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Viable Self-Management

*The FUNACOM housing programme of the
São Paulo Municipality*

By Rosana Denaldi

**Viabile
Self-Management:
The FUNACOM
Housing
Programme
of the São Paulo
Municipality**

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29

WORKING PAPERS



IHS Working Paper Series No. 9

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**Viable Self-Management:
The FUNACOM Housing
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São Paulo Municipality**

Rosana Denaldi

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Editor's note

This working paper on the FUNACOM housing programme - the Municipal Programme to Support Housing for Low Income People by Self-Management of the São Paulo Municipality - has largely been written during the first half of 1992. That time the political scene in the São Paulo municipality was still dominated by the Labour party (PT). This party came into power in 1988 and advocated the development of new urban and housing policies. In order to implement these policies, the FUNACOM programme was conceived.

Though in 1992 the experience with the FUNACOM programme was still limited, the first results seemed to underpin the relevance of the programme as a viable strategy to improve the housing conditions of the urban poor.

At that time it was already apparent that the elections which would be held later in 1992 could have a major impact on the future of the programme. And so they did ! The new administration attached much less support to the programme and reduced the funds available to it. More details on the impact of the elections and several afterthoughts are provided in the Epilogue of this paper.

As a result of the changed political situation, the execution of the programme could not proceed as envisaged. This makes it extremely difficult to firmly assess the ultimate value of the programme. Yet it is felt that the programme potentially could have contributed significantly to the improvement of the housing situation of the urban poor in São Paulo Municipality.

It is also felt that key-principles of the programme can be adopted in the design of programmes aimed at improving the housing situation of the urban poor elsewhere. For this reason a working paper on this programme was considered valuable. However, the case study also clearly brings out the importance of a supportive political environment for the development and execution of programmes of this nature.

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Preface

Part of this IHS working paper is based on a project report 'Community Participation in the Elaboration and Implementation of Housing Programmes Case Study of São Paulo'. I wrote this report as an element of the normal requirements for the post graduate Diploma course (ICHPB) at the Institute for Housing Studies (IHS), for the workshop 'Housing Policy and Evaluation', coordinated by Douglas McCallum, January-June 1992.

This paper describes the so-called Municipal Programme to Support Housing for Low income People by Self-management (FUNACOM programme) with an emphasis on community participation and on the self-management basis of the programme. I consider this programme, initiated by the municipality of São Paulo, Brazil, as a good example of institutionalizing an innovative role of the government in the field of human settlements management. It can be considered as a 'new experience' illustrating important aspects of community participation, the interface of such a programme with income generation projects and the São Paulo City Municipality (PMSP) initiatives to guide urban development more effectively. The implementation of such a programme is not common in developing countries and few official housing programmes are set up in this way at any significant scale. I hope this experience will stimulate governments and NGOs to formulate and implement housing programmes and projects based on the principles of community participation and self-management. Since the FUNACOM programme started only in 1989, the experience with respect to its implementation is still limited. In addition, due to limited information on the financial aspects of the program, this report does not give a detailed analysis of them.

This paper is based on my experiences in implementing community projects and the FUNACOM programme through CAAP, an NGO called 'Centro de Assessoria a Auto Gestao Popular' for which I worked during the past 7 years.

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I would like to thank Douglas McCallum, Peter Nientied, Mirjam Zaaijer, Jeroen Klink and Monique Peltenburg of IHS, Nabil Bonduki - head of HABI (Housing Superintendency of Sao Paulo Municipality), and the staff of CAAP for the support I received in developing this report.

1

Introduction

São Paulo is a city of thousands of contradictions. It is one of the biggest megacities in the world, and it has been playing a significant role in the Brazilian economy as the most important industrial region and international service center of the country. In spite of this, of its 10 million inhabitants, approximately 6 million live in poor housing conditions. The quality of the urban environment has deteriorated a lot and affects the quality of life. The access of low income people to urban services and facilities has become more and more limited. The land is becoming scarcer, and it is increasingly difficult for the lower income individuals and households to satisfy their housing needs. The existing settlements have become more densely populated.

Raquel Rolnik - Secretary of "DEMPPLAN" - 'Departamento Municipal de Planejamento da Secretaria Municipal de Planejamento' (Municipal Planning Department of the Municipal Planning Secretariat) states that nowadays 70% of São Paulo City is illegal or irregular, which means that there are large sectors of the city which do not fit in with the land or building regulations (slums, slum houses, illegal settlements, land occupation).

The people who live in this 'illegal' situation do not have the same 'urban rights', such as access to infrastructure, urban services and community facilities, as those in a legal situation. It represents a condition of non-citizenship.

But in spite of the existence of the 'illegal city', there are urban areas in São Paulo with total infrastructure provision which can be considered as '*empty urban spaces*', where it is possible to increase the population density. Besides that, recent studies of the Municipal Secretariat of Planning (SEMPLA) prove that there are more than 144 million m² with enough infrastructure developed for, approximately, another 7.5 million people.

The former Brazilian housing policies of the different levels of governments have failed to provide housing for low income people. The lack of linkage between housing policies and urban economic policies, the lack of community participation and the centralization of the financial resources and decisions are among the most important factors that contributed to the failure of the previous policies. Consequently, they contributed to housing inadequacies and urban disharmony. It is also recognized that, in recent years, most people had the responsibility to build their own house in one way or another, but the governments did not give sufficient attention to this. Few official governmental programmes on a self help basis had been elaborated and few

experiences had been gathered concerning financial support by governments to community initiatives.

In 1989, in order to face the city's housing and urban problems, São Paulo municipality started development of new urban and housing policies. Among others, the FUNACOM housing programme was initiated in response to the demands of the social movements in São Paulo. Two special developments contributed to the formulation of new policies and programmes. Firstly, the municipalities in Brazil got more autonomy through a new constitution initiated by the National Congress (1988) and, secondly, at the same time the PT took over São Paulo municipality.

Due to the elaboration of a new constitution in 1988, the cities received more autonomy with regards to developing their own municipal laws and urban plans. In addition, due to the economic, political and geographical differences between the various Brazilian States and cities, individual municipalities were expected to develop their own policies and programmes. The democratic aspects of the new constitution were ensured thanks to the press, political parties and popular participation and pressure.

PT is a new political party with 'democratic and social' ideas and great popular support. The democratic attitude, popular participation, decentralization and municipal autonomy advocated by the PT promoted the development of new urban and housing policies. As a result, the PT government in São Paulo municipality introduced a new policy of land occupation, altering laws such as those on city zoning as well as the building code and land-use regulations. It started a new urban policy which ensured a more equal distribution of public services and facilities, and facilitated popular participation.

The FUNACOM programme cannot be considered as yet another isolated experience of facilitating the implementation of a selected number of housing projects on a self help basis. It is the principal housing programme set up by the municipality, and it also has strong connections with the new urban plan and with the administrative organization of the municipality. This gives the programme the necessary framework and support. The new São Paulo administration defined a new regulatory framework (urban plan), formulated the FUNACOM programme and started its implementation. In order to achieve its goals, it had to undertake administrative reform and review, mostly old, legislation. In spite of its short time in operation, results are already visible. In 1992, about 10.800 houses had been built as a result of the FUNACOM programme, and in more than 120 slums upgrading projects had commenced. HABI (Housing Superintendency of São Paulo Municipality) signed contracts with 87 ACs to construct houses in 49 different sites, with 19 ACs to implement slum upgrading through self-management and with 9 ACs to renovate tenement houses. The total number of housing

interventions through HABI, directly or indirectly, will affect 90.000 households; 29.000 of them are related to construction projects.

Many governments claim that self help projects do not successfully eliminate the housing deficit. They usually think that housing projects set up on this basis take a lot of time to be implemented, are difficult to manage and cannot be applied on a large scale. So far, however, the experiences with the FUNACOM programme show that it is possible to institutionalize community participation on a much wider scale than previously thought. Governments generally do not take into consideration that other housing projects set up on a self help basis were mostly established on an experimental basis, without creating an adequate institutional basis and without changing the government's role. Most governments also continue to define standards, to centralize the financial resources and decisions, and to maintain administrative procedures not suitable to handle such projects. Moreover, community participation has often been considered to be no more than a way of utilizing community labour. Self-management or mutual help housing projects require flexible administrative procedures and should allow community participation in a broad sense.

The aim of this report is to describe the FUNACOM programme in more detail, specifically highlighting the self-management principle on which the programme is based and the aspect of community participation in the decision making processes.

The report is divided into 5 chapters. This chapter provides an introduction, while chapter 2 focuses on the context in which the FUNACOM programme has been developed. It discusses the previous experience with self help housing projects in São Paulo that stimulated social movements to demand official housing programmes on self-management basis and to emphasize the linkage between this programme and the urban policy set up by the new political direction in São Paulo city. Chapter 3 describes the institutional aspects of the FUNACOM housing programme. It highlights the linkage between FUNACOM and the Municipal Fund to support housing for low income people of São Paulo Municipality and the role of the actors involved in the programme. Chapter 4 deals with the community organization necessary in order to carry out FUNACOM, and it illustrates the flexibility of the programme and its interface with the income generation projects by presenting three cases of projects financed by this programme. Chapter 5 finally concludes with some 'lessons' of the experiences to date with the implementation of the FUNACOM programme.

2

Context of the FUNACOM programme

This chapter focuses on the broader context in which the FUNACOM programme has been set up. The initiation of this programme can be understood in the context of the existence of a strong social movement in São Paulo and the emergence of a new political direction of São Paulo municipality and, related to that, the development of a new urban development policy.

2.1

São Paulo - Urban development and housing policies

One of the ambiguities of the urban development and housing policies carried out in the past by the public sector in Brazil was the growing divergence of urban development policies and reality. The usual practice of blue-print planning proved its ineffectiveness in dealing with such a chaotic urban situation. In order to deal effectively with such a situation, it was necessary to undertake a thorough administrative reform, altering the role of the government. The challenge was not to create an 'ideal city' and try to solve unsolvable problems, but to establish a set of principles to guide the actions of actors who really form the urban space. So, the participation of these actors was part of the elaboration of the new urban development policy.

The urban development and housing policy promoted by the PMSP and the execution of (housing) programmes, are both related to proposals for urban planning that have been developed by the Municipal Secretariat of Housing and Urban Development (SEHAB). The plan sets rules for the real estate market, proposes 'land reform' and creates mechanisms to obtain financial resources to invest in housing. It also proposes to establish a new urban code and building code, to review legislation, etc. In this context, it is interesting to describe in short the contents of the new urban planning proposals. The master plan elaborated by the PMSP mentions the following objectives and instruments:

- Promoting popular participation in a decentralized planning system which must be able to function at lower government levels (sub-municipalities);

* Source: Prefeitura do município de São Paulo-SEMPA (1991)

- Increasing the supply of land and (building) sites where special incentives can be given for housing construction in favour of the lower income groups, thereby stimulating the construction of houses and distribution of centers of employment;
- Promoting the increase of centers of employment and consumption, thereby dispersing the commercial sector and services equally over the city;
- Intensifying the construction of houses in regions where work is offered in order to reduce unemployment, and to reduce long distance trips from home to work;
- Finding a good balance between the occupation of areas and the existing infrastructure, implying that there are areas where the residential density can be increased, and others where it has to be reduced;
- Dividing more equally the costs and benefits of public investments in order to establish guidelines which regulate property and construction rights, and
- Outlining a realistic policy to accommodate the lower income groups (families living in bad housing conditions, slums, illegal subdivisions, slum houses, etc.).

