from the necessity for accountability, this demand for measurable results still complicates the project's dynamic of CLT implementation. Vincent (2006) outlines how dependency on external funding often takes away time from NGO project leaders that could be focused on advancing the project itself, since NGO staff end up spending significant effort researching and demonstrating the results asked for. Community development takes a long time, and the complex nature of the CLT model prolongs this process even more with technical matters that need to be addressed alongside participation and collective-decision making. Therefore CLTs, and particularly in the case of informal settlements, greatly benefit

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[95] "Mas é um trabalho mais de acompanhamento mesmo, de apoio, e não trabalho de frente. O trabalho de frente é do próprio TTC, eh, [names redacted] e tal."

from paid organizers and technical assistance, yet these same paid staff rely on the often delayed results of their work to continue receiving funding.

The amount of work expected to run the F-CLT Project leads to an overburdening of work on team members, who are not only doing community organizing for multiple pilot communities and spending their time designing and evaluating workshops, but also working extensively on advocacy for public policy. This burden was apparent to me during one of the CatComm staff retreats I attended, where team members discussed how busy the following month was expected to be, with no immediate relief from an already busy month that had just come to an end. As the project expands, the team is expected to expand as well, yet one barrier to expanding the team is the learning curve involved in CLT management. As discussed in Chapter 3, understanding the CLT model requires time and consistent participation from residents, and the same can be said for new staff members. I found this limitation apparent in my own internship, constrained by my lack of technical knowledge, and even within the team there was an issue of newer team members not being able to help as much on the more technical aspects of the job.

Overall, it is apparent that the four pilot communities rely on external support, and would likely not be able to fully implement a CLT without it. The CLT model's recent emergence as a land tenure security tool in Brazil within the past five years reinforces this dependence, as academics and technicians must work out the logistical aspects of a CLT's functionality in a new national context. As seen in the case of the Caño Martín Peña CLT in an informal settlement in Puerto Rico, the participatory process of implementing a CLT with community workshops was also a long-term effort alongside external supporters (Algoed and Hernández Torrales, 2019), mirroring the F-CLT Project's experience. While having a wider network of external supporters certainly helps pilot communities towards overcoming technical barriers, the external supporter who is doing the most work is the F-CLT Project team itself. The necessity of land regularization and the tedious work involved to obtain it serves as a point of tension to the F-CLT Project team, already working on community mobilization and managing the progress each pilot community has made towards other technical parts of the CLT such as the registration of the association and the CLT's terms and conditions.

Conclusion

External support, and technical assistance, has been frequently mentioned in literature revolving around the CLT model and the social production of habitat, yet their role is rarely

elaborated on. This chapter intended to take a closer look at who these external supporters are, what they do, and how they operate in a larger system of bureaucracy when it comes to housing movements and community development. The case of the F-CLT Project, involving informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro, shows that the intervention of external supporters for community development is not a recent occurrence. Community leaders and technical supporters discussed the many times that promises on neighborhood improvements were made to no avail, highlighting the role that State-led programs have played in these broken promises. Due to this messy past, external supporters currently involved with the F-CLT Project demonstrate a heightened conscientization around their role in reproducing this pattern, henceforth making an effort to combat this idea by doubling down on the idea of resident protagonism.

Through my internship observations and through my interview data, I quickly became aware of the many ways that external supporters assisted the pilot communities in their path towards developing a CLT, going beyond technical assistance. Technical assistance is a particular important service to provide, considering the heavy bureaucracy involved with land regularization in Brazil, as well as the technicalities of creating an associative status that inhibit more formalized means of community organizing. However, external supporters' involvement in the pilot communities also helped these communities connect to new resources, gain visibility for their causes and struggles, with their presence adding to the legitimacy of their cause. Most notably, external supporters took on a significant role in community mobilization, either directly through door-to-door work in the pilot communities, or more indirectly through being consistently present in meetings and workshops, this presence inciting participation from residents who saw their community and participation as being valued. While this consistent presence of external supporters was seen as helpful to progressing in community development initiatives, the overrepresentation of external supporters in certain community events was a main preoccupation of both community leaders and external supporters themselves, an occurrence that diminishes the resident protagonist in the F-CLT Project.

This multifaceted external support therefore provides a large part of the F-CLT Project's functioning and progress in the pilot communities, leading to the question of dependency. Through both observations and interviews it was clear that CLT implementation in each of the pilot communities requires consistent external support. This dependency, in one way, is related to the specific local context of Rio de Janeiro's informal settlements and the barriers of land regularization that disparage the community development processes that each

pilot community has attempted. While community leaders may feel that depending on third sector support is better in comparison to depending on public authorities, NGOs like CatComm must rely on funding from international organizations that expect tangible results. Albeit these international funders being supportive of the community development factor of the CLT model, this factor is the most likely to hinder immediate results, favoring long-term, sustainable results based more off of the community's direct participation and involvement. In these circumstances, international funders, and potentially national or local funders, must be cognizant of how a community development focus on housing policy may lead to less tangible results yet implement more long-lasting solutions.

Chapter 5 - Perceptions of community development through the context of the F-CLT Project's pilot communities

This chapter looks at how the influence of the F-CLT Project on community development is perceived in the pilot communities, taking into account the local context of Rio de Janeiro's informal settlements and the perspectives shared by community leaders and external supporters involved in the project. While previous chapters addressed the influence of the CLT model on community development through looking at mobilization and participation, and the role that external supporters play in this, this chapter takes a closer look at how F-CLT Project participants envision the CLT model as a community development tool, and the effects they hope to achieve through this tool. In the first part of this chapter, I highlight some definitions of community development provided by my interviewees, connecting their vision of community development to definitions construed in academic literature. Then I discuss how community leaders from the pilot communities envision the CLT as a shield to outside threats, and how the community development focus of this model relates to these threats. Afterward, I detail the ways in which F-CLT Project participants envision an improvement in articulation of community needs to public authorities. Finally, I discuss whether these perceptions point to the F-CLT Project as a "transformative" strategy for addressing housing insecurity in Rio de Janeiro.

Community development, in their own words

As established in the theoretical framework, community development is defined as a process that implies organization and mobilization to secure resources and improve the overall wellbeing of the geographic area determined as part of the community, while maintaining focus on the protagonism of community members to assess and act upon their collective needs. Even though this is the functional definition of community development I employ in my research, I found that since this term had frequent real-world use in the F-CLT Project that it was worthwhile to ask my informants of what community development meant to them.

One external supporter interviewed notably told me that the term "community development" did not mean anything to them, reflecting some of the ambiguity that Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2022) highlight. Yet in the same interview, this person frequently referred to ideas about resident protagonism and participation. Even if community development was not an operational term for this interviewee, they commonly referred to ideals of participation and favela residents' protagonism when speaking to both the F-CLT

Project and other processes involving land regularization and resistance to removal efforts, showing that they still saw aspects of community development as important to housing policy in Rio de Janeiro.

