The Margins of Development

Social Conflict and Normative Spheres in Urban Brazil

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Introduction

In São Paulo city centre, the Military Police (PM) occupies a region known as "*cracolândia*" [Crackland] as part of a large operation of "urban requalification". The municipal council, meanwhile, are constructing "treatment" centres for crack users, with each one serving *over a thousand* people. There has been public debate over how useful it is to force users – known as "*noias*" – into rehabilitation in private-religious clinics. Large companies invest in recruiting manual labourers from the city's prisons – whose population *quadrupled* over the last decade – in exchange for reducing their sentences. There are more than 200 thousand prisoners across the state, and fifty new prisons under construction. In Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian Army occupies territories home to slums – or "*favelas*" – in the city's wealthy south zone, pushing drug traffickers to the city's peripheries. The path opened up by the "*Unidades de Polícia Pacificadora*" [Police Pacification Units] (UPPs) also serves the real estate market and that of a *third sector*. Last years a sequence of criminal fires in *favelas* across São Paulo has meant that removal policies, stagnant since the 1980s, are back with renewed life, freeing up land of commercial interest. The World Cup and the Olympic Games are coming.

Brazil is currently undergoing a major transformation largely due to the economic development experienced over the last decade, unequally distributed among the social and urban spheres. The social

conflict expressed through such a scenario is also new. These new forms of conflict has sparked both "hope in the future" and "urban violence" in Sao Paulo. In 2012 over 95 military police officers have been murdered by the state's main criminal faction, the "*Primeiro Comando da Capital*" [the Capital's First Command] (PCC). The revenge of the forces of order has produced a new escalation in homicides in the city's peripheries – more than 450 executions in two months – after a decade of a significant fall in those crimes. This paradoxical scenario of economic development associated with high levels of social conflict and violence may be specifically gauged in the territories and social groups considered "marginalized" in today's Brazil: youngsters from urban outskirts, homeless people, prostitutes, crack users, hustlers etc. (Pardue, 2011). Based on ethnographic fieldwork among them, particularly in the state of São Paulo[2], this essay reflects on the relations between the recent ways of managing these territories and populations and the different forms by which they have been converted into "development", both in semantic and economic fields. This research project proposes some analytical syntheses which point to the recent fusion between the "social question" and "public security" problems under public debate in Brazil. The counter-intuitive hypothesis that we developed, based on qualitative research, is that this means of administering marginalized populations in Brazil's major cities, which promote bold territorial, social and economic transformation, is directly connected to the public validation of Brazil as a country undergoing major development. Managing, suppressing or even eliminating those groups, represented as the core of our undeveloped past times, is politically encompassed with the center of Brazilian project of "development".

Arguments exposed here are based on a collective investigation which has been underway since 2010[3] to produce ethnographies among three specific urban groups: i) young people engaged in criminal

3 In São Paulo we are working on 4 regions that are very different one-another: Sapopemba, a working-class neighborhood in east-side of SP where I myself have worked since 2005; Heliópolis – one of the biggest favelas in the southest end of the city; Jandira – a city on the west side of the metropolitan area and in the central zone of the metropolis, among the drug users and dealers, in a region called cracolandia (crackland). We are also doing fieldwork in

activities; ii) homeless people; iii) prostitutes. What initially links these distinct subjects and territories from an analytical perspective is both their *marginalized* condition in terms of social dynamics which are considered legitimate, and the fact that they almost always experience state policies and programmes (for treatment and repression, often simultaneously) firsthand. These subjects almost immediately established to the research team the paradox of being considered "excluded" from social life while simultaneously exhibiting empirical links with the most varied forms of state "treatment".

It would be important to remark that we are studying different territories in different political and demographic scales, placed in different cities in the most important Brazilian states, under different parties of local governments. They are and different "marginalized" groups – unemployed, young people from the outskirts, homeless people, criminals, prostitutes, crack users, drug dealers etc. The only thing in common among them is that "segregated" position in relation to the representation of the modern, civilized and developed Brazil. That position, however, is strong enough to construct the contemporary dominant idea that all of these "populations" - despite their heterogeneity - obstruct a better future for the whole "Brazilian society". Seen as an homogenous group, a whole population of 'others', these marginal people disturb "our" development. If we take care, but especially if we control or suppress those people, we will find a path to achieve our development. That is the dominant public idea I would like to remark. The project departs from that general representation, that nowadays places marginal people – no more the working-class, nor the unemployed – in the center of brazilian *social question* and begins by reconstructing the transformations that made this people turned to a single "population", especially in this new cycle of development.

