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Sue-Yeon Ryu
Ohio University, sr495714@ohio.edu

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Cover Page Footnote

For making this research possible, I would like to extend my gratitude to my big, welcoming family in Florianópolis and to the Honors Tutorial College at Ohio University. Of the HTC family, I would especially like to thank my advisor, Dr. Smoki Musaraj, for being an invaluable mentor throughout the years. This research was actualized only through her encouragement, patience, and editing.

The Implications of Subalternity: Alternative Institutions in Serrinha, Brazil

Sue-Yeon Ryu

Ohio University

Abstract

This research employs ethnographic data from eight weeks of fieldwork in Serrinha, Brazil during the summer of 2019. It seeks to first locate Serrinha as a favela through use of urban and favela literature. Then, it engages concepts of subalternity to analyze the institutions within Serrinha and understand them vis-à-vis formal institutions in the city of Florianópolis. This research finds that subaltern institutions in Serrinha, such as a neighborhood NGO, a Residents' Association, and a drug cartel, address the lack of infrastructure and services that should be provided by the formal city; in doing so, they provide some agency to Serrinha residents. Through additional examination, this study illustrates that while these alternative institutions play vital roles in the community, they also cause consequences that further divide the favela from the city.

Keywords: Subaltern, Urban Relations, Urban Geography, Institutions, Favela, Agency

Introduction

At Casa São José (CSJ) there is a closet stuffed full of toys, locked outside the hours of recess. On the floor in the corner there is a cardboard box filled with donated flip-flops and tennis shoes, used but in good condition. When the kids wear out their shoes, are in need of but

unable to buy a new pair, they ask a teacher to look through the box. Once let into the closet, they pick a pair of shoes to claim as their own. This is one small example of the essential and unfortunate role that CSJ has to play in Serrinha, a *favela*, or low-income area specific to Brazil. In the absence of the formal state—of whose responsibility it should be to provide public or welfare services—subaltern community institutions such as CSJ, Serrinha’s drug faction, and the Residents’ Association must fill the gaps. They altogether act as the welfare state, police, and government in a place that lacks the formal versions. However, through their actions of agency, these institutions unwittingly distance Serrinha further from the formal city, particularly through impacting the negative stigma surrounding Serrinha.

This chapter explores how the relationship between the informal institutions of a favela, Serrinha, and the formal institutions of the city, Florianópolis, lend deeper insight into greater urban relations. Before exploring this relationship, I first provide my methodology and the conceptual framework for this chapter.

Methodology

I conducted research in Florianópolis, Brazil during June and July 2019, employing ethnographic methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and discourse analysis. To document my participant observation experiences in Serrinha, I took notes and photographs of public neighborhood spaces. Additionally, I sketched a rough map of the space as I began experiencing it to provide more illustration (see Figure 1).

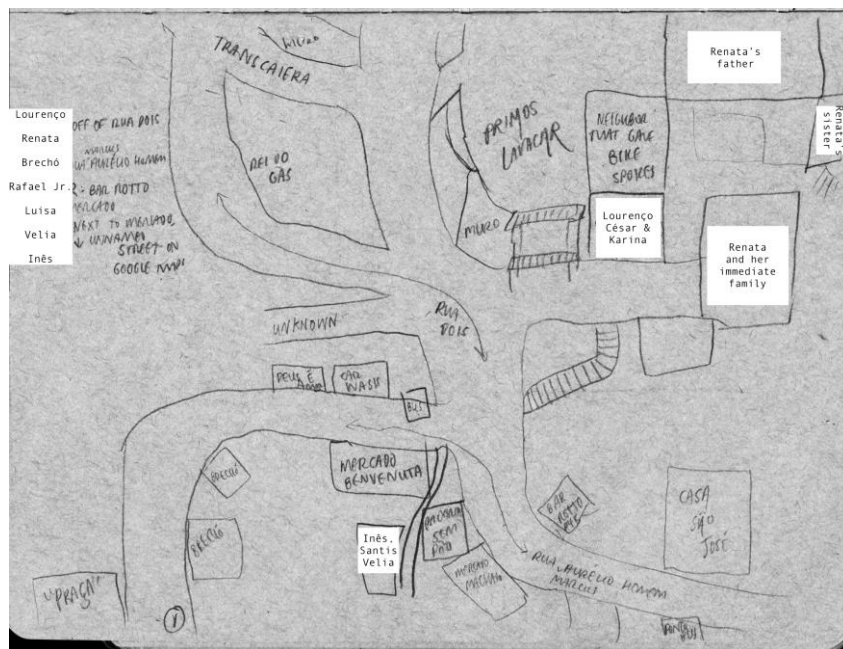


Figure 1: Rough, incomplete map created during first days of fieldwork. Location labels edited to protect participant names. Map by author, June 2019.