Some of the external supporters and community leaders who elaborated on community development provided definitions quite close to the one formulated in my theoretical framework. For example, one external supporter states:

> "It would be ideal for us to be able to have [community development] as the forefront in many places, not only in places where people are more needy, right? To be able to overcome their problems. So, ideally it's that, right? That we'd have people from within the community itself that are concerned about their neighbor's health, that look to see what can be done there, right? Or that they have here a concern, they're concerned about the issue of education, so, for their children, right? So, ideally, we would be able to have a formed community, where you have these groups, with these concerns."[96]

This interviewee therefore points to securing resources via residents having collective, rather than individual, concerns, and looking to residents as the main protagonists of community development. This interviewee points out, as did other external supporters in Chapter 3, that community development and issues around participation and mobilization are typically only seen as solutions for poor neighborhoods, asserting that community development should be a solution for all neighborhoods and not just favelas.

One community leader from Trapicheiros gave a similar definition based on collectively seeking solutions and resources:

> "I think that in my conception, it's looking for partnerships, right? It's understanding that your community needs a certain thing. And that we look for that certain thing. It's no use for you to stand here waiting for something to happen that won't happen, we are proof, the living proof of this, that we have already seen that if we are looking for things to happen it is difficult, so imagine if you don't look."[97]

At the end of this quote, this community leader reflects the idea of "if you don't stay on top if things, nothing will happen" discussed at the end of Chapter 3. Community development is, in turn, envisioned as a way of staying on top of things, of pursuing in the face of endless

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[96] "O ideal seria que a gente pudesse ter isso de frente em vários locais, não somente em locais onde as pessoas são mais carentes, né? Pra poder superar os seus problemas. Então, o ideal é esse, né? Que a gente tenha pessoas dentro da própria comunidade que se preocupa com a saúde do vizinho, que procura ver o que o que que ali pode ser feito, né? Ou que tem aqui uma preocupação, que se preocupa a questão da educação, então, por causa do filho, né? Então, o ideal é que a gente conseguisse ter uma comunidade formada, onde você tem ali você ter essas esses grupos, com essas preocupações."

[97] "Eu acho que na minha concepção, é você procurar parcerias, né? É você entender que sua comunidade precisa duma determinada coisa. E a gente buscar essa determinada coisa. Não adianta você ficar aqui parado esperando acontecer que não vai acontecer, a gente é prova, a vida viva disso, que a gente já viu que se a gente procurando pra acontecer as coisas é difícil, imagina se você não procurar."

bureaucracy through the willpower of residents to keep looking for solutions to their concerns.

Other interviewees gave more unique definitions, based in their personal experience working with informal settlements. Such was the case for a definition of community development provided by a technical supporter from a public agency:

> "Development only exists when there's liberty. When people can choose things. So if I can't choose where I'm going to work, if I can't choose what I'm going to eat, if I can't choose where my child will study, if I'm not able to choose anything, I'm a person with absolutely no development. Let's put it this way, maybe it wouldn't be this word, but development comes as people are gaining more autonomy. Financial autonomy, educational autonomy, housing autonomy, you know, that people can make choices. Just as you can make choices, as I was able to make choices my entire life, there's a bunch of people in favelas that don't make any choice. That they're obligated to accept what comes."[98]

The first thing that this technical supporter thought of when hearing the term "community development" was a lack of development, in their words, a lack of autonomy. Continuing in this same interview in this train of thought, this technical supporter then only talked about "development," omitting the "community" part and going on to critique how public authority is lacking in providing this development for favela residents. What this technical supporter refers to is quite connected to criticisms on community development, particularly that it does not address root causes of marginalization (Green, 2017). Therefore in their vision of community development, or at least what they immediately think of upon hearing this term, the root causes of marginalization must be addressed for this type of development to be useful.

Another community leader from Trapicheiros gave their own definition of community development based on land tenure security, specifically mentioning the CLT's role in providing this security:

> "I think that like, that [the CLT] will give us security, not just security, it'll give us resources and to be able to get improvements for ourselves right? We'd get vision, from the outside to here, to get more rights, I think that.. I think things are going to happen day by day and each time we are going to get stronger, you know? And I understand it as something that will be, like, for forever. We will always walk

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[98] "O desenvolvimento, ele só existe quando há liberdade. Quando as pessoas podem escolher coisas. Então se eu não posso escolher onde eu vou trabalhar, se eu não posso escolher o que eu vou comer, se eu não posso escolher onde meu filho vai estudar, se eu não tenho como escolher nada, eu sou uma pessoa absolutamente sem nenhum desenvolvimento. Digamos assim, não seria essa a palavra, mas o desenvolvimento ele vem na medida que as pessoas vão ganhando mais autonomia. Autonomia financeira, autonomia educacional, autonomia de moradia, sabe, as pessoas pode fazer escolhas. Como você pode fazer escolhas, como eu pude fazer escolhas a minha vida inteira, tem um monte de gente na favela que não faz escolha nenhuma. Que ela é obrigada a aceitar o que vem."

>   side-by-side with the CLT even after it's implemented, it'll be for forever right? Even if we already have the documentation, but it'll be something for forever. We'll have security over our space here, you know?"[99]

This vision of community development reflects notions of sustainability, of long-term changes. This interviewee connects community development, and the CLT's focus on it specifically, to gaining not only land security but affirming rights and becoming stronger in organization. This reflection leads to how the F-CLT Project works specifically in the context of favelas and land tenure security, and how this model goes beyond simply avoiding gentrification but addressing the many threats that favela residents perceive that their insecure housing status brings.

The CLT as a shield to outside threats

The word "threat" was employed frequently in discourse around the problems that residents faced in the pilot communities, and this section aims to categorize and discuss how community leaders and external supporters perceived those threats and envisioned community development as addressing them. As one community leader from Trapicheiros aptly puts it:

>   "The CLT is as if we had something like, a dome that protects the community from any type of threat. That's what always comes to mind for me it's that, something that will protect you from gentrification, from real estate speculation, from public authority with their arguments."[100]

This proposed vision of the CLT model expresses how the F-CLT Project goes beyond just providing affordable housing, being framed in terms of security and protection against outside forces that are not only market-related. This interviewee hints at the role that public authority also plays in creating housing insecurity for favela residents. In this section, I present three main threats that became apparent through my interviews and fieldwork, threats that the F-CLT Project and its participants hope to address upon establishing a CLT: market-based removal, State-led removal, and control from parallel power forces such as militias.

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[99] "Eu acho que assim, que ele vai nos dar uma segurança, não só segurança, vai nos dar meios e de nós conseguirmos melhoras né? Nós conseguimos visão, de fora né pra cá, conseguir mais direitos, eu acho que.. eu acho que vai ser dia a dia acontecendo coisas e cada vez a gente vai se firmar mais, entendeu? E eu entendo que vai ser uma coisa, tipo, que tá sempre. A gente vai caminhar sempre lado a lado do TTC depois que for instalado mesmo, vai ser pra sempre né? Mesmo que já tiver já com documentação, mas vai ser uma coisa pra sempre. A gente vai ter a segurança do nosso espaço ali, né?"