Displacements

Urban Brazil viewed here through the prism of São Paulo 'marginals' has changed considerably over the last four decades. Urban peripheries have undergone important dislocations at the heart of their social dynamic. Migration from the north of Brazil, central to the expansion of the urban sprawl in the south-east of the country, has significantly declined since the 1990s. The working-class labour markets

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two middle and small cities – the first one has about 200 thousand people in the north of Sao Paulo state and the second one is a really small village, 5 thousand people. Finally in Rio we're working in Cidade de Deus (the world famous City of God).

have also been internally reconfigured in light of the so-called "productive restructuring", although late to take place in Brazil when compared to countries in the Northern Hemisphere (Kowarick&Marques, 2011). Women's entry into the working-class labour market has also been consolidated, now constitutively marked by the boundaries between formal-informal and legal-illegal (Telles&Cabanes, 2006; Telles, 2011). Immersed in these transformations, working-class families have tended towards the nuclear model, in heterogeneous arrangements. Today's Brazilian birth rate of 1.8 children per woman (1.6 in São Paulo and Rio) is lower than the demographic replacement rate (IBGE,2010). In the religious sphere, and especially amongst the poorest populations, the transition from Roman Catholicism to Pentecostalism has been enormous (Almeida, 2009). Access to the urban infrastructure and consumer goods has also grown rapidly since the 1970s, and although still lacking, has meant that the city's new generations nowadays live in a world which is radically distinct from that of their parents (Marques, 2012; Feltran, 2011; Marques&Torres, 2005). "Urban violence" has also become a topic of conversation for Brazil's citizens over the years (Caldeira, 2000; Machado da Silva, 2004; Misse, 2006), and the brutal increase in homicide rates all over the country in the 1990s (Manso, 2003, 2012) was followed over the next decade by a significant drop in São Paulo, particularly on the city's outskirts (Marques, 2010; Feltran, 2010a, 2010b, 2011; Hirata, 2010; Manso, 2011), and unlike in other states or countries (Jensen, 2008). To conclude, the key words of the debate on São Paulo's peripheries – *work, migration, religion, family, social policies and violence* – have very different connotations today than they did forty years ago.

In this scenario, the "workers'"[4] project which colonized the city's peripheries and combined the working-class desire for social ascension with political commitment in the expansion of citizenship (Dagnino, 1994; 2002), suffered important dislocations, in all of its founding dimensions (Feltran, 2006). By analyzing the escalation of tensions within this project over recent decades and the recent dynamics of the relationship between the government and marginalized "populations" (Foucault, 2000), I argue that *the status of socio-political conflict sought by the urban peripheries has been dislocated* (Feltran, 2011). While in the 80s this project was still marked by the aim to *integrate* the

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4   I have used quotation marks to distinguish the categories under current use in the city's peripheries, such as "worker", "criminal underworld", "drug trafficker" etc. The names used are fictitious.

"working classes" into society by the expansion of labour market and citizenship, now it is about managing the boundaries between those marginals and the "consolidated democracy", to reach development. Our informants in the field – that was not already well studied in Brazil, perhaps due to the emphasis on Latin-American human sciences in studying the industrial worker – now are seen to represent solely *violence* that claims for repression, contention, isolation.

The dominant representation of those "populations" is based on a presupposition that they are absolutely "excluded", isolated from social life and politics. That they lost their relations with the legitimate social spheres as work, family, religion, law, social protection, dignity (the Agamben's "naked life"). But the more we do our fieldwork, the more is evident that all of these very heterogeneous groups have intensive relations with their families – sometimes they even produce new families inside their groups (by affective relations that make they call themselves as brothers, cousins, mothers, fathers etc). Also they construct new forms of primary protection in communities and the major part of them are religious people; beyond this, they consider themselves mostly as "workers", even if the labour market where they are precariously attached is illegal; most of these groups generate strict codes of conduct, moralities and senses of justice despite they are still considered *outlaws*. Remarkable is that there is no absence of state in their lives. On the contrary, all these groups are in effective relation with the state, a lot of times leading, at the same time, with the conditionality of social policies and police repression.