The master plan includes the following strategies:

The density of the city

In order to use the already existing infrastructure of the city as much as possible and to profit from this infrastructure, it was stated that 'zonas adensaveis' should be determined. These are zones where the density of construction is allowed to increase. 'Zonas nao adensaveis', on the other hand, are zones where the density of construction is not allowed to increase. Finally the creation of 'solo criado', that is the 'right of construction' above the residential density standard, was proposed.

Along with the development of the infrastructure of the cities over time, the demarcation of the 'zonas adensaveis' and the 'zonas nao adensaveis' may well be changing. Consequently a 'zona adensaveis' may well turn into a zona 'nao adensaveis', for instance when the infrastructure has reached a point of full utilization. In areas where the density of construction is allowed to increase, the landowners have to pay a certain amount of money for additional construction rights. These financial resources are transferred to a special urbanization fund, called the 'Fundo de Urbanizacao'.

Special zones

The master plan defined three different kinds of special zones; the 'ZEIS' ('Zonas Especiais de Interesse Social' or zones for social use), the 'ZEPS' ('Zonas Especiais de Preservacao' or protected areas) and the 'ZI's' (Zonas Industriais' or industrial zones). The ZI's are the new industrial zones and are planned for all over the city on the condition that newly establishing

small industries will be non-polluting. The objective of the 'ZI's' is to create areas with a mixture of residential and industrial use, especially for the benefit of lower income groups.

The ZEIS are intended to be used exclusively as areas for the construction of houses for families with a monthly income lower than five minimum salaries. In these areas, different incentives are given to landowners and residents to promote the construction of houses and the sub-division of land. The objective of the ZEIS is to facilitate the access to empty urban space by low income groups in order to avoid the relocation and expulsion of many families to illegally occupied areas and to create a minimum land area where the public authorities can execute housing programmes.

Compulsory urbanization and construction

The rising costs of urban land have caused a deterioration of housing and urban patterns in the city. One of the instruments included within the master plan to force an increase of supply of vacant land and to reduce the land price is the instrument named 'compulsory urbanization and construction' ('Urbanização e edificação compulsoria'). The plan, based on the municipal constitution, establishes a regulation which forces the owners of large empty urban areas to either develop or allocate land within a given period of time. The landowners who do not develop or allocate the land falling under this regulation have to pay a progressive tax during a specified period of time. When that period is over and the land continues to be vacant, the owner's land can be expropriated at low compensation.

Revision of legislation

The master plan was linked to a revision of existing legislation in order to adapt it to the reality of the existence of the illegal city. The PMSP simplified both parts of the legislation related to the allocation of the land and those related to developmental regulations. It also created new laws to regulate illegal construction and housing project approval. This HIS-law was created for the benefit of low income groups. These new laws also reduced planning and construction standards, allowing for an increase in the residential density and thereby a lowering of costs. The laws can be used by the public sector, as well as by the private sector, provided that it is in favour of the low income groups and that the quality of the environment is not affected negatively.

Interface between the public and the private sectors

The plan also includes strategies to involve the private sector in the management of the city. In this way the government tries on the one side to stimulate the private sector to invest in housing, and on the other side to make the private sector contribute

financially to public investments from which the private sector will in the end also benefit. In order to stimulate the private sector to invest in housing for low income people, the PMSP has designed instruments to stimulate cooperation. For example, the PMSP helps the private sector to implement infrastructure through a financial contribution and adopting special planning criteria, and it receives in exchange part of the area or a number of plots to help satisfy the high priority demand for land of the municipality. Another example of the so-called 'operacoes interligadas' is when the private sector transfers a certain number of houses destined for slum dwellers in exchange for 'rights of construction'.

In 1990, the 'operacoes interligadas' resulted in higher revenues, enabling PMSP to transfer more funds to housing projects. In this year, the revenues of the 'operacoes interligadas' for a period of only three months were equal to the yearly budget of the Municipal Fund to support Housing for Low Income People of São Paulo Municipality (FUNAPS).

Urbanization fund

The plan also mentions the creation of an 'Urbanization Fund'. The revenues of this fund come mainly from payments by the private sector and from building rights and 'operacoes interligadas'. Revenues generated in this way are allocated to low income housing schemes (for households with up to five minimum salaries) and to sanitation and environmental projects. The fund will be coordinated by an advisory council that is formed by delegates of the municipality, the community and the private sector.

Popular participation and decentralization

The planning and management of the city is organized at the central level by an agency of the PMSP and at one level deeper, by decentralized agencies called submunicipalities. The central body elaborates the general directives for the use and occupation of land while the submunicipalities work out and execute the detailed guidelines for the municipal land. The plan indicates that popular participation in the formulation and implementation of public policies is necessary and should be institutionalized. The establishment of advisory committees is one of the instruments to guarantee this participation.

The housing projects financed by the FUNACOM programme are not isolated projects. The new master plan provides the regulatory framework and thus puts these projects in the context of urban reform. The envisaged utilization of the existing infrastructure, special zoning and land use regulation aims at reserving land for housing projects for low income people. The location of the reserved land and the mix of land use were set up in order to distribute the centers of employment over the city and thus to reduce the distance between home and work. The

review of the housing legislation and the HIS law contributes to the flexibility of the programme, enabling the establishment of alternative projects.

The instrument of 'operacoes interligadas' and other types of tax collected by the municipality have provided the financial support for the FUNACOM programme, giving it financial independence from the central government and international agencies.

2.2 The social movement in the field of low income housing in São Paulo

The social movement in the field of housing in São Paulo is one of the strongest in the country. It is characterized by the unification of many different popular organizations. The initiation of social movements in São Paulo did not happen all of a sudden. It is a result of circumstances such as the economic crisis of the 1980s, the particular political situation at that time, the active participation of the Catholic Church by means of Ecclesiastic Communities (CEBs), the support of some political parties and some organizations which provide technical assistance. In the early 1980s, a less strict regime of the authoritarian government in Brazil came to power. The ensuing political opening stimulated the start of a democratic process, and it has led to the 1982 elections and to the strengthening of the trade union movement. The collective actions and the social movement pushed for more liberal policies. The magnitude of social movement increased.

In the same period, Brazil faced a very serious recession with high unemployment and a decrease of purchasing power. From 1981 to 1984, the minimum wage decreased about 18%. São Paulo, where half of the national industrial production is concentrated, had an unemployment rate of 17.4%.

The economic recession affected the housing policies and the purchase of sites by lower income households. Also, rents increased for low income families. A 1989 survey in São Paulo Metropolitan Region indicated that 4% of the households earning up to 2.2 basic salaries spent more than half of their income on rent (Bonduki, 1986, p.40). According to Bonduki, from then on the traditional process of acquisition of housing in São Paulo based on 'peripheral-plotting, own-site and self help' has not been able to satisfy housing needs.

The solution found by low income households was the organization in groups for land occupation. From 1981 to 1984, 61 such land occupations were registered by São Paulo City Council, involving 10.000 households and 2.000.000 square meters of total area. In São Paulo, the land occupation and self-management movements arose in this context and joined hands with other

housing movements ('movimento de favelas' (slum movement), 'movimento de cortiços' (tenement-houses movement), 'movimento cooperativista' (cooperative movement) etc. Later on the movement acquired a political role and started to exert some pressure to participate in the management of public policies.

Through the 'housing movements meeting' and 'movements interchange', they organized themselves in the 'Uniao Dos Movimentos de Moradia da Grande São Paulo (UMM)' (Union of Housing Movements of Great São Paulo). The UMM began to press the different levels of government, not only by claiming for housing, but also by elaborating proposals for housing programmes and changes in the codes. UMM urged for official housing programmes on a self-management basis, and for the decentralization of financial resources and decisions. Their proposals were, in short:

- to establish Community Associations to represent the community;
- to realize 'self-managed' housing projects;
- to create loan opportunities for purchase of land and/or infrastructure and/or building materials, and
- to recognize the role of technical groups in supporting the movements.

The elaboration of these proposals has been influenced by some technical assistance groups, NGOs, and other groups from universities and political parties.

The UMM's proposals were stimulated by the inefficiency of the government housing programmes and by successful experiences of collective initiatives in the field of low income housing developed in experimental mutual help projects in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region. These projects took place in the 1980s in different parts of the São Paulo region and with different characteristics and financial resources. Most of them were a result of 'community pressure' on government organisations. 'Vila Nova Cachoeirinha', 'Recanto da Alegria', and 'Grajaú' are considered to be examples of mutual help projects and gave weight to the relevance of 'housing cooperatives' and mutual help housing building.

'Vila Comunitária' is another example of a mutual help project. It can be considered a peculiar project since it was the first time the community was directly granted a loan from the State government. Thus several mutual help projects were elaborated; however, none of them were self-managed.

In this period, also other collective initiatives for low income housing in São Paulo took place, such as 'Vila Arco Iris' Project (in 'Grajaú z. Sul-São Paulo) and several projects of slum upgrading in Diadema city and São Paulo city. Though small in number, these projects were significant due to the know-how gained and were used later on to develop official housing programmes. They also proved the effectiveness of self-

management housing projects. Thanks to such experimental projects, laws started to be reformulated and bureaucratic procedures altered. In short, the same government, with a new point of view, was acting in a more flexible way.

In 1988 the UMM started to join other housing movements from other states in order to establish a network of national housing movements. These movements began to organize annual actions in Brasilia. These actions were part of a strategy to put pressure on the central government to respond to claims, to call the attention of the press and to influence public opinion. Although the central government recognized the movements, few claims had been responded to. One of the few responses was the formulation of a housing programme (PROHAP-Comunidade) to promote the construction of popular houses by self-management. In the beginning of 1989, the programme was set up on an experimental base. The Union of Movements pressed the State Government to purchase land and grant it to 'Movimentos Sem Terra' (Land Occupation Movements). In addition, it demanded a more significant participation of the movement in the distribution of the housing units built by the State.

After the election of PT to the São Paulo Town Council in 1989, the Union of Housing Movements started to have an active role, including participation in decision making.

With the increase in social movements during the 1980s, the UMM has become a powerful housing movement. The collective initiatives in the field of low income housing by self help took place, and their success stimulated the UMM to demand an official housing programmes on a self-management basis. The result of social movement pressure was the setting up of a self help project by the central government on an experimental basis (PROHAP-comunidade) and the FUNACOM-programme supported by PSMP.



Figure 1: Housing construction under the FUNACOM programme in Heliopolis

3

The FUNACOM programme

3.1 Introduction

The growing housing problem and the difficulties in obtaining federal revenues for housing projects forced the municipal government to intervene directly in the housing sector. The most important housing programme carried out by PMSP is the 'FUNACOM Programme'. FUNACOM finances building materials, land acquisition and development and infrastructure for low income groups. An important characteristic of FUNACOM is that this programme channels the funds for improving housing directly to the families involved.

Under the circumstances described in the previous chapter, the social movements struggling for better housing conditions became more organized and also gained experience with mutual self help housing projects managed by the community. On the one hand, the social movements urged the new municipal government to create institutional channels for popular participation in the municipal policy, and, on the other hand, the new political direction of the municipality was reoriented to decentralization and increasing popular participation.

