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The endemic of labour in the favela dwelling system: Towards a critique on its architectural autonomy.

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Abstract
This article explores a concept of autonomous architecture that is endemic to post-neoliberal labour systems. Current housing production is directly influenced by the commodification process of living and by social practice tunes, which influence the space production. This directly implies city porosity, creative classes, knowledge economy, urban manufacturing, self-help and self-organization.
In the context of autonomous architecture, the classification of the dwelling system can be divided into three main parts. Firstly, a shift from art to craft that reflects on the dwelling system and which can expand the discussion on architectural autonomy. Secondly, the idea that post-neoliberalism expels people from the system of production allowing for emergent economic cultures to thrive (ex. knowledge economy) whilst underlining the concept that architectural autonomy can be both utopian and dystopian. Thirdly, most of the new forms of exclusion of the labour system move towards the negotiability of economic values instead of establishing a fixed frame of values.
Therefore, this article describes spontaneous settlements as critical spaces to the aforementioned instances about autonomy, architecture and labour. Its porosity, labour dynamics, negotiation of values and increasingly active role in the global projection creates a particular scenario within the built environment. Ethnographic studies in the Favela do Telégrafo in Brazil contextualize a critique on the discourse of labour, architecture and autonomy. Thus, through this article the aim is to discuss Brazilian favelas through a critical analysis on the construction of labour systems within these communities.
Keywords: favela, planetary urbanization, labour, neoliberalism, informal architecture

Resumen
En este artículo se explora un concepto de arquitectura autónoma que es endémica de los sistemas de trabajo de post-neoliberales. La producción actual de la vivienda está directamente influenciada por el proceso de mercantilización de la vida y por las prácticas sociales. Esto está directamente involucrado en procesos tales como la vivienda de autoayuda, la porosidad de la ciudad, clases creativas, la economía del conocimiento, la fabricación urbano, y la auto-organización.
En el contexto de la arquitectura autónoma, la clasificación del sistema de la vivienda puede ser dividido en tres partes principales. En primer lugar, un cambio desde el 'arte' a las 'crafts', que se refleja en el sistema de vivienda y que pueden ampliar la discusión sobre la autonomía de la arquitectura. En segundo lugar, la idea de que el post-neoliberalismo expulsa a la gente desde el sistema de producción que permite a las culturas emergentes económicas en el desarrollo (ej. La economía del conocimiento), mientras que subraya el concepto de que la autonomía de arquitectura, que puede ser a la vez utópico y distópico. En tercer lugar, la mayor parte de las nuevas formas de exclusión sistema de trabajo sugieren la negociación de los valores económicos en lugar de establecer un conjunto fijo de valores.
Por lo tanto, este artículo describe los asentamientos espontáneos como espacios críticos a los casos antes mencionados sobre la autonomía, la arquitectura y la mano de obra . Su porosidad, la dinámica laboral, la negociación de los valores y el papel cada vez más activo en la proyección global crea un escenario particular dentro del entorno construido. Los estudios etnográficos en la Favela do Telégrafo en Brasil contextualizar una crítica en el discurso de la mano de obra, de la arquitectura y de la autonomía. De este modo, a través de este artículo, el objetivo es discutir las favelas de Brasil a través de un análisis crítico en la construcción de sistemas de trabajo dentro de estas comunidades.
Palabras clave: favela, la urbanización planetaria , mano de obra , el neoliberalismo , la arquitectura informal

1. Introduction.

Dwellers' income in Brazilian favelas has been increasing in the past decades, but the manner in which spaces are built remains the same. One could thus speculate that post-neoliberal city dynamics shift the values and assets that exist inside informal settlements: scarcity becomes novelty and the lack of state intervention in the housing system becomes rule. Focusing on the labour tendencies inside the favelas is necessary to understand the basic building structure of these communities. Further to this, labour is a crucial concept of post-neoliberal cities that hinge upon both global and local scales. The macro impact of labour in urbanised areas highlights cities as powerful regions in the global scale. Apart from this, the microscopic level of social practices and agencies provides a sociological and anthropological level of analysis of labour.