In other words, those people are constructing different instances of social normativity considered to be legitimate (Anderson, 1923). The choice of this marginalized condition as a lens through which to analyze modern Brazil represents a research decision developed over these three past years of collective investigation, furthering connections between ethnographic research and theoretical reading. All arguments of an ethnographic bent were based on two important findings, stemming from previous research and dialogue with the recent literature on the topic: the first one is essentially *theoretical-epistemology*; the second more *analytical*. I discuss each of them in the two parts of this essay. At the end, I present syntheses of analytical, theoretical and political questions which seem to me to be at the heart of the current *management* of "marginalized populations" in urban Brazil, during this recent cycle of "economic development".

Marginalized subjects **and the** *social world*

In both the reports for social services which treat these *welfare users* and the actions of police forces which repress them, and even in the most traditional literature on the groups studied here, the key social dynamic which characterizes them is usually described by a sense of *absence*. In other words, according to these perspectives *young offenders*, *prostitutes* or *homeless people* almost invariably feature people living on social interstices, to whom the basis of what is considered to be a healthy, dignified citizen's social life is missing: a steady job, a "structured family", somewhere to live, respect for the law, civility, moralities, self-care and self-esteem. Proceeding along this line of thought, what characterizes these groups would be extended to the territories they live in, contaminated by the opposite of these virtues: idleness, alcoholism, addiction, illegal, illicit and/or immoral activities, promiscuity, personal or family degradation and, at an extreme and almost as a natural consequence, violent criminality. Based on this diagnosis, the life of these subjects has been mainly considered in terms of the *problems* (poverty, disorder, incivility, immorality, violence, marginalization and criminality) with which they are identified, and the production of knowledge regarding these subjects often starts with the following question: *how can we resolve/administer this problem?*[5]

Therein lies our first finding: these subjects are intellectually conceived by the *social problem* that they represent, and therefore, by the absence of a dominant normativity (often shared by the subjects themselves in certain situations) which would be inherent to them. It is worth highlighting at this point that this is not about claiming that this problem does not exist, pointing to a *deficit* of "reality" or the ethnocentrism of those who formulate it this way. If it was a century ago that we broke with the positivism of ethnography, here it is merely about saying that a study is required considering its existence *in perspective*, and not according to any perspectives. We also argue here that the problem *confirms itself* in the speech of the subjects themselves, but only when they are addressing the welfare

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5   If the problem is with *the others*, and not the relationship, treatment techniques should be focused on the subjects to which they attribute the problem, and not the relations which they constitute. The notion of the city as a human laboratory and clinic has been in construction since the first decades of modernity, and was formalised in the earliest writings of the Chicago School (Park, 1979). Therefore it is the job of the *good men* to take up the responsibility of caring for this boundary between social dignity and legitimacy, acting in order to *transform* addicts and delinquents; they would need to be offered the opportunity of a dignified life, or to have their delinquent impulses quashed. From exemplary punishment to philanthropy, from torture to discipline, and from there the management of populations, in the Foucauldian genealogy, the same solutions have been tested over centuries, decade after decade, year after year.

officers, psychologists, lawyers, registrars, pastors or missionaries which follow them through life; the problem does not confirm itself, however, in innumerable other *situations* of locution. Due to the lack of these reflection in recent studies, it is these situations which our research has sought to investigate.

The *social exclusion* of a *"trecheiro" [homeless migrant person]*[6] goes unchallenged by a religious representative offering philanthropic aid; but it is not the case when considered from a conversation between the person and his group of homeless people, who get together to spend the day, drum up money, food and drink, exchange ideas on places they have been and people who should be respected or not in each of these places as well, the easiest ways to escape from the police and get council shelter, the codes for talking to welfare assistants and criticisms of the *system* (semantically equivalent to *society*). From this second perspective, there is no absence of sociability, codes or social ties, as a recent Brazilian study on the subject attests (Rui, 2012). What happens is that the first figuration, that of the co-presence of *excluded* beings[7] alien to social belonging, is dominant and forms a nodal point of development of the criteria by which the whole *marginalized* subjects – their past, their presence, their destinies, their territories – come to be understood publically. The repercussion of this figuration in public policies is clear: social programmes, questionnaires, reports and treatment records are based on these premises, only to later confirm them in the provision of their "treatment".