My first contact in the neighborhood was a newly immigrated Serrinha resident in his early 20s, Lourenço. I eventually began volunteering in an important neighborhood NGO, Casa São José, an institution providing extra guidance for students during the hours of the day that school is not in session. There, I furthered my participation in the neighborhood; Casa São José allowed my entrance into the community's trust as I worked with neighborhood children and became known to parents through their kids. As I accompanied Lourenço in his daily life throughout the neighborhood and city, we met new participants for semi-structured interviews at various social sites. These sites varied and included places from a neighborhood thrift store, living rooms of participants, to on the street.

At these sites, I employed the method of snowball sampling to procure more participants. All participants were recruited voluntarily, and though not chosen based on demographic criteria such as race or gender, these markers were noted. Over the course of two months, I conducted

fourteen semi-structured conversations in Portuguese with twenty participants ranging from twenty to sixty years of age and varying in race and gender. All were given pseudonyms to protect confidentiality.

Conceptual Framework

The Urban Favela and Locating Serrinha

Uneven urban development has divided many city geographies into the ‘center’ and the ‘periphery.’ The term *center* refers to both a literal geographic location and to a centralization of wealth and power, regarded as legitimate and formal. Formal in this sense signifies a lifestyle in which there is “regularity of its order, a predictable rhythm and sense of control that we often take for granted” (Hann and Hart 114). In contrast, *periphery* refers to the informal spatial fringes surrounding the center and their corresponding exclusion from wealth, power, and regularity. The informality of urban peripheries in the Global South has historically referred to the illegal and thus, undocumented construction of self-constructed houses where there is physical space, complicating land ownership and related issues (Perlman 296). Where these types of houses congregate become areas of insecure housing with a general lack of formal infrastructure and difficult access to social resources (Pequeno). Around the world these areas are studied as slums, but specifically known in Brazil as *favelas*.

Florianópolis, capital of the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina, ranks as the third most developed city in Brazil (Atlas of Human Development). Yet, the municipality is no exception from the presence of informal, low-income favelas. In 2010, the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística census counted 421,240 citizens for the municipality of Florianópolis. A study in 2008 recorded around 51,600 Florianópolis citizens living in favela areas (Sampaio et al. 33), in sixty-one favelas throughout the municipality (Lonardoni 44), making the favela

population over twelve percent of the total municipality population. Of this population, thirty-seven percent live in the Maciço Central do Morro da Cruz area, where the favela of interest in this study, Serrinha, can be found. Geographically, Serrinha is located as the periphery of neighborhoods that are primarily associated with the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC) and its students (see Figure 2).

