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# 1 Narrating Inquiries

Narrating Inquiries about the São Paulo experience.

## 1.1 Structural//Complexity

actors	collectives	movements	individuals	groups
places	public spaces	cultural	self determined	institutional
	abandoned	settlements		
standpoint	jail	crime	addict	individual
	movement	in street situation		
aims and goals	visibility	dignity	right to the city	participation
	work	housing	health care	education
	access to the city			
roles	passive observer	observing participant	participating observer	
actions	street cinema	workshops	psycho drama	housing occupation
	daily solidarity	film making	manifestations	recycling
	mini-feira	open university	collective lunch	festivals
	street journals			
organizing	rules of conduct	assembly	horizontal	vertical

Table 1.1 keywords são paulo diaries

## 1.2 São Paulo//Diaries

Contains a selection of narrated diaries.

## Penaforte

*N.* is a friend that I got to know on a Sunday in July, by coincidence, at the entry of **REF MISSING(Ay Carmela)**. At this day I met with *R.* there and *N.* suddenly passed by with a friend of him. They were heading towards **Parque Dom Pedro<sup>1</sup>**, but *R.* and *N.* are friends and so we started talking and **headed through the neighbouring streets (p.24)** later on that afternoon.

*N.* doesn't live on the streets (he said that he stayed only one month on the streets, back in the 80ties) but normally spends his time with the people at **LOC MISSING(Praca da Sé)**, **LOC MISSING(Largo São Francisco)** and other central areas. He said that he is an '*informal streetworker*'. He said that he likes to talk and discuss with the **people in street situation** and tries to (re)establish their self confidence, tries to give them back the feeling that they are humans and just listens to their stories because not many others are doing so.

He said that he is doing what he is doing because one of the realities of the streets is that the realities of the **people in street situation** are nearly **invisible** for the eyes of the always running citizens, although their presence is massive, especially in the **LOC MISSING(centre of the city)**, but throughout São Paulo as well.

After I met him the first time we didn't see for some weeks but ran into each other again at **LOC MISSING(Praca da Sé)** one day at late afternoon, when *I.* and I were just coming from **LOC MISSING(OCAS)**, our destination **LOC MISSING(Praca de República)**.

He was sitting with two friends on a bench. One young boy, below twenty, and an older guy with a long grey beard, couldn't speak fluently anymore. Their appearance, hands, faces, foots, shoes, clothes, marked by the streets. We embraced us all like family and friends. *N.* introduced us and said that he was spending this afternoon there, at **LOC MISSING(Sé)**, together with his friends, talking and listening.

He then invited me to join him for lunch on the following Sunday at **community refectory [Refeitorio Communitario]**<sup>2</sup> at **Consolacão**<sup>3</sup>, usually called **Penaforte**.

**Penaforte** is one of those places that exists throughout the city where receive, among others, free breakfast or lunch, sometimes opened every day, sometimes at particular days only. I several times with different people to different places, scattered over the centre. This time, with *N.* we planned to go there for lunch on Sunday. Our Sunday was special because a **Grupo de Sopa [cooking crew]** from the **welche?** church was supposed to cook then. Today's group is coming once a month, in order to prepare food for the people.

So, we met on the next Sunday at around 11:30 a.m in front of **Penaforte**, at the margins of **LOC MISSING(Bela Vista)** and **LOC MISSING(Consolacao)**. **LOC MISSING(Penaforte)** is not far from the centre, from **LOC MISSING(República)**

<sup>1</sup> Parque Dom Pedro: <http://osm.org/go/M@zihBwQr->

<sup>2</sup> Refeitorio Communitario: <http://bit.ly/mSREPy>

<sup>3</sup> Consolacão: <http://osm.org/go/M@y3X2vUO-->

or [LOC MISSING\(Anhangabú\)](#), maybe a 15 minutes walk. On the map it is even closer to [LOC MISSING\(Avenida Paulista\)](#), the avenue that symbolizes the high-speed of city, its wealth and informality. I guess I cannot properly describe [Paulista](#) in just a few words, but the reality that is visible just starting a few meters from here, climbing upwards through a steep and wealthy belt of high-risers is quite different than ours here on the streets, waiting for lunch.

Its already hot, like 30 degrees or more, and even though the doors are still closed and lunch is going to be served that day around 01:00 p.m, a huge crowd of people, probably 200+, has already gathered and more are arriving continuously, waiting in front of the building, occupying the side-walk and parts of the street. The crowd consists mainly of men, a few women, I saw perhaps 5, and some homosexual men.

Right at the entrance to the street, a 3 or 4 floors high [abandoned and barricaded building](#) starts to occupy the space till the house that hosts [streets+refeitorio+penaforte](#). Such a long queue of people without house are waiting for food in front of an abandoned building.

#### *bild vom dem leeren haus bei penaforte*

When N. came he embraced some people that he knew, we talked a little in the shadows of the buildings on the other side of the street, waiting. The general atmosphere is rather depressed, people are waiting, alone, or with their own small crowd, sometime talking, often just silent. The people that are occupying the margins of the streets are laying on [cardboard \[Papelão\]](#), the others sitting or standing. I see many ordinary looking people, normal clothes rather then run down, one guy wearing a suit, appearing more business like. N. told me that most of the people are coming from [Albergues](#) and that those in situation of the streets [day and night] are only the minority here. I did not ask why... On [REF MISSING\(other occasions\)](#) I learned what the it is supposed to mean to live in [Albergues](#).

After a while, maybe 20 minutes after we met, two cars of the [municipal civil police \[Guarda Civil Municipal\]](#). The [Guarda Civil Municipal \[GCM\]](#) appears, stops, and 4 police men and women get out the cars. The two cars pull in at the other side of the street, while the 4 officers straightly approach those people laying on the cardboard, ordering them to leave the street immediately to return on the side-walk, which all of them do after some discussion with those officers. This street is little frequented by cars on that Sunday and the side-walk is already crowded with people waiting.

After that action, the officers return to the other side of the street where one of their cars is still parking, waiting in the shadow of the adjacent building while observing the scene. The other police car is passing by once in a while. I asked N. why they are at all because for me it appeared solely as a demonstration of power sending the guys away from the street. N. said that they always stop once they pass by because they know that during that time, many people are here and they looking for 'troublemakers'.



**Figure 1.1** BelaVista: Police intervention in front of Penaforte (cc-by-sa Author)

*The GCM is one of actors in the São Paulo that are actively engaged in oppressing people in street situation* REF MISSING(referenzen zu berichten über die polizei, condepe, park, policia militar, etc)

Then suddenly, two men from the crowd near the entrance, start to argue, first shouting loud, then starting to fight, mainly pushing each other around. The reason is not obvious because N. and I also stay on the other side of the street, talking. The waiting police is intervening immediately, trying to separate them with batons in their hands, shouting on them and pushing them away from each other. People from inside the house are joining the scene as well, trying to calm down the two guys as well as the police.

N. said that its sad to see that the people are still fighting against each other although they are all in similar situations. In this case the fight was probably for a better position in the line.

After a while, the scene settled down again, the police returned to other side of the street, continuing observing the scene and finally the doors are opened and the waiting people are entering the building. Lunch is ready.

We wait a bit and follow once everybody is inside. We enter a huge hall, mainly equipped with rows of tables and chairs, crowded immediately and no space for everybody to sit. We are standing and waiting as well. Even though many people are inside, the atmosphere is still very dense and depressing, people are not talking much, just waiting for their food.

At Penaforte one must be registered in order to receive a meal. Everyone is supposed to possess a piece of paper that proves that he or she is registered. This paper must be shown at a counter at the entrance, additionally, everybody puts his or her name on a list of attendance. Among food, the place offers medical support once a month, has a small library, a small basketball/football field in the backyard, and offers several empowerment workshops such as creation of artesian crafts. Penaforte is existing since 2000 and is organized and maintained by RedeRua (p.??) in cooperation with the REF MISSING(Prefeitura de São Paulo) (RedeRua, web).

On this Sunday, the people formed groups in order to receive their lunch. When I was there with I. some days before (p.??), the lunch was distributed directly in the huge hall to everybody, this time, each group receives their lunch in the basement floor, accessible for all over a long ramp. Each group has to wait until the previous one has finished. 4 or 5 groups have been formed, which altogether rush through their lunch in little more than one hour. Once a group is finished they almost immediately leave the place.

Once we finished, everybody leaves soon, just a few stay a bit longer, talking to the assistants and volunteer workers. N. and I also stay longer, talking a young guy that lives in an Albergue close by and looking at the newly published Guia da Rua (p.??) whose aim is to raise awareness about the legal rights of the people in street situation.

After some time we leave as well, together with the guy, in order to take a walk to the centre, chatting about the coming elections []which has been held



**Figure 1.2** BelaVista: Police intervention in front of Penaforte (cc-by-sa Author)

last Sunday]. For the guy, none of the candidates are an option because the situation on the street never improved during the last years, instead, it became more and more difficult, with more and more people entering the streets, thus he don't believe in any of the politicians and prefers not to vote at all. He is also upset by not having access to information concerning the streets. He says that he stays in an **Albergue** in the central area and do not know when a new **Albergue** gets opened or closed, this kind of information never arrives at him. He said that he heard about a new **Albergue** at **LOC MISSING(Lapa)**

weeks after its opening and if he had known he would have tried to get a place there because he cannot stand the people at his place, to many of them are aggressive. From there we entered the question of mobile phones and the ridiculous high rates for calls imposed by any operator in Brazil, which simply doesn't allow him to afford and use one<sup>4</sup>. The young guy left us at some corner and N. and I were wondering how it came that he had to enter an **Albergue**. During our walk N. was telling him that he should keep his spirit up and that his situation is not forever. What else could he do?

Finally we arrived at **LOC MISSING(Anhangabú)** and split up to go our own ways for that day. N. was always busy and organizing things and was heading towards some appointment that day. Before we split we made an appointment to **meet for lunch (p.15)** at the following Tuesday at **LOC MISSING(Padre de Chá)**, a place run by the Franciscan church, close to **LOC MISSING(Praca da Sé)**.

## Around//Praça de Repúblíca

Everytime I met I. at **ocas** we finally walked by foot from **bras** to **república** in the centre. I. walks everyday, in the morning from his **albergue** to several spots in the city, often to **ocas** in **bras**, to temporal work or to his **syndicate**. In the evening he stays at **república**, right in the centre, before he returns, still by foot, to his **albergue**.

During this walks we often encountered unexpected situations and other people from the streets. Especially around **república** at night, another type of citizens is representing the streets, certainly different from the people that frequent the same region by day on their ways to their offices, shops and working places.

### **república**

and its adjacent and diverging streets at night means the encounter of informal DVD vendors ( [translation missing] ), informal food, **Cachaça** and softdrink distributors, circulating military and civil police, street population, **Catadores**, drag kings and queens, normal pedestrians and other inhabitants of the centre, all passing, meeting and doing business there.

Praça de  
República

At night, when the shops are closing, pretty much garbage is dumped in the pedestrian areas forming big piles, often **to the benefit(?)** of the

<sup>4</sup> for statistics about phone operators and prices take a look at (**Horst, 2009, web**)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> New Media Practices in Brazil: <http://bit.ly/oLYxid>

**Catadores** which are even more present at night than during the day, gathering there and loading their [translation missing] with Cardboard (**Papelão**) or other recyclable materials.