Cities quickly become targets of investment, nurturing their own policies and increasingly becoming recognized as commodities. They work as magnets: attracting people to work in their territories without necessarily having enough capital to shelter everyone.

The transformation of labour tendencies of the so-called "informal inhabitants" relates to post-neoliberal effects and to the indisputability of informal settlements. It is common knowledge that economists view urbanization as a creator of surplus value, and "allow" suburbanization to exist as a trouble-shooter. The materialistic criticism highlights that 'forms of suburbanization absorb the exceeding production and shelters the exceeding labour force' (Harvey, 2013). Moreover, from a planning perspective the network of global agencies of post-neoliberalism is coupled with cultural, social and political programs of different, localised existing contexts. In fact, worldwide institutions such as UN Habitat, Slums Shakers and the Millennium Project (which are devoted to thinking and acting in informal contexts) seem to perceive dwelling through their international agenda. However, in order to carry out practical and technical work within the field this equation is reversed with an emphasis on the existing context of communities and an assumption on the reference of informality in space (Abrams, 1964). Such dynamics also raise awareness about the political significance of informal dwellings, because they refer to informal settlements on an institutional level. Finally, both urban planners and architects can contribute in existing contexts of informal settlements and in doing so they may be fundamental to address planning and environmental issues.

2. Introducing Brazilian frames

Previous Brazilian projects geared towards economic development and social empowerment have embraced post-neoliberal top down regulations as well as attention to the micro level of social changes. They have mainly tried to tackle these communities through the prospects of construction whereby cities are classified by their capability to attract investments and use this as a source of empowerment for their dwellers. The UN Habitat report (2014-2015) and similar reports from the World Economic Forum (2015) both imply that the political agendas of various developing cities (including Brazilian cities) use foreign investment as a primary strategy. In this day and age, strong cities are characterised by the scale and diversity of their investment network - a characteristic tendency of neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism.

In the past few years, Brazilian cities have experienced an economic boom: the middle class doubled in size and the alarming levels of inequality between rich and poor began to diminish. This was followed by a recent economic depression and cuts into various social programs. The current transformation of social practice incomes and the consuming tendencies of the so called classes C and D, which historically lived in the favelas is neither preventing informal dwellings from physically appearing within the city, nor is it amortizing the segregation between favela and the so called "city of the rich" (IBGE – Brazilian Geographic Institute, 2013).

Furthermore, this is uncoupled with a change in the building processes and in the economies of favelas. Informality continues to rise despite higher incomes. This reinforces the fact that looking upon space dynamics on a micro-economic level only cannot explain changes in favela nuances, because we speculate that there are bigger forces applied in informal settlements. Yet, one cannot deny the relevance of micro data analysis in order to intervene with coherent and informal existing settings. Realistically, an informal point of view would require looking at the details of capital "produced" by favela dwellers and capital "invested" in favelas by several social agencies. The labour included in the processes of shelter building in favelas is also relevant, thus being able to observe the political, ecological and psychological effects on a society (Guatarri, 2008). Indeed, the capital produced in informal settlements becomes an actor on a global economic scale (London School of Economic apud Burdett and Sudjic, 2011). This obviously raises the topic of transformations of labour processes in informal settlements.

3. Macro speculations of labour and the Favela: post-neoliberalism, informality, planetary urbanization, inequality, commoditization, and porosity.

The first phase of neoliberalism was characterized by encouraging people to subscribe to the labour system, with a significant increase in the manufacturing industry and other industrial sectors. Higher rates of consumption are also an important characteristic. In a nutshell, post-neoliberalism was deeply influenced by the austerity brought with it and by the 2008 world crisis. The acknowledgment of the limitations of a system of resource provision (Sassen, 2011) leads to a revision in the manufacturing sector, a redefinition of labour and the allowance of creative economies/creative class and network economies. The scarcity of resources and austerity of post neoliberal society expels people from the labour system and restricts economic policies, it acknowledges the diversity of production and limits the role of institutions (Sassen, 2011).