In this context, the programme FUNACOM (Funaps Comunitario) was formulated by HABI. HABI states the following objectives of FUNACOM:

- to increase the institutional capacity of the municipality to manage housing programmes;
- to reduce the building costs of houses;
- to promote autonomous community participation by self-management in programmes financed by the municipality, and
- to strengthen community participation in the housing sector.

3.2 Programme operations

3.2.1 Revenues of FUNACOM

The FUNACOM programme is financially linked with FUNAPS. This is a fund for housing construction for families who find themselves in sub-standard housing conditions. FUNAPS was created in 1979 to finance the acquisition of land, infrastructure and construction materials with municipal revenues. Unfortunately, after a few years the fund suffered from political

clientelism. In 1989 FUNAPS was restructured by the new municipal government. FUNAPS's new role was to service community associations and to create options for popular participation. Although the fund has no juridical independent status, it is financially and administratively independent from the municipality.

FUNAPS is administrated by a council ('Conselho Deliberativo do FUNAPS') which is responsible for the approval of housing projects and for the control of the use of the funds. The FUNAPS Council supervises a coordinating team responsible for the operationalisation of the fund's programmes. The council is constituted by representatives of the municipality and representatives of the community. The representatives of the municipality are appointed by the mayor, whereas the representatives of the community are elected by associations or popular movements. According to Law 8906, the FUNAPS council has authority to: work out guidelines and standards to manage the fund; approve the application and direct revenues of the fund; formulate maximum limits of financing and repayment conditions; inspect and control the application of the finances and propose ideas for the improvement of working procedures.

The FUNAPS Council thus has not only an advisory function, but also allocates funds. It has been created to secure financial support of the housing projects, relatively independent from political interference. The council manages this because it has its own revenues and because of its status as an organization which promotes popular participation.

The revenues of the fund consist of financial contributions such as 'municipal revenues', repayments of loans and aid or contributions from national or international bodies. According to SEHAB, in 1991, about 4% of the total municipal budget was invested in housing programmes and 25% of this total was directed to the FUNACOM programme by the FUNAPS fund.

3.2.2

Beneficiaries of the programme

FUNACOM directs the available finances to community associations (ACs). The households which are members of the ACs, should have a monthly family income of less than five minimum salaries. The AC needs to have an organizational structure, which functions autonomously, has a juridical status, is non-profit, and which is representative for the community. The AC is responsible for the utilization of the financial resources of the project. The AC should define criteria for internal organization, for management of the programme and financial resources and for the future distribution of the houses among the participating families. The AC should also contract a TAT (technical assistance team).

3.2.3

Financial conditions

The available funds are directed to groups of families with a minimum number of 20 and a maximum of 200 interested families. When the AC has more than 200 interested families, it has to divide these families into two or more ACs.

FUNACOM defined an upper cost limit of 900 UPF (Unidade Padrao de Financiamento - Monetary Unit; 900 UPF equals about US\$ 5.000) for each new house for the following four items: A) for the sites/tools/equipment; B) Technical Assistance Team; C) hired skilled labour; and D) building materials.

In percentages of the total loan amount, the loan limits for these four items are highlighted in the Table below.

Table: Loan limits for different items in percentages of total loan amount

Items	Percentage
A.sites/tools/equipment	4
B.Technical Assistance Team	4
C.hired skilled labour	10
D.building materials	82
total	100

The money available to hire skilled labour can be used by the AC to subcontract specialized construction jobs or for contracting skilled labour during the construction process. The loan component for the technical assistance teams is paid to the AC and then transferred to the teams. The details of service and the percentage commission for the team are set in the contract between the technical assistance team and the AC.

The release of funds by the AC follows the work flow agreed upon with FUNACOM. The first disbursement of funds is an advance for the costs of the building site and infrastructure tools/hired equipments (item A) and the costs of the project design (part of item B). The release of the following disbursements by HABI depends on progress during previous stage.

From the preparation stage until the end of the construction stage, the contracts for the loans and payments of services are made by FUNAPS and the AC. Before the completion of construction, the AC identifies the final beneficiaries and works out the financial contracts with every participating family. The

participating members of the AC will start payments after the completion of the construction. The calculation of the total payment that every family will have to make is based on the monthly income and the size of the family. The total payment to be made may not exceed the equivalent of 25% of the monthly income of the family, but also may not be less than 10% of the minimum salary. A subsidy is given proportionally to incomes of the families and the number of households in the project area. The payments that families make can turn out to be 'low' when the upper limit of 900 UPF has not been used for construction, or if the repayment period is extended (this may vary from 5 to 25 years).

The subsidy is given to the family, and not channelled indirectly through the construction of the house. In case the family sells the house, the subsidy will be calculated again on the basis of the salary of the new owner. This prevents the higher income groups from profiting from the subsidies meant for low income groups.

3.2.4 The actual situation

The success of FUNACOM during its initial phase stimulated HABI to create two sub-programmes, 'FUNAPS vertical' and 'FUNAPS cortiço'. 'FUNAPS cortiço' finances the regularization and renovation of slums by mutual help. The conditions to obtain funds and the procedures for projects are the same as in FUNACOM.

'FUNAPS vertical' finances building up to 5 floors and makes it possible to initiate a construction system with the participation of both building firms and the community by mutual help. The upper limit of financial support is about 1.400 UPF's per family. The AC is again responsible for the management of the project.

The utilization of the financial resources by the AC is more flexible in order to permit flexible contracting of skilled labour, firms and equipment. This financial limit of 'FUNAPS vertical' is higher than the other programmes because of the nature of the building. The programme makes it possible to achieve a high density of occupation and to reduce land and infrastructure costs.

Since 1989, when HABI started to work out the FUNACOM programme, the PMSP faced many problems with the bureaucratic structure and administration practice. They have been partly solved, but there is still a need to improve institutional mechanisms and improve the integration of work of the various departments. HABI tried to institutionalize the Regional Popular Advisory Organization, but the law still has to be approved by the municipality. The decentralization of 'HABI' with the creation of 'HABI-Regional' in the sub-municipalities and the creation of the regional popular advisory organizations facilitates the development of FUNACOM.

3.3 Institutional framework of FUNACOM

3.3.1 FUNACOM

The responsible authorities for housing programmes within the municipality are SEHAB and COHAB (Companhia de Habitação). COHAB finances housing projects mainly with revenues from the SNH (National Housing Secretariat). The programmes for low income people are carried out by HABI (Superintendencia de Habitação), which is a department of SEHAB. HABI finances housing programmes with its own municipal revenues (from municipal taxes) and from the previously mentioned 'urban operation'. HABI consists of a central team called 'HABI Central' and regional teams called 'HABI Regional', which are placed in the sub-municipalities. HABI has worked out various housing programmes. The programmes differ mainly with respect to the level of intervention of the municipal government in the programmes.

HABI works along three lines of action in the housing sector: 1. urbanization of slums (favelas); 2. renovation of slums, and 3. self-managed autonomous housing projects by means of the housing programme FUNACOM.

To implement the FUNACOM programme, HABI created a special governmental coordination team, 'FUNACOM coordination'. This coordination team is composed of specialists in planning, social work, economics, law, etc. This team also handles contracts with consultant teams and architecture offices to develop special projects. The coordination takes place both at a central level and at the level of HABI Regional.

HABI coordination has the following executive functions:

- to guide an AC which wants to use the FUNACOM programme;
- evaluate and approve the request for funding from FUNACOM;
- to evaluate the ability of the technical assistance teams;
- to prepare the submitted project for approval;
- to, if necessary, elaborate specific projects (for instance, infrastructure, sewerage, etc.);
- to release funds;
- to monitor the progress of the executed works and suggest ways to improve the programmes, and
- to work out the contracts of payment for the beneficiaries.

In the development of the tasks FUNACOM coordination also works with departments of SEHAB in order to approve the housing projects, identify land, etc. HABI has recognized the need for municipal governments to act as a 'facilitator' and has also recognized the capacity of the residents to manage the housing projects by themselves. Therefore, the principal task of

FUNACOM coordination is to facilitate the implementation of the project.

To ensure community participation in decision making processes, two councils with different levels of authority have been set up. Through the FUNAPS council, the social movements participate in decisions relating to setting up housing programmes. The 'Regional Popular Advisory Organization' is related to HABI Regional (sub-municipalities). Its objective is to ensure community participation in the approval process of projects by FUNAPS and in the allocation of FUNACOM financial resources. The community representatives in the FUNAPS council come from the social movement organizations and they are elected by representatives (leaders) of community organizations. In the regional advisory organization, the community representatives originate from different community organizations of the urban region, such as community associations, slum groups, slum housing groups, etc. The council members are elected by the members of these groups.

The process of approval of FUNACOM projects is related to these town councils, to HABI Regional and HABI Central. Annually, HABI formulates a review of the available revenues for ACs through the FUNACOM programme and of the allocation through HABI Regional of these revenues per region in the city. The proposals relating to the distribution of revenues per community group in a region are discussed and approved of by the 'advisory regional organization'.