Immer wenn I. und ich uns in **ocas** getroffen haben sind wir von dort zum **republica** zu Fuß gelaufen. Immer der gleiche Weg über das **viaduto25demarco** nach **se** und von dort über das **viadutocha**, durch die Fußgängerzone zum **republica**.

I. geht eigentlich jeden Tag zu Fuß, egal wohin. Morgens geht es los von seiner **albergue**, ins Zentrum, ins Internetcafé, zu temporärer Arbeit, in sein **sindicato** oder nach aLocationEcas. Im Laufe des Tages gibt es Essen in einem der **casadeconvivencia** im Zentrum oder in den angrenzenden Vierteln. Dorthin zu Fuß ist die Norm. Abends hängt I. meistens am **republica** rum, bevor es zurück in die **albergue** geht.

Während unserer Streifzüge durch die Straßen sind wir oft in unerwartete Situationen geraten und haben viele Andere von den Straßen getroffen. Besonders Nachts transformiert sich das Zentrum, um **se**, **luz**, oder **republica** mit seinen angrenzenden und abzweigenden Straßen und Wegen auf denen andere Bewohner und Besucher\_Innen des Zentrums das Bild prägen . Sie passen nicht in das tägliche Gewusel von rennenden Menschen auf ihrem Weg zur Arbeit, zum Shoppen oder ins Büro.

Während Abends die Geschäfte im Zentrum schließen, sammeln sich um **republica** die DVD Verkäufer mit Ihren mobilen und informellen Ständen voller **Kopien(?)** aktueller Filme und Musik, die informellen **cachaca**, Alkohol und Erfrischungsgetränke VerkäuferInnen mit Ihren Ständen, ergänzt durch das Angebot von fahrbaren **Kochwägen(?)**, dazwischen die **catadores** die alles brauchbare wie **papelao** aus den riesigen Müllbergen extrahieren, die die Shops tagtäglich im Zentrum anhäufen. Militär und Zivil Polizei ist immer präsent auf ihren Patrouillen zu Fuß oder in **viadutos(?)**, auf der Suche nach aller Arten von informellem Business.

Die Straße wird zum Treffpunkt der Straßenbewohner\_Innen, Drag Queens und Kings, Kinderbanden, Bewohner\_Innen der Region, Jugendlichen auf Ihrem Weg zur **galleriaderock**, **nigerianischen(?)** oder **bolivianischen(?)** Immigranten, uns allen, die vorbeigehen, sich treffen und stehen bleiben und Teil dieser abendlichen Szenerie werden.

## Sad Encounter

Ich hab I. an einem Montag in **ocas** getroffen. Abends sind wir Richtung **republica** gegangen. Auf dem schon oft gegangen Weg durchs Zentrum über **rua25demaio(?)**, treffen wir eine Freundin von I. , eine scheinbar mittelalte Frau. Sie scheint total am Ende, ihr Gesicht ist blau und grün und geschwollen, und Tränen überströmt.

Sie bittet I. um Hilfe, denn sie weiß nicht wo sie ist und wie sie zu ihrem Schlafplatz kommen soll, der ganz in der Nähe zu sein scheint. I. kenn den Ort

auf jeden Fall, er ist wohl ca. 15 Minuten zu Fuß entfernt. Sie bittet ihn sie zu begleiten aber I. möchte nicht mit ihr gehen sondern erklärt ihr stattdessen den Weg. Zuerst ist sie sehr enttäuscht und bittet ihn mehrere Male eindringlich, nach einiger Diskussion ist dann erstmal alles ok. Sie beginnt zu erzählen dass ihr Mann sie gerade **extrem verprügelt hat** und sie total verloren ist. Wir beide stehen nur da hören uns ihre Geschichte an, ansonsten sind wir ratlos und wissen nicht was wir tun könnten. I. versucht sie zu trösten und dann macht sie sich auf den Weg

Nachdem sie uns beide umarmte und schließlich verließ, erzählt I. das die beiden schon seit zehn Jahren befreundet sind. Damals ist sie mit Anfang zwanzig aus **parana** nach São Paulo gekommen, so wie er. Seitdem lebt sie auf der Straße, ist zum Crack Junkie geworden, und mit einem Mann verheiratet der sie regelmäßig verprügelt. I. kennt Ihren Schlafort gut, denn sie ist übernachtet dort seit jeher. Er kennt auch ihren Mann und befürchtete auf ihn zu treffen wenn er sie dorthin begleiten würde. Für ihn ist gegenseitige Hilfe auf der Straße wichtig und notwendig aber er zieht eine Grenze wenn er eigene Probleme bekommen könnte, da seine Situation für ihn schon prekär genug ist.

Nach diesem traurigen Zusammentreffen gehen wir beide zu den in der Nähe stehenden **informellen Schnapsverkäufern** und teilen uns ein paar Pinnchen **cachaça**. I. lässt das eben erlebte nicht so recht los. Er macht sich sorgen was noch alles mit deiner Freundin passieren kann und entschließt sich morgen als erstes zu ihr zu gehen um zu schauen wie es ihr geht. Für I. gehört das Treffen von Freunden von der Straße zum Alltag, mit all diesen traurigen und schönen Momenten.

I. bleibt an diesem Abend besorgt und erzählt noch wie er vor einigen Tagen auf dem Weg durch **crackolandia** ausgeraubt wurde. Einer der **Crack Junkies** die um **luz** die Straßen bewohnen verfolgte ihn und zwang ihn seine Jacke abzugeben. Danach sollte er auch noch seine Papiere rausrücken, was er aber nach viel Bitten nicht musste. I. meinte das der Verlust seiner Jacke nicht schlimm wäre im Vergleich zum Verlust seiner Papiere. Deren Verlust und Ersatz hätte viele Konsequenzen, bürokratische aber auch die Gefahr auf der Straße in eine Bullenkontrolle zu kommen. Außerdem hat I. mehrere Ausweise die ihm z.B. Zugang in die **[translation missing]** gewähren und so einen notwendigen Bestandteil zum erfolgreichen täglichen Überleben darstellen.

Wir uns am nächsten Tag wieder. I. ist sehr besorgt denn er ist morgens seine Freundin besuchen gegangen und fand sie nicht dort wo sie gewöhnlich anzutreffen ist. Nun macht er sich große Vorwürfe am Tag davor nicht für eine halbe Stunde mit ihr gegangen zu sein. Er macht sich Vorwürfe weil er wusste das es ihr bei unserem Zusammentreffen richtig mies ging und er zu egoistisch war und nicht in Ihren Konflikt mit reingezogen werden wollte. Nun ist sie nicht da und er weiß ob etwas mit ihr passiert.

I. schmeißt deshalb all seine Pläne für die nächsten Tage über den Haufen und entschließt sich seine Freundin in der Stadt suchen zu gehen. Er will verschiedene Schlafplätze auf der Straße und **[translation missing]** aufsuchen um nach ihr zu fragen.

I. verschwindet danach für drei Tage auf den Straßen São Paulos, zu Fuß auf der Suche nach seiner verschwundenen Freundin.

Die Situation im Zentrum war für mich ziemlich krass. Wir beide stehen dort und hören uns die Horrorgeschichte einer zerschlagenen Frau an, während um uns die Leute strömen und nur marginal von uns dreien Notiz nehmen. Vor allem die Hoffnungslosigkeit der Situation von I's. Freundin hat mich traurig gemacht da ich auch nicht wusste wie wir Ihr helfen können.

Auch die Geschwindigkeit und Plötzlichkeit mit der unsere vorher fröhliche Wanderung durch die Stadt innerhalb eines Sekundenbruchteils umschlug in hilfloses Dabeistehen und Erfahren einer Geschichte die sich überall in der Stadt zu jeder Zeit wiederholt und von der sonst keine Menschen mitbekommen hätten, war erschreckend. Dazu die Tatsache das I. in seiner eigenen, schon prekären Situation, noch die Kraft findet für mehrere Tage durch die Stadt auf die Suche nach einem Menschen zu gehen, ist für mich krass und zeugt für mich von einer total großen Wertschätzung der Leute untereinander, und einer anderen Wahrnehmung der Stadt und Ihrer Räume, in der es klar ist wo Menschen zu finden sind oder wo die Menschen der Straße untereinander Wissen wo sich die anderen Befinden oder potentiell aufhalten können. So wandelt sich eine Sache, die sonst eventuell nur einen Telefonanruf bedeutet, in eine Aufgabe die mehrere Tage in Anspruch nehmen kann, zusätzlich zum eigenen Überleben.

## Informal Streetlife

Almost every time we spent some time at **republica**, heavy police presence was

## Saturday's

An einem Samstag treffe ich A. , I. und zwei anderen im **parkOcas** unter den Metro-Schienen der **gelben Linie(?)** . I. **war betrunken und** hat als Erstes eine Runde mit meinem Fahrrad gedreht. Der Rest blieb im Park. In diesem [park0cas]<sup>6</sup> wohnen einige Menschen, hier treffen sich Jugendliche oder wir um **Weed zu rauchen und** abzuhängen oder es wird Fußball auf dem **eingezäunten Sandplatz(?)** gespielt.

Wir haben uns irgendwo an Tische gesetzt in deren Nähe 3 Jungs abhingen. Später kam ein Vierter dazu, der erst mit uns redete und später zu denen anderen ging. Die die öfter hier sind kennen sich oft und so begrüßen sie sich zuerst und tauschen Infos aus was in letzter Zeit passiert ist und ob alles in Ordnung ist, oder auch nicht.

Später rauchen die Vier **weed**, genauso wie wir. Während wir uns danach unterhalten kommt eine **[translation missing]** Patrouille die Straße entlang gefahren

<sup>6</sup> location:

und hält in unserer Nähe. Es steigen zwei **Bullen(?)** aus, gehen auf die vier Jungs zu und fordern sie ohne Zögern mit gezogenen Pistolen auf sich mit dem Gesicht zur Wand zu stellen. Alles passiert schnell und ohne Geschrei oder Gewalt. Bei den Vier wird **weed** gesucht, Personalien werden kontrolliert und mit der Basis über Funk abgecheckt. Die [\[translation missing\]](#) fand nichts, verwies die Vier aber aus dem **parkOcas**. Die **bulle(?)** warten danach noch einige Zeit, ohne dabei Anstalten zu machen uns auch noch zu kontrollieren, und fahren dann davon. Das alles dauerte ca. 20 Minuten.

Das Verhalten der Polizei kriminalisiert Menschen, oft Jugendliche, die sich in öffentlichen Plätzen treffen und verallgemeinert als potentielle Drogenkonsumennten betrachtet werden. Die Polizei verhält sich repressiv und demonstriert ihre Machtposition in dem sie ihre Kontrollen direkt unter Androhung von Waffengewalt durchführt. Interessant fanden wir dass vermutlich unser bunt gemixtes Aussehen, A. , dunkelhäutig mit Dreads und eher Reggaslastig gekleidet, Z. , auch dunkelhäutig, auch in ne Reggaerichtung gehend und ich als Weißer in schwarzen abgerockten Klamotten und die anderen beiden eher Jung, in Bermudas, T-Shirt und [\[translation missing\]](#) und unterschiedlichen **Alterserscheinungen(?)** die [\[translation missing\]](#) nicht dazu veranlasst hat uns auch zu kontrollieren, wir also nicht in das Bild der Gruppe von jugendlichen Drogenkonsumenten passten.