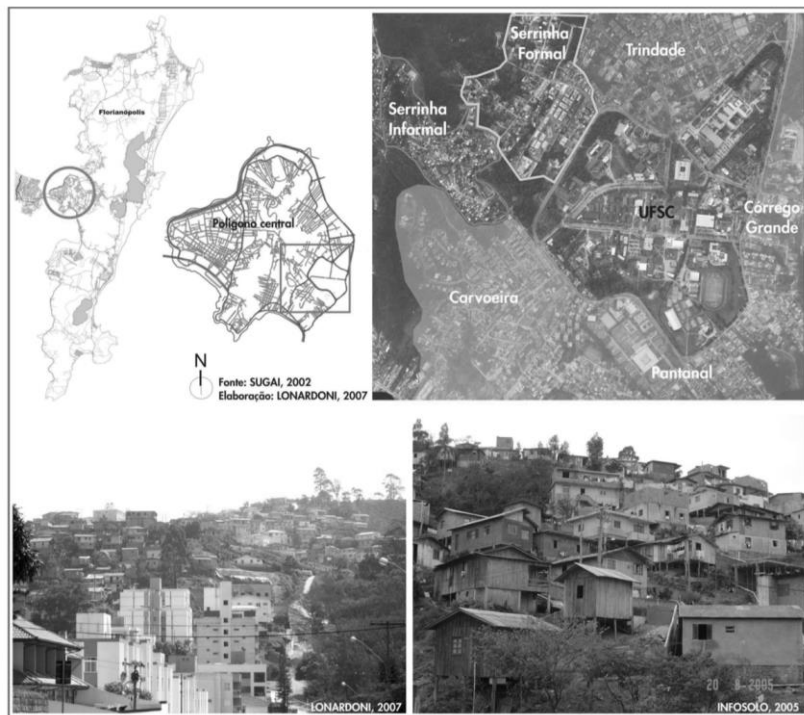


Figure 2: Greyscaled map and images depicting the location and make-up of Serrinha ('Serrinha Informal' in the top right map). Original source: Lonardoni 64.

Countering the Public Imagination

A wide range of ethnographies detail life in favelas and provide a way to contextualize Serrinha. Carolina Maria de Jesus' diary turned groundbreaking emic-ethnography of life in a São Paulo favela adds detail to the favela experience. She notes general insecurities, violence, poverty, drugs, as well as interactions among neighbors that can be interpreted as strong adherence to the community despite all of the above (de Jesus). Janice Perlman's highly regarded

ethnographic work spanning over forty years of extensive research, *Favela*, is also critical for contextualizing favelas. Though Perlman notes what ethnographies like de Jesus', observe, she more importantly fights the popular representation of favelas—portrayals by the media that represent favelas as quotidianly and extremely violent—for example, as employed in movies such as *City of God*. Perlman, in contrast, emphasizes the agency and optimism of favela residents within their “hostile environment” by displaying their talents and assets (235).

On a related note, I borrow the terminology of renowned development and urbanism scholar, Ananya Roy, to describe Serrinha and its institutions through a lens of subaltern urbanism. Roy frames subaltern urbanism as “accounts of the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood, self-organization and politics” (223), and subaltern texts from the periphery as accounts of public agency rather than of poverty. Subaltern urbanism changes the context in which the urban peripheries of the Global South exist. Those without insight to subaltern narratives may think of favelas solely in terms of poverty and exclusion, and in many cities, as black, unemployed, criminal places (Pasternak). Subaltern urbanism attempts to illustrate favelas beyond these dominant stereotypes, heterogenize favelas, and give favelas voices and power.

Subalternity emphasizes that, though favela residents are victims of a system engineered to be unequal, they are not without agency. In *Hard Times in the Marvelous City: From Dictatorship to Democracy in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro*, Bryan McCann recounts historical activist movements within communities to reform city politics and address issues of neglect (Koonings 137-9). Serrinha’s self-built nature is a testament to similar grassroots action. Serrinha has fought for basic and fundamental ingredients for modern functionality, such as paved roads and waste management. Voltolini summarizes the successful community push for trash services as a cooperative movement between the Residents’ Association, local teachers, and community

health agents (67). It is one example of how Serrinha has been successful through collective action.

However, even with their agency, I argue that Serrinha's subaltern institutions are born from the normative state and city. Serrinha has created a network of organizations and entities that address what the Florianópolis municipality has not. Each section in this chapter will discuss the normative institution and associated subaltern institution. In particular: Casa São José as the welfare state due to their role providing social services; the Residents' Association of Serrinha as local government, compensating for Florianópolis' indifference by advocating for physical investments, conducting censuses, and organizing community events; and the drug faction, Dois, that cannot be ignored in the construction of Serrinha's agency. Dois acts as the police but is complicated as it is less straightforwardly a community asset. However, one direct and positive consequence of Dois' presence is the lack of crime (theft, assault, robbery) within the community. The chapter builds off the literature on favela agency by describing how the community has addressed institutional violence through adopting alternative institutions. Again, I approach the topic of identity through the lens of duality, asserting that the existence of Serrinha's institutions is linked directly to the absence or action of the normative.