Thus, informality within the context of post-neoliberal cities means revising several academic mantras with attention:

3.1 Rural x Urban Migration out of binaries but in constrains of labour incomes:

Firstly, it is appropriate to mention that informal settlements act as a backdoor for rural migration into the cities (Burdet and Sudjic, 2011). Thousands of people move to bigger cities per day, especially those in developing countries (Tolu Ogunlesi, 2016; Jason Burket 2016). Nevertheless, there are almost no studies which can shed light on the fact that these migrants encounter a number of limited resources, coupled with the failure of institutions to provide housing. This makes informal dwelling not only possible but also legitimate. Rural income in

the agricultural sector is around 10 times less than in urban sectors, as noted by Abrams decades ago. In fact, the informal economy is the basis of the formal economy and its perpetuation (Harvey, 2013), (allied with informal housing) is indisputable and will exist in spite of efforts to provide equity and social housing to all. The right to a dwelling is thus eclipsed by the rules of commodification in the city: Those who can earn enough to afford a place to live in an increasingly commoditized city are privileged. Nonetheless, individual and collective need for shelter imposes its sovereignty, especially if one looks at the increase of informal settlement in the world.

3.2 Hyper-commodifed times: commodification in Favelas driven by classical monetary resources:

The land and housing system in post neoliberal cities is hyper-commoditized (Madden, 2015). Hence, the process of commoditizing is capable of transforming even the most subjective value of a city into assets. This also happens in the poorest of settlements, as is the case in favelas: here a room, a house, or perhaps the economic system in general are all commoditized; Rent rises, house property diminishes and the individual based system of income provision is addressed. In favelas, values are constantly negotiated but there is a certain tendency to romanticize negotiable values. The so called "highly negotiable values of spaces in favelas" are driven by classical monetary resources.

3.3 The planetary urbanization and a thesis of symbolic versus material investments

The city centre, which is the basis of all networks for industries to generate incomes, can easily become an increasing focus of speculation and gentrification. Despite general economic downturns, city centres attract people who live in agricultural land to search for better opportunities there: it is a symbolic magnet of hope within collective imaginaries. The re-definition of cities is just as physical as it is immaterial and symbolic (Sassen, 2011). Moreover, the rescaling of regional sectors in which cities become powerful economic centres (Brenner,2013) also takes into consideration the urban and the rural as merged binary systems (Brenner, 2013), in other words, fluxes of capital and resource and communication networks hinge upon the most remote confines of the planet (Brenner, 2013). In this light, one questions whether the increase in migration of people to cities is more of a symbolic trend rather than an economic necessity. I believe that despite networks of connections among territories, the inequalities of investments are still defined by the old binary distinction between rural and urban, in which the rural setting is viewed as generating much lower income in developing cities.

3.4 Speculations on the amortization of inequalities through social porosity

The claim of the neoliberal city does not lie in providing equity to all citizens, but in being aware of the differences between people, such that inequalities are amortized and a mixture of rich and poor is fostered, as can be seen from the concept of social porosity (Sennet, 2011). Equity becomes a mixture as if the intertwinment of different strata of society is able to boost and enable new economic and living structures to coexist. According to Sennet, porosity within the city encourages encounters, conversations and trade in public spaces, which are actually places that enable moments, conversations and such exchange to take place. He defines public space as a political project in the contemporary city. In this sense, one wonders whether the concept of social porosity could be an amortization to the concept of equality that is, whether it could become the new equality in post-neoliberal cities. It is the small moments of encounters or subversion that create spaces which are an effective political project in the city.

4. Architecture in Post-neoliberal cities designed from the exclusion to informality: scarcity of resources, self-help and the role of architecture in existing contexts of informal settlements

A materialistic analysis on planning policies of post-neoliberal societies acknowledges the incapability of providing housing to all. The post neoliberal city loses the concept of informality in order to be able to circumvent failure and design economic labour provision. It acknowledges informality and allows policies to deal with scarcity. Thus, in this place diversity has a new meaning and becomes a trending product, such that the role of the architect may become important to find new ways of tackling the question of informal settlements.

In this context architecture appears as the discipline that deals with the harsh reality of informal settlements and the infrastructural and legislative aspects concerned with improvement in the city (usually a technical task rather than aesthetical and stylistic). The aforementioned material limitations are the basis for diverse modifications in policies.