Unsere Diskussion handelte derweil von folgendem: Wie kann die Situation auf der Straße beendet werden?

Z. würde eine Kooperative gründen, mit 25000 Mitgliedern, mit all denen die auf der Straße leben. Jede\_r einzelne würde gefragt werden was er\_sie machen wollen würde. Die Kooperative würde den einzelnen Geld geben um die eignen Ideen umzusetzen, zB. wohnen, Kunst, Musik, etc. Er würde aber gleichzeitig 'einen teil der Methoden aus der Militär Diktatur' anwenden, also die Leute in den Knast stecken, die die gegebenen Möglichkeiten missbrauchen.

Weiter meint er das der [\[translation missing\]](#) und die Politiker von der Misere der Leute leben und keinerlei Interesse hätten etwas an der Situation der Straßenbewohner\_innen zu ändern, sprich mit den Menschen eine Möglichkeit zum Verlassen der Strasse zu überlegen und umzusetzen. Ein Beispiel sind die [\[translation missing\]](#) in denen den Menschen nur Fernsehen und Essen angeboten würde, nur um sie abzulenken, also passiver Konsum statt aktive Änderung. Deshalb macht seiner Meinung nach eine Kooperation mit dem Staat wenig Sinn.

Z. findet das der Glauben wichtig ist und das die Menschen eine gute Bildung benötigen die für alle zugänglich sein muss. Er sagt aber auch das nicht jede\_r von sich aus von der Strasse weg will oder kann. Das muss respektiert werden und in diesem Fall ist die Gesellschaft als Kollektiv verantwortlich diese Menschen nicht allein zu lassen. Das wäre seiner Meinung nach eine von vielen Möglichkeiten die Strasse zu verlassen, auch im Hinblick auf die für die Menschen in **carackolandia** (crackland), die schwer in selbstorganisation aus ihrer zerstörten Umwelt raus kommen werden.

In **carackolandia** sammeln und ergänzen sich die krassesten Effekte des Ausschlusses von Menschen durch die Stadt an sich: **Crack**, Junkies aller Altersklassen, extrem organisierte 'Kriminalität' vom Dealer bis zu Laboratorien, das Leben auf der Straße, tägliche und massive Sichtbarkeit von Polizei deren einziges Tun darin besteht die Menschen tagsüber öffentlichkeitswirksam durch die Gegend zu hetzten um große Ansammlungen zu verhindern oder aufzulösen.

Abends ändert sich dann das Bild ( crackolandias) komplett. **santaeffigenia** , eines der Viertel in der Gegend um **luz** , bei Tageslicht extrem wusselig mit Myriaden von Geschäften und Menschen auf den Straßen, einem Clustering von einzelnen Arten von Businessen pro Straße oder per Block, Fahrräder und Motorräder, Elektronikläden, Musikläden, Laptop und Handyshops, alles lässt sich finden und bestimmt tagsüber das Bild der Gegend.

Abends, nach 7 Uhr, nachdem die meisten Läden geschlossen wurden, sammeln sich hunderte von Crackjunkies in den gleichen Straßen die wenige Stunden vorher von ganz andere Menschen genutzt wurde. Es wird offen und ohne Angst Crack verkauf, 3-5 Reais pro [translation missing] (Crack Stein) und die Menschen schießen sich total ab.

Das ganze Treiben wird aus der Ferne von obligatorischen GCM Wägen und Bullen betrachtet, die aber meistens nicht einschreiten.

### **crackolandia**

ist ein Ort den die Leute von der Strasse meiden sofern sie nicht Teil der Crackszene sind. Es gibt deswegen auch unter den Straßenbewohner\_innen eine klare Abgrenzung und Aufteilung des urbanen Raums, mit unterschiedlichen Gruppen von Straßenbewohnern\_innen in unterschiedlichen Gegenden. **crackolandia** ist ein Beispiel von extremer **segregation**, **miocao** , **se** oder **republica** sind andere Beispiele.

Zurück zu unserer Diskussion: Alle scheinen irgendwas in Richtung Bildung machen zu wollen. Z. will Psychologie studieren und Musik machen, A. will Musik und anderes 'irgendwas' machen.

Einige Zeit nachdem die Bullen weg sind, kommt I. zurück, immer noch gut betrunken. Alle wollen zurück nach **ocas** gehen, nur er nicht. Deshalb machen wir uns zusammen auf den Fußweg zurück ins Zentrum.

Im Zeitraffer sind das etwas folgende Punkte in der zentralen Gegend São Paulos: von **parkOcas** in Richtung **viadutocha** , darüber und an den **tendas** vorbei, über **se** , dann ins **refeitoriarederua** in **bixiga** , nahe der **ruaaugusta** , durchs Zentrum zurück zu **republica** und schließlich auf den Markt der dort jeden Samstag stattfindet. Dann trennen sich für diesen Tag unsere Wege.

Während unseres Weges vom **parkOcas** wunderte sich I. das die PM keinen der 4 Jungs die kontrolliert wurden, mitgenommen haben. Das sei sonst die Regel weil sie immer jemanden mitnehmen (müssen). Die PM hält bei

solchen Aktionen die Knarren immer direkt ins Gesicht der ihrer Ansicht nach 'Verdächtigen'.

Außerdem war heute für I. Brasilien, São Paulo, die Paulistas, die Politiker und die Polizei eine einzige große Scheisse. 'Os paulistas podem se fuder, fuder mesmo e o resto do povo também'. I. meint das sich São Paulo nie ändern würde, höchstens immer schlechter werden.

Er erzählte das er von einem Organisator seine **sindicato** raus geschmissen wurde, was wohl der Grund für sein heutiges Saufen und seine Wut sein könnte. Seiner Meinung nach erzählen einige der anderen viel, machen aber letztendlich nix weil sie alle Drogen nehmen, Maconha (Weed), Cachaça (Zuckerrohr-Schnaps), usw.

Er will einen Kurs machen für den er eine Prüfung im Oktober bestehen muss. Er spricht viel über **Inclusão Digital**, die unter anderem notwendig ist um sich zB. für einen Kurs anzumelden, einen Lebenslauf zu schicken oder den Unterrichtsstoff aus dem Internet zu bekommen. Das erlernen der Tools (er benutzt Orkut, Facebook, Yaho und Googlemail) hat lange gedauert, etwas, das heute seiner Meinung nach viel einfacher für die ist die mit **NM/DK** aufwachsen.

Für ihn ist das Internet wichtig (obwohl er auch schon mal seine ganzen privaten Daten angibt um an einer Umfrage teilzunehmen). Da er keinen eigenen Computer besitzt sucht und kennt er alle Möglichkeiten Computer und Internet umsonst zu benutzen. Einige Orte wären zB die **galeriaolida** , **ocas** , **ay** , **metrose** , **culturalbancobrasil**?

.... in der **galeriaolida** zB. muss er immer seine Zeit im Voraus ausmachen und dann pünktlich sein da er pro Tag nur eine Stunde an den Computern sein darf (mit 10 Minuten Tolleranz). Er sagte das eine jährliche Vollmitgliedschaft in der **galeriaolida** 170R kosten würde, die er sich nicht leisten kann. In der **galeriaolida** ist er meistens Samstags und Montags Abends, ansonst **ocas** ....

Nach dem **viadutocha** gehen wir auf den **se** und treffen dort N. der uns für den nächsten Tag, ein Sonntag, zum Essen ins **refeitoriarederua** , wohin wir gerade schon unterwegs sind, einlädt. N. war zusammen mit einem älteren, ziemlich betrunkenen, Freund und einem Jugendlichen, höchstens 18 Jahre, schon mit vielen Anzeichen beginnender Zerstörung.

Auf der anderen Seite von **se** trafen wir einen weiteren Bekannten von der Straße, total zerstört. Er konnte nicht richtig reden und gab nur Laute von sich. I. meinte später, dass das die Realität auf der Strasse ist, die die Menschen alle verändert. Aber trotzdem seien sie alle Menschen und dürfen nicht auf der Seite liegen gelassen werden. Auch wenn es nicht möglich ist mit einigen von Ihnen zu reden, muss es immer versucht werden, und das macht I. immer.

Auf dem Weg von **se** Richtung **refeitoriarederua** erzählt I. , dass er alles was in der Stadt zum Überleben notwendig ist, am Anfang, als er vor 16 Jahren als Immigrant aus **parana** nach São Paulo kam, gelernt hat. In einer seiner Erinnerungen suchte er zu jener Zeit einmal einen Ort im Zentrum und fragte

die Bullen die er unterwegs traf. Die schickten ihn aber nach **Tucuruvi** in der nördlichen Zone (Zona Norte) der Stadt. Mit dem Bus und seinen letzten Reais investiert in die Fahrt kam er dort an, fragte rum, aber niemand kannte den Ort den er suchte, bis eine Frau im sagte das er ins Zentrum zurück müsse da sich dort der Ort befindet den er suchte. Die Bullen haben ihn also absichtlich in die falsche Richtung geschickt obwohl er sich schon ganz in der Nähe befand als er die Bullen fragte.

Wir kommen **refeitoriarederua** spät an. Das Essen wird drinnen schon verteilt und alle Menschen haben sich schon einen Platz gesucht. I. hatte fetten Hunger weil er gestern und heute noch nichts gegessen hatte, auch eine der täglichen Erfahrungen die er als Arbeitsloser der in einer **albergue** (statt auf der Straße) schläft macht.

Er meinte das die Menschen in den **albergues** um 5 Uhr morgens aufstehen müssen, auf einen ersten Kaffee warten und dann alle auf die Straßen verschwinden, viele als Ziel die **nucleosconvivencia**. Dort warten sie dann auf Frühstück oder Mittagessen. Danach bis zum Abend warten, wenn sie wieder in die **albergues** reingelassen werden.

das **refeitoriarederua** ist in **bixiga**, in der Nähe von **ruaaugusta** und war schon voll mit Leuten, fast alle Tische besetzt. Samstags und an den Feiertagen gibt es Saft und ein Brötchen, heute mit Wurst und Käse. I. meinte das sich die Leute sogar darum manchmal streiten und das viele Menschen die dorthin kommen nicht auf der Strasse leben, sondern auch in **albergues**.

Die Stimmung drinnen war mehr als gedrückt, nur wenige Menschen redeten miteinander, der überwiegende teil Männer, nur ein oder zwei Frauen. Einer der Mitarbeiter war cool und nett zu uns. I. wollte zuerst Wasser trinken, aber nicht das gefilterte sondern aus der Leitung :D

Nachdem Essen sind wir schnell wieder verschwunden, Zigaretten rauchend Richtung **republica** an einer **Besetzung** auf **ruamartinsfontes** vorbei, der Verlängerung von **ruaaugusta**. Unterwegs treffen wir immer wieder Leute die I. kennt. Auf der **25demaio** haben wir mit einem der [translation missing] Verkäufer über Fußball gequatscht. I. meinte das die Paulistanos immer denken das sie die besten sind, und der Rest [translation missing]. Und in Rio denken sie genauso. Das eigene Team ist immer am besten, der Rest sind nur [translation missing].