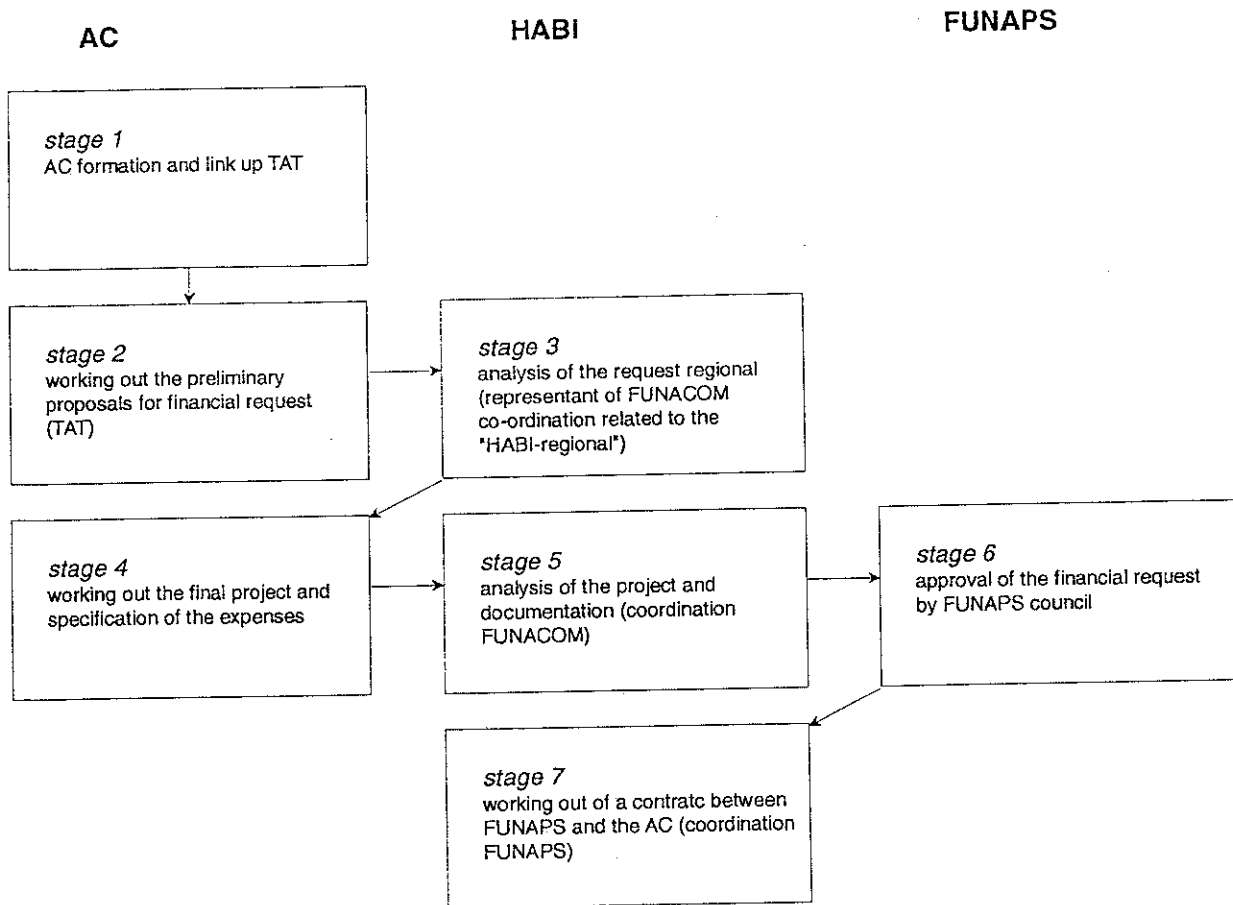


Figure 2: The procedural steps in the approval process of FUNACOM projects

The procedural steps (see Figure above) in the approval process of FUNACOM projects are as follows: To get access to FUNACOM funds, the first necessary step is the organization of a group of families in a 'community association' and the linkage with a TAT. During the second stage, the TAT and AC formulate and present their proposal to 'FUNACOM Coordination' in the sub-municipalities to HABI Regional. These proposals should specify the type of housing standards, the finance required, etc. During this stage, the AC can also negotiate land acquisition through HABI.

The third stage of the process is the evaluation of the request by HABI-Regional. It uses the following criteria: the housing priority demand of the municipality, approval of the 'advising regional organization', feasibility of the plan with respect to land and infrastructure and quality of planning the use of financial resources for the community. During the fourth stage, after the discussion and approval of the preliminary proposal by HABI, the AC and TAT work out the final project proposal and the specification of the costs. Then in stage 5, proposals are passed on to 'FUNACOM Coordination' which analyses the full proposal, on the basis of certain 'flexible criteria' to create possibilities for the AC and the technical assistance team to

present different kinds of building projects which take the realistic capacities of each AC into account.

After this appraisal of the project proposal, in stage 6 it is sent to the 'FUNAPS' council for the financial request. When the request is granted, the AC signs a contract with FUNAPS (stage 7). By signing this contract, the AC accepts responsibility for the management of the construction of the houses and for the development of the infrastructure over the full project period.

3.3.2 Technical assistance team (TAT)

One of the conditions of the FUNACOM programme for the AC is to contract an independent TAT to assist the AC in the preparation of a project proposal and in the process of implementation. The TAT, contracted by the AC, should function independently from the government. The TAT should assist the community not only in each one of the project phases but also in the negotiations with the São Paulo City Council and other public bodies. According to the rules of FUNACOM, the TAT advises on engineering and architectural matters and also gives social, financial and administrative assistance to ensure that the project is carried out properly.

The first TATs in the housing field were formed in the 1980's; some were associated with universities and others with a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). But most TATs were formed after 1988, in the period of FUNACOM implementation.

The main reason why the universities got involved in the social field was to open a new field of occupation. This is different from the business of developing plans for new cities or skyscrapers; it deals with proposals concerned with the realities of low income people. This started to be discussed in the universities.

One of the obstacles for the action of these teams was the lack of financial resources. Until 1989, the autonomous teams were not recognized or paid by public institutions, except for the teams associated with universities. Many teams did voluntary work. Whereas some were supported by international institutions or NGO's, others were insufficiently paid by the community.

With this regulation of the FUNACOM programme and the availability of payments for technical teams, many teams which performed voluntary or partly voluntary work, or the ones from architecture offices and universities, started to organize themselves in TATs and improve themselves to carry out such tasks. Nowadays, there are approximately 18 TATs in São Paulo City. These TATs differ from each other in terms of political connection with social movements, team size, time of formation and type of activities developed. The TATs can be characterized as follows: they are autonomous organizations; associated with

or contracted by the Housing Movements of ACs; multidisciplinary teams and identified with the social and political values of the housing movement while giving engineering, legal, economic and social support.

Although some of the TATs started to work in this field in the 1980's, some of the newer TATs have only been working with the FUNACOM project, they have assisted a small number of ACs because of their operational limitations. These limitations are related to the professional qualifications and the lack of a consolidated administrative structure. Other TATs have assisted many ACs and have also worked in other fields. For instance, CAAP (Centro de Assessoria a Auto Gestao Popular) was one of the first NGO's formed in São Paulo to assist an AC. Nowadays, the center has around 15 staff members with different backgrounds, has assisted 12 ACs in different stages of project implementation and has also performed as a consultancy team assisting governmental organizations in order to set up mutual help projects.

In the FUNACOM programme, the TATs teams can be paid 4% of the project cost. One additional percent can be paid for planning infrastructure projects as well. In the sub-programmes of FUNACOM, 'FUNAPS - vertical' and 'FUNAPS - cortiço', the payment ranges from 2% to 6% depending on the complexity of the project. The first payment ranges from 0,5% to 1% and is partly based on earlier payments.

The tasks of the TATs are:

- a. in the 'pre-construction' phase
 - to elaborate on architectural and engineering projects and also the relevant budgets and time schedules;
 - to discuss and approve the projects together with HABI;
 - to support the community in preparing the necessary household documents (registration cards, family income documents);
 - to assist the community in elaborating the project regulation and other supplementary documents;
 - to promote and manage community training and
 - to plan the construction process (sites, building materials etc.).

- b. in the construction phase
 - to organize the process of house building by means of mutual help;
 - to guide and monitor the construction;
 - to give, together with HABI, financial and administrative assistance to the ACs for expense control and for purchasing and stocking building materials;
 - to implement social and economic projects which promote the interaction in the group and generate

- income (income generation, women's activities, etc.)
and
 - to evaluate regularly the project process with the community.
- c. in the 'post-construction' phase
- to assist the community in the elaboration of the 'social code' of the group and the programme of interaction between the community and the neighbourhood;
 - to assist the community, when necessary, in organizing community based economic projects;
 - to support, if required, the community in continuing the construction process by self help.

The elaboration of such projects is a kind of 'learning by doing'. The architects may have to give up their 'aesthetic concepts' in favour of projects which are socially and economically suitable for the reality of the community. On the other hand, the community acquires technical knowledge provided by the TAT and accepts some solutions which are not so familiar.

Conflicts between the AC and TAT do occur. For instance, sometimes the participants' desire is financially and technically not acceptable, according to the TAT. Other conflicts may be that the community can hardly accept TATs proposals, such as the reduction of the plot size or apartment building of some alternative technological practices different from the traditional ones. Frequently, after all these discussions, the solutions found are creative. This is a process of information and negotiation where reality is the bottom line.

The TATs also have a very significant and active role in the ACs, influencing the participants concerning important matters like environmental awareness. The TATs are very important to FUNACOM's actions. They insure community autonomy, promote its active participation in project elaboration and in finding more flexible solutions for the project. They also contribute to HABI's administrative effectiveness, thereby increasing its capacity.

3.3.3 Community organization

The Community Associations (ACs) which are involved in FUNACOM are linked to São Paulo Social Movements. Such movements are organized by means of 'UMM' described in Chapter 2.

During the process of AC formation and after its structuring, a group of leaders always emerges in a AC. Although the organization of the AC is 'informal' in some aspects, all have their code and have a legal status which allows them to make contracts. Besides, the AC also decides whether it shall be represented by

'directors' or 'coordinators' and how and for how long they will be elected. The group code on the one hand and the project regulation on the other set the participants' duties and rights. They ensure criteria for handing over a dwelling or urbanized site to families who have performed their tasks. Participants can be excluded if they do not perform their tasks or abandon the project. The project regulation is formalized in a document demanded by HABI. The project regulations can differ depending on the kind of project and the community's organization. They define many important matters throughout the construction process.

The FUNACOM-HABI loan and grant depend on the level of AC organization and also on land acquisition. Some AC's finance the land acquisition by themselves; others obtain a loan for land acquisition from HABI. As soon as the land matter is solved, the group starts to elaborate on the group code and the project regulation with an NGO of a technical team.

Sometimes, after preparation of the project, the number of households that can benefit appears to be higher than that of the AC members. Then the AC lists other households or accepts members from other groups. On the other hand, the number of housing units which can be realized may be lower than the number of members. In this case, the AC selects a number of households, on the basis of their level of participation, their dwelling needs (based on family income and their living conditions) and the time at which they joined the group.

Before the project begins, the AC generally gets technical and social training. This training can be given by technical schools or by the TAT. It varies according to the project and TAT but, basically, training consists of specialized courses on hydraulic installation, carpentry, etc. When the training is given by the TAT, a 'standard house' or shed, constructed for or during the training, is built which will be used later on by the community.

4

Community Self-Management Process

In this chapter the community self-management process is described in detail, and some examples of housing projects are given to clarify the alternatives of the housing programme.

4.1

Standards

The housing projects that have been implemented by FUNACOM differ a lot from each other. They are characterized by the utilization of different types of design, standards and technologies. Project development is one task of the TAT and should be carried out by providing permanent interaction with the community group. The fact that TAT has been contracted directly by the AC, without public sector intervention, makes this task easier. The TAT elaborates housing projects, infrastructure projects, or both. Housing projects are elaborated in accordance with the HIS law (Special Legislation for Popular Housing). Besides this law, general guidelines for the projects are given by HABI. The guidelines are: i. to adapt an urban design that enables a high density, thereby reducing the costs of infrastructure; ii. to adapt the project into the physical environment, and iii. to integrate it into the neighbourhood. The project should be placed in a convenient locality for the target group. The selection of the site should match the community conditions and not be situated far away from the previous housing area, not be placed far away from employment areas and be close to transportation and urban utility lines.

In some of the infrastructure projects, the community has an important role in implementation by, for example, 'mutual help' in the infrastructure works. The TAT and HABI have developed projects that adopt the utilization of pre-fabrication to make the execution of these works easier for the community group.

The discussion on the subdivision of land and on the infrastructure project with the community may or may not take place at the same time as the housing unit project discussion. When TAT prepares both projects, they are discussed together with the community, and may have positive aspects. For example in sector 8 of 'S. Francisco Housing Project', the project units were designed at different levels to follow the natural topography of the site. The community accepted the housing solution because it understood its relation to urban design and costs of implementation of infrastructure. In another project called 'St.

Marta', the community carried out a housing solution with piles to avoid landslides. The pile solution complicated the construction of the building, but throughout the discussion, it was clear that this solution would be more adequate to the ground slope, would be cheaper and fit better in the natural environment.

Experiences have indicated that in many cases when 'FUNACOM Coordination' prepares land subdivision, and TAT formulates a housing project (thus not at the same time), the linkage between the two is not clear enough to the community. The AC does not have the same level of participation in the preparation of HABI's project as it would have if TAT would manage it. The reason can be found in the administrative structure of HABI, which does not allow for a permanent discussion about the project with the AC.