[100] "O TTC é como se fosse algo, uma cúpula que blinda a comunidade contra qualquer tipo de ameaça. Essa é o que vem sempre na minha mente é isso, algo que vai te proteger da gentrificação, da especulação mobiliária, do poder público com suas argumentações."

Threat of market-based removal

The main threat that CLTs worldwide are meant to tackle is that of gentrification. In the case of Rio de Janeiro favelas which are used to confronting removal efforts, this phenomenon can also be referred to as "market-based removal," conceptualized as a more indirect method of displacing favela residents from highly-valued land, either through purchasing and development that causes land speculation or through increased cost of living via demographic change (Abramo and Faria, 2016; Riberio and Litsek, 2020). While the idea of market-based removal was present in most interviews with community leaders, and discussed to some extent in workshops, I noted that community leaders expressed diverging views of how the CLT would work in practice to protect against this threat.

One community leader in Trapicheiros explained in their own words what market-based removal meant to them, when speaking about housing developers in Rio:

> "And this guy doesn't want my house, he wants everything here. A constructor, they don't want a house, two houses, they don't want a house, they want the land. The land. So the CLT is going to do that. It'll protect. It's the association's land. The house is yours, you do whatever you want with it, rent, do what you want, but the land is from the CLT."[101]

This resident therefore sees market-based removal as the direct intervention of housing developers, much like the ones who developed the land adjacent to their favela into a luxury condominium, initiating conflicts with both condominium residents and public authorities. Having the land unavailable for purchase is therefore the most protective factor of the CLT for this Trapicheiros resident, and other regulations such as renting or home improvements are not of concern.

This reflection on market-based removal as a threat was not articulated the same in Shangri-Lá. One community leader from Shangri-Lá, for example, was particularly concerned with how renting, in addition to buying and selling, caused problems for the community:

> "And in reality this ends up becoming speculation. Because that [house] there is not meant for renting. It's just one room with a bathroom. So it wasn't meant for renting. The idea was for us to have there to offer someone in an emergency, a place to live. These are the dreams that I have in mind, but unfortunately, I'm not the owner of all these houses, my house and that's it. You understand? I wanted to have a fund, or something that would exist to help in that moment. Like, they moved in there, ok,

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[101] "E o cara não quer a minha casa, ele quer isso aqui tudo. Uma construtora, ela não quer uma casa, duas casas, ela não quer a casa, ela quer o terreno. A terra. Então o TTC ela vai fazer isso. Vai blindar. A terra é da associação. A casa é sua, você faz o que você quiser, vende pra quem você quiser, aluga, faz o que você quiser, mas a terra é do TCC."

> here's your money, the contribution you gave, then we're giving it back to you, but the house goes back to the cooperative and the cooperative will put there who they want, who they think needs to go there."[102]

This community leader provides an example as to how renting and market pressures got in the way of other community projects, such as the idea of having emergency housing managed by the cooperative. These concerns were also reflected in discussions during some community workshops in Shangri-Lá, where residents complained about neighbors who were renting and did not understand rules of conviviality nor hold the same spirit of cooperativism that older residents who participated in the *mutirão* had. In this instance, an F-CLT Project team member connected these grievances to the importance of having community control, arguing that the CLT would establish under what conditions people are buying or renting these homes.

Threat of State-led removal

One of the main distinctions between the experience of CLTs in informal settlements and other CLTs around the world is that they do not only face market-based removal, or the slow changes that gentrification brings to neighborhoods. Rio's favelas have often faced immediate threats of removal, directly from public authorities wishing to relocate favela residents away from central neighborhoods. One public defender depicted in an interview an example of this practice in Rio de Janeiro:

> "For you to have an idea, this was already the administration of the current mayor, which at the time was also Eduardo Paes, you have for example then; the first buildings from Minha Casa Minha Vida were constructed in Santa Cruz, in the periphery of Santa Cruz, which is a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro's west zone. And without minimal infrastructure, there wasn't buses, there's no daycare, there's no school, there's no hospital nor UPA nor CRAS, CREAS, that is, any type of basic urban structure. And a lot of people were removed from the city center to there."[103]

State-led removal processes are therefore framed as relocation by the authorities pushing for removal, in which favela residents are offered housing far from the city center with even less

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[102] "E que na verdade acaba virando especulação. Porque aquilo ali não é nem pra ser alugada, cara. É um negócio um quarto com banheiro. Então não era pra alugar. Aquela ideia pra gente ter ali pra oferecer alguém numa emergência, de um lugar pra morar. Esses são os sonhos que fica na minha cabeça, mas infelizmente, eu não sou dona de todas as casas, na minha casa e olhe lá. Entendeu? Eu queria ter um fundo, ou alguma coisa que existisse ajudar nesse momento. Tipo, chegaram ali ó, tá aqui o dinheiro, a contribuição que cê deu, aí deixar te devolvendo, mas a casa volta pra cooperativa e a cooperativa é colocar lá quem ela entender, que achar que tem que ir."

[103] "Pra você ter uma ideia, isso já era a prefeitura do atual prefeito que na época também era o Eduardo Paes, você teve por exemplo assim: Os primeiros imóveis do Minha Casa Minha Vida foram construídos em Santa Cruz, na periferia de Santa Cruz, que é um bairro da zona oeste do Rio de Janeiro. E sem infraestruturação mínima, não tinha ônibus, não tem creche, não tem escola, não tem hospital ou UPA ou CRAS, CREAS, ou seja, um tipo de estrutura urbana mínima. E muita gente foi removida do centro da cidade para lá."

access to urban infrastructure than the informal settlements have. One community leader provided an anecdote about what happened when one Trapicheiros resident decided to take up an offer from Minha Casa Minha Vida:

> "Then the guy went there to see the apartment, there in Jacarepaguá. And he sought me out, already at this time he was trying to discuss with the other residents. So I told him, I said come on man, I'm sorry, but I don't have any interest in leaving here. 'Come on [name of Interviewee], it'll be good, let's go see the condominium,' because it was a condominium, right? There's a little plaza, there's parking, leisure areas, barbecue area and all. I said ok man, that's great. But I'm not interested in leaving here. I'm going to fight for my house, I want to stay here. And he got a bit annoyed with me and all. Then he tried talking, discussing with other residents too, other residents weren't convinced. So he ended up selling his house privately to someone, they sold it super cheap, they left. Nowadays they're even paying rent."[104]

This anecdote exhibits how some pilot community residents have firsthand experience with this type of State-led removal, in which the authorities who are insisting on relocation may sugarcoat the reality of the proposed housing alternative. At the end of this quote, the interviewee mentions two important factors: that this ex-resident of Trapicheiros ended up selling his house "super cheap," presumably less than it's worth considering the central location of Trapicheiros, and that he still pays rent, implying that he ended up worse off financially. This observation demonstrates how favela residents involved in the F-CLT Project seek a long-term solution to land tenure security, knowing from experience that the short term solutions offered by the State tend to be financially disadvantageous in the long run.