Casa São José as the Welfare State

When I left CSJ for the last time, its coordinator, Milana, handed me a small pamphlet to take with me (see Figure 3). Unfolded, the glossy pamphlet stretches into a long sheet of information detailing the history and services of Casa São José. The institution was created in March of 2003 (CSJ Pamphlet) by the *Paróquia Santíssima Trindade* (Holy Parish of Trindade, see Figure 4), whose help was requested by representatives of Serrinha and whose donors financed the creation of CSJ.

Since its creation, Casa São José has grown to serve over 160 Serrinha kids from ages six to fifteen. Besides providing shoes as needed, CSJ secures one of the greatest and most basic requirements of life—food. Each month, CSJ provides 10,560 (CSJ Pamphlet) hearty and well-balanced meals, plates full of vegetables, beans, rice, and always a meat option. After eating, kids line up to clean their plates before they go outside to play. This time is a meaningful reflection of the pleasure and freedom that CSJ teaches kids to enjoy. CSJ has developed routine-breaking activities for neighborhood kids that they would otherwise have little access to. For example, CSJ offers “educational support for homework completion, sports, recreation, artistic production, and information technology classes” (Assunção 37), even advanced acrobatics classes. Kids take their recess time to skateboard together, practice cartwheeling, draw, or whatever their hearts fancy.





Figure 3 (top): The greyscaled covers of the Casa São José pamphlet that Milana handed me.

Figure 4 (bottom): Stylized front of Casa São José as seen during the walk up Rua Marcus Aurélio Homem. Note “Igreja’ (church) São José” painted on the wall.

As an institution, CSJ also plays a more direct welfare role—they provide psychiatric, social work, and dentistry services for the children at Casa São José. CSJ effectively raises Serrinha children through offering them the necessary, multidimensional support that the state should be offering. Milana stated that in Brazil, while the state should be responsible for these things, though “it is the duty of the state” to offer these services, they do not allocate nearly enough funding into those things. Casa São José is partially funded through the state, but the state pays only the bare minimum for the institution to run—for electricity and the contracted employees. CSJ fundraises the rest. Grassroots efforts and primarily private donations, not the state, finance the ‘additional’ services of the neighborhood institution that provide multidimensional support.

Like in many favelas, there is an amalgamation of poverty, lack of education and jobs that generates empty space in Serrinha. The presence of a drug market fills those gaps with the allure of money. This in turn generates violence and perpetuates the neighborhood's issues as kids use the drug market as a means to sustain themselves. This is why Milana emphasizes the importance that CSJ partners with Jovem Aprendiz, a national Brazilian program that connects adolescents with their first jobs. Jovem Aprendiz provides an alternative for Serrinha young adults to earn money starting at the critical age of fifteen, when kids can no longer be matriculated at CSJ.

Compatibility of Identity and Development

As a community institution, CSJ is hugely important in that it provides kids the opportunities to break the cycles that maintain Serrinha. It is important to note the relationship CSJ has with state projects such as Jovem Aprendiz. This is interesting because it may suggest that subaltern institutions, or at least those created to address the absence of the formal, are still dependent on the formal. Of course, CSJ cannot be expected to fix all of the neighborhood's problems single-handedly. But, their dependency on private donations from organizations and residents of formal neighborhoods, and on the state for whatever funding and for partnerships like Jovem Aprendiz, leads to an important series of questions. Is there a possibility for advancement and enhanced accessibility of things like education and health without formal institutions? Do subaltern institutions cap out at being complements rather than substitutes?

To understand this, examine the makeup of Casa São José's workforce. Of the institution's seventeen paid employees, thirteen are from outside of the neighborhood. For example, Milana is the coordinator of the institution, but lives in Estreito, a neighborhood of Florianópolis that is not even on the island. The normative city is entering Serrinha, ultimately

commanding a form of power and building dependence within the neighborhood. In ways, this has the potential to become problematic. I asked Milana how often kids from CSJ got involved with drugs and she said, “we hear about very few CSJ kids who get involved with drugs as adults, but of course, there are some. We can’t save everyone.” Though this is rooted in good intentions, it places the Serrinha identity below that of other places and the normative in a savior role. If each subaltern institution is a substitute for the normative, or at least created directly in relation with the normative institution, then the savior complex Milana touched on introduces another question. Is there any relationship that a Serrinha resident or institution can have with the normative that does not always place Serrinha distinctly lower—whether it be through the direct neglect of service or through a savior complex?