The preparation of a housing project is a process in which the TAT and the AC first try to decide on the standards of the project. Usually four phases can be identified. Sometimes the AC already has its own plan.

In a first phase, the AC and TAT obtain the data to be used to define the standards and financial aspects. They are also sent to 'FUNACOM Coordination'. The data concern the income of the households, type of jobs, number of households, etc. The TAT also tries to recognize the expectations and requirements of the families involved in the project. There are different ways to get this information depending on the TAT and the role of AC. In some cases the future beneficiaries are asked by TAT to design which house they wish and to fill out a relevant questionnaire. In other cases, the TAT tries to determine the requirements through a discussion of the previous housing situations of the AC members.

In the second phase, TAT tries to suggest standards and discusses them with the community. For the discussion, the community is usually divided into several sub-groups, each with a maximum of 20 families. In this phase, the community decides about standards and types of housing units. Decisions have to be made about one (or several) type of houses, about differential costing, about the community mutual help for infrastructure, if there is going to be an income generation project, etc. In summary, to define the housing standard, AC and TAT consider the collected data; the necessities of the community; the limitations of the land and urban design; the type of housing production (building materials, etc.); the level of community organization and the financial possibilities.

In the third phase, the TAT presents one or more proposals of the project with complete definition of layout, technology, costs, etc. Again, the community discusses the project in small groups. In this phase, the future beneficiaries discuss everything, even the place of the kitchen in the house and the position of the

doors. When there are different opinions, a vote is organized among the members to determine the final design, or an option to establish different types of houses has to be agreed upon. To help the discussion, some TATs use models of the project and design them using a big scale model, or they suggest the construction of a prototype. The level of community organization and the technology to be adapted are considered in the decision on housing design.

The last phase is characterized by preparation of the architectural and engineering details of the final project, including cost and time schedules. This has to be approved by FUNACOM Coordination, and it is to be used during the building phase.

Usually there are members of the AC that have some construction skills because they are masons, carpenters, etc. These members have an important role in the project discussion because they can easily understand the vocabulary of the project design. They help the TAT in the meetings to discuss the project to clarify project ideas through their popular language and practical knowledge. In spite of this, when they do not understand or do not accept some project elements or aspects of the technical proposal, conflicts between them and the TAT may occur. In this sphere, they have a fundamental role because they influence other members of the community. The conflicts have a positive aspect as well and that is the establishment of a more profound discussion about the project. It improves the understanding of the project and stimulates the participation of all group members. The understanding of the project by all members of AC is very important for building projects with 'mutual help'.

The flexibility of the program enables the adoption of different project standards by different community groups. The decisions about the adoption of these standards are made by the AC with TAT assistance. For example the AC assisted by TAT can choose to build a small finished house or a bigger unit without finishing the construction, to use pre-fabricated components or traditional techniques, to finance only a part of the house or to finance a complete housing unit, etc. The community decision about house design, technology and building materials is determined by the combination of many factors such as the organization of the community, the land cost, etc. In most of these projects the decisions correspond to the people's necessities and are more affordable than those projects that would have been constructed by the public sector.

4.2

Building through mutual help

The first step of the community organization to set up the house building by mutual help takes place in the first period of project formulation when important decisions have to be made. Project



Figure 3 + 4: Building through mutual help in Eiras Garcia project



formulation is followed by discussion of the mutual help concept and by definition of the construction work regulation. The mutual help discussion aims at understanding the meaning of mutual help building and what it involves. This includes, among other elements, the necessity of cooperative spirit among the participants, the participation of women, the time to be spent on work during the weekends, the efforts of learning a technology and acquiring experience for those who never worked in construction, etc. The construction work regulations stipulate the conditions of the realization of the work by the AC. It is explained to all members of the association, and it may be approved in an assembly (AC meeting). When the opinions of the members are divergent, a vote has to be held so as to get the decision of the members' majority.

Generally, the construction works regulations define: the hours that each household should work on the site monthly or weekly; use of the common equipment and tools; the role of the TAT, the foreman and the work coordinator; the access to building material stocks and disciplinary sanctions. The construction work regulations may also specify which members work on which specific units, what should be done when members cannot work as per the agreement (due to illness etc.) and other relevant practical matters.

Another important part of the organization of a house building project is preparing what is needed to facilitate the construction at the work-site. This includes developing a building materials storage for keeping the building materials and tools; building a community center; providing for the access and circulation of building materials on the site and the provision of electricity and water. This is to be ready before house construction takes place, and is financed through a first instalment of the loan by FUNACOM after approval of an implementation plan.

The community center is used to support different activities such as collective kitchens, meetings, creches, etc. Toilets and offices are also placed in this building when the administrative tasks are managed there. After finishing the whole project, the building materials storage and the community center can be used by the AC members for social and economic activities. This later use is incorporated into the design of the structures. The type of organization set up and the number of teams and coordinating groups vary according to each AC and the adapted standards. They generally cover at least the co-ordination of building activities, administrative tasks, materials purchasing and social relations.

Building coordination group

The building coordination is done by the architects (TAT), the foreman and one team of community members called 'coordinators'. These members are elected by the groups at a community

meeting. The choice is usually based on professional knowledge and leadership capabilities.

Meetings are held every week to organize the work and to distribute the tasks to the teams and members of the building coordination group. The members of the AC are divided into teams of work according to the specialization of each member. Every team works in a sector of the site or in a construction stage of the project.

The type and amount of contracted skilled labour depends on the financial possibilities. But in most cases, a foreman is contracted to supervise the construction process and to assist the coordinators. The technical guidance is with an architect or an engineer of the TAT, who is responsible for the technical aspects of the project to the association's participants and to the public authorities. The TAT plans the building projects and makes a programme of activities and continuously support the foremen and the work teams.

Administrative coordination group

The type of administrative coordination depends on the complexity and size of the project. Generally the group's functions include:

- to oversee the working hours of the AC members;
- to monitor discipline and carry out the sanctions laid down by the general assembly (AC Meeting);
- to control the building materials and tools supply (stock keeping);
- to liaise with the purchasing commission for the building materials supply, and
- to present a monthly statement of expenditures to HABI and to the general assembly for approval.

Sometimes, external experts are contracted as employees of the AC financed from the programme resources to assist in the above tasks.

The material purchase coordination group

The material purchase coordination group carries out a cost survey of the required building materials. This coordination group works in permanent contact with the construction coordinators for scheduling purchase in line with the works. The coordination team also checks the quality of the building materials.

Social coordination group

This coordination group carries out activities to support the mutual help process. This includes the following functions:

- setting up and coordinating the creche and developing activities for children during the construction period;

- setting up community activities to improve social cohesion, and
- organizing a community kitchen.

4.3 Case studies

One of the strong points of FUNACOM is the flexibility of the programme. This is illustrated by the three examples described below.

4.3.1 Jd. Celeste

The 'Jd. Celeste' project is an example of an AC organization formed to plan and carry out a housing project characterized by a great number of housing units and different housing standards, which is financed by FUNACOM on a self-management basis. Another important feature is that the community worked out this housing project and included income generation activities. Jd. Celeste's project has been carried out by AC Jd. Celeste, which is part of the Coordination of Southern Region Popular Movements. The leaders of this movement are connected with the Catholic Church.

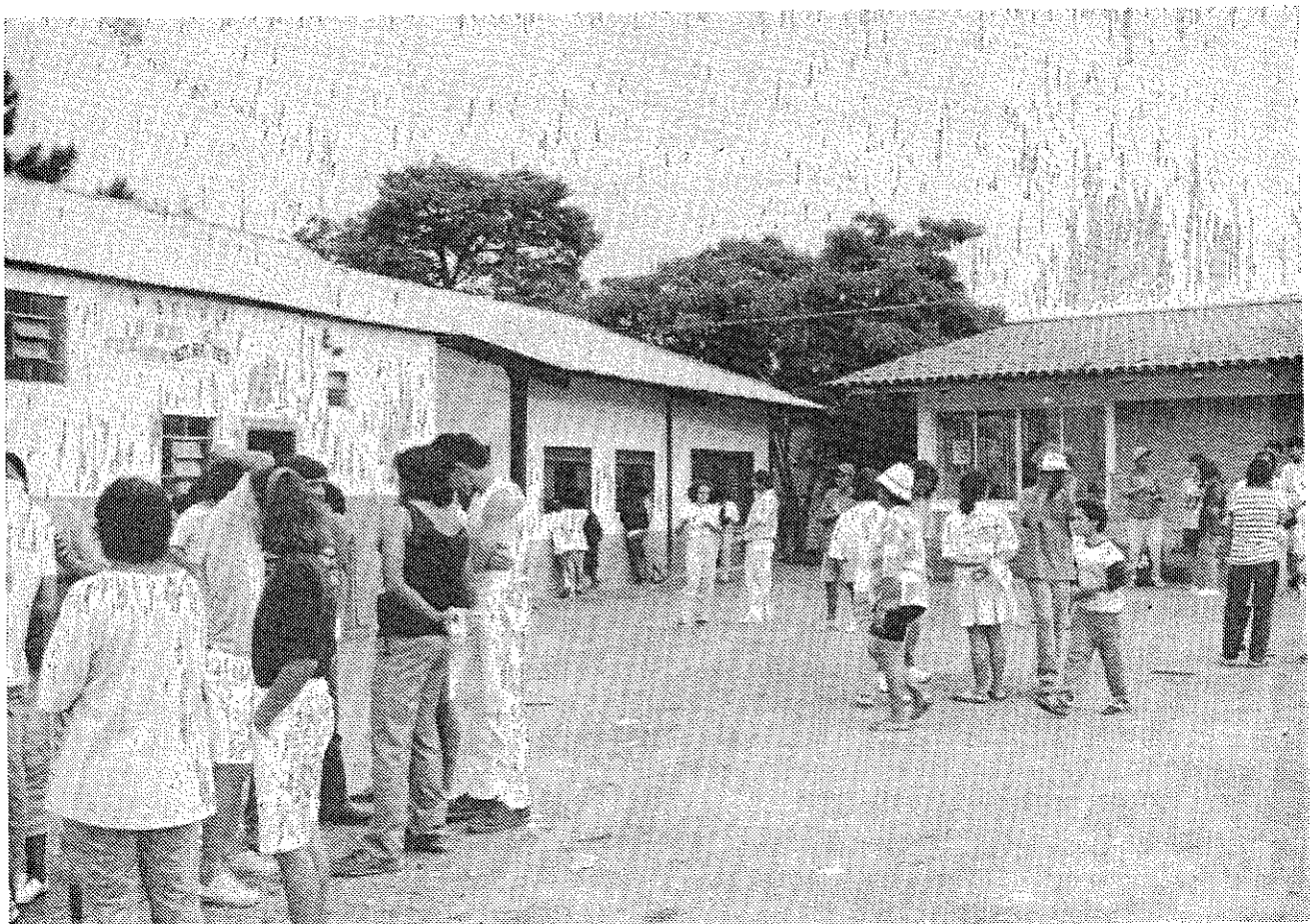


Figure 5: Community buildings in Jd. Celeste

The area was identified by the movement, and brought to the attention of HABI. 'Jd. Celeste' was expropriated by HABI for the housing movement. It was allotted to the movement on the condition that the project would achieve a high residential density, would cover the cost of expropriations and would be affordable to the AC members. The area was expropriated in 1989, the project was formulated in 1990 and the housing construction by mutual help started in 1991. The location of the project is favourable with respect to the distance of the area from the city center, environmental aspects, and the availability of infrastructure and urban services. It was a vacant land inside a consolidated urban neighbourhood.