Trapicheiros residents started facing conflict with public authorities over their land security in 2010, and removal policies resurfaced in this time period. This State-led removal intensified alongside mega-events such as the Olympics in 2016, in which not only favelas in central neighborhoods were targeted but ones less central but near the proposed Olympic Park such as Vila Autódromo also were targeted public authorities (Sánchez et al., 2016). The same public defender quoted previously explained to me that removal efforts are not as intense nowadays, attesting to a lack of initiative from public authorities to enact favela removals, alongside a general lack of initiative to implement or advance or any policy

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[104] "Aí o rapaz foi lá conhecer o apartamento, aí em Jacarepaguá. E ele me procurou, já nessa época já pra tentar conversar com os outros moradores. Aí eu falei pra ele, falei pô cara, me desculpa, mas eu não tenho interesse nenhum em sair daqui. 'Pô [name of Interviewee], vai ser bom, vamos lá conhecer o condomínio,' porque era um condomínio, né? Tem pracinha, tem estacionamento, área de lazer, churrasqueira, tal. Eu falei não cara, beleza. Mas eu não tenho interesse de sair daqui. Eu vou lutar pela minha casa, eu quero ficar aqui. Ficou meio chateado comigo e tal. Aí tentou falar, conversar com outros moradores também, outros moradores também não consigam convencer. Aí acabou que ele vendeu a casa no particular mesmo pra uma pessoa, venderam por um preço baratinho, foram embora. Hoje em dia até moram de aluguel."

relating to social interest housing. This idea was repeated as well by external supporters during a diagnostic CLT workshop in Vila Autódromo; there is a lack of investment or interest in Vila Autódromo's land nowadays due to the general economic crisis in Brazil, so the residents may feel that they are not at risk. External supporters from the F-CLT Project, however, framed this comment to suggest the CLT is a preventative measure, since the land is still of value and residents could be at risk of removal once again since they only have usage rights.

This false sense of security was discussed by some community leaders, who saw themselves in an unstable situation with land tenure and hoped the CLT could prevent further issues. One resident of Esperança talked about how common knowledge around using *usucapião*, a form of adverse possession where residents obtain land rights after occupying unused land for five years, led Esperança residents to be less wary about their land tenure security. This same resident noted, however, that the land they occupy is federal and this law does not apply to them, leaving Esperança's land regularization in the hands of public authorities whose administrations and policies are constantly changing. A community leader from Trapicheiros echos this sentiment:

> "We could even win one battle or another but, the war isn't won. Right? So we have this difficulty, it's like, people think like this: oh no one is going to take us out from here anymore. Oh here no one messes with us. . . . But people don't know the history of Vila Autódromo either. That had usage rights, for 100 years, right? And they went there, they had three, if I'm not mistaken, usage rights contracts there in Vila Autódromo."[105]

Consequently, the lack of full land regularization, despite having some form of documentation already, leads community leaders of the pilot communities to look at the CLT as a form of protection against future State-led removal efforts.

Another Trapicheiros community leader explained how they imagined the CLT specifically to protect against this type of removal:

> "So, maybe for being, you know, something legal, having a public defender, having people with legal knowledge. They'd go there to the specific agency: hey, over there, so-and-so has authorization. But the condominium doesn't know that I have authorization, they'd go there: 'they're growing, they're already starting to want three,

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[105] "A gente pode até ganhar uma batalha ou outra mas, a guerra não está ganha. Né? Então a gente ainda tem essa dificuldade, e assim, as pessoas pensam assim: ah ninguém tira mais a gente daqui não. Ah aqui ninguém mexe não. . . . Só que o pessoal também não conhece a história da Vila Autódromo. Que tinha concessões de uso, por cem anos, né? E aí foram lá, ela tinha três, se eu não me engano, concessões lá na Vila Autódromo."

four floors.' They'd come with the municipality, or I don't know whatever agency it'd be– there no, it's right here, we have authorization."[106]

For this resident, having a CLT with rules and regulations, assisted by external supporters with legal knowledge, would enable them and their neighbors to make improvements to their homes within a strong legal basis that neither neighboring condominium residents nor public authorities could threaten. One part worth highlighting from this interview quote is how this community leader saw neighboring condo residents as the ones typically starting the conflict, even if it would end up being resolved through legal clarification and discussion with the municipality. This reflection reveals how State-led removal is powered by a number of interconnected factors such as public image, the interest of private developers, and the interests of private individuals as well. Therefore, addressing land tenure security in the face of State-led removal involves more than just combatting the respective public authorities themselves– the pilot communities must show legitimacy to private individuals as well, and the CLT model serves as a source of legitimacy to which residents can refer to.

Threat of "parallel power"

The last threat that I describe here is one that is new to CLT literature, and is specific to Rio de Janeiro; that of "parallel power,[107]" a term used to refer to the influence that trafficking gangs and militias have over urban territory. The influence of militias and drug traffickers in community matters was mentioned in various workshops, interviews, and also during a regional CLT-focused seminar that I attended. As a community leader from Shangri-Lá puts it: "The land is collective for security reasons. In Brazil we have other types of parallel forces that can arrive and want to dominate and say get out of your house."[108] The presence of "parallel power" is, however, not just about forcibly removing people from their homes. Militias and drug trafficking gangs can also co-opt community organizations and exert control over their practices (Araujo, 2019), undermining the autonomy that these organizations were meant to develop. The influence of "parallel power" also permeates the informal real estate market of favelas (Soares Gonçalves, 2009), in which the CLT model's anti-speculative measures and emphasis on community control could come into conflict with militias who profit off of their monopoly on informal land.

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[106] "Então, talvez essa por ser, né, um jurídico, ter uma defensoria pública, ter pessoas com conhecimento de lei. Vai lá no órgão específico: ó, aí ó, fulano tem autorização. Mas o prédio não sabe que eu tenho autorização, o prédio vai lá: "tão aumentando, já tão começando a querer fazer três, quatro andares" Vai vim com a Prefeitura, sei lá quem for o órgão- aí não ó tá aqui ó, temos autorização."

[107] Translated from Portuguese "poder paralelo."

[108] "A terra é coletiva por questões de segurança. No Brasil a gente tem outro tipo de forças paralelas que podem chegar e querer dominar e dizer sai da sua casa."