If there are particular political consequences at this point, I am initially focusing my attention on those which most require social analysis. Among them, I believe it relevant to affirm that the dominant diagram of comprehension *produces* a normative border which circumscribes social belonging. By using a reflexive analysis, it may be easily perceived that this form of naming, which suggests the existence of those who are "excluded", in doing so *defines and reinforces the normative criteria of social belonging.* This operation therefore draws the cognitive limits which circumscribe the edges of that sphere liable to be called *society*, as well as the plausibility of that which might be considered social. A little part of the social normativity is captured as the whole social world.

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6 On *"trecheiros"* [homeless people] and *"pardais" [beggars]*, internal classifications in the world of those known as *"andarilhos"* [homeless people], *"mendigos"* [beggars] and *"vagabundos"* [delinquents] in the state of São Paulo, see Anderson, 1923; Martinez, 2010.

7 A series of criticisms has been produced on the notion of social exclusion since Martins' classic criticism (1997). Our approach should be added to the series, but should not however be confused with any of them entirely.

The benefit of this approach seems to be centered on the fact that the *problem* in question is not so much about the *excluded*, but rather the diagram of relations which we name as such. This serves to denaturalize the place which is traditionally occupied by the researcher[8]. The first consequence of this finding and its analytical offshoots is that to study *marginalized* groups is also to study the normative boundaries which circumscribe the social, and therefore, its founding normative principles. To study social fringes is therefore also to research the centre of social normativity. The most current treatment of the issue thus features a border to be considered when thinking about *society*: the *social*, from this perspective, is always considered to be circumscribed by valuation and normativity, and it invariably comes with a flipside: phenomena, territories and beings which are set apart from it through negatively constituting it. On one side there is a terrain reserved for that which is properly social – the current criteria of legality, legitimacy and morality define it; and on the other, are territories and populations which do not share these criteria, and even threaten them, and should therefore remain *excluded*. Society therefore always has an outside, and the boundary which defines its limits is internally constituted by the mutual relationship between the two sides which it separates.

Considering the interstices, limits, outsides or fringes of the social in another way, undertaken according to other investigative tradition, means that *there is no outside in social life*, and therefore nobody is excluded from society (Das&Poole, 2002). There are crack addicts, prostitutes, thieves and homeless people who *are part* of social and urban life, and who sometimes define through their presence the very constitution of criteria for the actions of groups considered to be central. To study *marginalized populations* based on the relations which they establish with boundaries – semantic, classifying and even physical – which *define them* as excluded, is, according to this specific perspective, to access the criteria forming the dominant social normativity, often legitimised by state determinations. The set of relations which forms the social, according to this approach, spans not just all of these subjects, but their territories, forms of action, routines, daily lives and institutions. "Society" simultaneously increases its descriptive power and loses normative character.

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8   It is worth highlighting at this point the decisive contribution by researchers in the group who come from the contexts studied. The presence of researchers sharing codes, sociability and territories with their research subjects is quite recent in Brazil.

The bipolar definition which places *Brazilian good men* and *delinquents* in opposition, just like *workers* and *drug traffickers*, *family girls* and *prostitutes*, intelligible in most circles, is weakened as an analytical category. These common polarities for understanding social and urban life therefore no longer serve as categories by which we might understand what is happening; they become seen as a type of collective *representation* (and we do not require the transcendence of the Durkheimian social to consider it that way), which is exactly what we are studying. These semantic polarities are therefore no longer key to what we might term as the *problem* among marginalized groups, and come to be thought of as a fundamental part of the *object itself* that we seek to understand[9]. The *prostitute*, the *homeless person* or the *young offender* are no longer given subjects or concrete social problems, circumscribed at the margins or outside the social, which *our* knowledge should help to remedy. They become, above all, *naturalized formulations*, as they are *dominant*, which we must study in detail over time to understand the forces which construct them as replete with meaning, and the daily routines which update them.