The project provides around 1400 housing units, simple dwelling units, a block of flats and community facilities. The project design demarcated six sectors for project implementation. One of them was reserved for community facilities (school, creche, community center, etc.), one for the implementation of 600 units in a block of flats and the last three were for 800 simple dwelling units.

The construction of the houses and part of the infrastructure and protection against landslide were realized by mutual help. Housing construction was carried out by different ACs, each one in a different project sector. The construction in the sectors did not start in the same period of time. FUNACOM financial assistance was given to the ACs in different periods, according to the completion of infrastructure works and level of AC organization. In 1992, one sector was finished and three others were in different stages of implementation.

The urban design adapted for the area is characterized by a reduction of standard requirements relating to street and plot sizes, a hierarchy in the street network, and small green areas. The land subdivision and infrastructure projects were carried out by HABI, and the housing projects by TAT. The TAT developed a special project of bigger unit houses on a small plot area which exceeded the regular floor space index. To adapt the project to the topography and to meet community demands, three different types of housing units were constructed. They differed in the size of the house, the level of the different floors and the position of the kitchen. One type of unit has 68 square metres, is divided into two or three floors, and costs 900 UPF's, whereas another type of unit has 44 square metres and costs 510 UPF's.

The block of flats has up to four floors, each one with four independent housing units. This type of construction by mutual help had not occurred previously in Brazil. Because of this lack of tradition, reinforced masonry technology was adapted to facilitate the construction process and to avoid accidents during construction (because of the height of the building). The community's manpower strength was not skilled and specialized according to the previous agreements among the HABI, TAT and AC. The external and common parts of the building were to

completely finished by mutual help and financed by FUNACOM. The internal part of the flats was to be finalized by individual families.

The projects were carefully discussed and approved of by all members of the AC. In the period of project formulation, the TAT divided the group into small groups of 20 families and worked out a project presentation using models, pictures and drawings. Some suggestions made by the group resulted in project reformulation. The AC was responsible for the selection of the families, sectors and types of houses. The group decided that the unit houses were to be occupied by the lowest income families and the flat units by the higher income families.

Concerning management aspects, the ACs that worked out the Jd. Celeste project did not differ much from each other. They organized the housing construction through the division of tasks into groups. Basically, there was a group called the 'executive group' which carried out the purchasing of building materials, the financial control and the administrative tasks, and a 'social group' which carried out the social tasks and which is divided into four groups that are responsible for the community kitchen, creche, vegetable gardens and community relations.

The 'executive group', the TAT and community leaders formed the administrative council. This council was responsible for the management of housing construction. The AC groups were divided into four groups with 40 members each. Each group had one leader who was elected by the members of the group. The AC was divided into these four groups to make work distribution among the members and technical control easier. The distribution of the members by groups was characterized by a mix of AC members by sex and type of profession.

The financial resources of FUNACOM for sites, tools and equipment were used to erect community buildings for the housing construction by mutual help and by this community group for economic and social projects after construction. It was possible to have some centralized community services and activities for different groups with financial resources from different ACs. In this case, it was not necessary to set up all activities in one building (a community center). The community buildings are composed of one old existing house (that has been used by the executive team and TAT), the creche building, the services buildings (in which the community kitchen and the toilets are placed), the building materials storage and another building where pre-fabrication building elements were formed.

The creche and the kitchen were organized by a women's group to give support to the working families in the area. A schedule was set up to guarantee the participation of all. The organization of a simple creche in the project has contributed to the increase of women's participation in housing construction.

The pre-fabrication center was set up to produce some simple pre-fabricated elements. They were building elements used in the houses such as stairs, concrete slabs, special blocks, soakage pits, beams, etc. This center was financially viable because of the considerable number of housing units in the project. This type of pre-fabrication reduced the costs of construction, the working hours of the families and the construction time. The JD Celeste ACs have also implemented other income generation activities.

The TAT had an important role in the income generation projects. They assisted the AC in setting up training and in the use of the community buildings. Important projects that Jd Celeste AC has intended to set up for income generation are a cultural center and a Jd Celeste cooperative for pre-fabrication. In the cultural center, a creche will be established in the next few years, as well as a small health center, some small shops and compartments to be used for community meetings and training (professional and educational).

The idea of setting up a cooperative for construction services grew within the community during the first construction period. To speed up housing construction, the first group of Jd. Celeste contracted the 'Leste Cooperative', with financial resources for Hired Skilled Labour of FUNACOM. This cooperative was formed in 1990 by beneficiaries, most of whom came from the 'San Francisco' housing project (east region of São Paulo). They were encouraged to work in the Jd. Celeste group in the field of construction, and thus found an opportunity to get jobs in this type of organization.

In the beginning of 1992 the participants of the Jd. Celeste project decided to start a cooperative similar to Leste Cooperative. They were stimulated by the contact with Leste Cooperative and by the construction practice and experience acquired by the mutual help process. The AC Jd. Celeste organized small discussion groups among the participants to study the idea. They decided to connect this project for a cooperative with the activity of pre-fabrication of construction elements. It is planned that when the housing construction is finished, this center will continue its operations.

The AC also decided to set up community training at the time that the housing construction was being carried out by the group. In small enterprise formation, subjects like 'purchasing and negotiation' are examples of training to develop the management capacity of the participants. Other technical training in the field of construction with simple technical language and practical experience have also been carried out by the group for the generally low educated participants.

At present, the AC contracts 32 members of its own group (beneficiaries, mostly earlier unemployed) to work for the AC in housing construction during the week. These members also work on the weekend, but then without pay, since this represents their

mutual help contribution to the project. This contracting speeds up the construction during weekdays and at the same time provides on the job training for the co-operative. The payment received by the workers comes from FUNACOM financial resources for hired skilled labour.

The main problems in setting up the cooperative were the lack of education of the members and the disagreement on the income distribution among the members of the co-operative. Basically, all members of the co-operative agreed that a part of the obtained income should be invested in training and a part kept as 'working capital', but there were different points of view about how much the members according to professional category and function in the organization should receive. After the end of the Jd. Celeste project, the future of the co-operative is uncertain. The case of the Leste Co-operative can be considered successful. It works for small enterprises and for other ACs financed by FUNACOM. The contacts with other ACs at the beginning of its operation made finding clients easier, and it improved the professional performance of the co-operative's participants. It also strongly assisted the financial and administrative organization. The ACs prefer to contract for this type of organization because of a similar identity of political and social values between them. Although the construction market in the city may be big enough to absorb this type of service, the Jd. Celeste Co-operative may come across more difficulties in building up its organization.

Aside from this income generation project, other small projects in this field have also been worked out by members of the AC. In the same AC, the group of women who worked in the

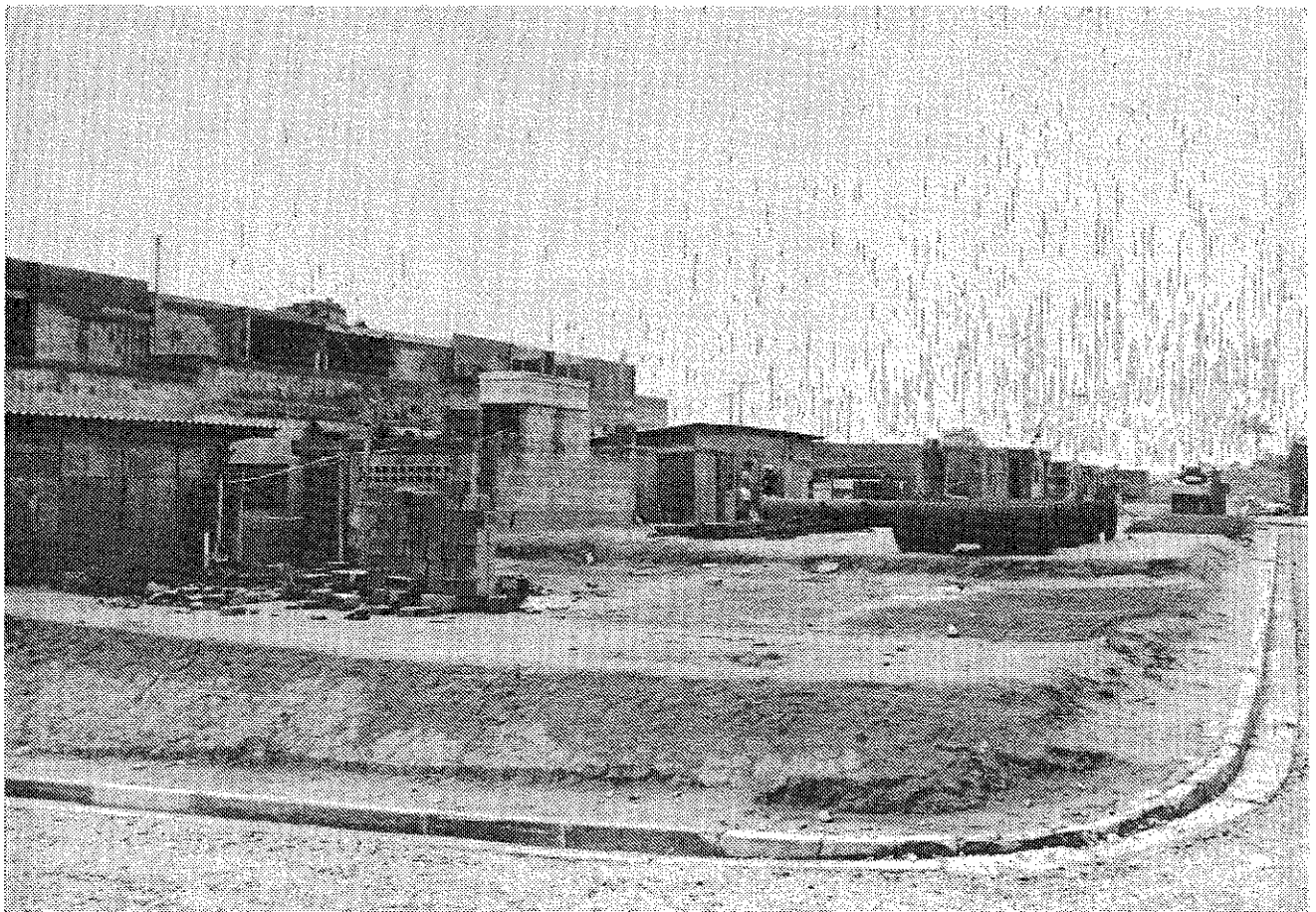
community kitchen formed a group to prepare and sell ready-made food in the neighbourhood. Most of the members of the communities who have participated in the administration, purchasing or social activities acquired experiences and managed to get jobs.

The ACs operate an information network, with an informal organization among the Purchasing Coordination Groups to carry out a cost survey for buying the cheapest materials. Because there are many housing projects in the same region commercial stores have come up of which the ACs are important clients. The ACs also influenced the regulation of the construction materials market, influencing the prices of some materials such as steel, blocks, sand, etc.