As seen with Trapicheiros and Shangri-Lá, the perception of removal threats as being State-based or market-based had to do with their specific neighborhoods and experiences with removal-instigating actors. This logic also applies to Esperança, whose locality is surrounded by militia-controlled territory in Rio's West Zone. One community leader expands on Esperança's position:

> "When you're scattered, the tendency is for [the militia] to enter, to reinforce themselves within what you constructed. . . . But as long as we are breathing, that we are taking things seriously, and working correctly, bringing in new partners, they see that there is life here. They will walk away because they don't know what they want. It's the case of Esperança. Esperança is guaranteeing itself there because there they have the SEPE, which is the teacher's union, you have Fiocruz –which is a federal agency– that's involved in that context there, if not they would have already entered, they would have."[109]

This reflection envisions the CLT, and particularly its community development focus, as a way of protecting against militia control as well, since the interviewee claims that the more a community is organized the less that militias will be able to infiltrate. This community leader also mentions the role that external supporters' play in warding off parallel power forces, an argument that was also relayed to me by an external supporter working closely with Esperança. Notably, the fact that Esperança is affiliated with a federal housing program does not necessarily offer any further protection against militia influence, and having "parallel power" directly involved in the housing projects created by Minha Casa Minha Vida is commonplace (Araujo, 2015). Rather than backing from the federal government, it was actions that took place in times of greatest community mobilization in Esperança that protected the neighborhood from militia influence. The same community leader quoted above recounted an anecdote to me from the *mutirão* construction period, overhearing a conversation from nearby militia members:

> "One of them said to the other: 'There, 70 gatonets.[110]' What did we do then? Before the families moved in, everyone put in a TV antenna. So then when they came and offered their service–what they think belongs to them–everyone already had their antenna. These were the strategies that we went creating, you know? You have to create strategy."[111]

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[109] "Que quando você tá disperso, a tendência é de eles entrarem, se reforçar dentro do que cê construiu. . . . Mas enquanto a gente tiver respirando, que a gente tiver levando as coisas de boa, e trabalhando certinho, trazendo novos parceiros, eles vê que aquilo ali tem vida. Eles vão se afastar porque eles não sabem o que que ela quer. É o grupo de Esperança. A Esperança ela está se garantindo lá ainda porque se tem ali o SEP, que é do Sindicato dos Professores, você tem a Fiocruz -que é um órgão federal- que está envolvido naquele contexto ali, se não já tinha entrado, teria entrado."

[110] "Gatonet" is a term commonly used to refer to illegal cable connections.

[111] "Um comentou com o outro: 'Aí, setenta gatonet.' Aí o que que nós fizemos? Antes da família entrar, cada um colocou uma antena de TV. Aí quando eles vieram oferecer o trabalho do serviço deles -que eles acham que

The presence of reputable organizations such as Fiocruz in the community certainly helps, as this same community leader argues, to ward off bad actors. However, I would argue here that an equally important factor is the level of community mobilization, which in this anecdote was used to prevent Esperança's reliance on militia for services. This interviewee shows that "strategy" to keep militias away is related to mobilization, having all residents on board and aware of threats while strategizing together to address these threats. In this sense, security is achieved through community mobilization, not just through the presence alone of certain actors, and bringing these protective external actors into the community was also a result of mobilization.

Although Esperança is the pilot community most directly confronted by the threat of "parallel power," this issue affects nearly all favelas in Rio de Janeiro (Araujo, 2015), and community leaders from other pilot communities were also concerned about these external forces, connecting their land tenure security to their general feeling of security. One Trapicheiros community leader mentioned in an interview how the presence of traffickers in neighboring favelas was another motive for wanting to increase their mobilization and their sense of community control, reiterating the point that the more mobilized a community is, the less likely militias and traffickers are to engage.

Ultimately, all three of these categories of threats are perceived as significant by community leaders in the pilot communities of the F-CLT Project, with some variation as to which threat is the most significant depending on the specific context of each neighborhood. These interviews speak to mostly hypothetical situations where residents envision a CLT protecting from removal or co-optation threats, yet there are real world examples of these fears coming true in Rio de Janeiro. One would not need to look further than Parque Carioca, the housing project where most of Vila Autódromo original residents were displaced to during State-led removal anticipating the Olympic Games. One researcher describes Parque Carioca upon visiting 2018:

> "I observed that some accommodation was in an unsanitary state (water leaks, land subsistence, precarious electrical installation), and that the leisure facilities, green spaces and swimming pool were out of order. In addition, the neighborhood is controlled by the militia, which creates a feeling of insecurity among many residents"[112] (De Barros, 2019, p. 16, author's translation).

é deles- já estava todo mundo com essa antena. Foram as estratégias que a gente foi criando entendeu? Tem que criar estratégia."

[112] "j'ai observé que certains logements étaient en état d'insalubrité (fuites d'eau, affaissement du sol, installation électrique précaire), et que les infrastructures de loisirs, espaces verts et piscine, étaient hors de fonctionnement. De plus le quartier est contrôlé par la milice, ce qui crée un sentiment d'insécurité chez bon nombre d'habitants."

What De Barros portrays here is a plausible outcome that the pilot communities recognize; a result of the three types of threats discussed. For one, this example shows how the threat of militia control is connected to State-based removal, in which militias can enter more easily into communities that have been fractured and displaced. Therefore, community leaders from the pilot communities see the CLT as a way to resist becoming Parque Carioca, to not only remain in their homes and in the neighborhoods they feel attached to, but to avoid falling into a trap of further peripheralization and replacement of the State by parallel power forces.

Improving articulation between residents and public authorities in order to meet community needs

As Ribeiro and Litsek (2020) assert, one way that the CLT model encourages community development in informal settlements is by strengthening their relationship with public authorities and other actors to secure basic services and address community interests. This change in articulation is even more necessary in the pilot communities in Rio de Janeiro due to the lack of public service provision that informal settlements face and the history of contention that favelas have faced with public authorities. As one community leader in Trapicheiros elaborates:

> "Everything for us here is difficult, in these matters of help from public authorities. And this is what we believe: with the CLT actually becoming established here and staying and actually happening, I think that this will bring improvements to the community in all aspects. I think it will bring this path, instead of being me or [name removed] as president, no, it'll be an association, a company, a legal entity making claims to public authorities. That's what we always say about the CLT, that it would be– it'll be a very strong force. It's not: 'oh I'm [name and title removed], I want to have a call, I want to solve this problem. We're with this and that' No. This is from the CLT association, it's something else. It's a legal entity. It has another aspect, right? It gives them another aspect of responsibility, it's not an individual, a legal entity. That can even prosecute, look, we opened this case, this accident happened, this happened, that happened because we were not assisted. It's something else." [113]

This community leader therefore argues that the CLT would give legitimacy to their concerns