Am **republica** angekommen sind wir über den Markt den es dort immer Samstags gibt, gegangen und haben etwas gegessen, er **tamora(?)**, ich ein Stück Kuchen. Dort haben wir mit einem der **securities** geredet, der eigentlich aus Rio kam. Der erzählte irgendwas von einem reichen deutschen Typen der eine Brasilianerin geheiratet hat und hier ein fettes Business mit Holz oder so, am Start hätte. I. hat seine **tamora(?)** aufgehoben, für später, ich hab meinen leckeren Kuchen aber direkt aufgegessen und trennten sich unsere Wege für diesen Tag. Ein trauriger und schneller Tag.

Zum Schluss meinte I. noch das er jederzeit ein Interview mit mir machen würde, weil es seiner Meinung nach immer etwas bringt, bzw. hilft und einen Nutzen hat.

## ***Padre de Chá***

About a lunch at Largo de São Francisco.

### ***Day//Night//Streets***

Today, R. and I are going to realize our two days journey on the streets. We meet at [Ay Carmela](#), it's early in the afternoon. R. intention is to introduce me to the lived space of the people in street situation, that I experience how to organize daily life on the streets, how people support each other and how people are adversely affected by public policies, institutions and agents.

This week São Paulo is going to be [hit by a cold weather front](#) <sup>7</sup> [13/07/2010](#). It is already cold today, probably 15 to 20 degrees during the day but at night, temperature will drop to 10 to 12 degrees. It will start to rain as well.

heavy rain and its effect on the streets

Some days later heavy rain is basically stopping the movement in the city for one week. [Newspapers report impassable roads](#) <sup>8</sup> [14/07/2010](#) caused by floods throughout the city.

The cold weather has severe effects on the movement of the people on the streets. Those that are in streets situation will leave the lower places of the centre in order ascend the steep hills up to [Avenida Paulista](#)<sup>9</sup>. Looking at the city topographically, [Tendas](#) or [República](#) are located in the valleys of the surrounding hills. Once heavy rain hits the city, those lower places are much more prone to floods than the upper areas on the hills, where [Avenida Paulista](#) is located for instance. Thus heavy rains forces people to leave the lower areas and ascend upwards in order to avoid being flooded away and in order to find a more or less secure and dry place to sleep.

Even though those urban floods are not comparable to river floods, during the period of heavy rain small rivers pop up everywhere on the side walks and the streets because the city is sealed by constructions and water is searching its way wherever possible, accumulating in streams that make it impossible to sleep on the ground.

### ***Day One***

But for now, we start our journey downwards, descending [Rua Carmelias](#)<sup>10</sup> until it hits [Rua Frederico Alvarenga](#)<sup>11</sup>. There, at the corner we meet one of

<sup>7</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/mQxbEJ>

<sup>8</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/nrKPY7>

<sup>9</sup> Avenida Paulista: <http://osm.org/go/M@y3Wjuw>

<sup>10</sup> Rua Carmelias: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziKy3jL-->

<sup>11</sup> Rua Frederico Alvarenga: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziK8Ucu-->

R's. friends. He is sitting there at the corner most of the day, almost everyday. Right now he is sleepy and does not talk much. We do not stay long, R. is just asking how his friend is doing and then we continue. R. says that he knows him since he hits the streets, years back, and since then the guy always stayed at that corner every day.

We are heading towards the **Tendas**. They are not far away, just two streets, located below **Viaduto 25 de Marco**<sup>12</sup> where **Avenida Rangel Pestana**<sup>13</sup> traverse a branch of **Rio Tietê**<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> that crosses through the northern part of the city's central area.

We arrive at the junction where **Rua Dom Pedro II** and **Avenida Rangel Pestana**<sup>16</sup>

are crossing and meet another friend of R. . He tells us that the **GCM** has just taken all his possessions, his bag and all the goods he was selling on the streets because he could not show a permission as street vendor when **GCM** has been checking him. Thus he has just lost all means to generate income.

*loosing means to generate income*

We cross the street and entering the **Tendas [tents]**. **Tendas** is the name of an area converted to a public service that receives people in street situation. The **Tenda de convivência [Tenth of gathering]** at Parque Dom Pedro is a service provided by the Secretaria Municipal de Assistência Social of the Prefeitura de São Paulo <sup>17</sup>.

*entering the Tendas*

The **Tendas** at Parge Dom Pedro consists basically of a huge tent, open to one side, packed with people sitting on banks and chairs, in front of a TV. The backmost part is occupied for showers and toilets. Outside the big tent, groups of people are sitting everywhere, some of them talking, some just quite. The atmosphere is rather depressed. We talked to a social worker who told us that they are also offering workshops from time to time, such as **nochmal in meine aufzeichnungen schauen**. The **Tendas** are open during the day from 8h in the morning until 9h in the evening and closed for the night.

*woher kommen die leute nochmal? alberque oder strasse oder beides?*

*mehr über die tendas in meinen aufzeichnungen*

The **Tendas** are located at a spot of the centre that is usually not much frequented, except by cars that rush over the three lane avenue that is passing above them in order to traverse the river. It is noisy and the air is polluted by massive traffic that is circulating all day long from the centre to the eastern regions of São Paulo and vice versa. The traversals at **Parque Dom Pedro**<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Viaduto 25 de Marco: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziLozVF-->

<sup>13</sup> Avenida Rangel Pestana: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziLozVF-->

<sup>14</sup> Rio Tietê: <http://osm.org/go/M@zie@K>

<sup>15</sup> Rio Tietê at Wikipedia: <http://bit.ly/pvlcQg>

<sup>16</sup> Rua Dom Pedro II and Avenida Rangel Pestana: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziK3nYF-->

<sup>17</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/qImvjC>

<sup>18</sup> Parque Dom Pedro: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziLozVF-->

, thus above the **Tendas** , eventually connect the centre with Brás and the **Radial Leste**<sup>19</sup> highway that head towards the eastern margins of the city.

Especially the notion of artesian workshops becomes contradictory when we thought about the friend we met just before, who is actually living from vending artesian goods on the streets and who has been expelled by the police for doing so.

According to R. , the **tendas** are just another way of keeping people in their miserable situation because they do not provide a single proposal to sustainably improve the situation of the people. For R. they are solely a justification for public institutions, civil and police agents, to banish people from the central commercial areas and send them here because the city wants clean the commercial centre of all unwanted subjects. What awaits them at the **Tendas** is the just a TV, some workshops, food and sanitation. R. said that the chemical sanitation is dirty like hell and that he would not take a shower here anyway.

R. : *Look what people can do here. Nothing. They just sit in front of the TV all day long and wait until the place closes its doors at night. Tomorrow they will be here again but how can they improve their situation then?*

We leave the the **Tendas** after a while and head towards **Tendas** . R. says that a research has been released at the end of last year [2009] which determines the number of people in street situation in São Paulo between 13000 und 14000. He says that this number is way to low. According to the estimation of the very people on the streets, the number of could be between 20000 and 25000.

heading towards Sé

official census  
about people in  
street situation

The study conducted by **Fundação Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas [Fipe]**

[Institute of Economic Studies Trust] says that 13666 people in São Paulo are considered being in street situation, half of them staying in **Albergues** [7079], the other half staying on the streets [6587] (Schor and da Costa Vieira, 2009, p.4 )<sup>20</sup>.

R. complains that those numbers are wrong because....

<sup>19</sup> Radial Leste: <http://osm.org/go/M@zoEwXb->

<sup>20</sup> **Fipe** is private not-for-profit institute that supports research of the Faculty of Economy, Administration and Accountancy of the University of São Paulo (FEA-USP) (O que é a Fipe )

R. : You know what? Albergues are like human deposits. You have to wake up at 5 o'clock in the morning, you get a coffee and then they kick you out. You can only come back at night, punctual, depending on the place you are. Sometimes at 9 p.m sometimes later. The only thing you do there is sleeping. You cannot leave your stuff there because others will steal it and they don't allow you to keep your stuff there. There is nothing where you can deposit your stuff. And can you imagine that people stealing from others in the same situation?

R. : Sometime people make noise all night long, how can you sleep then? If you don't obey the rules they kick you out immediately, its like prison in there, but imagine people that lived on the streets for 10 years or so, how can one force them to obey those rules? Their life on the streets changed their behaviour, you cannot force them to follow rules that did not exist on the streets. I preferred to stay on the streets instead of being 'home' punctual, leaving my ID there and always being afraid that someone will come to take my stuff away. Its a human deposit. People are not empowered there, they are just taken from the streets for the night but left in their miserable situation. During the day you have to hit the streets anyway. Then people are just waiting to get back at night, that's all what happens when you go to the Albergue. It doesn't change anything.

R. : And how can it? Albergues are packed up. Mostly men are received there, a few of them are for mixed gender or families. But men and women are then always separated strictly. An what does the Prefeitura? They even close Albergues, alone last year X of them have been closed, all together about 1200 places, X at Y, X at Y and X at Y. One of them, Cirineu is located to the opposite of the Camerá Municipal. The politicians did not want to see the miserable reality in front of their faces so they just closed it. When new Albergues are inaugurated they are far away from the centre. People have to take public transport there, for example to and once they are there they won't come back to the centre because there is no work for them, their social network is not function there, as is does here in the centre and if they can't earn money they can't afford public transport back here. Its a convenient way for the city to expel people from the central areas and clean them up as positive side effect.

R. : Let's go there to Cirineu there at the Camerá Municipal, the one they closed some month ago, eliminating X places

So we are heading to the **Cirineu**, the **Albergue** opposite to the **Camara Municipal [Municipal Chamber]** at the corner of **Viaduto Jaceguai** and **Rua Santo Amaro<sup>21</sup>**.

We flow through the centre meeting people at every corner. The centre is the lived space that *R.* knows inside out. Literally every corner, every small street, every blind, wall, canopy, roof and loophole that protects from rain, wind and that protects one self from others. *R.* says that he never slept alone, they always stayed in small groups, with his **familia** that meant protection and reliance.

Here a street where *R.* slept with others for three years under a shop's canopy, every night until the place was secured with a lattice so that no one could sleep there any more once the shop closed its doors in the evening and the lattice shielded the canopy.

We already crossed **Viaduto do Chá<sup>22</sup>** and enter **Rua Barão de Itapetininga<sup>23</sup>** where we meet another friend of *R.* with his wife. This friend is not in street situation but works as a social worker for the public service whose agenda are the people in street situation. He tells us that he just has quit his job at the service because it was no longer possible for him to support what has been

<sup>21</sup> Viaduto Jaceguai and Rua Santo Amaro: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziIyW@E-->

<sup>22</sup> Viaduto do Chá: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJvMDT-->

<sup>23</sup> Rua Barão de Itapetininga: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJ5YHu-->

required from him in terms of forcing people away from the streets. R. and he are talking a long time because they have not seen each other for month.

Then we leave them and turn to **Anhangabaú<sup>24</sup>** and from there towards **Cirineu**, floating through the overground pedestrian way connecting the centre with the bus terminal **Terminal Bandeira<sup>25</sup>**. Here the same picture, everywhere friends and known faces R. is acquainted with, sitting in between the constant stream of people heading to the metro stations, the bus terminals or elsewhere.

From there we are climbing up the road to **Viaduto Jaceguai<sup>26</sup>**. Its getting dark, must be around 7 p.m. We just take a look at the place, there is not much to see, just the history is important. We continue, R. would like to show me one of those **Albergues** that receives families and mixed gender. Its located at **Rua São Domingos<sup>27</sup>**. At the entrance just an old woman waiting to get inside. We are staying here just a short while.