The Residents’ Association as Government

The Residents’ Association of Serrinha (*Associação de Moradores da Serrinha*) is by far one of the greatest assets of the community. Martim and Silvana are participants well-known in Serrinha through their involvement leading the Serrinha Evangelical group each week at Ana’s house. However, they live not in Serrinha but in a formal neighborhood, Pantanal, acting as the perfect balance of understanding and other-ness in perspective. When interviewed, both Martim and Silvana praised Serrinha’s Residents’ Association, identifying it as “infrastructure” of the community and describing it positively: “very organized,” “well-managed,” “another political system.”

Martim and Silvana also noted that the Association is a thing that places the quality of Serrinha above neighborhoods like their own, which is missing a grassroots political system like that in Serrinha. Residents’ Associations are extremely common in favelas and act exactly like a true democratic, government system because “officers are elected by members of the

community” (Leeds 70). Middle-class neighborhoods like Silvana and Martim’s do not have a need for this, as the formal municipality serves them. When neighborhoods like Trindade and Pantanal need things like leaks fixed, they are obliged fairly quickly. Because Serrinha is not obliged similarly, the Residents’ Association must step in to bridge the gap.

This subaltern institution works like this: similar to the formal government, candidates for positions such as president of the community campaign around the neighborhood. Then, residents vote. In the last election only two people ran, so these are small-scale. Once elected, the president is responsible primarily for condensing the voices of Serrinha into one and communicating this to the formal government through making meetings with the city. Brazilian bureaucratic processes are time-consuming and complicated—the Residents’ Association system cuts down on time and demands. It is through this relationship with the formal city that leaks, landslides, and even the building of community plazas in Serrinha are addressed. The Association even conducts door-to-door censuses of the neighborhood. As a consequence, the people involved with the Association are well-known around the community and liked, like Tiago. The Association acts in parallel to the formal political system, filling a gap that only neighborhoods like Serrinha exhibit. Therefore, it is the lack of the formal city that directly gives rise to the subaltern institution.

Only the people of the Association make it an institution. The Association does not have a physical building like CSJ does or buying spots like Dois does. The Serrinha Residents’ Association is completely and purely a product of human collaboration. Martim said, “there is such a sense of residents that it becomes infrastructure, politically speaking.” This is beautiful in that it emphasizes the social assets within Serrinha and residents’ imagined interconnectedness as a community. It is also fairly inconvenient for the Association since they lack a meeting or event

space. However, the subaltern institutions within Serrinha cooperate—CSJ lends their building and outside area to the Association when it is needed. In another way, this highlights the central importance of CSJ in Serrinha.

The Association is also responsible for organizing community events around Serrinha, such as barbeque parties and holiday events where they give gifts to kids since many parents cannot afford to. One participant said that she and her husband have gotten to know many of the other community members through the Association's events. Thus, through providing the opportunity for the community to gather, the Association is the foundation for the community building process in Serrinha. Most importantly, however, is their role in educating Serrinha residents to be more "attentive to their rights" (Milana) by circulating information and allowing people to vocalize concerns to the formal city. This falls into the Brazilian pattern that Jaguaribe describes: "major metropolitan centers share the contradictory predicament of increasing democratization and an awareness of civil rights in the midst of economic stagnation and unabated social inequality" (68). By providing a platform for community democracy and civil rights awareness, Serrinha's Residents' Association gives voice to the community in the face of inequality, poverty and otherwise muteness in Florianópolis.

But with the unarguably necessary existence of the subaltern institution comes the lessening of pressure on the normative state to improve themselves. It is much easier for the city to use the corollary of the Residents' Association, especially to limit community requests, instead of to expand services and integration. Again, this most likely has economic motivations, as the city has very little social or financial capital to gain from investing in Serrinha and its residents. The city's neglect demands a subaltern institution. Yet, a competent subaltern institution makes it easier for the city to do the bare minimum. Thus, the cycle continues. In

practicing a paramount agency, Serrinha's subaltern institutions ironically carve deeper the distance between Serrinha and the city.