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[113] "Tudo pra gente aqui é difícil, nessas questões de ajuda do poder público. E isso que a gente acredita: que o TTC realmente se estabelecendo aqui e ficando e realmente acontecendo, eu acho que isso vai trazer melhorias pra comunidade em todos os aspectos. Eu acho que vai trazer esse caminho, em vez de ser [eu] ou o [name removed] como presidente, não, vai ser uma associação, uma empresa, ou uma pessoa jurídica cobrando do poder público. É isso que a gente sempre bate nessa tecla do TTC, que seria- vai ser uma força muito grande. Não é um: 'ah eu sou o [name and title removed], quero abrir uma chamada, quero resolver o problema. Estamos com isso com aquilo' Não. Aqui é da associação do TTC, é outra coisa. É uma pessoa jurídica. Tem outro aspecto, né? Dá outro aspecto pra eles de responsabilidade, não é uma pessoa física, uma pessoa jurídica. Que pode até processar, ó, abrimos isso aqui, aconteceu esse acidente, aconteceu isso, aquilo porque não fomos atendidos. É outra coisa."

when facing public authorities, making them feel more responsible. Instead of one person asking for a service, or even making a demand on behalf of a collective need, the CLT association would have a legal entity that represents the community's interests. Another community leader from Trapicheiros reinforced this claim in our interview:

> "It's the technical part enforcing the citizens' rights. Going there, demanding from the public authorities, the municipality in our case here, saying that this community owns a lot of land of so many square meters, which can have a lot of impact on life, you know? . . . So, there's a stronger representation before public authorities."[114]

In this case, they highlight the technical aspect of the CLT that contributes to articulating community needs, implying the role of external supporters here.

One important prerequisite to this improved articulation though is that the respective "community" must already identify as such, already "defining themselves as a collective" (DeFilippis et al., 2019, p. 801). DeFilippis et al. go on to argue that "the community that is constructed then becomes the foundation from which to make demands on the state or actors in the market—demands based on the recognition of the collective character of injustices" (2019, p. 801). Therefore this improvement in articulation of demands is dependent on an already established community identity, and a method for establishing a community's voice. This idea of having the community be more mobilized, and having a unified voice, was described in various workshops as of importance when dealing with public authorities. For land transfer this was particularly important, shown in the case of Vila Autódromo and Esperança. During Vila Autódromo's diagnostic workshop, external supporters emphasized a need to have all residents together in order to convince public authorities of a potential land transfer. Similarly, with the many battles that Esperança residents have had to fight with various public agencies in getting their contracts and land regularization completed, the need for having a unified community voice was discussed as well during their workshops. Community leaders and external supporters for Esperança cited this lack of a unified voice as one of their main barriers in making progress in their various administrative hurdles. The presence of the F-CLT Project, as one community leader from Esperança cites, brought more residents back to community meetings. Taking this into account, even if the CLT meetings are not directly related to these administrative hurdles, the fact that the project is bringing residents to meet more regularly is helping them develop a unified voice that will aid them in other bureaucratic processes.

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[114] "É a parte técnica fazendo valer o direito do cidadão. Indo lá, cobrar aos poder público, a Prefeitura no nosso caso aqui, falando que essa comunidade ela é dono dum terreno de tantos metros quadrado, que podem impactar bastante na vida, sabe? . . . Então, tem uma representação mais forte diante do poder público."

The F-CLT Project - a transformative strategy?

Aiming to connect how these perceptions of the F-CLT Project relate to social change, this subsection discusses the transformative potential of the CLT model in the context of Rio de Janeiro's housing crisis. Seeing how the "community" in Community Land Trust was already contested in the United States, DeFilippis et al. (2019) decided to look at how a select few CLTs in the state of Minnesota were exhibiting social change. The same authors use a framework by Nancy Fraser (1995) that differentiates between "affirmative" remedies to social problems and "transformative" remedies. Fraser sees affirmative remedies as those that address social inequalities but do not attack the underlying structure or framework that creates these inequalities. Meanwhile, transformative remedies are ones that intend to change the structural underlying causes of a given social problem. DeFilippis et al. (2019) allege that most CLT scholarship centers on community organizing and government structure as the most transformative parts of the CLT model, yet this scholarship is focused on a few highly politicized examples of CLTs that may not represent the majority of cases. Notably, the same authors assert that "much of the literature on the radical potential of CLTs has been about CLTs in formation, not about established CLTs" (DeFilippis et al., 2019, p. 799). The case of the F-CLT Project conforms to this tendency, since a CLT has not been officially established yet. This framework could, however, be useful in seeing how the perceptions towards the project's effects in this chapter are transformative or affirmative solutions to the structural issues of inequality in Brazil and Rio de Janeiro, in which lack of land tenure security is a symptom.

One area in which the F-CLT Project's work could be seen as transformative is in its focus on "community control." DeFilippis et al. (2019) note how community control is an area where the transformative changes are most manifested in CLTs. Community control, as seen in this chapter, takes on a unique role for the F-CLT Project pilot communities, since this control involves combatting not only market forces but public authority and parallel power. Whether this control is transformative, however, is a point of debate. The threats that pilot community residents described in this chapter are all related to structural problems that create inequality and insecurity in Rio de Janeiro; a lack of policy for meeting ever-increasing housing needs, income inequality that exacerbates the housing deficit and encourages informality, and a weak State in the face of parallel power that only grows amidst this inequality. The CLT model does, however, innovate in ways that past housing solutions have not; the perspectives shared in this chapter show that this innovation is centered on

community development and an enhanced legal basis for community organizations. Parts of the CLT model also attack housing inaccessibility at its source, directly addressing real estate speculation and, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, removal policies and lack of land regularization. Yet while this innovation may better alleviate the factors contributing to Rio de Janeiro's housing crisis, it can still be an affirmative remedy in the sense that it does not change the underlying structures causing said crisis.

The debate on transformative or affirmative change goes beyond just the case of CLTs in the United States; the same debate applies to cases of the social production of habitat in Latin America. Ortiz Flores (2002) acknowledges how the social production of habitat also faces this debate of being transformative or affirmative. Albeit not referencing the same framework by Fraser (1995), he discusses whether the social production of habitat is just another marginal option of survival, hopelessly focused on a sort of social nostalgia that counters individualism, or rather a transformative strategy that re-imagines the puzzle of social housing in the region. Evidently, Ortiz Flores argues that the most advanced and transformative cases of social production of habitat in Latin America are ones centered on community, coupled with interdisciplinary support from professionals and technicians. Ortiz Flores also highlights how self-management and autonomy are transformative aspects (2002), and in the case of the F-CLT Project such aspects are critical considering the contentious relationship favela residents have with public authority. This emphasis on autonomy mirrors what one technical supporter described earlier in this chapter; there is no development without autonomy, and this autonomy can only be achieved by changing the structural issues that leave favela residents "obligated to accept what comes." The type of community control that the CLT model can achieve could be seen as transformative if the CLT association aims not only to equilibrate the housing market but to encourage local development that is participatory and centered on addressing the root causes that inhibit long-term neighborhood improvements.