It is already dark now and the area is shady so we decide to return to the centre, to **Praca Ouvidor Pacheco e Silva<sup>28</sup>** for a short break and for organizing something to eat. Once we arrived there we are already 4 or 5 hours floating through the area.

**R. :** *Do you see how the city is constructed. Look here, do you see this walls? They shield the ventilators that are blowing warm air from the inside of the building. The shop just constructed those walls because people were sleeping on the lattices above the ventilation system. There has always been a warm stream of air. Especially with temperatures like today you would have seen the lattices full of people because its the only warm place here outside. Now they put those walls there to prevent that have an incentive to come and stay here. They think its not good for their business, but look, there so many people still sitting here and freezing today.*

<sup>24</sup> Anhangabaú: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJpyD2-->

<sup>25</sup> Terminal Bandeira: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI9Gin-->

<sup>26</sup> Viaduto Jaceguai : <http://osm.org/go/M@ziIyW@E-->

<sup>27</sup> Rua São Domingos: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI1R0e-->

<sup>28</sup> Praca Ouvidor Pacheco e Silva: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI@zJh-->

R. : *And have you seen those shops on the opposite of the Faculty of Rights? They installed those massive lattices there to prevent people to sleep below their canopies. But this is public space, they privatized public space by making it inaccessible and try to draw us out from here by preventing us to stay in areas that protects. And the Prefeitura is happy because now this private shop owners are doing the dirty business of installing stuff that is supposed to make our life even more difficult. The Prefeitura does not even need to do this because the people are doing it already. There at Sé you have already seen that the cathedral is entirely fenced. They fence a church that is supposed help everyone. Its a property of the church but this church is as worse as the Prefeitura. They only care about the tourists coming there to shoot photos but what is with those that used to sleep there, at those walls?*

R. : *You see, the centre used to support us in our daily struggle but now there is not even water in the dwells at Sé or República and only one public toilet in the whole area. We will go there tomorrow morning after we woke up. The city is ripped off every infrastructure that supported us. Have you seen benches somewhere? If there are benches they are too narrow to sleep on them. But most of the public spaces do not have any bench, and where are we supposed to wash our self or go to toilet. The public opinion is that we piss everywhere but what would you do without toilet living on the streets. And even to the bars you cannot go because you can use their toilets only if you buy something. Every citizens is struck by this situation but we are the guilty ones.*

R. says we have to wait until 9 p.m. because then **citizens** and **grupos de sopa** [Soup Kitchen] will arrive and distribute food. Till then we sit here on a low wall, around us other people, mostly men, waiting for the arrival of food. Its cold, we are freezing.

R. says that when you live on the street you need to learn from where you can get food for free, without money. Water is another problem because there are no public wells left in the centre, thus those that distribute food mostly also bring water. The distribution takes place at different spots in the central area, often in the evening.

There are other places such as courtyard of an **abandoned villa** alongside the **Minhocão** at **Rua Apa<sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup>**. R. says that the people in street situation below

the **Minhocão** are separated from those of the centre but also from those at Luz, they do not have much contact. We decide to go to Luz later on but that we spare **Minhocão** for tonight.

*I perceived the **Minhocão** as even rougher than the centre. It is hard for me to say, its probably the heavy car traffic and those traffic jams all day long, the pollution, the noise. Even it is not that long from the centre, its a different world already. I had never contact with people living there and those I met in the centre never went there as well.*

Around 9 p.m. the first van is entering the pedestrian area around **Praca Ouvidor Pacheco e Silva**<sup>32</sup>. Its a van of a **grupos de sopa**. They stop and one guy on top of the bed is distributing half litre plastic bottles of water to everyone that is approaching the van. R. and I are taking two because we didn't drink since the afternoon. We also get some bread and returning to our place. R. says

 R. : *Look how fast everything goes. They are not allowed any more to do this here.*

After some minutes the van has nothing left and is leaving the area. On the opposite of the place, another car is stopping, this time a father with his two kids. He opens the trunk of his car and takes out boxes with cups of warm food. The movement of the people is starting again. The family is passing the plastic cups with warm noodles, sauce and some meat to everyone. R. says that this family is doing this every week, always on the same day, at the same time. We talk with them shortly before they leave and they say that they had prepared around 80 portions at home for tonight. As fast as they arrived they leave. Their portions are distributed fast as well and within a couple of minutes all cups are gone. R. says that those that do not go to the **Tendas** or the **Albergue** have now probably got their first and last meal of the day.

*I feel a bit strange not eating the meat in my sauce but I leave it for R. . I would never complain about it because we were both hungry and no one would throw away stuff the other could eat. It is ridiculous to prohibit the self-organisation of food distribution. That people freely organise the distribution implies that they care about the situation in the city and that their practice is pragmatic and self-determined. They simply come to the place where the people are. Nothing more and nothing less.*

<sup>29</sup> Rua Apa: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziHwnfo-->

<sup>30</sup> **Minhocão** is the name of the elevated highway Presidente Costa e Silva and covers a large extend of **Avenida São João**<sup>31</sup>, leading from the centre to the West, to **LOC MISSING(Barra Funda)** . Some impressions of the **Minhocão** can be found at **Minhocão, 24 horas** . The **Minhocão** is open for traffic during the day but is closed at night and on Sundays all day long. There is much to say about that street, but this has to wait till another time.

<sup>31</sup> Avenida São João: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziNBCw>

<sup>32</sup> Praca Ouvidor Pacheco e Silva: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI@zJh-->

*some days later I found several newspaper articles about the same topic. They are arguing from the standpoint of the owners of commercial businesses in the central areas and from the standpoint of the cities public agents.*

*übersicht hier hin und nochmal auf die tendas eingehen.*

Seeing the car leaving we are also leaving the place, saying goodbye to everyone around us and heading towards **República**.

## The Night

Looking for a place to sleep.

## Day Two

Visiting more places, a emergency case and the final visit of CONDEPE.

## **Collective//aRUAcca**

### Meetings and Actions

T. : *Look, when you leave jail, you cannot return to your family or friends. They won't accept you any more, you are stigmatized. You are also stigmatized by the society because who wants to employ you or rent an apartment to you when you tell them that you come straight from jail. So you have no money and no perspective. You have just two options, either you enter the streets and you enter crime. The prison does not re-socialize you. You enter jail as a part time criminal but you leave it as a professional.*

## Interview with Ocupação Ipiranga

## **Encounters//Talks//Streets**

I would like to start with a citation by **Cleisa Moreno Maffei Rosa** taken off her book '**Vidas de Rua**' [Street Lifes] :

*No entanto, ficavam à mercê do controle burocrático exercido pelos órgãos governamentais e, no limite, reiteravam*

*ações imediatistas ligadas à higiene e alimentação, des-  
tituídas de conteúdo de natureza socioeducativa. Algu-  
mas organizações procuravam sobreviver sem verbas públi-  
cas, mas - a duras penas - recorriam a apoio de grupos  
solidários.*

*Não havia pesquisas, estudos ou levantamentos atualizados  
sobre essas questões, nem mesmo programas alternativos  
que apontassem para autonomia das pessoas atendidas nos  
serviços e participação nas decisões institucionais - ele-  
mentos fundamentais à conquista da cidadania da população  
de rua (Rosa, 2005, p.174 ).*<sup>33</sup>

R. lent me this book when we made up [our plan to hit the streets \(p.25\)](#). It is full of stories from people living in street situation, content from the standpoint of the streets, narrations so detailed that I do not need to intend to do the same. I have taken the quote above because it seeks for ways to practice autonomy, self-determination, participation and citizenship. The following narrations shall give a small insight into self-determined actions that are already practised, on small scale though, but with direct impact on various forms of struggle. However, the aspect of violence is also part of those narrations because violence in its various facets is part of the daily realities on the streets. It should not be neglected because it has an impact on social struggle.

### Around Ay Carmela

Today is the last Sunday of the month, its end of July. I went to [Ay Carmela](#) for [collective vegan lunch](#) that is organized [every last sunday](#)<sup>34</sup> of the month and met R. there.

We met the first time at the free mapping festival [você está aqui, mas por quê](#) - um festival de mappeamento livre<sup>35 36</sup> in June. R. knows the streets of city inside out because he was in street situation more than a decade and just recently, some month ago, managed to leave the streets and moved into an apartment.

He is super engaged in the struggle of the people because as he said, he constantly fears that people will continue to die on the streets because they lack everything and are prone to many forms of violence on the streets. He refers

<sup>33</sup> In the meantime we remain at the mercy of bureaucratic control exerted by governmental bodies and, at maximum, reiterate the immediate need of hygiene and alimentation, stripped-off content of socio-educative nature. Some organisations are seeking to survive without public aid, but - with heavy legs - run after the support of solidary groups. There exist no research, study or contemporary inquiry about those questions, no alternative programs that are directed to the autonomy of the people received at public services or to the participation in institutional decisions - fundamental elements for conquering citizenship for the street population.

<sup>34</sup> website: <http://ay-carmela.birosca.org/node/334>

<sup>35</sup> você está aqui, mas por quê: <http://ay-carmela.birosca.org/node/433>

<sup>36</sup> i am here but why: <https://rtc.noblogs.org/post/2010/07/25/i-am-here-but-why/>

to the massacre of 15 people in street situation in August 2004, killed by death squats of the military police and private security agents (Dossiê, 2009, p.63-64)<sup>37</sup> (o Trecheio, 2009, p.1)<sup>38</sup> but also to the current higienista [cleansing] policy of the city that aims to REF MISSING(clean the central areas) [such as Sé, República or Luz] off the people in street situation by expelling and forcing them through agents of civil service and GCM into social institutions such as the tendas at Parque Dom Pedro (p.15).

R. offered me a trip through the city, to show me around, literally, in order to get in touch with people in street situation but also to experience what is meant by **being** in street situation, how we then have to organize our day and night, our food and shelter. While making this plan, here at the entrance of Ay Carmela, a friend of R. is coming around, together with a teenager. It's N., with whom I will spend some time here (p.2) and there (p.15). N. says that he is accompanying the young guy because he cannot take care of himself. They are heading towards LOC MISSING(Parque Dom Pedro) and N's. stop and talk with us makes him quickly anxious continue their way.

R., like he is always doing, is introducing me, telling N. what I am doing in São Paulo, that we are making plans to stay on the streets. N. like he is always doing is super kind and says that he thinks that it is important that people outside Brazil get to know what is going on in São Paulo. N. does not stay long because his friend urges him to continue. N. says that he is dedicated to him today because he is still a very young guy, just recently entered the streets and he needs someone who shows him around, shows him the places that he should know. Before N. and his friend leaves we agree on meeting again later this afternoon, at the place where R. is living now.

Shortly afterwards we are heading towards R's. place. After arrival we fixed our plan first of all. R. said that we should stay at least one week on the streets, moving through different areas of the city, staying in the centre but also moving to the east, Brás, Mooca, Belem.

metting R. and N. for a trip through the centre

*I felt a bit uncomfortable because I just got acquainted to the city and did not feel ready for such a long trip.*

at R's. place

Our compromise is finally just an introduction, two days on the streets (p.15). Then, R. gave me a some material that he has been collecting about the struggle on the streets.