The ACs are also important clients for small scale enterprises. Many of them initially earned their income through contracts with the AC, which can manage contracts with more flexibility and without the bureaucratic regulation of the municipalities. For instance, in the Jd. Celeste project, the ACs that carry out the construction of a block of flats decided to contract a small



Figure 6 + 7: House construction in Area 13



enterprise for parts of the housing construction (for instance, the foundation and infrastructure) that required skilled labour.

The Jd. Celeste project is still in its implementation phase, which makes it difficult to draw final conclusions. Evaluations carried out by the AC and TAT through community meetings, discussions and interviews have shown that the participants of the ACs have found it difficult to attend the work hours defined in the construction work regulations, but are satisfied with the housing project and building. In spite of the complexity of the project, the management of the project by community groups has succeeded. The fact that a community group chose the area, participated in project formulation and carried out the project on a self-management basis, gives it a sense of responsibility for project implementation. This is one of the most important facts that contributed to the success, thus far, of the project development. The fact that the group worked together on the implementation of a co-operative project during the housing construction period will probably ensure that the same technical and financial support will be given to the group in the future.

4.3.2

Area 13

The Area 13 housing project has been carried out by the 'Associação dos Moradores do Conjunto Residencial - Area 13' (Dwellers Association of Housing Complex - Area 13). The area is located on the periphery of São Paulo where urban services and community facilities are not available. The project was formulated in 1991 and the construction process started at the end of the same year. The project will benefit 152 families and has a special component of development of economic activities.

Although there is a smaller number of housing units in this project than the one discussed above, the community's management of housing construction does not differ much from the first case presented. The group is divided into committees that carry out the construction purchasing, financial administration and social activities. A small building materials storage and a temporary building for services provide the required support. The store is to be used as a community center after the construction period.

To reduce the housing credit for larger units, the AC decided not to construct a complete house with FUNACOM financing, but to construct only the principal structure with walls and services by mutual help using FUNACOM finance, and to finish the rest of the houses with the dwellers' own financial resources and on a self help basis.

Two types of housing units were designed. One is a dwelling unit of 60 square metres, with two floors and with a finished

ground floor construction (Type A). The other, Type B, has three floors (ground plus 2). The ground floor is for setting up commercial activities. The 2nd and 3rd floors are for residence. Their layout is similar to the other type. The financial limit is the same in both cases.

The initiative for the project was taken by AC and TAT. Considering the lack of services and commercial areas in the neighbourhood and the necessity of generating income for community members, it was decided to work out the housing project simultaneously with an income generation project. In the first stage of the project, many community meetings took place and as a result of this discussion it was decided to construct the housing unit type consisting of a ground floor plus two other floors.

Some conflicts in the AC took place during the period of project formulation. Initially, a part of the group did not accept the aim of reserving part of the construction for commercial, and service and community activities because it implied increased housing credit costs. Additionally, it meant that families would have to contribute more work hours. The conflicts were solved during the process of group discussions with TAT, when it was explained that the reservation of space for commercial areas would generate income for the community, thereby contributing to increased family incomes and repayment capacity. The group also decided that they will set up some commercial and service activities not available in the nearby neighbourhood.

Another conflict was over the distribution of housing types among the families. The majority of the families applied for type A housing, that is to have the entrance of the house on the first floor and to have an individual entrance. To solve this conflict, type B housing was situated in the best project location and on a larger plot than type A housing. Consequently, type B housing was placed on the principal street of the land subdivision. The commercial and service areas of this housing type has been divided into many smaller units, which allow for the establishment of a bar, bakery, television room, carpentry store, etc. According to the project concept, these units belong to the AC, and community members can rent them to set up businesses. The rents collected will form an AC fund for housing maintenance of Area 13 or be invested in other social and economic projects.

4.3.3

Eiras Garcia

'Eiras Garcia' is a so-called slum housing complex situated in a central region of São Paulo. It is an old and deteriorated house where 20 low income families live. There are many houses of this type in the central city. They are big houses where high income families used to live, and have been occupied by low income people for the last few decades.

In the beginning of 1989, the families organized themselves in an AC and tried to buy the house from the owner. The negotiation failed because the families could not afford the high price. After this initiative, the group started to press HABI to finance their purchase and renovation of the building. HABI did. Under its programme Urban Operations, HABI transferred funds to the AC for the acquisition of the building. The project's goals are to renovate and legalise the building. It was approved of by 'FUNACOM-Cortiço' with a financial limit for the renovation of the building fixed at 1100 UPF per family. The project seeks a high residential density to compensate for the high acquisition cost of the building.

This sub-programme, FUNACOM Cortiço, serves families in slum housing. HABI has faced many difficulties setting up this sub-programme. One of them is the high cost of the buildings. Usually, they are situated in the center of the city where there is good infrastructure and services and high land prices. Other problems concern the administrative procedures. Basically the complexity of the projects demand flexible instruments.

The project was formulated in 1991 and the renovation by mutual help started early 1992. Two project proposals were developed by a TAT. The first utilized the concept of a common service area, in which toilets, showers and water taps would be used by all families. But this was not accepted by the group. It wanted to have individual services. In the project reformulation, this demand was incorporated and the room-sizes and circulation areas were reduced to provide space for individual services. The units measure approximately 30 m². The project proposed the renovation of one part of the building and an extension of the other part. The project managed to preserve the main structure of the building and proposed the demolition of some walls and the construction of others.

In the case of Eiras Garcia, the group organization differs from the other cases presented above because of the smaller number of families and special type of construction. The project management was basically carried out by one coordination group that worked out the different tasks. The division of tasks was done by individuals rather than groups. The majority of the members in this coordination group is female. It is not uncommon to find cases like this. The women carry out a leading role in the formation of the AC and finance acquisition. Men become engaged mostly after the approval of the project. The women continue performing as leaders of the group. Where there are no traditional divisions of tasks by sex, the women also perform an important role in construction. They acquire construction skills very quickly.

One of the main reasons for setting up a community center with a creche is the creation of favourable conditions for women's participation. The women can work in the construction process

and in the meantime they can leave their children in this creche. Besides, the mothers can keep in touch with their children during the lunch break or other intervals. Many educational activities are developed by the female members of the AC, despite that they have never handled such a task before.

The period of project formulation and approval was long because of HABI's difficulties in setting up the programme. The AC leaders and the TAT contributed to solving the problems faced.

5

Lessons of early experience

The FUNACOM programme remains in its initial phase. The programme has been set up during the last three years and most of the projects are still in their implementation phase. Important elements of the program still have to be elaborated. Consequently, it is too early for a detailed evaluation of the programme. Moreover, the outcome of the next elections in 1992 will be an important factor for the continuation of the programme. The points raised below are thus lessons of early experience.

5.1

Strengths of the FUNACOM programme

Women's participation

The fact that most ACs carrying out FUNACOM programs define the working hours for the project as 80 hours monthly per household shows that women's participation is already included. Usually a man, when employed, works a full working week in his job, and it seems impossible for him to be working on his own for 20 hours in the construction programme every weekend to meet the project's working hour requirements.

During the stage of project formulation, women's participation is discussed, and most families accept the idea that all members of the family have to work to accelerate the pace of the construction process. It is easier for women to help with the design of the layout proposed by TAT because they usually work and spend more time in and around their house. Therefore, they know more about the use of space in the house, and the functions and location of the service areas.

In the construction process, women and men take part equally. Although women are the ones who organize the social activities, they also work in all phases of the construction, from block making to construction of the roof. The majority of the women, as well as a considerable portion of the men, have no experience in construction and do not have the required skills. They learn on the job or by training.

In addition to their work in the social committee, women also participate in the building committee and administrative committee, without previous experience. However, evidence shows that after finishing the construction, many women get jobs. According to some of them, this is because they learned how to do different jobs (creche, administrative tasks, community kitchen, construction) or simply because of the fact

that through contracts with the group and the participation in its activities they are encouraged to work outside of their home. Through their work they help to increase the family income and contribute to repayment and home improvement. After finishing the building, they are also able to take care of the maintenance and carry out the final construction tasks.

The FUNACOM programme recognized the role of women by giving them one eighth of the ownership of land and housing and allocating a percentage of the funds to support social activities. Most ACs appreciate the women's role in the planning of the building, and it is obvious that the mutual help process can not be set up successfully without women's participation.

Economic development

One of the obstacles to improving the income generation capacities of low income families and to developing the informal sector is the lack of infrastructure and security of tenure. The insecurity of the housing situation does not stimulate the people to invest in their own house or in a collective business. The FUNACOM programme provides land regulation, infrastructure and building materials. The projects of housing construction, slum upgrading and slum housing have shown that

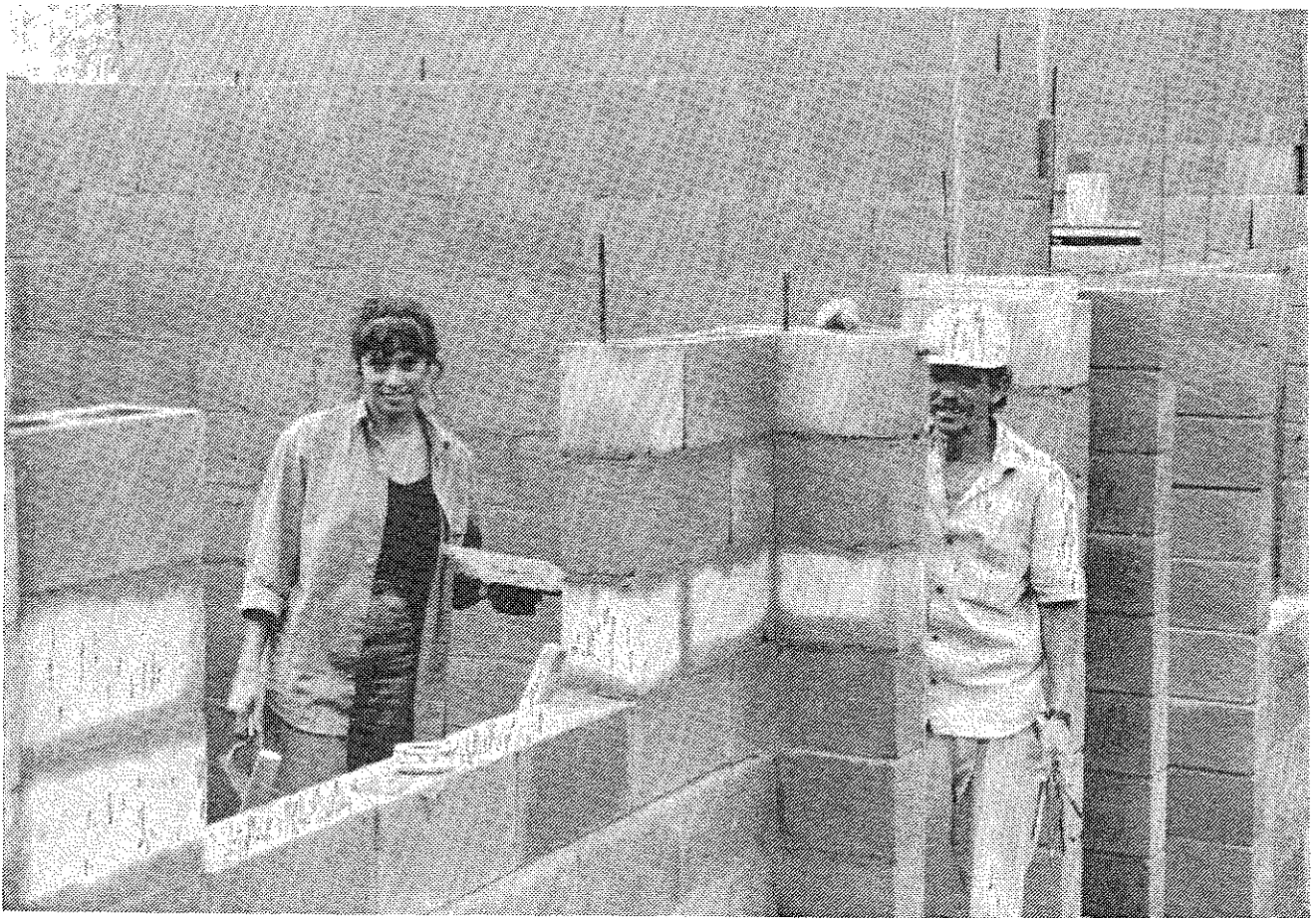


Figure 8: Women's participation in construction activities in Area 13

communities raised their incomes after finishing the construction of houses. This can be attributed to the following factors:

- the development of services or commercial activities in the house;
- the earlier rent paid was sometimes higher than the home loan repayment;
- the stimulation of the community to develop economic activities;
- an increase of the number of members of the households (women, children), who earn an income, and
- the upgraded education and training in different occupations of the participants.