It is this construction, and this current reality, which demark the analytical consequences – and policies – which make the *homeless person*, the *young offender* and the *prostitute* occupy the areas they occupy in the contexts researched. They make us think that we know who they are, and what they think, without ever having come into contact with them – the perception that makes us understand what they are is through knowing what they *are not* and *do not think*. We have studied them as rigorously as possible to be able to produce an intelligent response to multiple and conflicting perspectives, which, through the tension they constitute, establish the parameters for the body of social normativity. Studying the notions of morality, legitimacy, values and conceptions of the world, codes of belonging and conduct, among others, is thus central to this attempt. Here we therefore seek to multiply the methods of understanding these groups, attempting to ethnographically establish the perspectives from which the complexity of their social relations may be captured. We seek to establish research areas from which the innumerous forms of internal codification, formulation of rules and moral values, constitution of alliances and enemies, language and reflexivity of these subjects might become more present in the analysis.

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9   I appropriate here the original reflection expressed by Machado da Silva (2004) on the category of "urban violence", extending it to other problems.

The methods of naming, classifying, putting into a hierarchy and signifying, formulated and put into play in the *territories, situations and groups* studied, are seen through this measure as a fundamental part of the field material which we analyse, whose diagrams of meaning we need to understand[10]. This way, we aim to undertake what is above all a return to the founding tradition of social research, in the Simmelian sense, which proposes a *rupture* – beginning with the inversion of the central question which is inherent to it – with the set of normative presumptions in common sense which have fed and still feed a large part of the dominant structures of understanding *marginalised* subjects. In practical terms, instead of asking ourselves what is *lacking* for the problem represented by the figures of teenagers involved in crime, crack addicts or prostitutes to be remedied, or how to administer it in the most efficient and effective way, we initially concern ourselves simply in describing the relations which characterize the intimate, social and public dynamics of these subjects' everyday life, where they are treated, their means of dealing with the city, etc. We seek to compare the *effects of the knowledge* with regard to the social dynamics revealed by this approach, with the effects of the knowledge generated by other types of analysis. We therefore state that these effects are very different and that analyses based on them lead to very different conclusions. The clash between these analytical approaches and the knowledge generated is therefore entirely fruitful. If taken seriously, it concerns a clash of knowledge systems involved in the constitution of politics, as understood by Jacques Rancière[11].

The ethnographic methodology seemed appropriate for this investment as it facilitates the closest proximity possible between researchers and their subjects, including the effort of reflection on this

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10 The sociology of Boltanski&Thevenot (1991); Thevenot (2006) has been an anchor to this reflection, developed after by reading Das (1998, 2005) and Cavell (2005).

11 *What effectively happens when the forces of order are sent to quell a political demonstration? What happens is a statement of the properties and the use of an area: a statement of what a street is. From the police's point of view, a street is a space for circulation. A demonstration, on the other hand, transforms it into a public space, a space where community matters are dealt with. From the point of view of those who send the forces of order, the space dealing with community matters is situated elsewhere: in public buildings designated for this use, with people designated for this function. This way, the dissent, rather than being an opposition between the government and people who challenge it, is a conflict surrounding the configuration of the sensitive itself. The demonstrators bring a spectacle to the street and a matter to the incorrect place. And, to those watching the spectacle with curiosity, the police says: "keep moving please, nothing to see here". (...) Rather than being a conflict between classes or parties, politics is a conflict on the configuration of the sensitive world in which actors and objects of these conflicts may appear.* (Rancière 1996, p.373, our italics).

proximity (highly important when considering otherness as a boundary). It is once again worth mentioning that this proposal is in no way innovative, but rather distinct from the usual approaches in Brazilian Social Sciences (as well as in many international contexts), over the last few decades. We are merely seeking to do what the classic strands of sociology – and anthropology – have already recommended, and this was put into practice in the research of founding works such as those of Simmel (2006 [1903]), Anderson (2010 [1923]) or Whyte (2005 [1943]), with some relevant distinctions. These works basically *seek* to suspend – in so far as is possible, and the most radically possible in research situations – the moral judgments on the subjects researched, to describe the modes these people use to interact among themselves, the different situations that they experience, the different experiences and territories that they share. It also means studying their effective relations with welfare bodies and legitimated policies such as the family, the labour market, churches, social policies, the legal sphere, the "criminal underworld" and the state. It also means describing the personal journeys of groups and associations involved in these *marginalised* dynamics, taking as parameters what happens, what is said, what is done, and not what we judge to be what they *should do, say* or *think*. It is therefore not about ignoring that these subjects provide a social problem to many, but about not reifying the existence of this problem as though it were objectively encountered in all the situations or perspectives in question. Even our research data has shown that things do not work like that, if our work is rigorous and based on the fundamental theoretical-methodological principles of social sciences.