*hier können fotos von den sachen die R. mir gegeben hat rein plus erklärungen dazu*

- ausweis zum kongress der catadores

<sup>37</sup> The mentioned Dossier is collaborative work of various civil society organisation and non governmental institutions that meticulously maps the illegal execution of people by institutional and state agents, by the police on the streets or in prisons for instance

<sup>38</sup> O Trecheiro is a street journal published by Rede Rua and includes reports and articles written by people in street situation



**Figure 1.3** Cover of *o Trecheiro* about the massacres in 2004 titled *A war without end [Uma guerra sem fim]* (<http://bit.ly/mXpSTr>)

- *handschriftliche aufzeichnungen*
- *buch "vidas de rua"*
- ...

He says that he is also a militant of the Movimento Nacional da População de Rua [MNPR], the movement of the population in street situation (p.??), and that he is now taking some time off in order to organize his own life and

because he is fearing repression by police, that according to him, is observing active members of MNPR.

*hier fehlt noch was zu MNPR*

I asked him what he thinks about the **right to the city** but for him another question is much more important. The question of **access to the city**. Being formerly in street situation, this means access to educational facilities, access to decent work, access to a decent housing, access to participation in the cities decisions. For him, being on the streets means not having access at all, to nothing, not even food, being totally excluded.

Once N. arrived we talked about the perception ‘the society’ has about the people in street situation and other marginalized groups

R. : *Do you know how they call us in the media, what society thinks of us? They call us Noia, Vagabundo, Zumbi, what else...?*

N. : Ladrão, Bandito...

R. : *...Bicho, they call us bicho! You see? This is what people think of someone living on the streets, someone not human, an animal...*

After a while we decide to take a walk back to **Ay Carmela** and talk with people in **LOC MISSING(the surrounding area)**. R. says that it is already late afternoon and probably a good time to meet some people there because they are usually arriving around that time in order to secure their space for the night.

walking to the centre

We enter **Rua do Carmo**<sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> and pass an **abandoned construction site**, an unfinished high-riser<sup>41</sup>, maybe 20 floors high, its red bricks exposed, no windows, missing walls, on the third floor clotheslines packed with laundry to dry and in front of it, on the small court leading to the street, some children playing while a few people are leaving and entering the improvised ramp into the interiors of the building.

On the other side of the street some **blocked up and abandoned houses** as well. A back road is passing behind a colonial building at the corner. There we are heading towards, to the back road. Its the place where people are declaring their space for the night to come, on the stairs to the side entrances to the church.

There we meet a group of four guys. Neither N. nor R. know them but we are getting in touch with them right away. Two are already massively drunken,

meeting four guys

<sup>39</sup> Rua do Carmo: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziKw9eb-->

<sup>40</sup> Rua do Carmo is one of those roads that cross the ancient settlement area of São Paulo. Impression and pictures from that time can be found at [São Paulo de garoa](#)

<sup>41</sup> More information about this abandoned build are available at [São Paulo abandonada](#)

another one, probably the oldest is hectically talking and standing still, the fourth one, the youngest, is sitting with the other two on the stairs. R. introduces us and asks them to tell me a bit about their situation, telling them that I am in the city to get to know about the struggle on the streets.

*For me this kind of situations have always been uncomfortable. I always feel somehow exposed as a stranger, somebody different, not belonging to the place or the people [which is how it is anyway], even though my clothes are in similar bad conditions then of most of those I meet, even though I speak Portuguese and even though I its my demand for transparency that the people know directly why I am there at that particular moment. Here my role is that of a **passive observer** and this sometimes leads to arguing and reluctance.*

The hectically guy is asking immediately:

He: Does he understand Portuguese.

Me: Sure I do.

He: Then tell me, what does a guy from the first world do here in the third world? Why are you here? Don't you have problems to solve and analyse in your country?

ein teil fehlt noch

The young guys interrupts and wants to know if I speak English as well.

wie war nochmal der name von ihm?

After affirming he is asking me questions about Germany in rough and broken English slang. He says that he has been to South Germany for a month on a trip with his religious youth group. He says that he is not from São Paulo, just arrived a month ago and went immediately to the streets. The hectic guy is interrupting us, asking:

He: Do you believe in god?

Me: No, I don't.

He: Whooo, Irmãos, did you hear that, he is not believing in God. You are not a good person if you don't believe in god.

Me: So what, I believe in something else...

He: Whooo, did you guys hear that, he is not believing in God.

Luckily, R. came to save me but now he has to start arguing with the hectic guy:

R. : *Irmão, I lived on the streets for many years and I have never seen you in this area. You don't wanna tell me what I have to believe in or he.*

N. finally calmed everything down with his conciliatory way of arguing, telling the hectic guy that it does not matter in what we believe and that one religion is not better than another. What counts that we show solidarity for each other. Point.

The hectic guy, now calming down, but ready to start another ritual. This time he offers everybody to drink from a bottle they are sharing. In the meantime a car stops right at our side, the driver asking through the window

R. : *E aí irmãos, what's up? How are things going?  
Anything's going on around?*

The guys tell him that everything is relaxed, nothing special is going on. This seems sufficient for him and he drives away. Once the car is out of sight the hectic guy asks:

R. : *Irmãos, I wanna buy a new bottle. I need five Reais.  
Alemão [that is me], can you spare some Reais?*

I gave him the five Reais note I was carrying with me, the others said they do not have money. The hectic guys takes them and disappears. We did not see him that afternoon again. Then R. has to leave as well, N. and me stay a bit longer. N. is talking to the two drunken guys and the young guy starts to talk with me again. After a while he says

He: *Alemão, I just wanna ask you if you can give me five Reais. Look, its nothing personal. I just wanna tell you that we need Crack now and it's better for you to leave because it will become urgent soon and you probably don't want to be here then. It's really important now because we had our last stone already some hours ago. So I ask you, do you have five Reais now?*

Me: *Sorry, but I gave my money the other guy....*

He: *Look, its really important for us now. How long would it take for you to go home get the money?*

Me: *I live too far away. It would take 2 hours or so to come back...*

He: *Ok, then better you get off soon and if you could get any money it would really help us much...*

N. is approaching me and we decide to leave because the situation won't become favourable for us, so its better to say good by. The young guy then called out to us:

He: *Come around the other day, alemão, we are always here, around this time.*

While we are slowly walking towards LOC MISSING(Sé) and then further on to LOC MISSING(República) N. said:

N. : *It was good that we left, it was not safe any more, they turn crazy when they need crack. And the next time you better don't give them money. The one guy never came back and probably also went to get some crack. One stone is just five Reais.*

This was the last time I saw N. for a while, until I run into him some weeks later at Praca da Sé (p.2) .

### Meeting again

Two or three weeks after we met the four guys (p.27) at a back road of Rua do Carmo<sup>42</sup> , I pass there nearby. I hear somebody shouting

: *Alemão, come here!*

Its the young guy we met back then, sitting there, close to the metro entrance of LOC MISSING(Sé) , together with a bunch of other people. We greet each other and he starts immediately:

He: *Alemão, I go back to my home town. I can't stand this city any more. Since I arrived here I stayed on the streets, but I cannot stand it any more. I did not find work, Crack is killing me. I'm finished with this city, I have to leave for now, getting back my life.*

Me: *Good news! When do you wanna leave?*

He: *I take the bus next Tuesday. How long do you stay?*

Me: *Till November probably.*

He: *Then we'll meet again. My plan is to return to São Paulo in October or so.*

Me: *Look, take good care and who knows, probably we'll meet again...*

We never met again.

<sup>42</sup> Rua do Carmo: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziKw9eb-->

## PCC

On another day I meet *R.* again. We are talking about the **four guys we met** (p.27) at a back road of **Rua do Carmo**<sup>43</sup>. *R.* asks if I have an idea who that guy in the car has been, who was stopping and asking the crowd there. I say that he is probably police or something. *R.* says that this guy was no police but that he was patrolling for the **Primeiro Comando do Capital [PCC]**. He was patrolling and asked the people on the street what they have seen, if something happened, if police was around. *R.* asks me if I every heard that loud fireworks somewhere, not during football games, but just when I was in the centre. He said that those fireworks are the signals for new deliveries arriving at the **bocas de fumo** and the one patrol we say probably belongs to one of them.

PCC and the  
streets

We continued to talk about **PCC**. Just some days ago, on the 31th of July, online and offline mass media [**Folha de São Paulo**<sup>44</sup>, **Último Segundo**<sup>45</sup>, **Estadão**<sup>46</sup>] reported that **PCC** launched an assault on a captain of the **Rondas Ostensivas Tobias de Aguiar [ROTA]**, a special unit of the **[MP]** of São Paulo. Two men tried to kill a captain of the **ROTA** in front of his house when he left in the morning. One day later, during the night from Sunday to Monday, again two men shot at the head-quarter of the **ROTA** that is located right beside **LOC MISSING(Parque da Luz)**, close to the city's **LOC MISSING(main train station)** at **LOC MISSING(Luz)**. Several journals report later on, that within 2 days after the last attack, 7 or 8 suspects have been killed by **MP** in São Paulo [**Radio Agência NP**<sup>47</sup>, **Carta Capital**<sup>48</sup>].

PCC attacks  
ROTA

The other day, I brought the July issue of **Caros Amigos**, inside an article about **PCC** called '**Por dentro do PCC**'<sup>49 50</sup>. The article renders an interview with two anthropologist, Karina Biondi and Adalton Marques, who have conducted anthropological studies inside the prison system in Brazil<sup>52 53</sup>. In its introduction, the article states:

who is PCC?

*A Caros Amigos conversou com os dois antropólogos sobre os princípios e a organização do PCC, essa facção criminosa tão grande quanto pouco compreendida pela população*

<sup>43</sup> Rua do Carmo: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziKw9eb-->

<sup>44</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/pTNkSJ>

<sup>45</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/d01dWz>

<sup>46</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/rnA6q0>

<sup>47</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/a8ciGI>

<sup>48</sup> website: <http://bit.ly/d3gLpl>

<sup>49</sup> **Por dentro do PCC [From within PCC]**

<sup>50</sup> a shortened version of the article is available online<sup>51</sup> as well

<sup>52</sup> Karina Biondo: Junto e Misturado: uma ethnografia do PCC

<sup>53</sup> Adalton Marques: Crime, proceder, convívio-seguro: um experimento antropológico a partir de relações entre ladrões

<sup>51</sup> website: [http://carosamigos.terra.com.br/index\\_site.php?pag=revista&id=145&iditens=690](http://carosamigos.terra.com.br/index_site.php?pag=revista&id=145&iditens=690)

*do Estado com a maior população carcerária do Brasil (Delamonto and Moncau, 2010, p.36 )<sup>54</sup>*

*Me personally, I know little as well, my knowledge is not even partial, that's why I am seeking for more standpoints. The notion of *crime* and *jail* is omnipresent in the narrations of the people, in the narrations of the streets but also as issues for actions, for instance as a theme discussed by the *aRUAAssa collective* (p.23) for a small film project.*

*das ist noch überhaupt nicht gut und muss auf jeden fall noch überarbeitet werden.*

*PCC* is one reality of São Paulo I stumbled across but I do not aim to argue in favour or against it. For me, the situation is too complex to understand but I also do not want to neglect it because I have the feeling it is relevant to think about the reasons and manifestations of what is called crime, what is called the prison system, the police system, because they all produce the city [the lived space of society], and they are produced by the city and affect social struggle in turn.