One aspect worth highlighting in DeFilippis et al.'s analysis is that these transformative effects were often seen as potential rather than actually existing (2019, p.813). Such can be said for the perspectives shared in this chapter from community leaders and technical supporters; they are all focused on the potential of the CLT, and these effects are yet to be confirmed. The transformative nature of a given solution, strategy, or project, however, will be limited by its scope and the people it involves. The F-CLT Project, working with less than 200 families in a city of over six million habitants, cannot expect to address all problems at their source. The more transformative part of the project's operations would be setting an

example for rethinking homeownership and land regularization in Brazil, seeing these processes as community-oriented rather than market-oriented. Many of the interviewed community leaders mentioned the significance of having their pilot community be the first established CLT in the country. They felt that with a successful case, the pilot communities can serve as an inspiration for a new model of housing. As one resident in Trapicheiros recounted to me in an interview: "But imagine two communities in Brazil, as a reference, this will explode, soon it will proliferate."[115] Another community leader from Esperança elaborates on this transformative potential: "The CLT is going to get things off the ground. It's not just the legalization part or the juridical part. It's the future."[116] While the transformative nature of the F-CLT Project is still inhibited by not "actually existing," as DeFilippis et al. (2019) reflect in their study, the perceptions shared in this chapter demonstrate that the project works with many of the ingredients that both CLT scholarship and social production of habitat scholarship emphasize in transformative strategies, such as centering on community control and interdisciplinary technical support.

Conclusion

The application of the CLT model within the context of Rio de Janeiro's favelas reveals a complex web of perspectives, challenges, and aspirations relating to community development. The reflections of community leaders and external supporters portray an intricate interplay between the F-CLT Project's community development focus and the unique local context in which it operates. This chapter sought to briefly expose the varied interpretation of "community development" itself by those involved in the F-CLT Project. While for some interviewees it entails active participation and empowerment, others viewed it as a medium for tangible outcomes in improved infrastructure and services. Still, one technical supporter reflected the ambiguity of the term, reflecting its lack of operationality in real world practice, while another saw community development as intrinsically linked to a systemic lack of autonomy that favela residents face.

Reflections from my qualitative interviews and observations illustrate how the CLT model is envisioned as a protective shield against a triad of threats that the pilot communities face. The threats, whether State-led removal, market-led removal, or the shadow of parallel power forces, differ in intensity and nature across each pilot community, showing how even within the local context of Rio de Janeiro there are sub-contexts that explain the challenges

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[115] "Mas imagina duas comunidades no Brasil, como referência, isso vai explodir, daqui a pouco se proliferar."
[116] "O TTC veio pra deslanchar tudo isso. Não é só a parte de legalização e a parte jurídica. É o futuro."

each neighborhood faces with land tenure security. However, a common thread emerges – the CLT's commitment to community development equips residents with tools to collectively shield themselves from these external pressures. Through its emphasis on collective land management and direct community engagement, the CLT model has the potential to not only fortify the social fabric of pilot communities but also strengthen their autonomy.

Relating to this autonomy, the F-CLT Project also plays a pivotal role in improving the often contentious articulation between favelas and public authorities. Some community leaders cited the legal credibility that the CLT model gives to their community organization, legitimizing their work and adding pressure on the State to fulfill its responsibilities. Perhaps most importantly, the community development focus of the F-CLT Project encourages regular interaction among residents, resulting in a stronger collective voice. This unified community voice was cited by both community leaders and external supporters as essential to advancing in the many bureaucratic barriers that the pilot communities face on their pathway to full land regularization and land tenure security.

This chapter highlights how the CLT model's iteration of community development is applied to the specific nature of Rio de Janeiro's favelas, and how this specificity is reflected in the visions that community leaders have on the effect a CLT could potentially have. While these perspectives are still hypothetical and dependent on the establishment of a CLT in one of the four pilot communities that can pioneer the model's application in Brazil, they show that the F-CLT Project can be a transformative remedy for favelas wishing to bring long-term sustainable changes to their communities. The transformative nature of the F-CLT Project will depend on to what extent pilot communities can gain and maintain "community control," gaining autonomy in their own local development by harnessing the increased community mobilization that the project incites.

Concluding remarks

In this master's thesis I sought to highlight a specific part of the Community Land Trust model – its emphasis on community development. This emphasis on community development was applied to the case study of the Favela Community Land Trust Project and the four pilot communities in Rio de Janeiro in the process of CLT implementation. While numerous CLTs are implemented around the world, and particularly present in countries like the United States and the United Kingdom, their use in informal settlements is rare and only recently emerging as a tool for securing land tenure. In the context of Latin America, this model can be seen as another example of the social production of habitat, a phenomenon referring to the many ways that the inaccessible housing market is contested throughout the region. The F-CLT Project is the first attempt at bringing the CLT model to Brazil, yet the project works closely with actors that have been working on alternative land ownership models for decades. For being a global model, yet primarily discussed in the context of the United States and its application in the Global North, the case of the F-CLT Project exemplifies how global models adapt to local realities. Therefore in this thesis my goal was to look at the local reality of Rio de Janeiro and the four pilot communities involved in the project, analyzing the influence of the F-CLT Project on community development.

One key consideration for the CLT model in Brazil, in its adaptation from the global norm, is the necessity of land regularization, which is particularly present as an obstacle in the case of Rio de Janeiro's favelas. The need for land regularization adds more work to technical supporters of a given CLT's implementation, in addition to the technical assistance already needed for collective land management. The F-CLT Project has found that undergoing both land regularization and CLT implementation, in the beginning stages with residents' participation, is the best way to move forward in order to progress with the pilot communities. However, undergoing both the community development side of CLT implementation alongside the technical process of land regularization presents additional demands on the F-CLT Project. This extra work could be worthwhile in the long-run though, if it permits the pilot communities to obtain a "full" land regularization, or housing titles that are permanent and designed to avoid patterns of urban exclusion.

Aside from the technical requirements of CLT implementation and the bureaucratic labyrinth of land regularization in Brazil, through my fieldwork I saw how community mobilization was a key concern for all of those involved in the F-CLT Project. As informal settlements have distinct origins and experiences in resistance and community mobilization, I aimed to examine how this history affected the pilot communities' adaptation to the CLT

model and its focus on community development. The experience of the four pilot communities ultimately displayed a more nuanced effect. For one, experiences widely varied by each pilot community. Those that were housing cooperatives, constructed via *mutirão*, had a much more intense previous experience with community mobilization than ones like Trapicheiros, where neighbors did not experience many collective initiatives until State-led removal affected them. The CLT model's focus on community development and creating a land managing entity through a community organization was not so new to the residents of the pilot communities, even if some pilot communities had more direct experience in collective organizing than others. Their familiarity with various housing-related social movements certainly aided in their acceptance of the CLT model, of which their input was valued in making necessary adaptations. On the other hand, past experiences with community organizations were not uniform and in some cases even resurfaced tensions, alluding to apprehension around the mismanagement of neighborhood associations. In all the pilot communities, community mobilization was cited by both community leaders and external supporters as one of their main barriers in community development, with the F-CLT Project being no exception. Many of the causes of this difficulty in mobilizing were rooted in larger, structural problems relating to urban inequality, a political culture reliant on clientelism, and a culture of individualism fueled by the dominance of individual property ownership as a form of power in Brazilian society. All of the above leads participants of the F-CLT Project to compromise on some of the idealistic visions of community participation when designing and implementing the CLT, faced with the reality of these structural issues that they can only hope to combat in smaller actions.