Considering the *change* in the working-class sectors: the lack of literature on the *margins*

A second point of departure for this research, equally derived from former investigations and a reading of recent literature on the topic, perceives the social and political dynamics of the working-class sectors according to the *change* or *transformation* registered empirically by the most varied of methods – research questionnaires on geo-referencing, the searches for the individual journeys of those which seek to capture structural transformations in the state or in the economy. The departure point is the presumption that the parameters of social life at the urban margins have undergone dramatic change in recent decades, in a way which is connected to the changes which have also occurred in other social, economic and state spheres, including the most legitimate. The transformation at the margins seems to us to therefore be connected to the transformations in work, family, religion, social mobility projects,

forms of associativism, and relations with the institution of the state, public policies and social movements. This is therefore inspiration for considering them relationally, and to thus contribute to the transformation as well as the forms of analysing them.

Taking a step back from the deductive proposals of large-scale theories, the proposal is to produce situated research and medium-scope analyses, thoroughly renovating the forms of understanding the social – and here we are thus talking about theoretical presumptions, methodological strategies and forms of analysis. Once again, there is no intention to reinvent the wheel, or to work just with the current scenario, which is so different to those of the past. On the contrary, it is about appealing to the foundations of the disciplines of Social Sciences, among those the categories of time, space and social change: one of the most relevant perspectives for the researchers involved in this project has been the very search for historicity and for the multiple casualties of the changes in course, which derive from social and political formations to have preceded them[12].

Based on this attempt, I believe it is fundamental to consider a dislocation, especially when considering the subjects in this project: it is about thinking of modes of *public* formulation of the *social question* and the disharmonies in the forms by which it is experienced among those figured as its protagonists. If some decades ago, and from various perspectives, it was about searching for ways to integrate the *worker* with modern and urban life by social protection and defending their rights (Durham, 1973; Kowarick, 1979; Santos, 1979; Sader, 1988; Dagnino, 1994, 2002; Telles e Paoli, 2000; Telles, 2001), nowadays the key subjects of the problem are those who are considered to be *marginalised*, and the prospect of integrating them is more and more fragile. Different research has shown that the *drug traffickers*, "*favelados*" [favela residents], *drug addicts* and *criminals*, points of gravitation for the current social problem, should be, above all, *contained* (be it in prisons and rehabilitation clinics, or

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12 The transformations at urban peripheries have been considered over the last four decades - a short period for historians - although initially only traced for the understanding of the recent profile of these territories (Feltran, 2011a; Batista, 2011). In some cases, the length of time for the research in greater: the recent prison policies in São Paulo have generated an investigation into the 1952 rebellion, from which innumerous lines of analysis unfold from the present (Horta, 2011, 2012); the curiosity around the current form of the PCC's system of justice gave rise to an investigation into the 20-year career of a rap group (Takahashi, 2011) and, in turn, the formulation of a research subproject on the expressions of the social conflict in the peripheries and favelas notable for their musical production throughout all of the 20th century (NaMargem, 2011); the current problem of crack has been considered on the basis of related backgrounds – transformations in drug trafficking, social dynamics and urban policies, treatment policies, etc. (the works by Martinez, Oliveira, Barbosa, Pereira and Pazzini, in the attachments pursue this line of thought).

even outside them (Thomaz, 2008; Agier, 2008; Telles&Cabanes, 2006; Misse, 2010; Villela, 2010; Telles, 2011; Hirata, 2011; Feltran, 2011;).