Tabula rasa planning strategies are an ineffective way to address the indisputability of the informal dwelling system. Architecture questions its role in informal settlements, which now comes from a starting assumption that informal settlements, emergence and appearance in the city is indisputable. For example, new Brazilian policies such the "Lei de Assistência Técnica" gives the right to any Brazilian architect to intervene in case of technical needs arising within communities. Others, such as the "Favela-Bairro" upgrading program, were carried out in favelas with the aim of integrating them into the surrounding neighbourhoods. Both projects upgrade the dwelling conditions through improvements such as paving of internal streets or connecting houses to water, sewage and electricity main lines. These are a typical example of porous co-operation between informal dwellers and people with the technical expertise of an architect or engineer. Such collaborations are usually attainable through social agencies.

In fact, during the past decades, physical infrastructure and household amenities were greatly improved in favelas, mostly due to collective efforts of informal dwellers. Again, the architect's role is questioned because communities seek to address infrastructural issues.

Architecture in favelas is more than infrastructure, it circumvents both the political, poetic and aesthetic role of architecture in informal settlements. It becomes an encounter between experts and non-experts. Self-help and Incremental Housing, for example, are two of the most tedious for providing housing in the context of developing countries: most of self-help initiatives continue to be planned within the constraints of an institution and for pure economic reasons such as material costs, management of resources and the capability of individuals. Additionally, there is also an academic belief in the capability of translating informal settlement codes into an institutional code within the field as informal space agencies and building codes should not be dissociated from the dwellers. Those practices are unimaginable without the contribution of the inhabitants.

The capability of coping with economic constraints in the dwelling sector and its insertion in a field of uncertainties leads to self-help housing and incremental housing as a possible way to provide housing to all, coming from the assumption of a limited supply facing the demand, of shortage of materials.

Prioritizing self-help as a planning technique, despite reasoning in its economic questions, is for many a question of digging into the informality for taking design lessons and for then translating the codes into a institutional code. The negotiable values produced in the informal economies plus the flexible manner of incrementing and designing a house are confronted must be confronted with the fixed values that exist in the informal settlements. They are beyond state simplifications (Scott, 2009). Spontaneous settlements emerge as critical spaces of both autonomy, architecture and labour, in which labour carries the role of containing the most fixed codes of flexible values in informal settlements.

5. The importance of labour Inscriptions to understand favela architecture

A concept of architecture that it is endemic to post-neoliberal systems goes back to seeing dwelling as autonomous, in order to attempt to restore it as a human right. It does not deny that commodification processes contribute to inequality within the dwelling system but acknowledges this system of inequalities. Thus, it does not mean to abandon the skills and practices into the production of buildings but to include the knowledge of informal dwellers and their social agencies within architectural discourses.

Architects fail to analyse and capitalize upon the information of social agencies because of the lack of vocabulary for describing them. One of the reasons may certainly be the fact that the guiding role of the architect excludes the involvement of certain parties and blurs the open space features that exists in informal settlements.

The encounter between an architect and a dweller unravels individual skills in a scenario of flexible capitalism: the post neo-liberal man and the flexible man who co-operates to create forms of labour (Sennet, 2008). Moreover, within the built environment it is usual to find flexibility in the interpretation of a 'fixed value' and a 'negotiable value'. Architecture and construction are negotiable values in the existing context of informal settlements, yet they have an order and a code, more or less like open architecture systems. That is, they are a consequence of unforeseen desires of inhabitants insomuch as patterns of labour which are included in classical monetary frames. The networks of construction are immutable, codified and constructed to support the inhabitants' needs: they compose the structure of the language of informal settlements – a form of architecture which is centred around the dwelling question. Labour conglomerates (builders and construction, architecture) address the core question of architecture and dwelling.