*wie kann die überleitung hier aussehen? crackolândia, polizei, straße, crime?*

*This may probably be their truth but I am seeking other standpoints. Then the picture becomes blurry and gets different notions:*

*As principais avenidas de São Paulo nunca estão desertas. Não posso enumerar os motivos que levam as pessoas a ganhar as ruas durante a madrugada, mas um deles conheço bem: é o dia de visita nas cadeias. À minha direita, reconheço essa motivação em duas mulheres que dividem o peso de uma grande sacola, provavelmente cheia de alimentos a serem entregues ao parente preso. Eu nunca havia notado esse tipo de movimentação antes da prisão do meu marido [...]*<sup>55 56</sup> (Biondi, 2010) in (Huberman, 2010, web).

<sup>54</sup> Caros Amigos spoke with the two anthropologists about the principles and the organisation of PCC, this criminal fraction, so large but little understood by the population of the state [of São Paulo] with the largest number of prisoners in Brasil.

<sup>55</sup> The main streets of São Paulo are always in motion. I cannot count all the motives that drive the people onto the streets at dawn, but one I know good enough: the visiting day at the prisons. To my right I recognize this motive in two women sharing the weight of a heavy bag, probably full of foot that they will deliver to an imprisoned relative. I have never noticed this type of movement before the imprisonment of my husband [...]

<sup>56</sup> This section of the book has been published in an interview with Karina Biondi [Interview]<sup>57</sup>. I decided to cite it because it describes invisible facets of São Paulo better than I could do.

<sup>57</sup> website: <http://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/fechado-com-o-comando>

*social movements  
affected by ‘crime’*

Returning to ‘the crime’, R. talks about another invisible face of the streets. He explained that at some of the place we visited, houses have been converted from occupations of social movements to illegal apartment complexes. He says that occupations of social movements are sometimes infiltrated by ‘the crime’ [according to his notion]. In those cases social movements are slowly drawn out by drug dealers for instance. Once the building has been entirely overtaken, rooms are prepared for renting and the building, initially occupied by social movement due to a lack of affordable housing, serves as an illegal apartment complex, generating profit.

We have been in such a house, a former an industrial building, several floors high. Once this building was overtaken, walls have been brought up inside, establishing new rooms on each floor, ready to rent. In that house, probably 5 apartments are residing on each floor. The one where we have been was not very large, one room, a kitchen and sanitation.

Organized occupations are attempting to prevent such a development by defining and applying rules of conduct within their buildings. The interview we made with people (p.??) of a hotel occupied by Frente da Luta por Moradia [FLM] at LOC MISSING(Avenida Ipiranga) is bringing this matter up as well.

### Collective Vegan Lunch

Every last Sunday a month, the collectively cooked vegan lunch at Ay Carmela is my favourite place to be. For me such a day is important in various ways.

*at Ay Carmela  
again*

First and foremost the lunch offers space for socializing. Its an event open for everybody, starting at noon and organized by the Ay Carmela collective . Is a place for meeting friends and to get in touch with other persons. For me as a stranger this is important. The lunch is also meant to support the payment of bills of the space.

I personally love the place anyway because this is where I am coming from, what I consider important to organize and maintain, from an activist perspective.

At Ay Carmela I also met friends like R. and N. (p.24) or the aRUAssa collective (p.??) .

Besides those important reasons [personally spoken], the organization of Ay Carmela as a self-determined space is already an action of self-determination.

*O Espaço Ay Carmela! é um centro político-cultural autogestionário mantido por grupos, movimentos e indivíduos autônomos da cidade de São Paulo. Um lugar de construção de ações e conhecimentos coletivos, além de um pólo de produção, reunião e dispersão de informações, saberes e transformações. O Ay Carmela! é localizado no centro de São Paulo, próximo ao marco zero. E é mais uma forma de afirmar que o centro é nosso, das pessoas, de quem vive e*

*circula por essa cidade e não do capital, das corporações ou do estado. (Ay Carmela, 2010, web)<sup>58 59</sup>*

Ay Carmela offers infrastructure and space for collectives and movements to meet and organize. Even though it has to pay rent and bills, it seeks to balance them independent from institutional support, in a self-organized manner, by conducting events such as the lunch for instance [as one example of much more that has to be done].

who is Ay Carmela?

I mention Ay Carmela and the monthly lunch in particular because I would like to pick out three examples of usages and organization of the space: the organic market organized by Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra [MST]<sup>6061</sup> during the lunch, recycling by a collective of Catadores and meeting place of the aRUAssa film collective , the latter two described elsewhere (p.37) (p.23) .

#### *kurze erklärung von mst fehlt noch*

People of the MST assentamento [settlement] Irmã Alberta , located in Perus at the fringes of the city of São Paulo, started to establish an mini-feira [mini market] during vegan lunch <sup>62</sup> .

mini-feira by MST

*O MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra), por meio do assentamento Irmã Alberta, de Perus, na Grande São Paulo, estará no Ay Carmela vendendo produtos que foram produzidos no assentamento, no próximo domingo (27/6).*

*Serão verduras, legumes, frutas entre outros produtos que, além de serem fruto da luta pela terra, possuem qualidade (são orgânicos e cultivados sem agrotóxicos) e ótimos preços. Ou seja, você poderá comprar produtos saudáveis, baratos e contribuir com a luta popular brasileira<sup>63</sup> (Organização Popular Aymberê, 2010, web)<sup>64 65</sup> .*

<sup>58</sup> website: <http://ay-carmela.birosca.org/Sobre>

<sup>59</sup> Ay Carmela! is a self-determined cultural political centre maintained by groups, movements and autonomous individuals of the city of São Paulo. A place to construct collective ideas and actions, a pole to produce, assemble and disperse informations, knowledge and transformations. Ay Carmela! is located in the centre of São Paulo, close to the mark zero. It is another form to affirm that the centre is ours, that it belongs to the people that live in and move through this city and not to the capital, the corporations or the state.

<sup>60</sup> Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra [Movement of Landless Rural Workers]

<sup>61</sup> MST: <http://www.mst.org.br/>

<sup>62</sup> website: <http://www.mst.org.br/node/10157>

<sup>63</sup> At next Sunday (27/6) the MST settlement Irmã Alberta in Perus, São Paulo metropolitan area, will be at Ay Carmela to sell products that have been produced by the settlement. Vegetables and fruits will not only be sold at good prices, they are of good quality (organic and cultivated without pesticides) and are the fruits of the struggle for land. Thus, you can buy healthy and cheap products and contribute to the popular struggle in Brasil.

<sup>64</sup> MST: <http://www.mst.org.br/node/10157>

<sup>65</sup> Organização Popular Aymberê: <http://www.opaymbere.wordpress.com/>



**Figure 1.4** Ay Carmela at night (cc-by-sa Author)

Usually a woman supported by several others arrived by car in the morning, bringing their products. They set up several small tables on which they put mainly organic vegetables, herbs, fruits<sup>66</sup> and coffee cultivated and produced in their settlement.

All products are strictly organic, thus cultivated without **agrotóxicos [pesticides]** and **gene modified [GM]** plants. At the **mini-feira**, 500 gram of organic coffee costs about 5 Reais, a similar price as one has to pay in cheap supermarkets<sup>67</sup> for non-organic coffee. Organic coffee [as well as organic products in general] are luxury products, often only available at more expensive supermarkets<sup>68</sup> where it costs about 3 or 4 times as much as at the **mini-feira**.<sup>69</sup>

*I perceive Vegan lunch and Mini-Feira as political actions. One purpose is to maintain space, Ay Carmela through donations by offering and collectively preparing lunch, the settlement through selling food. The reason that the mini-feira can be held here, is [among others] the availability of free space provided by the place Ay Carmela. At these days, people that are engaged in social struggles in the city frequent the place, but neighbours of the surrounding area are coming around as well, probably not all for lunch but for buying organic food. They may have just seen one of the distributed flyers on the streets in the neighbourhood and usually probably just pass by.*

political actions



Figure 1.5 Ay Carmela Flyer - Vegan Lunch (<http://bit.ly/pXdQcX>)

The practised modes of production and distribution are self-determined. Distribution is self-organized, directly brought by the settlement [the producer], without intermediate dealers, not generating profit. The gathered money is used to maintain the spaces necessary to allow this practices.

The organic food produced by the **Irmã Alberta** settlement is a luxury product accessible through luxury supermarkets. At those Sundays it is shown on

<sup>66</sup> Such as feijão, milho or mandjoca

<sup>67</sup> Bom Dia, for instance

<sup>68</sup> Pão de Açúcar, for instance

<sup>69</sup> Prices can also be compared online, for instance at <http://www.nacional.com.br>.

a small scale that healthy food is not supposed to be a matter of affordability and monetary accessibility, that those practices of production and distribution could benefit much more people as the common modes profit oriented production and distribution.

Returning to the **mini-feira** once more. One month before I had to leave São Paulo, the people of the **Irmã Alberta** settlement are proposing to everyone interested to visit their settlement in order to participate in giving lessons in domains of personal knowledge and skills. They say that many of those living in the settlement will not be able to enter university because they may lack the necessary school degrees or simply cannot afford to travel by public transport to the campus everyday. Thus the settlement came up with the idea of an open university at the settlement. They said that many of them would like to learn English for example. They therefore proposed an open day for everybody to come and decide together with the people how classes could be organized for specific areas of interest, what topics are of interest, what topics could be provided, in what frequency are classes supposed to be conducted. I personally feel pity that I could not participate in that proposal because my time in the city was converging towards its end.

*open university  
at the settlement  
Irmã Alberta*

One could categorize all those actions as informal work and organizing, thus a practice not according to legal rules. This would lack a large part of what is actually done here. The spaces involved here are self-organized, in the city centre as well as at the fringes of the city. The practice of these actions do determine a way of [self] organizing without the notions of profit making and exploitation by freely agreeing on the terms of what could be done and how it could be done.

This practice means exchange between the urban space and the space at the fringes. It includes the access to healthy and affordable food in urban space and access to knowledge and education at the fringe, according to non-discriminatory agreements made among those that are interested in pushing this practice forward. Exchange is also meant physically, by visiting each other, working collectively with each other.

It also shows that concrete geographical places are necessary to develop such a praxis.

## Recycling

Another short narration. I went earlier to **Ay Carmela** today, it is mid-morning. Inside I meet a man and a woman that are separating trash and bundle it to large packages. They are members of a **collective of Catadores**. The self-organised space that **Ay Carmela** represents is collectively used to gather waste in there and process it further: separate it, bundle it up and transport it away

The existence of self-organized and free space allows collective organisation. As the **mini-feira** (p.34), free agreements between the space and the collective



**Figure 1.6** Bundled up recycled material at [Ay Carmela](#) (cc-by-sa Author)

represents yet an additional possibility that strengthens self-determined practice. The *aim of space and action* are similar here as well. Its a proposal to act collectively, in solidarity , to organise the struggle for *self-determined work and life* , instead of acting competitively, exploiting one another. This is not a difficult praxis. Even though affordable or free space is rare in a city like São Paulo [despite the many abandoned buildings], where it is available, people and groups can start to practice and experience similar ways as the collective of catadores, the mini-feira and open university of MST or the vegan lunch of Ay Carmela already do.