The social question then comes to be understood *publically*, as a problem regarding public security and *order*, which has well-defined subjects and territories[13]. In the city centre, inhabited by *crack addicts, homeless people, transvestites* and *prostitutes*, as well as in the peripheries and more distant favelas, represented as territories of *violence* and *drug trafficking*, a point of gravitation would emerge for the "new social question", which authorities attempt to treat with the expansion in repression, control, containment and management[14]. The attempts to occupy favelas and Cracklands in Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo are explored ad infinitum in all branches of the media, and become fundamental problems or assets for governments from different spheres. Public debate on the social question has become progressively confused with issues of violent criminality, drug trafficking and drug addiction, and the talk is of more repression.

Development

Repression, however, is not the only public face of the change among the working classes in modern Brazil. What has been much more public is their own attitude to the accelerated increase in consumer purchasing power, or in other words, the attitude towards the positive effects of Brazil's "economic development" and "institutional consolidation" in the dominant figuration. The increase in access to education, healthcare and other social rights, the substantial fall in unemployment, along with the aggressive increase in purchasing power in recent years are discussed on a daily basis by the managers of the market and the state. The hailed emergence of a new middle class[15] gives a new impetus to the project of *workers*, who, as Durham (1973) noted for the central case study during his research period, took social mobility as central to their aspirations in life. The current resumption of this project by the elite classes in urban peripheries almost serves as redemption, as they had previously experienced two

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13 For a distinction made between a threat to *individual security* and a threat to *public order* in a different context, see Villela (2011).

14 An expression of this centrality is the practically monothematic approach in Brazilian cinema of the previous decade using different points of view to present the question of the favelas and marginalised groups as a problem which is both social and related to the police.

15 A criticism of this approach appears in the data presented by Pochman, 2012.

decades of significant frustration with this goal. Of the last forty years, during the second decade of the twenty-first century we have experienced the period of greatest expectations concerning social ascension among poor urban workers. The current decade was begun with this expectation in full swing (of a Brazil without poverty, according to the official *slogan*).

Favelas and *Cracklands* on one side, new members of the *middle class* on the other. They are often opposite faces of the same urban territorialities: the peripheries and the city centre; subjects present – the *workers*, the *nóias*, the *prisoners*, the *prostitutes*, the *mothers*, the *success stories* – often within the same working-class families. Neither of these two modern configurations has been thoroughly studied in the research tradition on the urban peripheries and the Brazilian working classes. There is a pertinent gap in specific literature on the topic, perhaps due to the emphasis on Latin-American human sciences in the study of the working classes constructed around the ideal of work – and not the *lumpen*, the *petit-bourgeoisie*, which today appear as particularly relevant and trend-like derivations in the dominant representations of the *working-class* suburbs.

Our research on these marginalised subjects is therefore also dedicated to contributing to the study of working-class territories and social subjects which are extremely heterogeneous and whose conflict is not channeled into official political representation and which, maybe due to this, has not been largely legitimised as a valid object of specific literature on Brazil's urban working classes. The theme itself of these subjects is an expression of social change, captured in field research over recent years. We also notice that the presence of the state in the territories under study aids the construction of bipolarities (which constantly mask and reconfigure the empirical plurality of these areas). In this process, as in photography, the blurring of disperse tones of grey in given support is substituted by the dichotomous classification of their extreme limits: black and white. And based on this – São Paulo is an example in this respect – extreme policies also expand: the aggressive expansion in imprisonment (from 40 thousand people in 1996 to 190 thousand in 2012, with over 50 prisons currently under construction) simultaneously increases access to fundamental social services and rights, secondary school education and jobs and modernises the urban infrastructure etc. Public squares at *war* through urban clearing, repossessions and Cracklands coexist alongside mild discussions on corporate social *responsibility*. These polarities are generally presented as a single logic operating in the situations in which they show.

This separation and the use of *situational* analysis are therefore key to the very formulation of the problem under analysis that is often unclear in the empirical dynamics observed.

An example of this blurring is in the attitude that currently there is everything except the *absence of the state* in the most marginalised of urban groups - not even the public services, something which social movements on the city's peripheries could boast about with certain reason in the 1980s. The state presence among these populations and the territories they occupy has increased significantly. This has been specifically to bestow on them the *order* that was absent, through a constant and normally unsuccessful repression and occupation of urban suburbs in civilising drives such as the UPPs in Rio de Janeiro or in Nova Luz in São Paulo in order to rescue from crime and vagrancy individuals who, although reaping the benefits from living alongside *drug traffickers*, *addicts* and *perverts*, want to become *citizens*. Soon after the police arrived, a myriad of NGOs and social programmes occupied favelas and Cracklands (the UPPs have police and welfare branches, like all of the interventions in São Paulo's streets and favelas). After this occupation, the increase in real estate prices produces a "whitewashing" effect so that *gentrification* may be permanently installed. Due to this, parallel to the resumption of policies from the real estate market, including working-class markets (Shimbo, 2012), are the evictions from favelas and repossessions of occupied buildings.