Fixed patterns and codes within favelas are also found in labour conglomerates because these are driven by classical monetary frames. They allow for a better understanding of the techniques of construction, aesthetic, stylistic approaches and infrastructure. For example, masons of the Favela de Santo Antônio usually work in the formal construction field. These are experienced builders who possess a deep and technical knowledge of favela-building, men who would have been mason helpers from a young age and were formally or informally taught masonry in Brazil. This is an elite circle of knowledge and skill among these so called "two worlds". The mason-acquired knowledge sets have contributed to various construction manoeuvres that has led to the survival of favela construction techniques over the years. Within such a framework, the house is a result of a combination of components and interventions, most of which are overseen or carried out by a group of masons that receive money from dwellers whilst a few of them are provided by the inhabitants themselves. These small components such as a window that becomes a door of a shop, or internal changes in the room – they operate within the frame established by the mason. The way in which the building is structured and the intricacies included: the foundation patterns, possibility for extension patterns and the selection of construction materials, the sewage system, the water system and the system of distribution of electricity shows that the jerry build has a logic. The micro-economic aspects related to this scenario (that includes the mason) can be explored further for better understanding of the informal settlement within the architectural dynamic.

5.1 Ordered frames and different social agency codes in Brazilian housing projects:

Many housing projects designed by architects are transformed by inhabitant's subversions such as the housing project of Favela Cidade de Deus that later became a favela. Thus, permanent structures are being replaced and superimposed by individual actions and social agencies. Architects are aware that their power of intervention in the informal city is low and that ordinary inhabitants are continuously making and re-making their cities, rarely "under circumstances which they chose themselves" (Tonkiss apud Angelil, p 68, 2012)

It is difficult to translate such immaterial actions and changing parameters into a pattern system. Social geography seems to be a field that reflects upon such issues. Giddens stated that the repetition of an action in space is a pattern. Other social studies tried to tackle this issue through ANT (Bruno Latour,2005) and the assemblage theory (Manuel de Landa, 2006). Alternatively, Amarthya Sen (2004) and other social geographers in micro economic fields believe that a repetition of individual choices can result in existing material systems.

With this in mind, the argument that a structure of social patterns is coupled with permanent structures of society (materialist analysis) was developed. Most of the time, the critique is based merely on flat ontologies. Again, the basic foundation of labour and construction knowledge are material-relative and fixed, they are not unpredictable and they sustain the growth of informal settlements. None of the studies aimed at understanding the informal settlement systems have tried to extract design foundations from the basis of its materials.

All these forms of intervention in the informal settlements also acknowledge limitations produced by the commodification of land and the existing structures in informal settlements. As a discipline, architecture is submissive to aesthetical rules, market pressures and demand or style tendencies.

5.2 Ethical Dilemmas and Architecture

The study of favelas within the discipline of architecture is characterised by eternal ethical dilemmas. Is architectural intervention in poverty contexts ethical? Is the interpretation of poverty standardized or romanticized in architecture contexts? If the architect intervenes in informal settlements or existing contexts, would that be architecture, or technical support?

All these questions lead to a call for the extension of knowledge on the traditional planning knowledge on architecture. A complete reformulation within traditional architectural disciplines (aesthetical, material and

technical) needs to be addressed. This can literally be seen as a reformulation from the streets to academia, and may well be carried forward to teaching architecture by preparing architects for the challenge of facing demands from increasing informal settlements.

These are issues that the architect can address as a technical supporter of communities, although they circumvent the possibility of seeing the architect as a social agent. That is, an architect can address the social aspects by being an agent and acting as a community supporter whilst also understanding the material deprivations of the communities through his/ her presence and exposure of the favela lifestyle.

5.3 Public space, 'everyday' space and porous space as substitutes of democratic spaces

Social porosity shapes values in the cities and suggests that an ideal of democracy can be achieved. Therefore, public spaces have a significant role in the architectural and planning basis of informal settlements because they promote different values, societies and creative modes of planning and dwelling. It is important not to heed current unrealistic assumptions and try to find new ways of making housing for all a basic right.

Such dynamics exist in everyday life, as a political project in current society and as a place to break down individualisation. It is an expression of social knowledge and an offspring of urban production. A better attention to everyday is a motto of current times. It is under this umbrella a critical argument about the architecture of informal settlements, need to try to address the current boundaries for architects who aim to work within the existing settings of informal settlements.

6. Conclusion

These notes were formulated for those aiming to understand design issues from labour and material basis of the economies of favelas.