In order to overcome both these barriers of technical assistance and community mobilization, external supporters were shown to play a key role in the F-CLT Project's development. While most of these external supporters were technicians, either experts in land regularization or legal matters, this category of actors represents a diverse group of students, researchers, activists, and staff of both public and private institutions. Either directly acknowledged in interviews or demonstrated during discourse in community workshops, I found that external supporters were sensible to how their "externality" was perceived and they went out of their way to emphasize resident participation and protagonism in all community development initiatives, revealing their efforts to combat the disillusionment caused by broken promises from previous State-led initiatives. I found that external supporters support goes far beyond technical assistance, facilitating community mobilization, resource connections, and visibility as well. However, while this involvement undoubtedly

helps the pilot communities progress towards implementing and managing their CLT, concerns arise over a potential overrepresentation, which could overshadow resident protagonism. My analysis also reveals a certain dependency of CLT implementation on external support, due to both complex land regularization barriers and even the need for full-time community organizing support.

In evaluating the influence that the F-CLT Project has on community development, it was important to portray how those involved in the project envision community development in the context of their local communities and that of Rio de Janeiro. The reflections shared by community leaders and external supporters depict how the F-CLT Project means much more to them than just land regularization, nor just avoiding gentrification. The CLT model was often described as a protective shield against threats, either from market forces or from public authority or even militias and drug traffickers. Such a conceptualization of the CLT model is certainly unique in comparison to its usage in the Global North, again demonstrating how the CLT being used in informal settlements, and even specifically in the local context of Rio de Janeiro, comes with a myriad of extra considerations. But with these extra considerations also come extra possibilities, and I would argue that in the case of the F-CLT Project, community development forms a part of this extra possibility presented by the pilot communities and their unique experiences. While community mobilization was unequivocally seen as a challenge by nearly everyone involved in the F-CLT Project, the fact that both community leaders and external supporters are fully invested in the idea of community development is something that sets apart their experience from that of many CLTs in the Global North that have lost this emphasis on "community." The perspectives shared with me indicate that F-CLT Project participants wish to obtain improvements and empowerment through collective means, seeing the CLT association as an organization that will do much more than hand out land titles – these observations point towards the transformative potential of establishing a CLT in one of the pilot communities, which could set an example for alternative housing models that are centered on community control and autonomy.

The forementioned results and analysis of this study are accompanied by a set of limitations encountered during my research and fieldwork. My role as an intern for the F-CLT Project undoubtedly provided me with access to contacts for interviews, and with the ability to use participant observation, that I would not have had otherwise. However, this role still greatly affected not only the way that participants of the F-CLT Project perceived me, but also my own perception of the project and my bias in analyzing its results. While I attempted to circumvent this limitation by explaining to interviewees that my research was unaffiliated

with the NGO Catalytic Communities and that their responses would be anonymous, many of these interviewees I had first encountered in the context of my internship and during community workshops, therefore making this mental separation of my status as intern and researcher difficult. Another evident limitation in my fieldwork is related to my status as a foreigner, a non-native to both Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Such presented me with linguistic and cultural barriers throughout my fieldwork, which lessened overtime but ultimately would have been better addressed during a longer stay in Rio de Janeiro. Just like many of the technical supporters involved in the project, I was also "external," and even more external at that, likely affecting not only the information shared with me in interviews but also my own perception and understanding of life in Rio de Janeiro.

One significant limitation in my data and analysis is the lack of the perspective of residents in the pilot communities who were not involved in the F-CLT Project. All the residents I interviewed were community leaders, people who had been directly involved in various community projects and often tied to larger social movements and solidarity networks between Rio de Janeiro's favelas. While their experience and perspectives certainly replenished my understanding of each pilot community's context of community development, interviewing residents who are less involved in community or collective matters would have added more nuance to my understanding of key issues such as community mobilization and participation. The lack of this data is partially due to the aforementioned limitations of my outsider identity and direct affiliation with the F-CLT Project as an intern, among other practical considerations. For future studies, in both the context of informal settlements but also in all types of CLTs, looking at this often missed perspective could help fill in gaps relating to the challenges of community mobilization.

The aforementioned limitations therefore affect the generalizability of these results, as well as the specificities of the Rio de Janeiro pilot communities that may not be shared by all informal settlements. The CLT model itself is also new to Brazil, in its juridical framework and its specific organizational structure as well, having been introduced into academic and activist discussions only five years ago. The influence on community development from this model specifically, therefore, is difficult to discern in the long-run considering this recent time frame. My findings still offer a valuable in-depth examination of the preliminary implementation phases of the CLT model taking place in a select few informal settlements in Rio de Janeiro. This study contributes to the limited pool of Latin American experiences involving CLTs, shedding light on the specific approaches undertaken by the pilot communities as they embark on the adoption and early execution of this model. Through this

case study, I was able to highlight some of the important localizing factors of CLT implementation and how they affected community development, one aspect of CLTs that is globally contested. The F-CLT Project shows that informal settlements can be worthwhile candidates for CLT implementation, and that it is possible to maintain a community development focus in this project in spite of the structural barriers that favela residents face, particularly when accompanied by a dedicated group of external supporters that assist not only in technical matters but in community organizing.

My conversations with community leaders and external supporters, as well as observations of community workshops, show that keeping the "community" in Community Land Trust is no easy task. The history of each pilot community in the F-CLT Project and their previous experience with community mobilization demonstrate how informal settlements' unique experience in land management both hinders and facilitates CLT implementation. External support, consisting of interdisciplinary technical and professional supporters, is also key in countering the bureaucratic barriers involved with land regularization and collective land management, in addition to assisting in mobilization efforts to counteract the structural problems that inhibit favela residents from becoming more involved in community projects.

Future research in the realm of community development through the CLT model, particularly in the Latin American context and involving informal settlements, holds several promising directions. One avenue for exploration revolves around the professionalization of community development and dependency on NGO or public support to implement and maintain community participation in CLT management. While literature on community organizing as a profession is more prevalent in the United States, a deeper investigation into the Latin American perspective is warranted, given the intricate relationship with civil society and public authority evidenced through this case study centered on Rio de Janeiro. Additionally, the complex dynamics of "parallel power" forces such as militias and drug traffickers in Rio de Janeiro offer an important yet overlooked facet, especially considering their role in community projects and how community mobilization affects their operations. Moreover, the role of international collaboration within a global CLT network presents an underexplored area that I found to be pertinent throughout my fieldwork and internship with the F-CLT Project; further research could delve into how cross-border partnerships between emblematic CLT cases contribute to sharing experiences and enhancing the model's effectiveness.

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