The FUNACOM programme also allows for setting up special community income generation projects. The cases presented serve as examples. The AC received finance to build commercial and service areas that will be administrated by the AC and will be used by the AC members to set up small businesses.

In conclusion, access to housing and the process of self-management in the FUNACOM programme create conditions for families to obtain houses and improve employment and income generation in the neighbourhood.

Decentralization and Popular Participation

Community participation is not new on the policy agenda, but most governments have misunderstood the meaning of participation and have not taken it seriously. There is a tendency in the public sector to view community participation as a process whereby communities give their labour (mainly physical work) to a project. But community participation should be understood in a broader sense. It means that governments share decisions with the community. Thus, they should create conditions for the participation of communities in the management of public policies. The community should participate in the planning, implementation and evaluation of housing programmes.

The housing policy of the São Paulo municipality and the FUNACOM programme are good examples of positive governmental attitudes. Community participation takes place in all phases of project implementation and at all levels of decision making. Community participation in the FUNACOM programme began with the formulation of the programme. The programme was strongly influenced by self help housing experiences. It was basically a social movement's proposal. HABI, before making the decision about what kind of housing programmes and projects were to be set up, learned about the people's claims and needs and took them into consideration. This represents a really uncommon attitude in the way the government's housing policies are usually initiated. This bottom-up approach makes achieving the programme's objectives in reaching the low income

target group easier. Moreover, it facilitates project implementation because of the early involvement.

Community participation helps the programme to reach the target group, and its flexibility makes the projects more affordable for the AC. The programme is not fixed to any housing standards. The projects are elaborated by TATs, contracted by ACs and have sufficient autonomy in the definition of standards, use of different technologies and organization of the building process. The projects show that this flexibility allows for the application of various technologies, from the construction of the apartment block to slum-housing renovation. This flexibility results in the use of standards and technologies appropriate to the needs of each community. The role of FUNACOM is confined to coordination, and making the project compatible with the institutional framework.

Community participation guarantees that the available funds will go to those people who need them most, and it guarantees distribution according to community rather than political interests. To become eligible for the FUNACOM funds, households must organize an AC. This stimulates the process of community organization and self-management. The house itself is only a part of the benefits for the beneficiaries; indirect benefits like the improvement of education, health, professional performance, income generation etc. are equally important.

FUNACOM and future housing policies

The FUNACOM programme of the São Paulo municipality has disseminated the experience of a housing programme on a self-management basis, and it has been referred to by social movements as an example for similar programmes financed by state and central governments. The previous government always argued that self help housing projects were not efficient, took a long time to be implemented and could not be implemented on a large scale. In reality, the government never considered that the community is able to manage the housing projects by itself, and that the government has failed to accept sharing decisions with communities.

The guidelines of action of UMM and other social movements have exerted a pressure on all levels of the government. When the UMM's claims had been honoured by the São Paulo municipality, the movement continued exerting pressure on other levels of state and central government to influence the formulation of housing policies and the distribution of the public funds.

The FUNACOM programme and the experiences of the collective initiatives mentioned in Chapter 2 encouraged and supported the social movements to formulate a Public Action Bill. This proposes more financial resources for housing projects and the creation of a National Housing Fund. The management of the

fund is to be shared by all sectors of society. The financial resources would be decentralized to the municipalities and to community groups. This aspect is very important because the social movements not only want better housing, but they are suggesting how the government should provide housing. The Bill is not perfect, and many flaws can be found in its contents. However, the important matter is the process of negotiation that will take place because of this initiative.

In short, stimulated by the results of the FUNACOM implementation programme and other experiences of self help projects, the social movements have been trying to influence other levels of government to prepare better housing policies.

5.2 Constraints in implementation

Some points require further attention for the implementation of FUNACOM to be improved.

Institutional mechanism

Institutional reform allowing for decentralized procedures and decisions will be necessary. The current administration has tried this, but it is a difficult task and the results achieved to date have been below expectations. The administrative procedures and institutional organization of HABI do not contribute well to the implementation of the programme because they are still very bureaucratic. To circumvent this problem, HABI began to work outside this formal structure, which led to the creation of informal procedures. Sometimes official rules were even ignored, as the experience of Area 13 shows. The success of programme implementation in spite of these institutional problems can be attributed to the good will of the São Paulo municipality and the strong political will to compromise with the FUNACOM programme. However, if the institutional mechanism is not improved, programme implementation can be stopped or affected negatively by the political changes that might ensue after the next elections.

Financial aspects

The first financing structure of the FUNACOM programme did not enable a financial evaluation of the programme to be made or to estimate the final subsidies to the families. The calculation of the costs did not include the total costs of land acquisition and of infrastructure and services provisions.

In 1991, HABI did a financial study and proposed a new financing structure. Alterations were made to improve the performance of the programme and to reduce and make more explicit the subsidies involved. The proposed financing structure was discussed with the housing movements. This caused

conflicts among the various parties involved. These conflicts were only resolved in 1992 when the new financing structure became operational. More study is required to determine the subsidy components in projects financed through the FUNACOM programme.

Conflicts

The institutional mechanism to support community participation and the autonomous organization of the AC results in participation at different levels of decision making. The decisions range from how to decide the guidelines of a housing programme and which community organizations will benefit to what the housing standards will be and where the door of the kitchen will be placed. Naturally this is not a simple process. Conflicts within and among the communities always exist. The members of the social movements elected as representatives to the councils do not always have enough power. Popular participation in the management of governmental programmes is a new phenomenon, and one that is difficult to set up in a large city like São Paulo. Conflicts and divergences between different movements, and between these movements and HABI, always take place. But they are part of the democratic process, and all parties learn from them.

The land issue

The new urban plan and the proposed land reform will not have immediate effect. The small amount of available land and its high cost is still a major obstacle. Land regularization and acquisition is a difficult task faced by HABI. Sometimes the price that has to be paid to buy a piece of land exceeds the sum of the costs of infrastructure and construction. On the other hand, the location of housing projects in the peripheral areas of the city have presented enormous indirect costs for the government in the form of the provision of transportation and utilities. The communities also try to return to the inner city where they can find services and centres of employment.

Epilogue

The PT lost the elections in 1992. Usually political changes in Brazil lead to a situation in which many projects and programmes of a former administration are altered or stopped altogether. The future of the FUNACOM programme was affected by the new São Paulo administration along the same lines.

The FUNACOM programme strengthened community groups among low income people. These groups identify themselves with the values of the PT. The present administration is of the opinion that attending to the interests of these groups is equal to attending to the interests of an electorate which is not theirs. So, the FUNACOM programme is not in line with the main interests of the new administration.

The post 1992 administration promotes housing projects which seem to favour more the interests of a few big developers than the interests of the urban poor. The justification given for interrupting the implementation of the FUNACOM programme is, however, based on perceived administrative and legal problems.

As mentioned in chapter 5, the PT administration adopted informal and sometimes not completely legal alternative procedures to overcome the hurdles in the prevailing legal and administrative set-up. Some of these alternative procedures were based on different interpretations of the law, others simply ignored the existing legal and administrative set-up. This set-up was a major constraint to the execution of the FUNACOM programme. The PT, however, lacked, at that time, the political support to bring about the legislative changes required to facilitate the implementation of the FUNACOM programme (as the local parliament, which was then dominated by opposition parties, had to approve proposed changes in the regulatory framework).

For example, PT had a particular interpretation of the FUNACOM programme which allowed that funds could be directly passed on to communities without writing tenders to contractors as the community would be the ultimate beneficiary of the programme. The present administration argues that this practice is legally not acceptable. The community should have received the funds through the municipality or each release of funds should have been accompanied by a separate law approved by the parliament.

PT also did not wait with the implementation of a project till the procedure of regularizing the land was finalized. Theoretically the regularization of land could take 3 to 5 years. PT is now

accused by the new administration of having illegally subdivided land.

Not only have these practices justified the new administration stopping the programme, it also prompted the prosecution of several people involved in these practices.

In spite of strong pressures of NGOs, housing movements and the church, the present government has not been investing in the FUNACOM programme and interrupted its implementation. In the first year after the elections, the Housing Union of Greater São Paulo organized many campaigns and demonstrations to support the continuation of the programme. This did not have a big impact on the present administration.

Nowadays the housing movement is following two lines of activities. Firstly, planned invasions are organized to put pressure on the local government. Secondly, there are negotiations with the State government on the extension of low income housing programmes on a self-management basis. These negotiations have been successful. Though the São Paulo State Housing and Urban Company (CDHU) is not related to the PT, it has implemented popular housing projects on a self-management basis, stimulated by the results of the FUNACOM programme. As the State government portrays itself as more sensitive to claims for projects on a self-management basis, nowadays the social movements try to get funds from this government level.

Due to the continuous political changes, the social movements have to shift their focus from one government level to the other to acquire support for projects on a self-management basis. Unfortunately there is still a long way to go before the FUNACOM approach becomes a routine method of large scale housing development for low income households. However, the process of accumulating positive experiences with housing projects on a self-management basis and shifting between government levels leads to all levels becoming more accepting of the FUNACOM approach.

List of Abbreviations

AC	Community Association (mutual help group)
CDHU	São Paulo State Housing and Urban Company
COHAB	Companhia de Habitação
FUNACOM	Municipal Programme to support housing for low income people by self-management of the São Paulo Municipality
FUNAPS	Municipal Fund to support housing for low income people of the São Paulo Municipality
HABI	Superintendencia de Habitação (Housing Superintendency - São Paulo Municipality)
MDU	Ministry of Urban Development
PMSP	São Paulo Municipality
PT	Labour Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores)
SEHAB	Municipal Secretariat of Housing and Urban Development
SEMPLA	Municipal Secretariat of Planning
SNH	National Housing Secretariat
TAT	Technical Assistance Team
UMM	Union of Housing Movements of Great São Paulo
UPF	Unidade Padrao de Financiamento - Monetary Unit; 900 UPF equals about US\$ 5.000

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