6.1 The idea that post-neoliberalism expels people from the system of production

This allows emergent economic cultures to stem (e.g. knowledge economy) and also expands the concept of autonomy of architecture as both utopian and dystopian. But this expulsion is transformed into other possible economies. At the same time, this attracts people to cities: daily migration flows of people. This creates more and more informality and allows informal and formal worlds to meet because the city suddenly becomes the place of encounters between the rich and the poor, in a porous space, in a mixture of social strata. Both classes face the scarcity of resources. When expelled, networks of collaborations are created and new possibilities of social encounter and social exchange can flourish. All in all, the city will create encounters and new collaborations, despite the labour expulsion system. Ultimately, we reiterate that these are fundamental aspects of an informal settlement.

6.2 A shift from art to craft

Reflecting upon the system of post neoliberal cites includes the suggestion that the individual role is reformulated. The shortage of resources that is reflected on the dwelling system can expand the discussion on architecture autonomy. Within post neoliberal systems, the re-definition of the individual needs a transformation from the *homos economicus* to the *homo faber* in which man becomes its own maker. It is rethinking the notion of the material consciousness of things, independent of the things themselves. It reverberates the notion that technology suppresses the intelligence of the hand (Sennet, 2014). The DIY aspect that exists in the favelas (workshops and family structures) is endemic to this system and has been so for many years, before a crisis of resources forced common Brazilian middle and upper class individuals to think about the importance of manual work and cooperation in the society.

This discourse can be reflected in the housing system. It is clear that architecture starts denying the technicalities of *Tabula Rasa planning* and mass housing projects with scarce infrastructure, once it becomes apparent that these resources are not to be funded by the city. Nonetheless, within these corporations, mainstream architecture will begin to change their strategies since they do not have the necessary resources to provide changes. The orientation versus a cut of resources' affects every working sector and is pictured by self-help and incremental housing policies – only to guarantee a saving of resources from institutions. The post-neoliberal world changes everyday life, individuums, daily life, emotions, feelings, dreams and hopes.

Also the propagation of self-help projects has to do with the individual ideological change: such as community planning, and mutirões in Brazil. Although these projects represent only 2% of institutional housing planning in the project *Minha Casa Minha Vida (MCMV)*, there is an increasing interest in them.

What we do not investigate to much is the fact that the possible change in the practices of individum in the post neoliberal times will further change aspects of family configuration, values and consume patterns into a more 'collective notion' (Benkler, 2011; Bollier & Helfrich, 2012; Sennet, 2008; Ostrom, 1990). Or the tendencies of industries to self the return of DIY and Do-it-Together projects as a win-win strategy.

These notions of 'commons' are related to urban communities. David Bollier explains that these resources are limited and that the notion of commons as only a matter of communities that are not necessary social strata - communities can be diverse, part of communities – they do not have to be in a single place, they can be all over the word and sharing the same resources and this a more interesting concept because it acknowledges the diversity of post-neoliberal times (Silke Helfrich, 2012).

The act of sharing thus enables a certain knowledge production. As also recognizing the power in these practices. The knowledge of experts and non-expert. People meet, people discuss, aspect of what this establishes a production of spaces. The challenge goes beyond finding spaces for informality in highly regulated cities or securing the urbanism of informality in the cities of 'the poor'. Because it raises the fundamental question on "how different spaces of commonalty might work - "creatively, logistically, politically" - in different sites", paraphrasing Fran Tonkiss (Tonkiss apud Angelil: 69, 2012).

6.3 Most of the new forms of exclusion of the labour system move towards the negotiability of economic values instead of establishing a fixed frame of values.

The hyper-commodifed economy, a scarcity of resources. Data on dwellers' working dynamics were collected during the years of 2013-2014 in the Favela do Telégrafo/Grota de Santo Antônio (Maceió, Brazil). An ethnographic research was developed, and spontaneous settlements were described as critical spaces to above-mentioned instances about autonomy, architecture and labour. The survey data collected over 20 interviews and

ethnographic insights to test generalizations about the wonders or horrors of favela life and to explore the improvements as well as the setbacks in terms of labour. Several aspects were evaluated and organized into two sections: the domestic networks, the labour networks (being included the construction networks).