Dois as the Police and Law

One night at dinner, Tiago and Ana's oldest child, Laura, a very stubborn and very self-respecting pre-teen, recounted a threat she made to her classmate. Because Laura receives a scholarship, she is able to go to a private school where the other kids are predominantly from wealthy families. As thirteen-year-olds tend to do, one classmate bullied Laura for being the daughter of a maid and from a poor neighborhood. And with pride, Laura recounted her retort to the bully: "I am from the streets, and if you mess with me I will sic the drug gang on you." Even as a thirteen-year-old, Laura understands the existence of a powerful subaltern system in Serrinha, her connection to it as a part of the community, and even, in her verbalizing Serrinha as 'the streets', the neighborhood's identity.

In Serrinha, there is a subaltern 'system of laws' that, like in many other favelas, "developed as a result of the immense gap left by an absent state" (Huguet and Szabó de Carvalho 97-98). This system of laws is created and enforced by the local drug traffickers or gang, who severely and violently punish those who disobey their rules (ibid. 99). Scholars within anthropology and social sciences provide evidence that favela neighborhoods like Serrinha exist stuck between the violence of the formal (official police entities) and the informal (drug traffickers) (Garmany 724). As such, neighborhoods under this type of system are dubbed as existing in the 'parallel state.' Within this liminal space (see Figure 5) in which neighborhoods like Serrinha are caught, the informal system triumphs. Within the favela, residents receive safety and harsh but clear law. Outside the favela, individuals exist "loosely," untethered by protection of the police or government (Jovchelovitch 92). The police often have less positive

relationships with the neighborhood (Garmany 724) than the drug faction has with favela residents.

Scholar Elizabeth Leeds states, “parallel power structures thus have arisen in a space left empty by the lack of truly protective state structures” (78). However, anthropologist Ben Penglase disagrees with Leeds. Instead of being ‘parallel states’ that are “enabled by the state’s absence from poor neighborhoods,” Penglase argues that drug traffickers’ power is not built in the absence of the normative state but entirely on the tension between favelas and the police (47). The residents’ distrust of the police is a direct result of police prejudice and brutality, and partly allows drug factions to impose their own rule.



Figure 5: A staircase and houses near Ana and Tiago’s house. Layouts like these both hinder police from entering and allow a drug presence to proliferate.

The tension that the police bring is palpable. On the way from Lourenço's house to the brechó one day, Lourenço and I were walking behind his cousin, César, and bumped into him when he suddenly froze. Annoyed, we asked César why he stopped, and he whispered to us, pointing out a line of three police cars down the street in the direction we were headed. César and Lourenço looked at one another and César turned to look at me, saying he was going back home because he was scared. I stood conflicted in the street, noticing the extreme silence and lack of movement on a street where people usually play music loudly over stereos, where cars and motorcycles and people are always moving noisily. Until the police cars left it felt like everything was moving as silently and undetectably as possible.

Tiago later explained that in Serrinha, “the police are being extremely ignorant with the community residents. They have a lot of prejudice, and thus do not arrive in the community in the way they should. They should be our defense, right? But they are brutal to us.” As a result, and following data patterns in other Brazilian favelas (Leeds; Perlman), many Serrinha residents I talked to prefer the local drug faction to the police. Echoing the ideas of Penglase, Dois reigns not because the police create an empty space, but because police create a space full of tension. As Penglase notes, “thus, the state and nonstate actors are co-participants in the creation of a state of insecurity” (47). The co-created system offers residents either an unpredictable, inequitable protection, or a communal protection that comes with absolute repercussions when authority is disobeyed. This convoluted, suffocating system forces residents to choose, at most, a lesser-of-two-evils.

The Safety-Stigma Tradeoff: Forced Place Cohesion

Dois works in Serrinha as a ‘law of the Traffic.’ In making law and protection, their power or presence acts as an alternate form of police. “Whether you want it or not, [Dois] is protection and safety” (Tiago). Lourenço and César locked the door to their house, but always left their single pair of keys in a flowerpot in front of the house. It was far from subtle. But they never faced the fear of being robbed because Dois strictly prohibits robbery and assault within the community. The penalty for committing a crime within the community would be suffering the punitive violence enacted by the traffickers. In extreme cases of misbehavior, the “guys from the drug faction will kill you” (Rafael Junior). Leeds found that the situation is the same in many favelas, where criminal behavior is met with punitive action (61). A local bar owner and Serrinha resident since birth, Rafael Junior, articulated that the misconception of danger within the community is unjust because this informal system actually works “better than the local government.” As a result, Serrinha is more or less safe for its own residents and for the kids there. Garmany cites Perlman’s work: “favelas are (for those who live there) ‘internally safe and relatively free from crime and interpersonal violence’” (724). However, there are implications of this internal security for the communities surrounding Serrinha that ultimately play into the perpetuation of stigma against the neighborhood.