Catadores de Lixo [waste pickers] are often organized in the social movement of recyclers Movimento Nacional dos Catadores de Materiais Recicláveis [MNCR]. MNPR [National Movement of Collectors of Recyclable Materials] Even though MNPR is a national wide movement, it is organized in small and independent units on the streets, by that realizing an collective approach to work, self-determined, independent of class and political parties

*Acreditamos na prática da ação direta popular, que é a participação efetiva do trabalhador em tudo que envolve sua vida, algo que rompe com a indiferença do povo e abre caminho para a transformação da sociedade.*

*Desenvolvemos nossas ações na busca de uma sociedade mais justa e melhor para todos. Buscamos a organização de nossa categoria na solidariedade de classe, que reúne forças para lutarmos contra a exploração buscando nossa liberdade. Esse princípio é diferente da competição e do individualismo, busca o apoio mútuo entre os companheiros(as) catadores(as) e outros trabalhadores.*

*Lutamos pela autogestão de nosso trabalho e o controle da cadeia produtiva de reciclagem, garantindo que o serviço que nós realizamos não seja utilizado em benefício de alguns poucos (os exploradores), mas que sirva a todos.*

*Nesse sentido organizamos bases orgânicas do Movimento em cooperativas, associações, entrepostos e grupos, nas quais ninguém pode ser beneficiado às custas do trabalho do outro. (MNCR, 2008, web)<sup>70 71</sup>*

<sup>70</sup> O que é o Movimento : [http://www.mncr.org.br/box\\_1/o-que-e-o-movimento](http://www.mncr.org.br/box_1/o-que-e-o-movimento)

<sup>71</sup> We believe in the practice of popular direct actions, that is, effective participation of the worker in all spheres that affect his life, something that breaks the indifference of the people and opens a way for the transformation of society. We develop our actions in search of a more just society, better for everyone. We are seeking to organize according to our terms of solidarity of the class, that unites power for our struggle against the exploitation that chases our freedom. This principle differs from competition and individualism. It seeks the mutual help between companions, catadores and workers. We struggle to self-determining our work and for the control of the means of production of recycling, guaranteeing that our service is not utilized to benefit a few (the exploiters) but benefits all. In this sense we organize the movement's organic bases as co-operations, associations, depots and groups in which nobody can benefit at the costs of the work of others.



**Figure 1.7** Depot of MNCR in Vial Madalena (cc-by-sa Author)

**Catadores** massively shape the image of the city, of its central areas. They pull large and self-made two-wheel trolleys, packed with materials collected from the streets, piled up two meters high. Trolleys full of material hold in place by tight ropes, ultra heavy, pulled by just one person [often men], moving slowly through pedestrian areas, through the heavy traffic on packed streets, always moving on the outer right lane, a trolley the size of a small car, collecting stuff society has no use for any more.

When *R.* and I have been **looking for a place to sleep** (p.23) one night, we asked a **Catador** who was already sleeping in his trolley parked close to a wall, for **papelão** to share. His trolley was full of collected cardboards. His trolley was his bed for the night.

Recyclable material is everywhere. While *I.* and I are **on our way** (p.10) towards **República**<sup>72</sup>, crossing the pedestrian area at **Rua Barão de Itapetininga**<sup>73</sup> early at night around 7 p.m. when commercial business is closing, we always see piles of waste, cardboards, plastic bags, the daily residuals of consumption, thrown on the street. **Catadores** are then gathering there, collecting, separating, piling up all the stuff they can make use of, a nightly ritual, the area occupied by trolleys and **catadores**, still working while everybody else is going home or is just arriving for nightly entertainment.

*I did not have much contact with Catadores, only at those few occasion where we showed solidarity and met in a particular situation on the streets. They are workers, the ones we met are catadores in street situation. A bit of their available movement content is reproduced here and no in depth insights besides those few mentioned can be narrated.*

*noch ein bild von catadores?*

## Network//RedeRua

This sections contains narratives about the work of RedeRua, a communication nucleos for street people.

### Interview with Alderon

An interview with Alderon, one of the organizers of RedeRua.

### Other Work

About the work that RedeRua is doing.

<sup>72</sup> República: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziMgnTK-->

<sup>73</sup> Rua Barão de Itapetininga: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJ2Vp4-->



**Figure 1.8** Psycho Drama at [Centro Cultural de São Paulo](#) (cc-by-sa Author)



**Figure 1.9** Psycho Drama at [Centro Cultural de São Paulo](#) (cc-by-sa Author)

## *Social Center//Ocas*

About OCAS, the place and its work.

## *Psycho//Drama*

What is Psychdrama?

## *Other//Places//Cities*

About other places, other cities

## *Missing//Links*

*Was ich verpasst habe und was nicht klappte*

- *MNPR marsch nach Brasilia*
- *aufnahmen mit I.*
- *aufnahmen mit X.*
- *das psychodrama projekt von X. mit der akademie der PM*
- *projekt mit T.*
- *rede extremo sul*
- ...

## 1.3 Still a lot left...

Final words about narrating Inquiries of the São Paulo experience.

## 1.4 Keywords

**A**

actions  
workshop  
artesian craft 5

**M**

mst 34  
assentamento 36, 37  
settlement  
irmã alberta 34

**P**

papelão 41  
people in street situation 2  
  
**S**  
são paulo  
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streets  
abandoned building 3  
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right to the city 27  
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alberques 3  
invisibility 2  
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abandoned  
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house 27  
villa 21  
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institutional  
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tendas 16, 17, 22  
public spaces  
avenida paulista 15  
minhocão 21, 22  
república 15, 23  
sé 15, 17  
self-determined  
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39  
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catador 41

## 1.5 Abbreviations

FIPE	Fundação Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas
FLM	Frente da Luta por Moradia
GCM	Guarda Civil Municipal
GM	gene modified
MNCR	Movimento Nacional dos Catadores de Materiais Recicláveis
MNPR	Movimento Nacional da População de Rua
MST	Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra
PCC	Primeiro Comando do Capital
ROTA	Rondas Ostensivas Tobias de Aguiar

## 1.6 Translations

agrotóxicos [pesticides]	◀	
assentamento [settlement]	◀	
A war without end [Uma guerra sem fim]	◀	
Camara Municipal [Municipal Chamber]	◀	
cardboard [Papelão]	◀	
Catadores de Lixo [waste pickers]	◀	
community refectory [Refeitorio Communitario]	◀	
Fundação Instituto de Pesquisas Econômicas [Institute of Economic Studies Trust]	◀	
Grupo de Sopa [cooking crew]	◀	
Grupos de Sopa [Soup Kitchen]	◀	
higienista [cleansing]	◀	
mini-feira [mini market]	◀	
Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais sem Terra [Movement of Landless Rural Workers]	◀	
Movimento Nacional dos Catadores de Materiais Recicláveis [National Movement of Collectors of Recyclable Materials]	◀	
municipal civil police [Guarda Civil Municipal]	◀	
Por dentro do PCC [From within PCC]	◀	
Tenda de convivência [Tenth of gathering]	◀	
Tendas [tents]	◀	
Vidas de Rua [Street Lifes]	◀	

## 1.7 Still to Translate

<> translation missing ◀◀▶

## 1.8 Text Marks

13/07/2010	◀	
14/07/2010	◀	
1200	◀	

**a**  
albergue ►

**b**  
bocas de fumo ►

**c**  
cachaca ►  
Cachaça ►  
cachaça ►  
Catadores ►  
catadores ►  
Crack Junkies ►

**e**  
extrem verprügelt hat ►

**f**  
for example to ►

**i**  
Inclusão Digital ►  
informellen Schnapsverkäufern ►

**l**  
Ladrão, Bandito ►

**n**  
NM/DK ►  
nochmal in meine aufzeichnungen schauen ►  
Noia, Vagabundo, Zumbi ►  
nucleosconvivencia ►

**p**  
papelao ►  
Papelão ►

**s**  
securities ►  
segregation ►

**w**  
war betrunken und ►  
weed ◀▶  
Weed zu rauchen und ►  
welche? ►

x  
X   
X at Y, X at Y and X at Y   
X places 

## 1.9 Remarks

b  
bild vom dem leeren haus bei penaforde 

c  
R. complains that those numbers are wrong 

d  
das ist noch überhaupt nicht gut 

h  
hier fehlt noch was zu MNPR   
hier können fotos von den sachen die R. mir gegeben hat rein 

k  
kurze erklärung von mst fehlt noch 

m  
mehr über die tendas in meinen aufzeichnungen 

n  
noch ein bild von catadores? 

s  
some days later I found several newspaper articles about the same topic. 

t  
The GCM is one of actors in the São Paulo that are actively engaged in oppressing  


w  
Was ich verpasst habe und was nicht klappte   
wie kann die überleitung hier aussehen?   
woher kommen die leute nochmal? alberque oder strasse oder beides? 

## 1.10 Reminders

## 1.11 References Missing

a

Anhangabú ◀▶

Avenida Ipiranga ■

Avenida Paulista ■

Ay Carmela ■

b

Barra Funda ■

Bela Vista ■

c

centre of the city ■

clean the central areas ■

Consolacao ■

l

Lapa ■

Largo São Francisco ■

Luz ■

m

main train station ■

o

OCAS ■

other occasions ■

p

Padre de Chá ■

Parque da Luz ■

Parque Dom Pedro ■

Penaforte ■

Praca da Sé ◀▶

Praca de República ■

Prefeitura de São Paulo ■

r

referenzen zu berichten über die polizei, condepe, park, policia militar, etc ■

República ◀▶

s

Sé ◀▶

t

the surrounding area ■

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a

author: Caros Amigos 

author: Cleisa Moreno Maffei Rosa 

Ay Carmela, 2010, web 

b

Biondi, 2010 

c

citation: Por dentro do PCC 

d

Delamnto and Moncau, 2010, 36 

Dossiê, 2009, 63-64 

h

Horst, 2009, web 

Huberman, 2010, web 

m

MNCR, 2008, web 

o

Organizaçāo Popular Aymberē, 2010, web 

o Trecheio, 2009, 1 

r

RedeRua, web 

Rosa, 2005, 174 

s

Schor and da Costa Vieira, 2009, 4 

t

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## 1.16 List of Links

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<http://ay-carmela.birosca.org/node/433>  
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<http://bit.ly/d3gLpl>  
<http://bit.ly/mQxbEJ>  
<http://bit.ly/mSREpy>  
<http://bit.ly/mXpSTr>  
<http://bit.ly/nrKPY7>  
<http://bit.ly/oIYxid>  
<http://bit.ly/pTNkSJ>  
<http://bit.ly/pvlcQg>  
<http://bit.ly/pXdQcX>  
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## 1.17 List of Media

## 1.18 List of Locations

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Avenida Rangel Pestana: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziLozVF-->

Avenida São João: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziNBCw>

Consolocão: <http://osm.org/go/M@y3X2vU0-->

Parque Dom Pedro: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziLozVF-->

Parque Dom Pedro: <http://osm.org/go/M@zihBwQr->

Praca Ouvidor Pacheco e Silva: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI@zJh-->

Radial Leste: <http://osm.org/go/M@zoEwXb->

República: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziMgnTK-->

Rio Tietê: <http://osm.org/go/M@zie@K>

Rua Apa: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziHwnfo-->

Rua Barão de Itapetininga: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJ2Vp4-->

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Rua Carmelias: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziKy3jL-->

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Terminal Bandeira: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziI9Gin-->

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Viaduto do Chá: <http://osm.org/go/M@ziJvMDT-->

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