Appendix (ethnographic study in the Favela de Santo Antonio):

a)Domestic networks and Labour

Alternative Brazilian social politics introduces the favela as a new Brazilian middle class. In general it is due to 'close ties of labour' that the favela communities perpetuates. Dwellers do not want to change their neighbourhood after achieving more economic support. They prefer to grow within their neighbourhood and change it in case of a state removal order or a good economic proposal for their land and house. The perpetuation of building values is respected (manuality, resources, family structures, public spaces, infrastructures), as is the logic of the informal market.

The new generation of favela inhabitants includes up to 2% of individuals with university level education and up to 15% of individuals being illiterate. In fact, numbers of the Brazilian Geographic Institute shows that the new generation of dwellers is more educated and has more acquisitive power within credit programs. Educational possibilities are more frequent and the new generation has more possibilities than in the past.

Also, the media influences consumption patterns and labour trends and several churches increasingly appear within the informal landscape. Populism, oppression, microcredit and welfarism are characteristic of these informal dwellings and lifestyles. There is also a connection with the outside world, which was achieved through labour trends. Most workers within the favela experience life in the city centre and this reinforces a particular concept of social porosity.

b) Construction Networks and labour networks

Self-help as an initiative and double journey of work are the characteristics of favela dwellers. Construction workers in the favela are usually masons who extend their working hours to build for others as well as themselves during their free time. They are experienced skilled masons employed by the formal construction sector, operating as co-operative with their formal place of work.

Because of the long hours spent working, living and work life easily become intertwined. In many cases, houses become extensions of work life in the form of workshops. Obviously this has also to be included in the way we understand labour in relation to architecture within the informal settlements.

c) Labour Networks and porosity

Other testifies of the porosity among formal an informal city is the fact that the products that feed the most important market of clothes and tools comes from Caruaru (formal industrial city known by its commercial attributes). The market is currently rapidly increasing in size and it employs the citizens of the favela. The market is not only frequented by informal dwellers, but also by people coming from several neighbourhoods in Maceio. Whereas in the favela, there are many services such as nurseries, praying services and schools and also, commercial activities such as Mini-markets, cake shops and hair dressers and are just frequented by locals.

Also, supermarket chains are establishing a franchise close to the favela. They attract buyers with their consumer items such as frozen food and better technologies than favela markets.

According to Jessé De Souza two classes live in the favela: the *batalhadores* and the *ralé*. There is a clear distinction from the *batalhadores* and the *ralé* (most unpriviledged of the unpriviledged). The *batalhadores* are counted 30 million and this new middle class is the capitalistic periphery that has a capability to change the fundamental of social structure. The incomes grow due to a double journey of work, due to resisting to tiredness, due to saving money, due to prospective thinking.

Brazil acknowledges the social classes but it wrongly acknowledges that this class is defined by income values. The new middle class is not measured by its consumer power. The immaterial values are a missing gap in the construction of the favelas social classes in Brazil. Another gap is that the poor classes in Brazil do not have the social, moral and cultural; who allow the access to goods. They will carry the planning tendencies forward in Brazil during the next few years. In a way that is unpriviledged, misunderstood and intriguing.

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Biography

Ana Rosa Chagas Cavalcanti is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Delft University of Technology supported by Sciences without Borders (CAPES, Ministry of Education) and TU Delft. Furthermore, she was awarded some architectural competitions which the first prize and she exhibited at international architecture exhibitions such as IBA Hamburg and the Biennial of Public Spaces (2015). She founded the "School of Favela Architecture" (2014), where favela inhabitants and academics can share knowledge on dwelling. This work unfolded an Exhibition at UCL Cities Methodologies (London, 2014), as well as articles at renewed international conferences/magazines and, it has received a positive critique from HDM editors (Cambridge-USA, 2015). She was an "IJURR fellow" in 2015 (Harvard, UCLA, Sciences Po, ETH Zurich, LSE, …) and has participated at the Wohnungsfrage Academy 2015 (HKW+Columbia Buel Center, 2015).