While within Serrinha, Dois has control and does not permit robbery and assault, their control does not extend past the borders of the community. In other words, Dois does not eradicate crime but simply encourages, however indirectly, the transfer of crime from Serrinha to neighborhoods like Saco de Limões, Trindade, and other ‘middle-class’ neighborhoods around UFSC. Those within Serrinha who wish to rob migrate to other neighborhoods at night, and it is partly for this that much robbery and petty crime occurs around UFSC. From 2011 to 2016, Trindade reported 696 instances of robbery, with the majority percentage being armed robbery of

passersby (Alves 41, 53). Of course, being reported instances, there may be more incidents going unregistered. And though I could not find reports stating the neighborhood of origin for the perpetrators, the accounts of many Serrinha residents imply that at least a portion of those crimes are committed by criminals from Serrinha.

Therefore, through Dois' control and protection within Serrinha play the role of a subaltern police system, Dois has simultaneously deepened divisions within the neighborhood and the formal city. As crime migrates, residents of the formal neighborhoods in which the crimes do occur continue to fear and generalize Serrinha. In this way, Dois circuitously operates to "preserve and sustain the existing system, even as they deepen some of its internal contradictions" (Harvey 239). By addressing the inadequacy of the formal protective state in Serrinha, Dois deepens the negative, existing relations between Serrinha, the formal police, and the formal city. Like Roy analyses rap music to be, Dois is a "paradoxical [form] of social agency that troubles, disrupts and expands the realm of subaltern urbanism" (232). Protection based on neighborhood residence and generalized reputations for Serrinha force the place into one cohesive identity, so subaltern institutions like Dois are ultimately culpable for much of Serrinha's internal and external place-identity.

Conclusion

In a way, the subaltern institutions of Casa São José, the Residents' Association, and Dois invoke a sense of community and place-identity for Serrinha. They address a lack of government, adequate police protection, and welfare through providing alternative systems. Ultimately, the relationship between the formal city and Serrinha is directly linked to the existence of each of those subaltern institutions, especially as they relate to the neighborhood's classification as a favela. The Dois exploration clarifies that a sense of community for Serrinha

residents can negatively affect their relations with the rest of the city, as the consequence for security within the neighborhood is, ironically, outsiders' greater fear of Serrinha. There are of course, benefits of Doís when you are a part of the community: "people respect one another. Nobody invades the space of others, you can leave your things around and no one messes with it" (Lourenço). The sense of community based on place of residence is strong, accentuated, and even forged through the existence of local institutions, even if part of it fortifies the externally imposed identity of Serrinha.

Whatever the mechanism through which the subaltern intensifies place-identity, the understanding is that the community is very dependent on itself. One participant, Santi Junior, expects much from Serrinha and its institutions, articulating that Serrinha's improvement and development is partly its responsibility, not just the city's. The neighborhood is proudly for itself, as history has shown. Yet, there should be a balance between independence and dependence for Serrinha, especially in questions of development. However, this balance is ambiguous since the lines between subaltern and formal institutions are so blurry. Though subaltern institutions have emerged from below to meet the absence of the formal state, there are macrostructural constraints on the subaltern. Casa São José could never overtake the state, but is it enough to permanently address the welfare necessities in Serrinha? Can poverty ever be addressed from the grassroots? These are questions larger than Serrinha. However, subaltern urbanism is not only a tool to disseminate an empowered urban account of the periphery, but to completely alter the discourse surrounding development. If, like Rafael Junior says, the subaltern works better than the formal, then subaltern urbanism is a means to reimagining urban power and capability. We should focus on reinforcing subaltern systems rather than attempting to integrate

neighborhoods like Serrinha into the formal. There is no reason that all parts of a city must function under the same institutions—they already do not.

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