On one hand therefore, the changes in the modern social sphere promote management associations such as NGOs, social service providers and professional training courses for the most varied of skills; on the other hand, all bets are simultaneously hedged on the mass repression of delinquents. For the *elite* in the peripheries, and those alienated from the poorest families who could engage in a type of social ascension and for this reason meet the objective and disciplinary criteria of mobility, there are courses offering good qualifications at the National Service for Industrial Training (SENAI) and the National Service for Training in Commerce (SENAC), among others. There is work, there are night courses, there are even university grants. At the margins of the favelas, there is preventative training promoted by welfare bodies and by the Social Welfare Reference Centres (CRAS) for manicurists, hairdressers and jewellery makers, among others to stay where they are – and not to fall into the *easy life*. As a rule, none of these activities could be classified as involved in illegal and illicit markets, and if they do, they do not last. The circuits these *other* subjects are involved with do not necessarily pass through them. Very heterogeneous social actions therefore expand side by side – some hardly focused on

"guaranteeing rights", for those who morally deserve them; others more involved with "stopping boys from being on the street, getting involved with drugs and crime". For those who fall short of the formal criteria, and in particular, the desired moral criteria, nowadays there are other very well-structured policies, such as "*Fundação Casa*" [the Home Foundation] for those under the age of 18, and a prison system for those who are older. Both are rapidly expanding under the state. Rehabilitation clinics, internment, mental health problems and drug addicts complete the picture. Anyone who has ever spent time in the city's favelas will know that these are not residual devices; anyone who has ever spent time in these total institutions knows that they do not act through *social integration*, in the normative plan mentioned above, but serve as strategic elements constituting a new *social order*, in the terms described in this study. The logic behind occupying territories and controlling marginalised groups, when not seeking to intern them – be it for their criminality, through mental health devices or "the war on drugs" – is then complemented by the conversion of these processes in accumulating value. These are relational modes of constructing this new order, articulated between the management of outcasts and economic development, which appears to be emerging – even though we are still at the very earliest stages of this process – based on the investigation in progress.

Studying the way by which those marginal groups manage their daily lives and how they try to avoid inequities, protect themselves, express their ways of thinking etc. we are beginning to notice that things even ourselves considered "their things", as their "internal" shared codes of conduct, moralities, "internal" forms of organisation, "their" intensive lexical creation, their "particular" forms of sociability, their suffering, etc.. are, in this relational perspective, things that they develop in intensive *relation*, in great tension, with dominant moral, official law and legitimate institutions. For example, a prostitute whose husband had just moved away explained:

"*on the one hand I understand him... it is not easy to be married to a prostitute... no man could support it. But on the other hand, I do not accept. Because when we knew each-other I was already a prostitute, he accepted, and he knows that I can separate my work and my pleasure, my family and my profession, that I have my dignity*".

This 'internal' code of separation between "work" and "family life" cannot be understood except in its constitutive relation with the dominant moral of marriage and the role of the woman. There are

thousands of examples like that. So, trying to keep the focus on the *relations,* we can think about those forms of public management of these social groups, in today's Brazil, in a reflexive way. The analytical links we are constructing between these forms of representation and effective management show us not only the renewed forms of social contention, displacement, incarceration and repression of those 'others'. It suggests something about the central project of development, the core of the state, that demands this "war on poverty".

Brazil is still growing and many people can talk about the end of poverty, new worker's classes, new middle classes, rise of consumption among the poor people and so on. For us, it would be important to notice that this paradoxical context of economic development associated with high levels of social conflict may be specifically gauged in the territories and social groups considered "marginalised" in today's Brazil. To study the margins is a critical way to study the central pressupositions of a society. Among prostitutes and homeless people we are being able to think about the central ideas of brazilian development.

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